



Pashas and Nobles

Paweł Benoit and Ottoman-Polish Encounters in the Eighteenth Century

Mariusz Kaczka

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

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European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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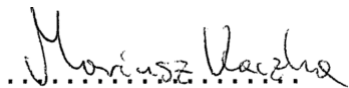
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Abstract

This dissertation explores Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century through an actor-based, microhistorical perspective. It discusses in topical chapters seven case studies: of border management, cross-border networking, border making, diplomatic travel, sociability, multilingualism, and gift-giving. The read-thread binding it together is Paweł Benoe aka Paul Benoît (ca. 1685-1745), an information master and diplomat. A half-French, half-Polish diplomat, Benoe mastered Turkish, married a Greek Phanariot woman, made a career in Poland-Lithuania as an expert in things Ottoman, and left behind an extensive, previously unexplored archive.

Beginning with the provocative placing of southern Poland-Lithuania within the Ottoman Mediterranean, this dissertation provides evidence for the integration of Polish nobles into the Ottoman cultural world. Divided into two parts of four chapters each, part one examines the borderland and part two Istanbul. This dissertation rethinks the relations between center and periphery in Eastern Europe and Ottoman Europe to draw a complex image of interdependencies between the borderlands and elite centers in Warsaw and Istanbul.

In a bottom-up initiative, Ottoman and Polish borderland actors created a joint court of justice to settle minor conflicts. This was possible thanks to Ottoman-Polish-Moldavian cross-border networks that flourished in the eighteenth century. Borders were far from fixed after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and necessitated a long process of mediation and territorial claiming to change zonal frontiers into linear borders. Ottoman and Polish travelers crossing the border produced travelogues that were copied, disseminated, stored, and used by future travelers. Their travels created an Ottoman-Polish sociability in Istanbul, facilitated by multilingual dragomans and diplomats. Finally, Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles influenced each other's material cultures and tastes through the regular exchange of gifts. With topical chapters addressing these issues, this dissertation provides a completely new understanding of Christian-Muslim relation in eighteenth century Europe.

For my family

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29 Mayıs University History Department's faculty encouraged me to read complex Ottoman documents. It is also here that I would like to thank Michał Wasiucionek, Michael Polczyński, Paulina Dominik, and Hacer Topaktaş, historians and colleagues working on Ottoman-Polish history between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, always ready to help with advice, criticism or a simple exchange of materials.

I worked in numerous archives, and libraries and their staffs facilitated my work. As a student at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, I worked in a museum and studied during the day, and I spent my evenings in the Czartoryski Library (BC) reading their well-preserved manuscript and print collections. Jan Nowak and Janusz Pezda often had to deal with my requests to see papers that were under conservation or with my constant inquiries to see more documents than was allowed according to the rules. Their vast knowledge of the Kraków collections helped me locate the papers that I needed. In Kraków, too, archivists in the National Archive at the Wawel Castle always smiled when spotting me in the archive again and helped me find manuscripts on Ottoman-Polish encounters that I would never have located without their help. At the Central Archive of Historical Records (AGAD), I found state documents on diplomatic missions to and from the Ottoman Empire. In the Main State Archive in Dresden (HStA), I used the well-preserved folders and manuscripts on Polish-Saxon missions to Istanbul and on the stay of Ottoman envoys at the Polish court. Finally, I spent a lot of time in the Stefanyk Library in L'viv (SL) where, by chance, I came across Paweł Benoit's private archive and correspondence. Without Benoit's rich paper trail, this dissertation would have been impossible. I would also like to thank archivists and librarians in Chernihiv, Kiev, Kórnik, Stockholm, Paris, Moscow, Wrocław, Istanbul, and all the other places I worked and collected materials.

Finally, without my family, this project would never see its completion. I want to thank my brother Łukasz, my mom Irena, and my over ninety-year-old grandfather Jan, who in the last two years asked me in every discussion when he could expect to finally see my dissertation finished. Their love and support made this dissertation possible.

Chapter 1: Introduction

During an archival trip to Warsaw, I spent several days in the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences. I was curious to see how Polish historians and Orientalists writing on the Ottoman Empire and its connections with Poland-Lithuania worked: how they sorted their papers and how they thought of the Ottomans, the classical ‘other’ during the early modern period. I worked my way through the papers of Janusz Woliński (1894-1970), Polish military historian who worked on the Polish-Turkish wars. I remember how impressed I was to see that he kept excerpts from early modern sources organized in chronological and thematic order on small slips of paper, in a method similar to Niklas Luhmann’s slip box. Then I ordered Jan Reychman’s (1910-1975) papers. Reychman was a linguist, an Orientalist and a polyglot. His main research interest was the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century. Reychman was a product of the nineteenth century style historiography, he often autoplagiarised himself and, even more often, put in the references fully unrelated books. This was, however, not surprising as Władysław Konopczyński (1880-1952), famous Polish historian of the eighteenth century did so too.¹

Both Reychman and Konopczyński were multilingual experts and the best historians in their field, with wide scholarly recognition and both participated in international research projects. Konopczyński worked as Polish correspondent for the massive collaborative work in three volumes, ‘The Repertory of the Diplomatic Representatives of all Countries since the Peace of Westphalia (1648)’ and documented Polish diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire.² When Nigar Anafarta prepared a collection of documents from the Topkapı Palace Archive illustrating Ottoman-Polish relations for publication, she consulted Reychman and provided him with photocopies of original documents in Polish kept until today among Reychman’s papers.³ From those two, Reychman was an expert in Mediterranean history and displayed a decades-long interest in the Ottoman Empire, and its connections with the North and the best found came from among his papers.

While reading Reychman’s papers, I came across a typescript slip with a curious citation from an eighteenth century source, a first-person narrative entitled ‘The Prophecy of a Turk about the Muscovites’:

¹ He did so especially in his work on Ottoman-Polish relations, probably his weakest work Władysław Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683-1792* (Kraków and Warszawa: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej and Muzeum Historii Polski, 2013). The book was originally published in 1936.

² Ludwig Bittner and Lothar Gross, eds., *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648)*, vol. 1–3 (Oldenburg i.O.: Stalling, 1936).

³ Nigâr Anafarta, ed., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler* (İstanbul: Bilmen, 1979), 10, 32. See also APAN, Legacy of Jan Reychman, ms. 168 III, unpaginated photocopies. Some of these documents were not included in Anafarta’s publication.

‘At a certain time when I was in Hotin with my lord visiting Kolchak Pasha, who descended from a Hungarian renegade, he received us well and kindly; being from old times friend with my lord, he showed us all curiosities he could, also from Asia and at the end even his wives, which is a difficult thing with them.

Then he let us to one room, quite beautifully furnished and adorned, where we found a ready coffee and during other discussions accompanied by fruits and coffee, we started talking about the Muscovites and their power. There were not more of us than five persons; this is my lord, the pasha, me and some two respected Turks and lords, his good friends, from whom one was an old man and a Slovak from Istanbul able to speak quite good Polish, who arrived here three months ago. He said about the Muscovites that ‘this nation will not thrive in the prosperity for a long time, and they will get their end from you, Poles, their ruin will start, but you must listen to me.’ Then he counted all the wrongdoings that Poles suffered from Russians. But ‘finally God will establish a king in Poland who will be a secret friend of the Porte, –he continued– who will silence their arrogance and will wreak vengeance over their abuse of authority so that they [Russians – MK] will remember him for a long time with fear and shaking and will never return to their lost fame. He will renew the alliance with Turkey.’ ‘When will it be?’ – asked my lord in Turkish. ‘How fast will it occur?’ – he asked again. ‘You will not live to see it, and this one (it is the pasha), but your son and your grandson.’ My lord started laughing when listening to that and said: ‘Praise be the Lord for when I will not live to see it, but our children.’⁴

I have never read a similar source and tried to find explanations for it. Reychman did not note where he found it, just a date (18 October 1969) but another, more extensive copy is preserved in a manuscript in Kraków.⁵ The manuscript has a clear eighteenth-century provenance, and the story is surrounded in the manuscript by original correspondence from the 1700s, but facts are just not right. Kolchak Pasha became governor of the Ottoman fortress of Hotin much later, and regular Ottoman presence in this

⁴ ‘Czasu jednego będąc w Chocimiu z Panem moim u baszy Kolczaka, który był z szlachcica węgierskiego nie dawno renegat, byliśmy od niego mile i ludzko przyjęci, który mając z dawną znajomość z moim Panem starostą wszystko cokolwiek mógł mieć z osobliwości wschodnich także azjatyckich ciekawego nam prezentował, a nawet na ostatku i żony swoje co u nich jest rzecz trudna. Zaprowadził nas po tym do jednego pokoju dosyć pięknie meblowanego i adrowanego, gdzie zastaliśmy kawę gotową tam między innymi dyskursami przy owcy, kawie wszczął się też dyskurs o Moskalach i o ich terazniejszej możności trochę i różnych okoliczności przedłużony, a nie było nas więcej nad 5 osób to jest mój Pan, Basza, ja i dwóch jeszcze jakichś Turków statecznych mężów jego dobrych przyjaciół z których jeden sędziwy już starzec i nieźle po polsku mówiący Słowak *natione* z Carogrodu przed 3 miesiący

Ten powiedział o Moskalach, że “ten naród w szczęściu tym niedługo trwać będzie, a koniec swój otrzyma od was, od Polaków, ruina się jego znacznie tylko mnie cierpliwie posłuchajcie.” Wyliczył wszystkie krzywdy Polaków od Rosjan, ale wreszcie Bóg wystawi w Polsce króla “ten zaś sekretny przyjaciel Porty będzie, który uciszy ich hardość i wszystkiego pomści się nad nimi bezprawia, że go na długi czas z strachem i drżeniem wspominać będę i nigdy do straconej sławy nie wróca.” Przymierze z Turcją odnowi. Kiedy to będzie? Pytał się mój pan po turecku, jak prędko to nastąpi? Ty nie doczekasz, ani ten (to jest basza) ale syn twój i wnuk. Roześmiał się na to starosta i mówił: „Chwała Bogu, kiedy ja na to patrzeć nie będę, ale dzieci nasze.” APAN, Legacy of Jan Reychman, ms. 168 III, p. 215v. I corrected Reychman’s transcription based on a manuscript copy preserved in BC, ms. 2881 IV, No. 4, ff. 41v-42v. It is possible that Reychman machine-typed this source from memory.

⁵ BC, ms. 2881 IV, No. 4, ff. 41v-42v.

fortress started from 1713.⁶ This clearly apocryphal story was drafted by someone in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century when the Partitions of Poland were a fact, and a sympathy for the Turk in Poland was widespread.⁷ The fascinating fact is that in the Czartoryski Library in Kraków it was bound in one manuscript together with early eighteenth century documents, either to mislead the historian or simply because the librarian, Łukasz Gołębiowski, that sorted this manuscript believed it to be from the early eighteenth century. Be that as it may, the professional scholar and librarian Gołębiowski believed its content to originate from the early eighteenth century. It was believable that Polish nobles spoke Turkish and members of an Ottoman provincial council talked Polish; that Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles socialized while drinking coffee and eating fruits and that they searched to impress each other with rare curiosities. It was also plausible that a small group of Polish nobles easily crossed the border and visited the Ottoman border pasha that they knew well. This story encompasses many aspects that I discuss throughout this book and suggest that large parts of Poland-Lithuanian in the eighteenth century belonged to the cultural Mediterranean, a geographical triangle between the core Mediterranean, the Mediterranean of the North (Baltic Sea) and the second Mediterranean (Black Sea).

Historiography

In this region, the *pax Polono-Ottomanica* enabled an unprecedented exchange of people, information, and goods and integrated Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles into the global markets.⁸ However, this century of peaceful coexistence was never a particularly popular research field. In the Polish memory and historiography, seventeenth century wars are dominant, and a simple OPAC-search in any provincial Polish library ends with results almost exclusively relating to Ottoman-Polish bellicose confrontations.⁹ Only recently a new book on Ottoman-Polish diplomacy by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk stimulated more in-depth studies on the eighteenth century by Hacer Topaktaş and on the seventeenth century by Michał Wasiucionek.¹⁰ Topaktaş's book on the Franciszek Piotr Potocki's embassy to Istanbul builds on the premises of classical diplomatic history and the theory of great powers created by Leopold

⁶ Mariusz Kaczka, "Pashas and Nobles: Vernacular Diplomacy and Cross-Border Networks in the Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations, 1699-1730," in *Türkiye-Polonya İlişkilerinde "Temas alanları" 1414-2014 Uluslararası Konferansı bildiler kitabı, 06-07 Haziran 2014, Varşova*, ed. Hacer Topaktaş and Natalia Królikowska, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, VIII. Dizi-Sayı: 20 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2017), 528.

⁷ I thank for this remark Tomasz Hen-Konarski.

⁸ For this triad of goods, people and information and the importance of peace, see Jan de Vries, "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World," *The Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 710.

⁹ The most popular are Janusz Woliński, *Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich*, wyd. 1 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1983); and Janusz Pajewski, *Buńczuk i koncerz: z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich*, wyd. 1, Biblioteka Wiedzy Historycznej (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1960) the latter published as many as five times between 1960 and 1997.

¹⁰ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations: An Annotated Edition of 'Abdnames and Other Documents*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, vol. 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Hacer Topaktaş, *Osmanlı-Lehistan diplomatik ilişkileri: Franciszek Piotr Potocki'nin İstanbul elçiliği, 1788-1793*, vol. Sayı 23, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. IV/A-2.2. dizi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014). The latter book was recently translated into Polish; Hacer Topaktaş, *Osmańsko-polskie stosunki dyplomatyczne: poselstwo Franciszka Piotra Potockiego do Stambułu (1788-1793)* (Kraków: Universitas, 2017).

von Ranke and does not fill the gap of the lack of actor-centered narratives. Wasiucionek's work, on the other hand, situated within the field of transnational, cultural history and patronage studies belongs to the first monographs focusing on cross-border Ottoman-Polish connectivity from a fresh perspective.¹¹

Polish historiography, although focused on the seventeenth century wars, has displayed an ample interest in the Polish presence in the Ottoman Empire, and the cultural exchanges in the borderland. Already mentioned Jan Reychman crafted a book on the Polish presence in Istanbul in the eighteenth century.¹² Written partly on sources that did not survive WWII, Reychman's book has a disillusioned allure of post-war historiography, with a negative approach to the topic and an understanding of the eighteenth century as century of decay and intellectual mediocrity. Other scholars, however, most notably Bohdan Baranowski and Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski have suggested that with the eighteenth century opened the time of curiosity, connectivity and imaginative transformation of Ottomans in the Polish imagination from a dangerous neighbor into a possible ally.¹³ My own article on a cross-border noble family, active in Polish and Ottoman lands simultaneously, suggested further to switch the focus from the actual borders to their thriving social, cultural and material life, which got a stimulus with the enduring *pax Polono-Ottomanica*.¹⁴

In the Turkish memory and historiography, however, apart from Topaktaş' works, contacts with Poland are almost non-existent, and there is an apparent imbalance between how Poles and Turks remember Ottoman-Polish interactions.¹⁵ The Library of the Center for Islamic Studies (ISAM) in Istanbul has on its first floor, within the social science collection, an entire collection of books on the relations between Ottomans and every possible foreign state. The Venetian-Ottoman encounters take several entire shelves while Ottoman-Polish history is represented by just a few books, and recent exhibition catalogs celebrating six hundred years of Polish-Turkish relations.¹⁶ This imbalance is also clearly visible in translations as works on Ottoman-Venetian relations are being translated into Turkish,

¹¹ Michał Wasiucionek, "Politics and Watermelons: Cross-Border Political Networks in the Polish-Moldavian-Ottoman Context in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D., European University Institute, 2016).

¹² Jan Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959).

¹³ Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, Prace Wydziału II - Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych / Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych 3 (Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1950); Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski, "Na pograniczu świata Islamu," in *Rzeczpospolita wielu nyznań*, ed. Adam Kaźmierczyk et al. (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2004), 437–440.

¹⁴ Mariusz Kaczka, "The Gentry of the Ottoman-Polish Borderlands: The Case of the Moldavian-Polish Family of Turkul/Turculeț," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 104 (2011): 129–150.

¹⁵ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, XVI.

¹⁶ Selmin Kangal, ed., *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries* (İstanbul: Fako İlaçları AŞ, 1999); *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations* (İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2014); Hacer Topaktaş and Natalia Królikowska, eds., *Türkiye - Polonya ilişkilerinde "temas alanları" 1414 - 2014 uluslararası konferans: bildiriler kitabı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. VIII. dizi; sayı 20 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2017); Robert Born et al., eds., *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* (Brussels: Ostfildern: BOZAR Books; Hatje Cantz, 2015).

those on Ottoman-Polish interactions are not.¹⁷ This book fills this gap and interrogates the peaceful Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century from an actor-centered perspective.

The historiography has been supported recently by popular culture and the unprecedented success of the *Mühbeteşem yüzyıl* or ‘Magnificent Century’ a Turkish soap opera watched all over the world that made Ottoman history popular and accessible. As Elif Batuman suggests in *The New Yorker*, the ‘Magnificent Century’ is a part of a wider phenomenon called ‘Ottomania’ that began in Turkey itself as ‘a proliferation of Ottoman cookbooks, Ottoman-style bathroom consoles, wedding invitations with Ottoman calligraphy, and graduation gown and flight-attendant uniform designs inspired by caftans and fezzes.’¹⁸ Batuman also emphasized that the return to Ottoman heritage is intimately linked with Erdoğan’s rise to power and an attempt to move on from Kemalism to an Ottoman identity that could comfortably accommodate minorities in Turkey. This is connected not only, as Batuman suggests, with the new Turkish policy of getting involved everywhere Ottomans went on horseback, but also with an influential cultural diplomacy in places that did not belong to the Ottoman Empire. It is best visible on the example of the four-hundred anniversary of Ottoman-Polish relations celebrated in 2014 that resulted in an abundance of conferences and exhibitions generously supported by the Turkish and Polish governments. Thanks to them, research on Ottoman-Polish encounters received a positive stimulus, and the Muslim and Christian parts of the Mediterranean are considered more than ever not as separate units, but rather interconnected zones of contact.

Benoe’s Persona and Archive: Benoe Makes a Notebook

This book was first and foremost conceptualized around the person and archive of Paweł Benoe alias Paul Benoît (ca. 1685-1755).¹⁹ Benoe was born as a son of a non-noble French engineer of possible Huguenot descent and a Polish noblewoman. The origins of his family remain in the shadows, and it is so possibly because he did not want to remember them. Benoe liked drawing pedigree charts of various noble families, and his complexes are best visible in them: the chart of his family starts from his father, the first in his family to reach noble status, whereas those of other Polish noble families are long and elaborate.²⁰ Like his father Charles Benoît who taught him how to draw, design and count profits, Benoe

¹⁷ Most notably two most important works by Natalie Rothman and Eric Dursteler were recently translated into Turkish. E. Natalie Rothman, *İmparatorluk simsarları: Venedik-İstanbul arasında mekik dokuyanlar*, Koç Üniversitesi yayınları; 83 (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016); Eric R. Dursteler, *İstanbul’daki Venedikliler: yeniçağ başlarında Akdeniz’de millet, kimlik ve bir arada varoluş*, 1. baskı (İstanbul: Türk İş Bankası Kültür yayınları, 2012).

¹⁸ Elif Batuman, “Ottomania: A Hit TV Show Reimagines Turkey’s Imperial Past,” *The New Yorker*, February 10, 2014, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/02/17/ottomania>. (last retrieved: 5.12.2018)

¹⁹ Władysław Konopczyński, “Paweł Benoe, herbu Taczala,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności, 1935), 437–439.

²⁰ SL, fond 145, ms. 84, f. 143v (Benoe’s family tree), f. 124v-125r (Benoe’s granddaughter Julianna’s pedigree chart).

served the influential Potocki family which in the eighteenth century owned half of what is today Ukraine.²¹ Both families remained strongly connected; at his castle in Bursztyn, Benoe had ceremonial paintings of his family and those of Józef Potocki, Palatine of Kiev and his wife and when Potocki's wife passed away, Benoe gave a speech at her funeral.²² Benoe served Józef Potocki as a scribe. He had remarkably clear handwriting and was able to write in more than one style. Together with Potocki, Benoe spent several years in the Ottoman Empire as a Polish exile protected by the Ottomans during a civil war in Poland-Lithuania. During his numerous travels from the provincial Ottoman town of Bender through the Palatinates of Moldavia and Walachia to Istanbul, Benoe learned Turkish and met his future wife, Marianne Paleologus. With his wife, Benoe exchanged letters in a curious mixture of half Polish and half Turkish, a love language that was accessible only to them.

Benoe's story would not be as extraordinary as it sounds if it were not for his conserved private archive and rather unusual sources preserved within it. While browsing through Benoe's envoyship's papers for the first time, I came across a notebook of half octavo size. Faded ink on the first page allowed me just with difficulty to read a first-person narrative, Benoe's thoughts on Polish nobles in the Ottoman Empire, the diplomatic world of Istanbul and –a constant presence in Benoe's notes– financial ideas on, for instance, tax-free shopping in Istanbul. (see illustration 1) I was captivated and tried to understand this unusual source better. Benoe also wrote his thoughts and ideas down extensively; he obsessively wrote on the backs of letters, drafted shopping lists and letters more than once before sending them off. Benoe wrote down speeches delivered in public in Poland-Lithuania and in front of the Sultan during the audience and made never-ending improvements to his writings in his clear hand.

Benoe was an ambitious self-achiever that was not happy with his social standing within the Polish-Lithuanian noble society. Humble in the beginnings of his career, he climbed the social ladder continuously.²³ Minor offices in the Palatinate of Podolia that he occupied one after another were not enough for his ambitions. Benoe became frustrated and wanted more. The Potocki family's support allowed him to become the Deputy and then Chief Crown Prosecutor (*instygator koronny*), an office he used to ingrain his person and identity into the noble imagination of Poland-Lithuania. Cunning and intelligent, he used this office mercilessly to extend his landed possessions. The methods he used were not always on the happy side. Benoe observed the family and financial situation of his neighbors for example; once the head of a family passed away and the family got into quarrels and financial troubles, he offered to purchase their villages with ready cash. Through this way or another, Benoe accumulated

²¹ See for instance 'Maxime de fortificacion' in Charles' hand, in SL, fond 145, ms. 60, f. 78f, 90r (Benoe's notes).

²² „Regestr rzeczy po śmierci Świętej Pamięci Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Pawła na Bursztynie i Rogoźnie Benoe, kasztelana warszawskiego, męża mego kochanego pozostałych według obowiązku prawa spisany w Bursztynie,” 20 VIII 1755, SL, fond 145, ms. 101, part 14, f. 5v.

²³ This is best visible in the letters dispatch to Benoe by his patron Józef Potocki; early letters use a simple incipit used for servants, the last letters from 1751 are addressed like to a peer, see, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 4.

around forty villages and cities close to the Ottoman border and called himself, in his notebook, a ‘borderland lord.’²⁴ However, this was still not enough for his ambition – Benoe wanted more.

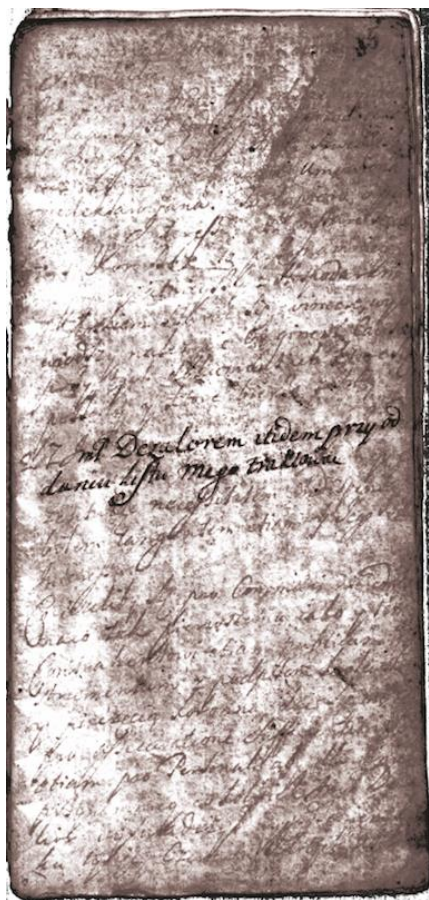


Illustration 1: First page of Benoe’s notebook. The sentence in darker ink reads: “When in Istanbul, I shall speak with Monsieur Des Alleurs [French ambassador in Istanbul] when handing him over my letter.” I thank Ewa Górska for her help in enhancing the quality of this photocopy. SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 5v. Courtesy of the Stefanyk Library in L’viv.

With working experience as a scribe in military administration with Potocki, and of organizing, selecting, documenting and excerpting, Benoe turned his eyes to the central court. In the late 1730s, the bureaucrat Benoe documented compensations due to Polish landowners by the Russians for destructions caused in the Russian invasion of the Ottoman-Polish borderland. In around three hundred pages, Benoe diligently collected documents and wrote down a summary in another half octavo notebook.²⁵ Benoe proved useful to the court and soon obtained another appointment, this time as a Polish commissioner for the new delineation in the triple boundary between Poland-Lithuania, Russia and Ottoman Empire. With diligence and painstaking attention to detail, he assembled documents, this time illustrating the Ottoman-Polish border.²⁶ However, Benoe still wanted more. Benoe published a newsletter indicating that an envoy in Istanbul could regulate the Ottoman-Polish-Russian border. This method worked, and

²⁴ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 14v.

²⁵ SL, fond 145, ms. 22, f. 242v-248v.

²⁶ Polish collector Konstanty Świdziński acquired probably this manuscript (or a copy of it) in the nineteenth century. Together with almost eight thousand other manuscripts of the Krasiński Family Entail Collection it was burned down by Nazi forces in October 1944. Existing manuscripts and correspondence, however, allow a reconstruction of its content. On the manuscript (BOK, ms. 3820), see: Julian Bartoszewicz, “Konstanty Świdziński i jego wieczysta fundacja,” *Biblioteka Warszawska* 2 (1857): 739.

although the king's council considered several candidates, Benoe gained the new appointment. Benoe drove a hard bargain and agreed to leave for Istanbul only after the Crown Polish chancellor Żaluski repeatedly promised him the first free castellany in the Polish Crown.²⁷ Benoe's ambition was clear: to enter central administration, the king's council and the senate of Poland-Lithuania. In order to do so, he used his talents as a bureaucrat, information master, and multilingual diplomat.

Benoe regarded both appointments concerned with the Ottomans as the most important offices in his career. He accentuated both of them in an inscription on a painting that he commissioned shortly after his return from Istanbul, a painting that his wife kept in the so-called 'gray room,' surrounded by Catholic religious and Turkish decorative paintings (illustration 2).²⁸ In the inscription, Benoe claims to be 'from the *Republica Polona*, well-known for his distinguished service, and unique expertise in many things, [...] famous among the compatriots and foreigners.' Benoe then goes on to list some of the offices he held in the provinces of Poland-Lithuania neighboring the Ottoman Empire and self-fashioning as a bureaucrat and diplomat active in multiple missions. Two missions that the inscription invokes are those to set the borders with Ottomans that resulted in the king sending him urgently to the Sultan. Hence the inscription points out Benoe's considerable oriental expertise. Benoe's oriental experiences were also visible at his castle in two paintings depicting his audience with the Sultan.²⁹

²⁷ Letter of Andrzej Żaluski, Crown chancellor to Paweł Benoe, on the way to Chełmża, 19 VII 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 2, f. 19r and other letters there.

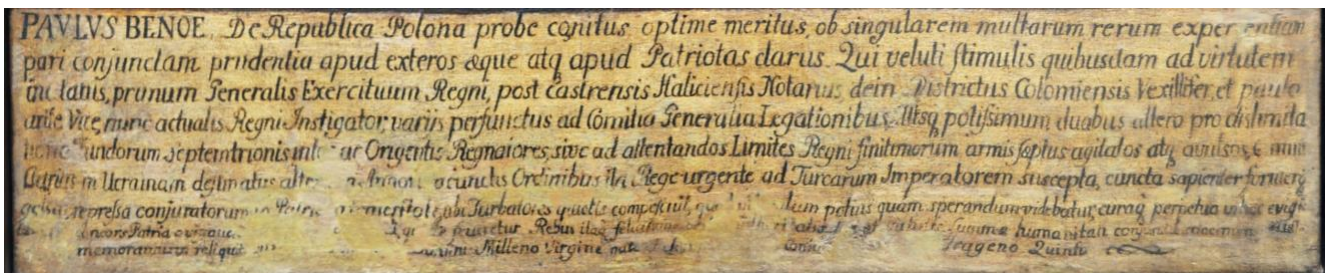
²⁸ The painting is listed in Marianne's inventory, BJ, ms. 7925 IV, f. 45r.

²⁹ Benoe's inventory, composed under the supervision of his wife, lists 'two paintings depicting the audience with the Ottoman Sultan during the envoyship of my late husband', SL, fond 145, ms. 101, part 14, 5v. Other envoys commissioned paintings too. For a reference to a painting depicting Sierakowski's entry to Istanbul in 1732 see Klemens Rodziewicz, *Katalog zbioru obrazów oraz innych przedmiotów sztuki znajdujących się w posiadaniu rodziny Hrabionów Sierakowskich w Wąpławie (Prusy Zachodnie)* (Poznań: Nakład i drukiem J. I. Kraszewskiego Dr. W. Łebński, 1879), object 29.



Illustration 2: Portrait of Benoe by an unknown painter. It was probably painted in 1745, after his mission to Istanbul. MNK, I-360. Photo: Ewa Górska. Courtesy of the National Museum in Kraków.

Illustration 3: Inscription under Benoe's painting. Photo: Ewa Górska. Courtesy of the National Museum in Kraków.



Benoe made an oriental career in Poland-Lithuania and left a rich archive behind, but the person and sources of one individual are not enough to illustrate all the convoluted aspects of the rich Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century. In order to reach a multiplicity of perspective, I combined in this book Benoe's archive with manuscripts and other materials found in thirty state and private archives that best illustrate the story of Ottoman-Polish encounters. The other actors that appear on the pages of this book are richly documented diplomats, mediators, and go-betweens – actors that made the Ottoman-Polish encounters possible. Many of them left behind entire private archives, like Francesco Crescenzo Giuliani, Polish dragoman, whose papers are conserved today in Kraków, or Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, Ottoman border governor whose archive is today preserved in Moscow. Archives of others, like that of the Palatine of Podolia Stefan Humiecki, got dispersed during WWII; luckily papers of the Grand Crown hetman Adam Sieniawski are today intact. Giuliani, Kolchak, Humiecki, and Sieniawski appear on a regular basis on the pages of this book, and their archives augment Benoe's papers and provide the

necessary context to Benoe's writings and legacy. In order to provide Benoe's diplomatic persona with context, I decided to use rich sources on three other diplomatic missions to Istanbul, that of Józef Sierakowski (1732/1733), Jan Mniszech (1754/1755) and Podoski (1759/1760). These sources supplement Benoe's archive and provide rich details used in chapters on Istanbul and high diplomacy.

Methodologies

How to tell a diplomatic history that is not state-oriented? What research method is the most efficient one to use the rich multilingual early modern diplomatic sources and the private archives at stake? One of the best methods to write the history of encounters between two neighboring regions and their inhabitants on different scales is the *histoire croisée* or *Verflechtungsgeschichte*, an idea developed over a decade by Bénédicte Zimmermann and Michael Werner.³⁰ The *histoire croisée* deals principally with cultural intersections, 'acknowledges plurality and the complex configurations,' and does not simplify the image but rather makes it more complex by looking at different scales and points of reference. It presupposes that during, for instance, a human encounter 'something occurs within the crossing point' and that this occurrence creates change and a lasting process. The *histoire croisée* not only takes, the encounter in itself under the microscope but the consequences, too. Individuals that come into contact, moreover, do not 'remain intact and identical in the form'; they influence each other either reciprocally or unilaterally while interacting.³¹ This focus on the active crossing or encounter and the social and cultural implications thereof is the hallmark of the *histoire croisée*. This book is informed by the tradition of *histoire croisée* and looks at the Ottoman-Polish encounters and their lasting influence within both interrogated societies. Thanks to this approach it is possible to change the perspective from a state-centered to an actor-centered and also to highlight the tensions between the actors, and, for instance, possibilities of social advancements offered outside of the state structures.

Are the early modern diplomats to be seen – as recently suggested by Jan Hennings – as a proxy, an emanation of the rulers they represented, and puppets in the play of prescribed rituals and ceremonial that made the early modern European politics?³² Whose interests did they represent and with whom did

³⁰ For the programmatic texts that illustrate the development of the idea, see: Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der *histoire croisée* und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 4 (2002): 607–36; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'*histoire croisée*: entre empirie et réflexivité," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58e année, no. 1 (February 1, 2003): 7–36; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 2006): 30–50, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2006.00347.x>.

³¹ Werner and Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison," 38–39.

³² Jan Hennings, *Russia and Courtly Europe: Ritual and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1648-1725*, New Studies in European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 90.

they identify? Diplomats, go-betweens and transborder mediators active in Ottoman-Polish encounters had their own personal cross-border networks, difficult loyalties, and convoluted patronage-like relationships. They used their official diplomatic standing, like Benoe did, as means for self-fashioning and reaching their own career goals. The relationship between a ruler and a diplomat was often symbolic and in unconventional diplomatic systems, like those of the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania, the diplomat often had little contact with the ruler.³³ Recently, in the wake of the ‘new diplomatic history,’ historians have stressed that ‘not only the relations between governments and diplomats should be researched, but instead the interactions and interdependencies between a multitude of actors.’³⁴ The focus is now no longer on diplomats and governments, but increasingly on non-state actors considered previously irrelevant.

This approach, however, creates another problem that I call ‘the problem of overabundance.’ How to draw a line –what sources to use and what not to use– if working on state and non-state actors? What cases studies to focus on and what to ignore? As the best panacea against this problem, I see the traditions of the *microstoria italiana*.³⁵ Developed in the 1970s and 1980s, the Italian school of microhistory focused increasingly on richly documented individuals in the past whose stories could illuminate, not the great man, but the lost peoples of Europe. In his celebrated book ‘The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller’ Carlo Ginzburg focused on a single actor – Domenico Scandella aka Menocchio – a self-educated miller, that probably owned –like Benoe did– a copy of the Quran and had unusual opinions on theology.³⁶ Ginzburg used Menocchio’s case to trace the relations between popular and high cultures and to shed light on an original, but obscure individual life in the past. Ginzburg’s way of writing is emotionally loaded and allows the readers to recognize the uncertainties, choices and the non-static creativity of the actors in the past. In another study, ‘Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist’ Giovanni Levi embarked on an investigation of Giovanni Battista Chiesa’s life that served, however, just as a springboard to an analytical study of social behaviors in a small town of the

³³ For Ottoman diplomacy see Ahmed Nuri Yurdusev, ed., *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, Studies in Diplomacy (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); for Polish diplomacy see Zbigniew Wójcik, Gerard Labuda, and Józef Gierowski, eds., *Historia dyplomacji polskiej: 1572-1795*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982).

³⁴ Christian Windler and Hillard von Thiesen, eds., “Einleitung: Außenbeziehungen in akteurzentrierter Perspektive,” in *Akteure der Aussenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, Externa, Bd. 1 (Köln: Böhlau, 2010), 2; for a programmatic text see John Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-2007-016>. For a useful overview of the growing body of literature in field of the new diplomatic history, see: <https://newdiplomatichistory.org/literature/> (retrieved: 12.06.2018).

³⁵ For a useful introduction see Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, 2nd ed. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 97–119; Francesca Trivellato, “Is There a Future to Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?,” *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–24; for Alltagsgeschichte see Alf Lüdtke, ed., *Alltagsgeschichte: zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen* (Frankfurt ; New York: Campus, 1989) (especially texts by Alf Lüdtke and Hans Medick); for the microscopique approach see Jacques Revel, “Micro-analyse et construction du social,” in *Jeux d’échelles: la micro-analyse à l’expérience*, Hautes études (Paris: Gallimard : Seuil, 1996), 15–36.

³⁶ Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500*, Einaudi paperbacks 65 (Torino: Einaudi, 1976).

seventeenth century Piedmont.³⁷ In both these cases, microhistory as a method serves to illustrate and give a human face to historical processes that escape grand narratives.

Similar to Ginzburg and Levi, I put in the center of this book the ‘normal exceptional’ (to use the oxymoron coined by Edoardo Grendi), the richly documented and representative individuals from the past, like Benoe, whose ‘testimony is exceptional as it reflects a normality, so normal that it often remained unknown’ or untold.³⁸ Benoe’s story is a normal exceptional, but it is a story of many transregional go-betweens and diplomats who did not leave a rich paper trail and escape the attention of history writing. Microhistory is, as the German historian Otto Ulbricht suggests, first and foremost human history.³⁹ It developed as a new path of historical inquiry against the French traditions of the Annales school that pressed the individual between the wheels of *longue durée* historical processes. As simplistic as it may sound, Benoe and other cross-border actors were humans made of flesh and blood that used diverse opportunities available to them in the borderland to gain a living, simply to live a better life or ascend in the society. Benoe and other Ottoman and Polish go-betweens used their skills and languages allowing them with ease to transgress cultural boundaries and to go global.

In the recent ten years or so the microhistorical approach is increasingly in dialogue with global history.⁴⁰ In 2010 the historian of China, Tonio Andrade, coined the concept of global microhistory, a biographical and microhistorical approach that should ‘help populate our models and theories with real people, to write what one might call global microhistory.’⁴¹ Andrade’s article stimulated a fruitful discussion on how to implement microhistory in the global age.⁴² Soon after its publication, John-Paul Ghobrial warned us that in haste to fill large models with individual stories ‘we risk finding ourselves in a world populated by faceless globetrotters, colourless chameleons, and invisible boundary crossers, individuals stretched so far out of any local, confessional or personal context as to make them little more than panes of glass through which to view the worlds in which they lived.’⁴³ Ghobrial’s insightful criticism

³⁷ Giovanni Levi, *L’eredità immateriale: carriera di un esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento*, *Microstorie* 10 (Torino: Einaudi, 1985).

³⁸ Edoardo Grendi, “Ripensare la microstoria?,” *Quaderni storici. Nuova serie* 29, no. 86 (2) (1994): 232.

³⁹ Otto Ulbricht, *Mikrogeschichte: Menschen und Konflikte in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus Verlag, 2009), pt. 1: *Mikrogeschichte als Menschengeschichte*.

⁴⁰ Natalie Z. Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (London: HarperPress, 2007); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2011); for a useful and early overview, see Francesca Trivellato, “Microstoria, storia del mondo e storia globale,” in *Microstoria: a venticinque anni da L’eredità immateriale*, ed. Paola Lanaro, *Temi di storia* 167 (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2011), 119–31.

⁴¹ Tonio Andrade, “A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory,” *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2010): 574.

⁴² Maryam Patton, “Global Microhistory: One or Two Things That I Know About It,” *JHIBlog* (blog), September 9, 2015, <https://jhiblog.org/2015/09/09/global-microhistory-one-or-two-things-that-i-know-about-it/> (last retrieved: 5.12.2018).

⁴³ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, “The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory,” *Past & Present* 222, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 59, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtt024>; see also a discussion between Hans Medick and Giovanni Levi Hans Medick, “Turning Global? Microhistory in Extension,” *Historische Anthropologie* 24, no. 2 (January 1, 2016): 241–52, <https://doi.org/10.7788/ha-2016-0206>; Giovanni Levi, “Globale Mikrogeschichte als „Renaissance“? Ein Kommentar zu Hans Medick,” *Historische Anthropologie* 25, no. 1 (May 24, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.7788/ha-2017-0108>.

points out the risks of global microhistory with a biographical scope that might obfuscate the individuals in the past, and tear them unnecessarily out of their historical context.⁴⁴ There are, however, remedies against that problem.

Similar to microhistory, global microhistory was born out of the frustration with a faceless global history that focused on traveling commodities or flows of resources but forgot the individual in the past. Classical microhistory, on the other hand, puts stress on close study of the historical evidence, on chasing truffles almost in a detective-like manner, intensive research through close, zoomed-in readings of few extraordinary documents that often prove more revealing than study of serial and repetitive material.⁴⁵ This style of close readings gives the best results if combined with the biographical approach, and focuses on the ‘normal exceptional’ individuals that illustrate these possibilities. The method of writing and composing global microhistorical stories of individuals requires a solid dose of imagination – a historically rooted imagination that can fill the gaps in a narrative based on never complete historical sources.⁴⁶ This way of composing a microhistorical text is close to Nathalie Z. Davis’s concept of the narrative of ‘possibilities’ ‘held tightly in check by the voices of the past.’⁴⁷ In this book, I counter the problems of source incompleteness by not adhering to the same past actor (Benoe) but by introducing a multiplicity of perspectives through other actors that enrich this way the narrative and illustrate the possibilities with historical actors and their choices and not just imagination. This way the narrative remains closer with the sources and avoids the many ‘mights’ and ‘mays.’

In the chase for global individuals whose lives spanned several continents, historians seem to have forgotten zones of contact that created similar lives just within Europe and the Middle East. I consider the individuals discussed on the pages of this book to be global because of their multilingualism, high mobility in space and perplexed transcultural belongings. Benoe was deeply rooted in the Polish and French culture, but he felt at ease with Ottomans at his embassy building and in Turkish culture. Benoe easily moved between cultures, read the Quran at home, and collected multilingual dictionaries. Dragoman Giuliani traveled on a regular basis between Warsaw, Dresden, and Istanbul and lived with one foot in the Christian, and with another in the Muslim world. Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, an Ottoman governor of Hotin with a fluent knowledge of Polish, and Moldavian background lived in the borderland,

⁴⁴ For a similar argument and a plea to look not only at “acts and functions of the go-between”, but also at their “interiority and subjectivity” see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Some Afterthoughts,” in *The Brokered World*, ed. Simon Schaffer et al. (Sagamore Beach, Mass.: Science History Publications, 2009), 439.

⁴⁵ Edward Muir, “Introduction: Observing the Trifles,” in *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, Selections from Quaderni Storici (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), X.

⁴⁶ On the imagination see Andrade, “A Chinese Farmer,” 591; and Mark Gamsa, “Biography and (Global) Microhistory,” *New Global Studies* 11, no. 3 (December 20, 2017): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ngs-2017-0024>.

⁴⁷ Natalie Z. Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 5; see also Robert Finlay, “The Return of Martin Guerre: The Refashioning of Martin Guerre,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (1988): 553–571; Natalie Z. Davis, “On the Lame,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (1988): 572–603.

but his network of correspondents encompassed half of Poland-Lithuania and reached to Versailles. His and other lives illuminated on the pages of this book display the extent of possibilities for multilingual go-betweens on the crossroads between the Ottoman and the Polish realms. Or did perhaps both realms stand closer to each other than previously assumed and did those individuals live in a shared space? Was perhaps Poland-Lithuania or at least parts of it a part of the cultural Mediterranean?⁴⁸

Was There a Polish Mediterranean?

In his seminal work on the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II, Fernand Braudel suggested strong connections between the core Mediterranean and four cultural isthmi in the North: the Russian, Polish, German and French. Braudel suggested overlapping influences between north and south, but used several arguments, mostly of culinary and climatic nature, to highlight the differences: dry vs. green landscape, wheeled vs. mule train transport, orchards and vineyards vs. thick forests, etc. Then he went on to indicate that the North was always dominated by ‘beer and drinks made from fermented grain’ and it was a strange place for the Southerners where ‘wine was a luxury, to be had only at unbelievable prices.’⁴⁹ In the following pages, Braudel analyzed West-East and South-North trade. In the end, he addressed the *Pax Polono-Ottomanica* and remarked that Polish-Ottoman relations were peaceful, ‘which is [however] not sufficient to explain the curious spread through Poland of fashions in costume and sumptuous tents from Turkey, of which one can still see examples in museums.’⁵⁰ Braudel considered Poland-Lithuania as a neighboring region, not as an inherent part of the classical or core Mediterranean, as a place, however, where many aspects of the Mediterranean culture were present.

The Mediterranean is a place of interaction, exchange, and cultural flexibility. By crossing the sea, peoples of the Mediterranean facilitated the circulation of objects, information, and people;⁵¹ the mobility,

⁴⁸ My definition of culture is anthropological. To Geertz the culture concept “denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitude toward life.” We can add to this Malinowski’s classical assumption of culture as “a new, secondary, or artificial environment” created by men and different from nature. But culture is also dynamically produced (Latour), “[a] culture is simultaneously that which makes people act.” See Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 89; Bronislaw Malinowski, “What Is Culture,” in *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 37; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 168. For the Mediterranean culture see below.

⁴⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, second edition, vol. 1 (London: Collins, 1972), 189–90.

⁵⁰ Braudel, 1:202.

⁵¹ Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanoú, “The Sea, Its People and Their Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century,” in *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, ed. Konstantina Zanoú and Maurizio Isabella (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 2; I trace the triad of “objects, information and people”, permanently repeated by historians, back to postcolonial studies see Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, “Einleitung: Geteilte Geschichten - Europa in einer

circulation of goods, people, ideas and practices in a cultural space marked by the sea defines the basics of what the Mediterranean is until today. Other aspects that researchers often repeated in connection to the Mediterranean are the labels of ‘singularity’ and ‘the unity in diversity.’⁵² This steady and stable concept of the Mediterranean came, however, under heavy fire after Braudel’s book was translated into English.

In the latest research on the Mediterranean, historians pointed toward other regions that possessed exactly the same binding, blending and connecting cultural elements as the Mediterranean did. This new perspective and the Mediterranean as a conceptual framework originated in Nicholas Purcell’s and Peregrine Horden’s work “The Corrupting Sea.”⁵³ Inspired by their work, David Abulafia suggested speaking not of one Mediterranean but many ‘Mediterraneans.’ Abulafia went as far as to nickname the Baltic Sea as the ‘Mediterranean of the North’ and considered the Sahara Desert as a ‘Neighbouring Mediterranean.’⁵⁴ The Italian economic historian Robert S. Lopez went even further than Abulafia, comparing Jutland to the Italian peninsula, the location and role of Lübeck and Hamburg to that of Venice and Genoa, and saw strong similarities in the economic processes in the North and the South.⁵⁵ In the early 2010s, a group of Polish and international scholars asked the provocative question if Poland, in its historical and modern dimension lies on the Mediterranean.⁵⁶ This scholarship suggests multiple early modern Mediterranean realities, with the core Mediterranean, the second Mediterranean (Black Sea) and the Mediterranean of the North (Baltic Sea).⁵⁷ In the spatial triangle between those three seas lies Poland-Lithuania and Ottoman Europe that in the eighteenth century belonged to a shared cultural space.

It is, of course, a much too far going idea to include Poland-Lithuania in the cultural Mediterranean. However, art historians have pointed out time and again that the southern provinces of Poland-Lithuania abutted to Ottoman lands had a stronger tendency than other parts of Poland to absorb the southern material culture, ‘styles of dress, weaponry, armor, and Turkish as well as Armenian textiles.’⁵⁸ Inspired by that and when conceptualizing this idea, I asked the question ‘What is Mediterranean culture to you?’ to forty researchers with diverse background and from different countries

postkolonialen Welt,” in *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Shalini Randeria and Sebastian Conrad (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verl., 2002), 17.

⁵² David Gilmore, “Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (January 1, 1982): 181.

⁵³ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

⁵⁴ David Abulafia, “Mediterraneans,” in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William V. Harris (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 78.

⁵⁵ Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 113.

⁵⁶ Robert Kusek et al., *Does Poland lie on the Mediterranean? = Czy Polska leży nad Morzem Śródziemnym?* (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2012).

⁵⁷ In a similar vein with emphasis on connectivity, see Achim Lichtenberger and Constance von Rüden, “Introduction: Multiple Mediterranean Realities. Spaces, Resources and Connectivities,” in *Multiple Mediterranean Realities: Current Approaches to Spaces, Resources, and Connectivities*, ed. Achim Lichtenberger and Constance von Rüden, *Mittelmeerstudien* 6 (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink : Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 9–13.

⁵⁸ Carolyn C. Guile, “‘According to the Polish Sky and Customs’: Theories of Art and Architecture in Early Modern Poland” (Ph.D., Princeton University, 2005), 53, 63, 90.

(Poland, Italy, France, Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, USA, Israel, the Netherlands, Germany). Eighty percent of the respondents answered that the Mediterranean culture can be defined through its food, and climate, distinct from northern Europe or any other region.⁵⁹ These general aspects of the Mediterranean culture originate in Braudel's work. The Mediterranean cuisine and food are often described as 'distinctive and appealing to everyone who encountered it.'⁶⁰ Many of the Mediterranean ingredients, however, entered early the Polish cuisine through the contacts with the Ottomans.⁶¹ These influences are even more striking in the vocabulary. Today, the words for sour cherries or tobacco in Polish are Turkish loanwords; Turks also introduced watermelons and coffee to Poland-Lithuania, the latter an integral part of Ottoman ceremonial.⁶² The sheer number of Ottoman and Turkish loanwords in Polish filled recently over five hundred pages of a comprehensive dictionary.⁶³ If the history of food seems to be clear, the other aspect mentioned by the respondents, the climate is a distinct story.

A Sea of Grasslands

The Mediterranean culture filtered through Ottoman hands transpired through the border to southern Polish provinces easier than other influences from the North, East or West. The climate of the southern palatinates of Poland-Lithuania was distinct from the dry and rigid Mediterranean climate. The grass steppes of Polish Ukraine had a semi-arid climate with periodic droughts, heavy rainfall in the summer, harsh winters, and extremely fertile soil.⁶⁴ Flat steppe grass plains of the Palatinates of Ruthenia, Podolia, Braclaw, and Kijów, however, facilitated early modern travel between the North and the South. These unexplored social and cultural connections between North and South are the subjects of this book.

A horse rider coming from Kraków and heading towards the Ottoman-Polish border had to ride east through Tarnów to Przemyśl, one of the regional centers. The rider followed the rather flat terrain and traveled along the royal postal roads established in the 1630s that were slowly being fixed and

⁵⁹ Unrepresentative questionnaire of forty researchers and professors of diverse disciplines in the humanities conducted throughout eight months in 2017 and 2018.

⁶⁰ Carol Helstosky, *Food Culture in the Mediterranean*, Food Culture around the World (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 2009), 2.

⁶¹ See the first Polish cook book from 1682 that describes many ingredients as Turkish Stanislaw Czerniecki, *Compendium Ferculorum or Collection of Dishes*, ed. Jaroslaw Dumanowski, trans. Magdalena Sychaj (Warszawa: Muzeum Palac w Wilanowie, 2014).

⁶² Stanislaw Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcyzmów w języku polskim* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), 12–13, 214.

⁶³ Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcyzmów*.

⁶⁴ I use the term Ukraine along the lines of its contemporary eighteenth century meaning and distinguish a Polish Ukraine and Russian Ukraine divided along the Dnieper river after the Truce of Andruszowo of 1667. For the meaning of Ukraine accepted by Western cartographers see Zenon E. Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (December 1, 1986): 564.

extended in the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ By the eighteenth century, the thick forests on the way were cleared, and the terrain was covered mostly with grasses reaching to the horizon, with frequent marshes. The further east the rider went, the flatter the terrain that resembles a true sea of grasslands. Roads were not hardened, and their state depended on weather conditions. In the summer, they often changed into muddy channels; in the winter, low temperatures facilitated travel but could have hampered it too through intensive snowfall.⁶⁶ Riding close to the foothills the rider was accompanied by the view of the Carpathian mountain ranges that extended to the south of Kraków and created a natural barrier for any traveler from Kraków to Przemyśl. (see illustration 4 and 5).



Illustration 4 : Detail from the ‘Carte des frontières de Pologne et de Russie, contenant la partie méridionale de l’Ukraine et la cours du Dnieper depuis Kiovie jusqu’à la Samara’ by G. A. B. Rizzi-Zannoni from 1772 (part 19). It depicts the roads along the Carpathians from Przemyśl in north-west towards Sambor in the south east and Lwów/Lviv.

⁶⁵ Franciszek Jakubowski, Zofia Modlińska, and Monika Warneńska, eds., *400 lat Poczty Polskiej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Komunikacyjne, 1958), 32–33, 44.

⁶⁶ Jan Stanisław Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Trzaska, Evert i Michalski, 1933), 549. The nobles often denoted roads as ‘bloody’ (*krawa droga*) to highlight bad travelling conditions.



Illustration 5: Detail from the ‘Carte des frontières de Pologne et de Russie, contenant la partie méridionale de l’Ukraine et la cours du Dnieper depuis Kiovie jusqu’à la Samara’ by G. A. B. Rizzi-Zannoni from 1772 (No. 19) depicting the path from Kamieniec Podolski to Żwaniec and the ottoman fortress of Hotin (marked as ‘Choczim’) and the road systems.

The passages through the Carpathian valleys were not many and required knowledge of the terrain and mountain paths, similar to the passages that linked northern Italian lands with southern Germany. South of Przemyśl the Carpathians turn south and opens possibilities to the rider to take different roads into the grasslands. (see illustration 4) The most popular path, taken for instance repeatedly by a female ophthalmologist Salomea Pilsztynowa, led to Lwów and from there further to Kamieniec Podolski, the capital of Podolia and an vital trade center adjacent to Ottoman lands. Travel from Lwów to Kamieniec was not difficult and led through the Podolian plateau with its warm continental climate; Pilsztynowa mentions the travel from Lwów to Kamieniec in her detailed travel diary and memoir in just a sentence.⁶⁷ From there Pilsztynowa traveled to the last Polish military outpost in Żwaniec to cross the Ottoman-Polish border. Pilsztynowa, traveling to Istanbul to become an ophthalmologist in the Ottoman Eski Saray, crossed the border river on a ferry, unnoticed by military outposts.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Regina Salomea z Rusieckich Pilsztynowa, *Proceder podróży i życia mego awantur*, ed. Roman Pollak (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957), 171.

⁶⁸ Pilsztynowa, 176.

Pilsztynowa possessed the know-how in travel matters, and she used similar methods of travel to Armenian merchants. Szymon Bardachor Czarkisowicz, an Armenian merchant in the service of Augustus II of Poland-Saxony, traveled, like Pilsztynowa did, to the Ottoman fortress of Bender armed with multiple Polish and Russian recommendation letters.⁶⁹ In Pilsztynowa's and Czarkisowicz's minds southern Poland-Lithuania, the Black Sea littoral, and the Eastern Mediterranean were organically connected and built one region of exchange, and interaction. The temperate and continental climate of the southern palatinates of Ruthenia, Podolia, Braclaw, and Kijów was distinct to that of the classical Mediterranean. This is undeniable. However, the geohistorical connections and relatively easy travel over the border of five hundred miles in length and then south to Istanbul facilitated cultural exchanges to such an extent that the southern provinces of Poland-Lithuania shared to some extent the Mediterranean culture. The proximity of Ottomans in the Polish south invited stronger cultural influences and created a new cultural *mélange* between East and West.

It is better to speak of a vast cultural region encompassing the southern Poland-Lithuania, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Black Sea basin as a cultural unit, a sea of grasslands. The rivers of southern Poland-Lithuania belong to the Black Sea basin and although they were mostly impassable until the late eighteenth century, they eco-historically connected southern palatinates of Poland-Lithuanian with the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁰ This fact, often highlighted by the historians in the antiquity and middle ages is underestimated in the early modern period and absent from eighteenth century studies. The Black Sea, encircled with the travel routes leading to the ports on its shore, was –as in Pilsztynowa's instruction for travelers– ‘a crucial bridge that cuts down travel time and effort.’⁷¹ Dominated by nomads on the north and north-west shore, in the south, it was habitually inhabited by townspeople and seafarers. Ecologically, the Black Sea is rather green and gray with flat terrain in the west and north-west, and high mountains facing water in the Crimea, the Caucasus and on the southern shores. In contrast to the Mediterranean, its climate is oceanic and temperate with warm, wet summers and winters, unlike the dry weather, rocky coasts, azure waters and clear skies of the Mediterranean. Socially, the Black Sea basin was a different space.

The stormy waterfronts of the Black Sea calmed down in the eighteenth century. The Cossack pirates proved the extent of the Black Sea's human connections by raiding Istanbul's suburbs in 1615

⁶⁹ ‘Description of the travels of Szymon Bardachor Czarkisowicz, a Persian merchant, who left from Lublin on September 6 and arrived in Bender on September 23 the same month in the year 1709’, BO, ms. 270, No. 48. Czarkisowicz belonged to a group of king's merchants comprising also of the Armenians Evtymi Leontowicz and Dimitri Georgewicz, HStA Dresden, loc. 3685/2 and 3584/1 (shopping lists and correspondence).

⁷⁰ Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen and Ruth Gertwagen, *The Inland Seas: Towards an Ecobistory of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, *Alte Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 15–16 on the unity and diversity of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and the ecobistory.

⁷¹ Stella Ghervas, “The Black Sea,” in *Oceanic Histories*, ed. David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 236.

and 1624.⁷² By the eighteenth century, the Cossacks were, however, largely contained and split between Polish Right Bank Ukraine and Russian Left Bank Ukraine, divided along the Dnieper river. Efforts by the Polish Crown army focused in the eighteenth century on mutilating Cossack rebellions; Russians, too, increasingly curbed the Cossack autonomy and incorporated the Cossack military into Russian imperial structures.⁷³ On the northern Black Sea shore, on the other hand, the Crimean Tatars, that in 1591 raided Moscow's suburbs, were curtailed by the Ottomans in their frequent raids towards the north.⁷⁴ The last large-scale slave hunting invasion of southern Poland-Lithuania transpired in 1699, closely before concluding the Treaty of Karlowitz that effectively prohibited such raids.⁷⁵ Smaller raids still occurred but cannot be compared to the scale of the manhunts from the seventeenth century.

With the Cossacks and Tatars contained, Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia entered a period of change. In 1710, the Prince of Moldavia Demetrius Cantemir betrayed the Ottomans and sided with the Russians. Consequently, Ottomans stopped appointing as rulers in the Danubian principalities native nobilities and started sending to Bucharest and Iași the so-called Phanariots, Greek-speaking elites originating in Istanbul.⁷⁶ All these changes that transpired in the eighteenth century created a new and safer social landscape of the southern Poland-Lithuania, the Black Sea basin, and the Eastern Mediterranean. The *Pax Polono-Ottomanica* of the eighteenth century fostered connections and exchanges of people, ideas and goods in a more peaceful manner than ever before.

A peaceful and safer borderland meant that the material exchanges, which existed already in the previous centuries, became solidified. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out that the peculiar fashion of Polish, and Hungarian nobilities (and Cossack elites) to dress in Eastern style costumes, resulted from the proximity to the Islamic East, hence from the direct Ottoman and Tatar neighborhood, and by proxy, contact with Central Asian traditions.⁷⁷ Starting from as early as the fifteenth century, the nobilities of Poland-Lithuania developed a fashion for Ottomanized costumes that in many respects were Ottoman

⁷² Victor Ostapchuk, "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids," in *The Ottomans and the Sea*, ed. Kate Fleet, vol. 20 (81), 2001, 64.

⁷³ Brian J. Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jan Perdenia, *Stanowisko Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej wobec sprawy Ukrainy na przełomie XVII-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo PAN, 1963); see also Ivan Katchanovski, Zenon E. Kohut, and Bohdan Y. Nebesio, *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine* (Lanham; Toronto; Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 319–21; 510 for Left and Right Bank Ukraine, respectively.

⁷⁴ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th-18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents*, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage* 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 110, 785, fn. 18.

⁷⁵ Andrzej Gliwa, "Ostatni napad tatarski na ziemię przemyską z 1699 r.," *Rocznik Przemyski, Historia Wojskowości* 43, no. 4 (171) (2000): 569–591.

⁷⁶ Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 8–13.

⁷⁷ Adam Jasiński, "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe," *Muqarnas Online* 31, no. 1 (2014): 176, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22118993-00311P08> and the older literature there. I thank Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann for opening my thinking to Central Asian origins of the Polish costume.

imports. In the preceding centuries, these wearables landed in Polish hands often as booty in military confrontations within the fluid borderland.⁷⁸ In the eighteenth century, however, most of them were gifts and merchandise.

The yellow heeled boots, imported en masse from the Ottoman Empire, the *şüphan* (long, tight-fitting shirts used as inner garments) and *kontusz* (an outer garment with long, broad slashes sleeves) tight together by sashes developed together into the Polish costume. By the first half of the eighteenth century, Benoe and other diplomats venturing to Istanbul gifted Ottoman officials with *şüphan* and *kontusz* that, thanks to the similarities in Ottoman and Polish costume, could have been easily used on the Ottoman side of the border.⁷⁹ In the eighteenth century, the nobilities of Poland-Lithuania started increasingly to be depicted in the French costume; in fact, common were commissions of two paintings, one in the Polish and one in the French costume. The nobles, as Benoe did on a regular basis, could have easily played with colors and styles, dress up and dressed cross-culturally in one or the other costume, mixing at times elements of the Polish and the French style.⁸⁰ However, as the well-developed tradition of coffin portraits suggests, well into the second half of the eighteenth-century nobles went to meet God in traditional Polish dress.⁸¹ Thus, as I would like to suggest, the nobilities of Poland-Lithuania remained in the eighteenth century under the strong influences of the Ottoman material culture thanks to the direct juxtaposition with Ottomans.

Diplomatic missions to Istanbul, such as Benoe's changed in the eighteenth century into regular shopping and educational expeditions. Merchants, willing to shop in Istanbul, joined the diplomatic entourage followed by young nobles willing to learn languages or start a Grand Tour of the Mediterranean out of Istanbul. Benoe's secretary and nephew, Paweł Starzyński was entirely uninterested in drafting Benoe's letters and daily diary. Instead, Starzyński traveled in Benoe's entourage to Istanbul; there he left behind a vast collection of books, with multilingual dictionaries and Turkish grammar books as well as unnecessary horse tack, took only the necessities and embarked on a Dutch ship to Izmir, and further on to Italy and France.⁸² The topical chapters of this book address this and other issues connected with the Ottoman-Polish encounters in the borderland and diplomacy.

⁷⁸ Cf. Robyn Dora Radway, "Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543-1593" (Ph.D., Princeton University, 2017), 244.

⁷⁹ See chapter 8 on gift-giving. On the Ottoman costumes and their connections to the Polish costume, see: Suraiya Faruqi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faruqi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), 16.

⁸⁰ On this phenomenon, see Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸¹ Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe: Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania*, Northern World 73 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 150.

⁸² See chapter five on diplomatic travel.

Structure

The book is divided into two parts. Part one focuses on the borderland and its connectivity while in part two the reader travels with Benoe and other diplomats to Istanbul. The goal I had in mind was to allow the reader to have an indebt microhistorical glimpse into the complex world of Ottoman-Polish encounters and in order to do so, I selected various actors with their rich sources who are placed at the center of the chapters and complement Benoe's persona and sources he left behind. The main actor present throughout the book and binding it together like a read thread is Benoe, an information master, diplomat and self-proclaimed borderland lord whose life encompassed the borderland and diplomatic circles of Istanbul. Benoe left such a rich paper trail that from the seven topical chapters only chapter two does not focus on his role in the borderland. Along the borders with Ottoman lands Benoe assembled landed estates that brought him in daily contact with Ottoman subjects; he was not, however, active in the Ottoman-Polish cross-confessional border courts of justice or everyday border management that I discuss in chapter two.

Part one opens with chapter two that starts from a discussion of methodologies and theories of research on liminal zones. It suggests that border zones were not only regions where cultures clashed and grappled with each other (Marie L. Pratt), but also places where actors forged new cultural fusions. Border-crossing experience of Benoe did not lead to acculturation, but rather a *mélange* of the Ottoman and Polish culture in a single life, hence, to transculturation in which actors chose elements from the cultural pools available to them. Following that, chapter two discusses historiographies and terms used in historical research for liminal zones (border, frontier, borderland) to establish the terms border and borderland to be used in this study.

Next sessions go to practicalities and describe the actual Ottoman-Polish border that meandered for around eight hundred miles along the Dniester river, and the social groups that inhabited the borderland. Although by the eighteenth century the border was fixed with visible border markers, for borderland actors it was easy to cross and practically non-existent. The last section of chapter two focuses on cross-confessional border courts for criminal justice established in a bottom-up process by Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. I suggest that the conflict resolution in the borderland relied on a wide range of solutions reaching from direct mediation, through feuds and to direct addressing of a local overlord. On a case study of the border judge Jan Świrski, I argue that the Ottoman-Polish borderland displayed striking connectivity and ease in conflict resolution. It was so thanks to the networking between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles.

Chapter three addresses the networking strategies in the borderland based on the constantly evoked and confirmed idea of friendship. It follows the line of an extraordinary source, a notebook composed in the Ottoman Empire by Benoe in his early life. In his early years, Benoe followed one of the largest Polish groups of exiles into the Ottoman Empire and spent there at last five years. While there, he wrote down his thoughts on networking in a half octavo notebook. Benoe's notebook suggests that the Ottoman-Polish and Ottoman-Moldavian networking worked in an interplay between mediation through go-betweens and direct exchange. Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles cultivated the border friendships with regular correspondence and provided each other with services and gifts. Ottomans exchanged coffee, tobacco, horse tack, tents and foodstuffs for French pistols, medicines or locally made Polish commodities. In case of danger, Polish nobles could rely on the Ottoman friendships and placed their families and valuables under Ottoman protection; this worked both ways as Ottoman subjects often searched for shelter in Polish estates. In consecutive sections of chapter three, I discuss examples of Ottoman networks of Polish nobles, a Polish network of an Ottoman pasha and examples of Moldavian-Polish networking. Overall chapter three argues for immense connectivity of the borderland and gives examples of intense border friendships that lasted years.

The last chapter in part one, chapter four, analyzes Benoe's diplomatic persona and his self-fashioning as information master in Ottoman matters. In the early 1740s, Benoe gained the appointment as Polish commissioner for an Ottoman-Polish-Russian delimitation in a triple borderland in today's steppes of Ukraine. Benoe constructed an information network, digested raw information and provided the Polish court with knowledge about the triple confine. While doing so, Benoe self-fashioned as an information master and possessor of an extensive information network. He meticulously erased from his letters, traces of his informers, mostly Cossack dispatch riders that brought him eye witnessed news and letters. With virtuosity, he did the same in printed news sheets that he distributed wildly in Poland-Lithuania. In the end, Benoe also drew a map of the confines that I situate within the traditions of early modern mapmaking and taking into possession through knowledge production. This microhistorical study of Benoe's works in the borderland enlarges our understanding of the Pontic Steppe borderlands in the eighteenth century and gives it a personalized perspective. Through his successful self-fashioning, Benoe received an appointment as envoy extraordinary to Istanbul, packed his bags and made himself on his way.

Chapter five, 'A Diplomat Packs his Bags,' connects part one on the borderland with part two on Istanbul. It explores the diplomatic travel from Warsaw to Istanbul and written records of these travels, and it argues for the growing curiosity over the other in the eighteenth century. I compare Ottoman and Polish traditions of travel writing to suggest that they served the same purpose: as mnemonic tools to remember the travel and as an antecedent of a modern travel guide to plan the future missions and trips

to the country of the other. It is in the travel that the Ottoman and Polish zone of contact and encounters came to their best expression. The first part situates Benoe's travel writing within Polish and European traditions whereas the second suggests that Ottomans in the eighteenth century had similar traditions of travel writing and used their sources in the same manner as Polish nobles. Following that, I confront Polish and Ottoman travel reports and give a detailed account of the Polish perspective on the Ottomans and Ottoman on Poland. In the end, I argue, enlarging the study of *ars apodemica* by Justin Stagl that by the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire belonged to the standard part of the Polish Grand Tour destinations.⁸³ Young nobles joined every diplomatic mission in order to explore Istanbul and learn languages. This chapter argues that Poland-Lithuania and Ottoman Empire were organically connected and the *pax Polono-Ottomanica* helped to render the travel to the country of the other safer, and more popular.

Chapter six builds the core of part two on Istanbul and addresses the issue of intra-European and European-Ottoman sociability in Istanbul. It follows Antoine Lilti's interpretation of worldly sociability as inter-human and cross-cultural gatherings that facilitated by the consumption of stimulants, foodstuffs and various forms of entertainment.⁸⁴ In the intra-European sociability diplomats in Istanbul followed the ritual rules of sociability that resembled much the life of the Parisian salons in the long eighteenth century, with rotating reception days, joint celebrations of rulers name days, funerals, and weddings. The intra-European sociability in Istanbul was limitless and facilitated by the creation of the diplomatic district of Pera with ambassadorial buildings lining up the famous *Grand Rue de Pera* (today's buzzing İstiklal caddesi) that I discuss in detail. However, European-Ottoman sociability was limited by the confines of the meticulously described Ottoman ceremonial and the consumption of alcohol that brought together Europeans in Istanbul. Encounters with the Ottomans culminated in the ceremonies of entry to Pera and audiences. Contrary to John-Paul Ghobrial suggestions informal sociability between European diplomats and Ottomans was limited. Chapter six closes with a zoomed-in study of Benoe's court in Istanbul to maintain that the large diplomatic trains created an ephemeral Polish nation in Istanbul and a social world in itself. In Istanbul, Benoe recreated his Polish court with traditional offices occupied by young Polish nobleman.

The sociability in Istanbul depended on the multilingualism of diplomats and their servants. Chapter seven focuses on the issue of multilingualism of diplomats, and dragomans in Istanbul. On Benoe's example, I argue that translation and mediation in official settings relied on dragomans, their knowledge of languages and Ottoman ceremonial. I also suggest, however, that translation of Ottoman documents was a difficult collaborative work that often involved cooperation of several dragomans and

⁸³ Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800*, Studies in Anthropology and History 13 (Chur, Switzerland [Langhorne, Pa.]: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995).

⁸⁴ Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005).

the diplomat. In the end, I present an outstanding example of early modern multilingualism, Benoe's wife Marianne to claim that exchanges between the Ottoman and Polish cultural words often transpired directly thanks to the actor's multilingualism.

Finally, chapter eight focuses on Ottoman-Polish gift-giving. Following Catharine Fletcher's threefold understanding of Renaissance gifts in diplomacy (gifts between princes or between the courts, presents on the road and leaving gifts) I suggest that gifting belonged to a complex system of substantiating envoys from the other country. Benoe had a double standing as a private and public person, and this found expression in his decisions on gifts. On the one hand, he followed established patterns of gifting between the courts and presented Ottomans with porcelain, watches, and textiles; on the other hand, he made independent decisions about saving on gifts or not gifting anything at all to Mahmud II. Firstly, I analyze Ottoman and Polish notions of gift in the eighteenth century to conclude that the gifting was reciprocal but uneven. Secondly, a detailed microhistorical case study of Benoe's gifting strategies provides the reader with an impression of how diplomats executed the gifting between the courts. Thirdly, I suggest that gifts on the road had a less ceremonial, were informal and Benoe exchanged them in the capability of his private persona. These gifts, in the lack of leaving gifts, connected the gifting in Istanbul with similar practices in the borderland. Gifting continued in the borderland where actors exchanged precisely the same gifts on a daily basis like in Istanbul. It is undoubtedly in the material culture of the gifts that the shared Ottoman-Polish cultural zone of contact came to its fullest exemplification.

The chapters that follow discuss in my opinion the most critical aspects of Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century from everyday life of the borderland and its justice through networking strategies, border making, diplomatic travel, sociability, and gift-giving. Chapters three to eight always have at its core Benoe's multiple persona, and his rich paper trail. In the borderland chapters, I supplemented Benoe's papers with those of Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia, Adam Sieniawski, Crown Grand hetman and Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, Ottoman governor of Hotin. For the sake of a multiplicity of perspectives, and a far-reaching context the chapters on Istanbul are supplemented periodically with Ottoman sources and regularly with diplomatic sources about the missions of Jan Mniszech (1755) and Jan Podoski (1760). Each of these missions is worth a separate monograph. This book does not exhaust all aspects of the Ottoman-Polish life in the eighteenth century, but I hope that it will stimulate further socio-cultural studies on other diplomats.

It would be of course absurd to claim that Poland-Lithuania belonged to the cultural Mediterranean. My goal, however, is to change our thinking and suggest that the distinctions between East and West, North and South in the early modern history of Europe and Ottoman Europe are too rigid. The following chapters aim at suggesting that Ottoman and Polish lands were not separate cultural

and social worlds, but in the eighteenth century created a common cultural space. The reader can judge for himself if I managed to reach this goal.

I BORDERLAND

Chapter 2: Polish-Ottoman Borderland or the Porous Border

Boundary Concepts and Practices: Historiography

Borders have been investigated in historiography for at least two centuries. In the Anglophone world, the most dominant theory concerning boundaries was Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier theory. Turner published his famous and often reprinted paper on the significance of the frontier in American history as early as 1893. He identified the moving American 'frontier' or the 'West' as a crucial element in the development of American history and described it as an ever-changing phenomenon. This spirit of American colonization pushed the frontier further and further West until it came to a closure, according to Turner, in the 1890s. Since its first publication, Jackson's frontier theory has been subject to severe criticism. Dubbed as the 'myth of the frontier' Jackson's idea and his paper helped, however, to point out the importance of border studies and borderlands in general in historical research.⁸⁵

In response to criticism, Turner's idea evolved into a porous contact zone and a negotiable middle ground. Originally introduced in the 1990s by Marry L. Pratt, the idea of a borderland as a contact zone, thus, a 'social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination' profoundly influenced historical research and proved robust enough to be applied to different places and times.⁸⁶ Similarly, Robert White elucidated the complexity of borderlands and gave voice to native Americans in a quest for a more diversified picture of American borderlands where different powers, including natives, negotiated power and influence.⁸⁷

Both the concepts of White and Pratt stimulated new historiography which pledged to give voice to non-state and subjugated actors. It is also important to mention from this perspective the concept of liminality created by Arnold van Gennep. This thoroughly spatial concept that highlights the in-betweenness, fluidity, fuzziness, and ambivalence of the places of passage such as border zones gives us

⁸⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 1–38; Camilo García-Jimeno and James Robinson, "The Myth of the Frontier" (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, March 2009), <https://doi.org/10.3386/w14774>.

⁸⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4; Nora Berend, "Preface," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), XI. In 2014 a conference was held in Warsaw under the title 'Contact Zones of Polish-Turkish Relations (1414-2014)'.

⁸⁷ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); beyond that see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) for a history of the American frontier from native perspective.

good tools to understand the borders, frontiers, and borderlands as places of transcended experiences of alienation and transculturation.⁸⁸

My approach in what follows is informed by White's, Pratt's, and van Geneep's concepts. Border zones are places where 'disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other;' but border zones are also places where often forgotten actors forged new cultural fusions. The experiences of border-crossers and passersby created a new cultural phenomenon, a middle ground or, in White's words, a 'mutually comprehensible world' where material cultures, social imaginations, and practices of people from two seemingly disparate places created a new social world.⁸⁹ The process of border crossing did not lead to acculturation, but rather a *mélange* of highly diverse cultures merged in the lives of single individuals and, lastly, transculturation occurred. The following chapters focus on an abundance of individual lives lived in the past in the liminal space of the Ottoman-Polish border zone where the social contacts between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles created a unique social, cultural, and material fusion that I will bring back to life on those very pages.

The new anthropological approaches have led in the borderland historiography to a boom of further studies. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay coined the concept of frontier societies in their path-breaking collected volume from 1992.⁹⁰ The frontier societies are highly militarized social groups with fluid social norms that are dominated by noble frontier lords. A frontier society can also be characterized by diverse devices of mediation (official and non-official), encounter and trade. Another volume edited by David Power and Naomi Standen extended this new research from the limited premises of Western Europe to more fully incorporate other European (also Ottoman) and Asian examples.⁹¹ In recent years the limits of the Ottoman Empire has also attracted more attention from historians.⁹² This research was stimulated in part by the fall of the Soviet Union and by the sudden growth of the European Union that

⁸⁸ Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern: Living through the in-Between* (Farnham and Burlington:VT: Ashgate, 2014), 91; see also Bernhard Giesen, "Inbetweenness and Ambivalence," in *Breaking Boundaries: Varieties of Liminality*, ed. Ágnes Horváth, Bjørn Thomassen, and Harald Wydra (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 61–71 for illuminating examples of garbage, monsters, victims and seduction as examples of liminality.

⁸⁹ White, *The Middle Ground*, XXV.

⁹⁰ Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, eds., *Medieval Frontier Societies*, First issued in paperback (with corrections) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); see also the criticism in David Abulafia and Nora Berend, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002).

⁹¹ Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, eds., *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, Themes in Focus (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Macmillan ; St. Martin's Press, 1999).

⁹² Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims and Reality: Ottoman Frontiers in the Early Modern Period," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 205–219; Andrew C. S. Peacock, "Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and Its Frontiers," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. Andrew C. S. Peacock, Proceedings of the British Academy, no. 156 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–27; Claire Norton, "Liminal Space in the Early Modern Ottoman-Habsburg Borderlands: Historiography, Ontology, and Politics," in *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History*, ed. Paul Stock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 75–96.

funded multiple research groups in the 1990s with a focus on borderlands, changing boundaries, and ways of negotiating border conflicts.

Two valuable volumes edited by Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis originated from precisely this interest.⁹³ Esser and Ellis suggested recently that ‘borders should be interpreted as border zones [...] whose political lines of separation remained porous and which served more as zones of contact and exchange rather than providing strict lines of inclusion and exclusion.’⁹⁴ However, the editors also suggested the importance of ‘jurisdiction, taxations rights and feudal obligations’ that were often much more important and more difficult to overcome than borders set on (allegedly) clear-cut geographical lines. This understanding is illuminating for our purposes, but neglects the social perspective of people on the ground who were the least interested in taxations or jurisdictional matters and often tried to escape them. Borders were both spatially fixed and socially permeable, and actors used them for their gain. This holds especially true for boundaries in the eighteenth century that started being set in space as clearly delineated lines but maintained their permeability due to lack of border controls or other means of controlling subjects in fluid liminal spaces.

The above-discussed literature provides an excellent stimulus but does not suffice to enter the discussion of the Ottoman-Polish borderland in question. Therefore, the next section addresses the problem of differences between the concepts of the frontier, border, and borderland as used by historians in the Anglophone and other historiographies. I argue that the most useful is the concept of border zones that suggests a social fluidity and spatial stability of the border. In my opinion, problems with pinning down a precise definition result from the confusion of diverse aspects of regions transgressed by borders. Spatially fixed borders are socially permeable. Social networking, for instance, was never limited by inter-state boundaries. Networks transgressed liminal spaces in the past easier than in the age of modern states. To illustrate that, after the discussion of concepts, I describe the Ottoman-Polish border at stake and while doing so discuss this border’s permeability. This is done through the example of the movement of subjects and the execution of justice in the mixed Ottoman-Polish border courts of justice.

⁹³ Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis, *Frontier and Border Regions in Early Modern Europe*, Formation of Europe, vol. 7 (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2013); Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Esser, eds., *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500-1850*, Formation of Europe, vol. 1 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2006).

⁹⁴ Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis, “Introduction: Border Regions in Early Modern Europe,” in *Frontier and Border Regions in Early Modern Europe*, First edition (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2013), 7.

Border, Frontier and Borderland: Definitions

What are the differences between frontier, border, and borderland? Different languages employ different expressions based on their historical traditions. In everyday English vocabulary, all three terms used to denote boundaries (frontier, border, and borderland) are used interchangeably. Unfortunately, most historians also apply all three expressions synonymously. This obfuscates the image of past boundaries and makes it less comprehensible. It seems useful, therefore, to pin down what meanings Anglophone literature ascribes to all the terms.

The first term, *border*, is chiefly in use by political scientists and historians to denote delineated confines between two sovereign state entities which exercise authority and power within the delineated territory. The second, *frontier*, proves a more complicated case with two different meanings, an American and a European-Continental one. The first was coined by Turner's work which defined frontier as a space in motion between civilization and nature, settlement and wilderness. Turner's frontier is a land of opportunity and constant struggle. The European-Continental meaning of *frontier* is entirely different and closer to the original meaning of border as a line or zone separating two states. The third term in use, *borderland*, is a land on either side of a border between states with a decent sense of obscurity and temporality and it resembles the definition of the frontier as a zone. Borderland, however, is not a zone, nor a line, but a 'region [...] that is significantly affected by an international border' on both of its sides.⁹⁵ The influence of this spatial location on the life of individuals reaches spatially from the border heartland through intermediate borderland and echoes at its edges in the outer borderland. The Anglophone expressions constitute a small fraction of the numerous ways to define confines, marches, and fringes in different languages with their historiographical traditions.⁹⁶

Romance, Germanic, Slavic, and Turkic languages have their traditions and phrases to denote boundaries. In his seminal and still much-cited paper *Frontière: le mot et la notion* (1928) Lucien Febvre defined the evolution and usage of the French word *frontière* applied from the sixteenth century onwards to define political and militarized borders of the kingdom of France. *Limite* or *fin*, on the other hand, had originally a more peaceful and demilitarized meaning.⁹⁷ Quite similar to *frontière* is the meaning of the

⁹⁵ Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 216.

⁹⁶ Daniel Power, "Introduction. Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, Themes in Focus (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Macmillan ; St. Martin's Press, 1999), 2-3.

⁹⁷ Lucien Febvre, "Frontière: le mot et la notion," in *Pour une histoire à part entière* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962), 11-24 originally published in 1928.

Spanish *frontera*, the Portuguese *fronteira*, or the Italian *frontiera*.⁹⁸ The basic term for borders developed differently in German where the linear term *Grenze* was borrowed from Old Polish *granica* and coined during the expansion of the Teutonic Order in Eastern Europe.⁹⁹ In the sixteenth century, the writings of Martin Luther pushed the word *mark* (borderland march) out of popular usage, and *Grenze* became dominant. In Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian, the word *granica* (for linear boundaries) was and is dominating usage with *kordon*, a borrowing from German, in use in Ukrainian. The word *granica* appears for instance in the inter-state border treaties in the Polish-Ottoman and the Russian-Ottoman case. In recent years, Polish scholarship experienced a phenomenon that Bronisław Bakula accurately nicknamed ‘borderland-mania’ as numerous publications have been published on Eastern Polish borderlands and the term *kręsy* roughly corresponding to English borderland became demythologized.¹⁰⁰ As late as the eighteenth century, Latin with its *limes* meaning a boundary line was still in use in diplomacy.¹⁰¹ All the discussed expressions bare some similarities with the Anglophone border (clearly delineated boundary) and frontier (a zonal area between two territories). Distinct from them was the Ottoman understanding of borders rooted in Islamic tradition.

The Ottoman understanding of borders derived from Islamic traditions. In the Arabic, the word *thagr* (Plural: *thugur* meaning ‘mouth’ or ‘breach’) was traditionally in use to denote boundaries between believers and unbelievers, Muslims and all others. In the Ottoman mentality, however, two concepts of delimitations as an undefined zone and as a line coexisted. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans have already made a quite clear distinction between border as a demarcated line (*hudud* from Arabic or *sinir* in Turkish borrowed from Greek) from a borderland understood as an expanding march (*uj*, modern Turkish *uc*).¹⁰² As the newest research points out, both types of boundaries coexisted as early as the sixteenth century when some borders (for instance with Venice in the Balkans) were delineated, and others (in the Western fringes of the Eurasian steppe) were purportedly kept in flux to avoid conflicts. Admittedly, the former encompassing rather densely populated territories were easier to delineate alongside not only seemingly natural barriers such as rivers or mountains, but also villages, towns, and

⁹⁸ Maria Pia Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, vol. 5, Quaderni di studi arabi. Studi e testi (Roma and Venezia: Herder Editrice, 2002), 4.

⁹⁹ Hans-Jürgen Karp, *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzraum*, Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands 9 (Köln: Böhlau, 1972), 114–15.

¹⁰⁰ Bogusław Bakula, “Colonial and Postcolonial Aspects of Polish Borderlands Studies: An Outline,” in *Teksty Drugie Vol. 1 (2014) - Special Issue - English Edition*, 2014, 113.

¹⁰¹ See for instance the Ottoman-Polish document of demarcation Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 636–637, 64 (14 X 1703).

¹⁰² Colin Heywood, “The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, Themes in Focus (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : New York: Macmillan ; St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 233.

fortresses. Ottomans possessed commensurable notions of delimitations with their European counterparts that evolved over the long centuries of mutual contact and exchanges.¹⁰³

As we have seen, various languages and their historiographies employ different terms to denote boundaries and delimitations. In the English tradition, the terms frontier (understood rather as a zone than a line), border (linear delimitation), and borderland (border zone with adjacent provinces on both sides) are used interchangeably. Masao Imamura suggested recently that historians are chiefly using the term frontier whereas border is found mainly in the dominion of political scientists.¹⁰⁴ As I suggest in chapter four, frontiers came to a closure in East Central Europe around the middle of the eighteenth century when diplomats and local actors divided the last zonal boundaries between Poland, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. In most cases, as I describe later on, Ottoman-Polish possessions were delineated and run across natural features such as mountain ranges and rivers. Therefore, I decided to consequently use the word border for inter-state delimitations and border zone for the zonal region on both sides of the border. Additionally, I use border zone interchangeably with the word borderland, due to their close meaning. I avoid the term frontier and use it only where the boundary was unstable, blurred, fuzzy and contested.

After the discussion of historiography, terms, and concepts, in the next section, I highlight the physicality of the Ottoman-Polish and more widely Ottoman-European borders. The border zone was socially fluid in the eighteenth century but was rather clearly visible due to numerous border symbols and other natural obstacles. Both Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles utilized centrally appointed border commissions if needed to settle linear borders between Ottoman and Polish dominions. I discuss these practicalities on the ground in the next section and argue that although the boundaries were delineated, socially the border did not constitute a problem for border crossers, passersby, and runaways who crossed it as they wished.

Practicalities on the Ground: Ottoman-Polish Border

Palmira Brummett recently signaled that the Ottomans tended to implement a pragmatic approach and delineate a clear boundary in densely populated areas in Europe while the fortress

¹⁰³ Compare with Robert L. Solomon, "Boundary Concepts and Practices in Southeast Asia," *World Politics* 23, no. 1 (1970): 3 who notes that "concept of boundary line was alien to Southeast Asian experience."

¹⁰⁴ Masao Imamura, "Rethinking Frontier and Frontier Studies," *Political Geography* 45, no. Supplement C (March 1, 2015): 96–97.

symbolized the Ottoman state and the limits of its possessions in less populated areas.¹⁰⁵ The elaborated process of border making is discussed in chapter four. Here it is important to mention that the boundaries were visible for subjects of Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire. This, however, did not prevent them from crossing it regularly as both the Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles could only register but not control the movement of people.

Various methods of marking the boundaries and signaling for the people on the ground the limits of state authority and suzerainty were in use. The most popular were mounds created, for instance, in the rather flat and free-of-natural-markings steppes of Eastern Europe. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk described a fascinating example of the Ottoman-Polish delimitation of 1681 during which Poles and Ottomans raised mounds and marked them with crosses on the Polish side and ‘a wooden pile in the shape of a turbaned head’ on the Ottoman side.¹⁰⁶ A similar Ottoman-Polish border marker was still visible near the border town of Jahorlik, in the southernmost fringe of Poland-Lithuania’s meeting of the Ottoman Empire, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. In the early modern period, it was Jahorlik where the Ottoman and Polish boundaries met before entering the steppe landscape. This border marker gives a sense of these physical symbols appearance. It was a stone border mound in the shape of a pyramid with inscriptions in Latin (*‘finis Poloniae’*) and Polish on the Polish side and Ottoman Turkish on the Ottoman side. At ten feet tall it was easily visible in the valley of the Jahorlik river as a symbolic passage and attribute of possession (see illustration 6).¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the border mound had embedded inscription plates with fragments of the Ottoman-Polish treaty of 1699 that marked for all passersby the momentum of its creation.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 80.

¹⁰⁶ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 62; Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans*, 80.

¹⁰⁷ Kazimierz Jarochoński, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II od wstąpienia Karola XII na ziemię polską aż do elekcji Stanisława Leszczyńskiego (1702-1704)* (Poznań, 1874), 422.

¹⁰⁸ Wawrzyniec Marczyński, *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie gubernii podolskiej z rycinami i mappami*, vol. 3 (Wilno: drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1823), 226. In the late nineteenth century the plates were illegible.

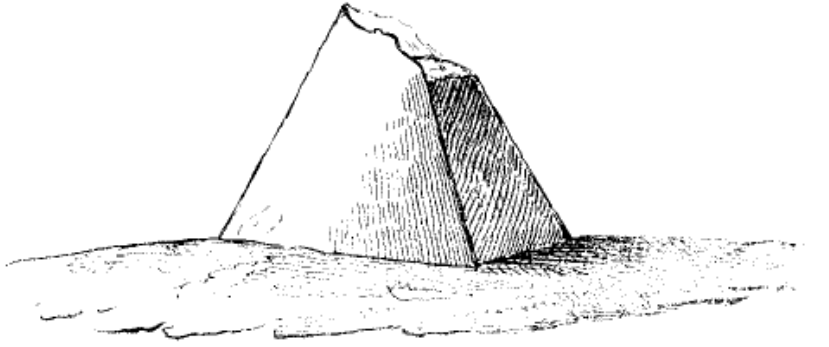


Illustration 6: Ottoman-Polish border marker in the vicinity of the town of Jahorlik raised by the Ottoman-Polish border commission of 1703. Illustration made by a reader of the newspaper *Przyjacieli Ludu*, No. 51, 21 June 1845, p. 405.

The border marker in Jahorlik symbolized – as the sources point out- the *fnis Poloniae* (the end of Poland) and the beginning of the more fluid and uncontrollable space under neither Polish nor Ottoman control. It indicated, however, not only the precise meeting point of the Ottoman-Polish borders but also the start of the steppe borderland with less precise delimitations and illusory state control. For Polish nobles, Jahorlik represented the end of a controllable, colonizable, and maintainable territory. On the south and east from it started the contestable steppes to which Polish nobles did not dare to travel without military assistance.

In light of the lack of natural border markers, border mounds similar to the one in Jahorlik were also in use on the Ottoman-Venetian border.¹⁰⁹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Habsburg commissioner in the Habsburg-Ottoman delimitations following the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), left behind a rich collection of illustrations that allow us to understand how border symbols were used at the turn of the eighteenth century. In the process of border making, the Ottoman and Habsburg commissioners raised stone heaps or earth mounds and planted trees at the top to make the border markers more visible from a distance.¹¹⁰ (see illustration 7) All such markings were probably absent from the Ottoman-Safavid borderland where the Ottomans marked possession by fortresses, caravanserais, and complex systems of negotiating authority over semi-nomadic frontier tribes.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Maria Pia Pedani, “Das Triplex Confinium: Diplomatische Probleme nach dem Karlowitz Frieden,” *Croatica christiana periodica* 47 (2001): 20–26.

¹¹⁰ Mónika F. Molnár, *Olasz hadi írók és generálisok Bécs és Isztambul között. L. F. Marsigli és kortársai* (Budapest: reciti, 2016), 101.

¹¹¹ Sabri Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13–25.

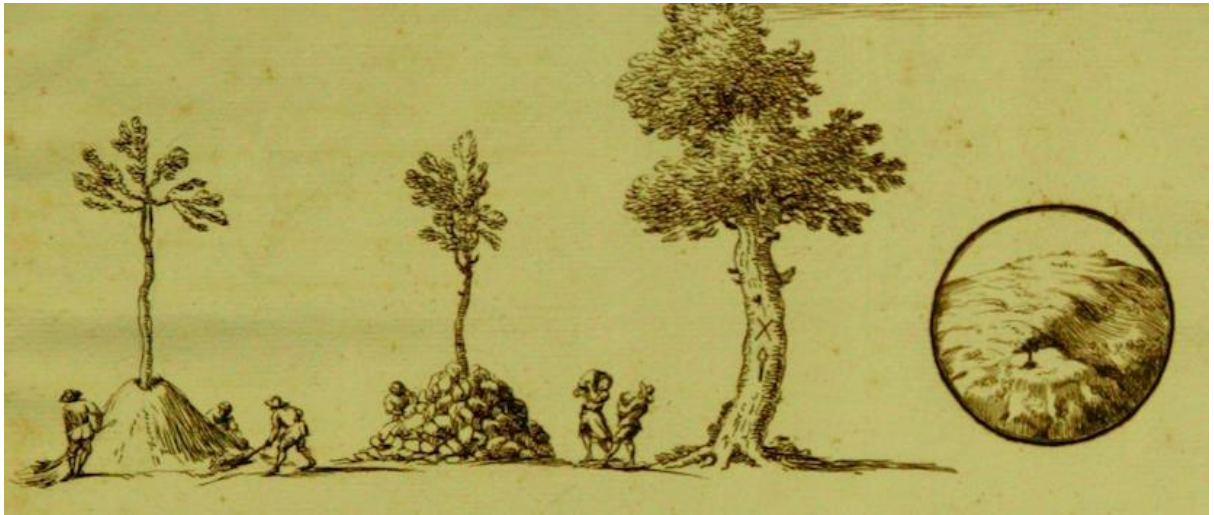


Illustration 7: Border markers at the Habsburg-Ottoman border. A drawing by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli. BUB, Fondo Marsili, ms. 1044, No. 39. I am grateful to Mónica F. Molnár for making me aware of this drawing.

Conversely, however, a similar system of possession and control as in the Ottoman-Iranian border existed in the Ottoman-Polish border zone, even in spots where the border seemed to be meticulously delineated. The possession along the border between the Podolian Palatinate of Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman province of Hotin was marked not only by a delineated border but also by fortresses on both sides. The fortress of Hotin marked the Ottoman possession which in turn faced (in a symbolic manner) the Holy Trinity Trenches (Polish: *Okopy Św. Trójcy*), a fortress created during the last Ottoman-Polish war (see illustration 8). In the eighteenth century, the fortresses lost in part their meaning as military outposts and became trading posts, intelligence outposts, and information centers. On the Polish side of the border, the village of Żwaniec and the city fortress of Kamieniec Podolski served as meeting points, and trade centers and Hotin played the same role on the Ottoman side of the border.



Illustration 8: Fragment of Rizzi-Zanoni's atlas of Poland-Lithuania (1772) depicting the southernmost tip of the Polish border with the Ottoman Empire. The border followed the zig-zagging Dniester river (marked in red) to enter the steppe and follow the Jahorlik river (marked in yellow). LMAB, cat. no. 09/77.

The border experience of passersby, border crossers, and inhabitants of the region was actively connected with the experience of crossing mountain ranges and rivers (see illustration 8 and 9). The Ottoman-Polish border started at its Western tip in the heights of the Black Mountain (*Czarnohora*) before it stepped down into the valley and ran along the banks of the Czeremosz river. From its estuary into the Prut river, the border ran through the fields to the north up to the Polish-Lithuanian town of Zaleszczyki and then ceased following natural terrain features. From there, nearly the entire length of the border followed the meandering Dniester river down to the aforementioned border city of Jahorlik. It was there that the border entered the Black Sea steppes, where, as I discuss in chapter four, it rather resembled a contested zone of influence with various actors laying claim to this only partially controlled frontier region.



Illustration 9: fragment of Rizzi-Zanoni's atlas of Poland-Lithuania (1772) depicting the westernmost tip of the Polish border with the Ottoman Empire. From the city of Zaleszczyki the border followed the meandering Dniester river. LMAB, cat. no. 09/77.

The border river had its mind, and according to the seasons, it either facilitated communication between both sides of the border or made it harder. In the winter, crossings were more accessible as the river often froze. The 'standing' river enabled the passage of people, animals, and goods. In the summer, the waters often lowered as much as to allow easy crossing. In the autumns, however, high water levels made frequent crossings impossible. The high and often steep banks of the Dniester made it challenging to cross the border, too. Locals were, of course, aware of passages and shoals that made a crossing of the river easier. That fact that the border ran along a river made its crossing a distinct experience for any border crosser or passerby.¹¹² In the eighteenth-century, bridges were rare, and communication was only possible thanks to rafts and boats. The most spectacular crossing of the border river took place during the trips of envoys extraordinary and ambassadors to and from Istanbul when the entire diplomatic entourage crossed the Dniester on rafts accompanied by music and celebratory gunfire.

For social mobility, expressed here in cross border conversions and stories of runaways, even the border delineated by the Dniester did not pose a problem. People wanting to change their lives and religion voted with their feet by crossing the border river and seeking out their luck on the other side of the border. In one example preserved among the correspondence of Topkapı Palace, daughter and her servant boy of Ahmed Bey, an Ottoman soldier, crossed from the Ottoman to the Polish side and asked to be allowed to convert to Catholicism. Mikołaj Dembowski, Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski reported

¹¹² For the topography of the river see Filip Sulimierski, ed., *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Filip Sulimierski i Władysław Walewski, 1881), 55.

about the case to the Ottoman governor of Hotin, and his letter is worth citing as an example of the Ottoman-Polish border correspondence and its vocabulary:

‘The neighborly friendship with Your Lordship, My Pasha, My Ancient Friend, I respect above all, and to inflict it I would take for a great injustice. I read in Your Pasha’s and our Beloved Friend’s letter that the clergy stopped daughter with a servant boy of Alabey Ahmed Bey, who escaped from Hotin to Kamieniec Podolski and wished to go back. Because I did not have any information about that, I prepared a letter to Kamieniec in order to understand if this story that Your Lordship reports it true. However, Ahmed Bey’s daughter came here yesterday with this Turkish boy. So today, in the presence of Ağa Józefowicz [Polish secretary in Hotin – M. K.] and his friend Hacı Haşan and many other persons from our side of the border we asked them repeatedly if they wish to go back to Hotin to their former faith. They responded clearly that they did not want to go back to Hotin, and, more than that, they asked to be allowed to join our Christian faith. It is impossible to forbid anyone wanting to join the Christian faith to do so.’¹¹³

As this letter illustrates, Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles were aware of the fact that conversion constituted a point of no return. In 1735, Hacı Suleyman Efendi, *defterdar* (treasurer) of Hotin sent letters trailing a slave called Mehmed who belonged to a janissary Ismail Pasha and asked Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia to send back ‘according to the neighborly friendship, not only things taken by this slave, but also, if he is still by our faith, this slave himself.’¹¹⁴ In the 1730s, another Ottoman woman and her servant ran away to Poland-Lithuania. The Ottoman border governor demanded their return, but received a letter stating that ‘it is an impossible thing [to return her – M. K.] and Your Lordship knows it best and will not demand her return after she converted to our faith.’¹¹⁵ Conversion was a means of permanently changing the jurisdiction under which one lived, and the border’s proximity facilitated these changes in the actors’ lives.

¹¹³ Letter of Mikołaj Dembowski, Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski to the Pasha of Hotin, in Czarnokozienice, 16 VIII 1753, in Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya)*, 31–32, fac. 18–18a. “Sąsiedzka przyjaźń z Waszą Paszyńską Mością, przyjacielem dawnym jako sobie wielce szanuję, tak onę w najmniejszej okoliczności naruszać sądziłbym u siebie za rzecz niesprawiedliwą. Wyczytałem z listy Waszej Paszyńskiej Mci, przyjaciela naszego, jakoby z naszej strony chłopca i córkę Pana Alaybiey Ahmed Beha przemówionych z Chocimia do Kamieńca usłyszcz i powrócenia sobie życzących duchowieństwo nasze miało zatrzymać. O czym nie mając wiadomości, jużem był nagotował list do Kamieńca dla wyrozumienia, jeżeli ta powieść, którą Waszej Paszyńskiej Mci uczyniono jest rzetelna, lecz ponieważ tu wczoraj wieczorem przybyła też córka Pana Ahmed Beja z Turczynkiem, tedy na dniu dzisiejszym w przytomności JP Józefowicza Agi i kolegi Jego Pana Hadzi Haszan i wielu innych Ichmciców z naszej strony znajdujących się kilkakrotnie razy publicznie każde z nich z osobna pytani, jeżeliby chcieli wrócić się do Chocimia do wiary swojej, wyraźnie odpowiadali, że nie mają woli wrócenia się do Chocimia i owszem o przypuszczenie do wiary chrześcijańskiej upraszali, którym żadną miarą odmówić przyjęcia wiary chrześcijańskiej pragnącym nie można.”

¹¹⁴ Letter of Hacı Suleyman Efendi to Stefan Humiecki, in Hotin, 12 III 1735, BJ, Przyb. 84/52, f. 92v (original).

¹¹⁵ Letter of unknown sender to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, no place, no date, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 173r (copy).

Sometimes, actors changed faith more than once and to facilitate these frequent changes, crossed the Ottoman-Polish border, similar to converts in the Venetian context.¹¹⁶ In one instance, a Catholic priest addressed an Ottoman border pasha searching for a ‘rogue and traitor [...] who betrayed not only me, but also God as he was baptized and from a Jew became a Christian and now I hear that he escaped to the other side and became a Jew again.’¹¹⁷ In a similar manner, Polish nobles used the border to trade with slaves. In 1714, Abdi Pasha, governor of Hotin reported, for instance, that ‘a noble was caught here in Hotin, who tried to sell a boy from Lwów into slavery.’ The pasha reacted, imprisoned the noble and sent him back with the boy to Poland-Lithuania.¹¹⁸ Similar examples can be multiplied and suggest that although the location of the border was clear to everybody, the social dynamics made it porous, flexible, and easy to cross. It also suggests that socially the border was easy to cross at any time. This element can be best illuminated by mapping the profoundly complex Ottoman-Moldavian-Polish border society.

Mapping Border Society: Ottoman-Moldavian-Polish Border Zone

The society of the Ottoman-Polish borderland was a colorful conglomerate of peoples of different faiths, languages, and cultures. It consisted of Polish nobility, Ruthenian peasantry, Armenian and Jewish townspeople, Ottoman soldiers and officials, Cossacks, Lipka (Lithuanian) Tatars, and Moldavian boyars and peasants. All these people lived together and coexisted in the same space. Their coexistence was predominantly peaceful, as Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas successfully avoided military confrontations throughout the eighteenth century. Everyday life, however, was marked by recurrent conflicts and minor disputes that often left rich documentation for us. Sources predominantly recall situations of conflict as non-problematic situations usually escaping mention in correspondence or other ways of documenting events. They need to be read with a grain of salt and against the grain, not as examples of what transpired in everyday borderland life, but rather as anomalies that went against the established order and stipulated actors to spill much ink.

The purpose of this section is not to provide a comprehensive study of the borderland’s society, as it is not within the scope of my study, but rather to give the reader a better understanding of the social complexity of early modern borderlands in general, and the Ottoman-Polish borderland in particular. Various social groups overlapped here and intermingled with each other daily. This section surveys Ottoman-Polish correspondence in the vernacular collected from over twenty archives in order to give

¹¹⁶ E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 97–99.

¹¹⁷ Letter of Priest G. (?) from Rzeszów to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 423v-r.

¹¹⁸ Letter of Abdi Pasha of Hotin to Krzysztof Rappe, Commander of Kamieniec Podolski, [Hotin], 22 VI 1714, BJ, Przyb. 84/52, f. 60v (copy).

the reader an impression of the social groups and their visibility in the sources. In doing so, I intend to highlight the complexity of the borderlands in general and this borderland in particular. Early modern societies were colorful conglomerates of different groups and ethnicities. It was even more so in the borderlands where the proximity of the border encouraged diversity, fluid identities, and border crossing.

Perhaps the least visible in the consulted sources, but functioning as a connecting factor in the borderland were Jews. In the eighteenth century, more than a half of the Polish-Lithuanian Jewish population (750,000) lived in privately owned noble towns, many of them in the provinces of Podolia, Braclaw, and Kiev that bordered the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁹ In a recent study, Ireneusz Thomas suggested that Jewish traders were among the most numerous to visit the Polish-Lithuanian border city of Żwaniec. A sample of tax records from 1765-1766 indicates that of the 319 merchants who paid customs duties in the city-fortress of Żwaniec, as many as 119 were Jewish, with 180 Polish and 55 Ottoman merchants appearing in the records, respectively.¹²⁰ The city functioned as a meeting point for Ottoman and Polish Jews and as the place where traders exchanged Polish skins and simple cloths for Ottoman sashes and textiles.

This trade did not always occur without friction. As a closer look at the content of correspondence between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles indicates, a lot of it has as its subject conflicts between Jewish traders: subjects of the Ottoman pasha and subjects of Polish nobility. In conflict situations, the Jews usually appealed to the protection of their territorial superiors. In 1714, for instance, Mehmed Pasha of Hotin dispatched to Kamieniec a 'Jewish trader' with a lawsuit against a Polish noble Orlinkowski who robbed the Jew of goods and cash and imprisoned him unlawfully.¹²¹ Additionally, Polish nobles intervened in conflicts between Polish and Ottoman Jews. In 1737, Wojciech Siedliski, leaseholder of Zińkowce dispatched to Hotin a long epistle in a conflict between two Jewish traders, Moszko of Hotin and Israel of Zińkowce.¹²² The dispute could not have been settled between the Jews, and the Polish noble appealed to the Ottoman pasha's mediation in search of justice. Jews appear in the borderland not only as traders but also as physicians and money lenders. Mendicant Jewish physicians sometimes treated Ottoman soldiers of the Hotin garrison, and cases involving debts and

¹¹⁹ Nancy Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands*, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 336 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2004), 17; see also Gershon David Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity*, S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 21–22 for exact numbers.

¹²⁰ Ireneusz Thomas, "Handel żydowski w połowie XVIII wieku w świetle rejestru celnego z Żwańca," *Studia judaica* 11, no. 1 (2008): 97.

¹²¹ Letter of Mehmed Pasha of Hotin to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown Hetman, Hotin, 24 XII 1715, ANK, ADzied, 26/32, No. 30 (original).

¹²² Letter of Wojciech Siedliski to Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, from Zińkowiec, 24 II 1737, COIM, ms. 333, f. 3v-r.

money lending between the Ottoman and Polish Jews filled approximately one-third of Ottoman-Polish correspondence in the vernacular.¹²³

Another group that often competed with Jews, inhabited the Ottoman-Polish border zone, and brought the border society closer together were Armenians. In the eighteenth century, one of the largest groups of Armenians in Poland-Lithuania flourished in Kamieniec Podolski, the most significant commercial center of Podolia. In 1763, this city recorded as many as three hundred twenty-eight Armenians who remained in contact with their compatriots throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁴ Armenian trader Grzegorz Nikorowicz traveled in 1746 to Persia in order to obtain Eastern commodities for Augustus III of Poland-Lithuania. Later on, this Armenian trader established a trading house in Istanbul to import Ottoman weapons and textiles.¹²⁵ Armenians crossed the border with ease, often had family ties on both sides of the border, and used Armenian credit and contacts to facilitate travel. In 1737, Isaias Stefanowicz, an Armenian pilgrim, traversed the Black Sea region to travel to Rome through Poland-Lithuania. On his way, he deposited cash and movable property with Ottoman Armenian merchants before embarking on the last part of his pilgrimage through Christian lands.¹²⁶ Recently, Jacek Gutowski argued that Armenian mobility strengthened Polish-Lithuanian desire for Persian and Ottoman commodities and facilitated exchanges of decorative patterns and styles that traveled in the hands and minds of Armenian artisans.¹²⁷

On an everyday basis, however, Armenians scarcely appear in Ottoman-Polish correspondence, usually as traders and merchants. As I discuss in chapter six, Armenians played a notable role in the networking of Polish-Lithuanian nobles with Ottomans and often searched for diplomats' protection in Istanbul. In the borderland, Armenians sometimes appealed to the Ottoman governor of Hotin. In 1732, the Armenian Elewterowicz brothers repeatedly inquired at the court in Hotin to obtain support in a case of unpaid debts from the Black Sea port of Akkerman.¹²⁸ In general, however, Armenians appeared in border correspondence irregularly, and it seems that Armenian merchants chiefly used their channels of communication in conflict situations.

¹²³ Letter of Aleksandra Skierzyńska to Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, from Szarawka, 29 VII 1731, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 42v about a conflict between Ahmed, Ottoman soldier and Mortek, Jewish barber-surgeon.

¹²⁴ Renata Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji: studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Avalon, 2008), 50.

¹²⁵ Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Leopoldinum, 1997), 244.

¹²⁶ Letter of Florian Schyling to Kolchak Pasha, in Kamieniec Podolski, 10 XII 1737, COIM, ms. 333, f. 228v-r.

¹²⁷ Jacek Gutowski, *Ceremonial Maces in Poland from the 16th to the 18th Century*, trans. Julita Mastalerz (Warsaw: Museum of King John III's Palace in Wilanów, 2015), 342–53.

¹²⁸ Letters of Daniel Elewterowicz to Piotr Pawłowski, Polish secretary in Hotin, from Lwów, 2–4 VI 1732, 7-AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 76v-79v.

Cossacks and Lipka Tatars also inhabited the borderland. Both were valued for their military skills and employed by Ottoman and Polish military forces. With Cossacks playing a less critical role in the eighteenth century, Ottomans and Poles appreciated the Lipka Tatars and Tatars figured prominently as translators, go-betweens, messengers, and border crossers.¹²⁹ Groups of Tatars settled in Polish and Lithuanian lands in the fourteenth and fifteenth century and received land possessions and freedom of faith in return for military service.¹³⁰ In 1672, during an Ottoman-Polish war, Lipka Tatar cavalry units changed sides and entered Ottoman service. The Ottomans settled most of them in Podolia (then conquered by the Ottomans) and used their services for raids in the borderland. In the meantime, many Lipka Tatars, unhappy with their situation under the Ottoman suzerainty, returned to Poland-Lithuanian; others remained in the Ottoman lands and settled around the fortress of Hotin.¹³¹

Cultural amphibians, fluent in both Polish and Ottoman culture, these Tatars functioned as ideal go-betweens in the Ottoman-Polish border zone. It was these Lipka Tatars that regularly carried letters between Ottoman border pashas and Polish nobles. In 1715, for instance, Mehmed Pasha of Hotin used to send his letters to Poland through Aleksander Ulan, a Lipka Tatar colonel in the Ottoman garrison of Hotin.¹³² Lipka Tatars were also employed as intermediaries in conflict situations, as in case of Jahia Ağa who mediated conflict in 1714 between Abdi Pasha of Hotin and the local Polish nobles.¹³³ Tatar importance as go-betweens becomes especially visible in narrative sources such as diplomatic diaries or travelogues. In the Polish travelogue of the Cossack hetman Pylyp Orlyk, Lipka Tatars are pictured as the binding social fabric between Ottomans and a Polish-speaking traveler. Tatars housed Orlyk, traveled with his letters, and escorted him in his journey southwards. Orlyk went as far as to state that he stayed ‘between Lipka Tatars like between his people.’¹³⁴ Similarly, Polish-Lithuanian diplomats on their way to Istanbul enjoyed the Lipka Tatar company, and Tatar cavalry units escorted them from the border to the Danube. In 1733, Polish envoy Józef Sierakowski greatly appreciated the greeting expressed by the Lipka Tatars at the farewell in Polish.¹³⁵ Lipka Tatars, however, did not monopolize mediation in the Ottoman-Polish border zone.

¹²⁹ Zygmunt Abrahamowicz and Jan Reychman, “Lipka,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 765–67.

¹³⁰ Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce: studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII w*, Wyd. 1 (Warszawa: PWN, 1989), 214.

¹³¹ Piotr Borawski, *Tatarzy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wyd. 1 (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1986), 182–84.

¹³² Letter of Mehmed Pasha of Hotin to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, Hotin, 24 XII 1715, ANK, ADzied, 26/32, No. 30 (original).

¹³³ Letter of Abdi Pasha of Hotin to Krzysztof Rappe, Commander of Kamieniec Podolski, Hotin, 27 V 1714, ANK, ADzied, 26/32, No. 24 (original).

¹³⁴ Jan z Tokar Tokarzewski Karaszewicz, ed., *Djarij Get'mana Pilpa Orlika=Diarjusz Hetmana Orlika=Le Journal de l'hetman Orlik*, vol. 17, Praci Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Instytutu (Warszawa, 1936), 82–83, 86 (“Druga, że tu między Lipkami właśnie jak między swoimi ludźmi zostaje.”).

¹³⁵ Michał Rzepka, “Diariusz legationis JWJ Mości Pana Strażnika Wielkiego Koronnego [Józefa Sierakowskiego] odprawionej roku 1732. Edycja tekstu” (Ph.D., Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2018) further cited as “Diariusz

Another group greatly interested in playing the role of cultural brokers were Moldavian boyars. Moldavian boyars lived in the Moldavian Principality under a Moldavian prince and Ottoman sultan, and often found themselves trapped between a rock and a hard place. Their unstable political reality consisting of often changing Moldavian princes frequently forced the boyars to seek refuge in neighboring polities. Since the late sixteenth century, the Polish borderland saw regular waves of Moldavian émigrés who searched for a safe place to weather political changes in Moldavia. Moldavians played the role of cultural brokers. Many of them returned home after the dust had settled, but others remained in Poland-Lithuania. The last sizeable Moldavian group of exiles to Poland-Lithuania in the seventeenth century headed by the ex-Moldavian Prince Ștefan Petriceicu of 1673-1674 had long term implications. In 1674, thanks to the support of the future king John III Sobieski, a large group of Moldavian boyars led by Ștefan Petriceicu and Ilie Moțoc naturalized in Poland-Lithuania.¹³⁶ The situation was similar in the eighteenth century with large groups of boyars arriving for instance in 1709 and 1710 or 1749.¹³⁷ Many of these boyars had extensive contacts throughout Poland-Lithuania; some of them had mastered Polish. Boyars were naturally predestined to mediate in the Ottoman-Polish border zone and were essential inhabitants of the region that frequently appear in court cases and on pages of the cross-border correspondence.

The two most important groups which were in regular contact throughout the eighteenth century were the Ottoman pashas and the Polish nobles. Crucial to the contact between them was the 1713 creation of a new administrative district (*nahiye*) in Hotin. In its humble beginnings, the Ottoman fortress at Hotin was under heavy diplomatic fire from the side of the Polish diplomats in Istanbul. The Poles regarded its creation as a violation of the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz. However, the fortress brought Ottoman pashas and soldiers with Polish nobility into intimate contact. As Abdi Pasha, the first governor of Hotin, asserted ‘the restoration of the castle of Hotin comes as a common good for both sides to keep the sacred peace.’¹³⁸ Indeed, from Abdi Pasha’s arrival to Hotin in 1713 Polish nobles became direct neighbors with an Ottoman border governor and other Ottoman subjects. This situation generated more intense contact and understandably, more conflicts that actors turned to a complex system of mediation, informal and formal justice. Both groups, Ottomans and Polish nobility (and their networking) are

Sierakowski” 7 II 1732 (convoying to the Danube), 11 IX 1733 (Lipka Tatars greeting the diplomat in Polish). I thank Michal Rzepka for providing me with access to an unpublished version of this diplomatic diary.

¹³⁶ Ilona Czamańska, “Rumuńska imigracja polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku,” *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 6 (1993): 18–19; see also Costin Feneșan, “Diplome de indigenat polon ale boierilor moldoveni Grigore Hăbășescu și Gheorghe Hâjdău,” *Arhiva Genealogică* 4 (9), no. 3–4 (1997): 93–107.

¹³⁷ Kaczka, “The Gentry of the Ottoman-Polish Borderlands,” 146; Nestor Camarino and Ariadna Camarino-Cioran, eds., *Cronica Ghiculeștilor. Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695-1754.*, vol. 5, *Cronicile Medievale Ale României* (București, 1966), 639; *Opere: letopisețul țării Moldovei și o samă de cuvinte*, ed. Gabriel Ștrempel, (Ediții critice) (București: Ed. Minerva, 1982), 514; Dan Simonescu, ed., *Cronica anonimă a Moldovei, 1661 – 1729 (Pseudo-Amiras)* (București: EARSR, 1975), 138. This under-researched topic desires a comprehensive study.

¹³⁸ Abdi Pasha of Hotin to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, from the camp near Hotin, 27 VII 1713, ANK, ADzied, 26/32, No. 21 (original): „Zamek chocimski, że my teraz restaurujemy, jest to z pożytkiem obojgu stronom dla pokoju świętego.”

discussed more closely in chapter three. Here, I discuss the cross-confessional border courts of justice for criminal and civil persecution and other, informal means of seeking justice that transpire from the massive amounts of preserved cross-border correspondence. The eighteenth century experiences a bottom-up initiative from the Ottoman and Polish borderland actors in order to create a joint court for criminal offenses. This institution was successful and, as I suggest, its creation resulted from the intensified Ottoman-Polish social interactions in the eighteenth century in the vicinity of Hotin.

Cross-Confessional Border Courts of Justice and Informal Justice: Jan Świrski and the Border Management

The new Ottoman administrative unit in the vicinity of Hotin replaced other, more remote Ottoman centers in the region, particularly that of Özü and tightened contacts between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. Minor conflicts were unavoidable. The borderland saw a rise of mobile fairs, so-called *otaki* (from Ottoman Turkish word *otagh* meaning tent) that stood under the Moldavian, Polish, or Ottoman protection. These cross-border fairs attracted merchants from both sides of the border, as well as numerous local inhabitants. *Otaki* crated short-lived tent cities where merchants exchanged desirable Ottoman luxury wares for local Polish products or produce and took place on a rotation basis on the Ottoman and Polish side of the border.¹³⁹ These gatherings naturally created minor tensions and conflicts. This is why the majority of letters that traveled across the border dealt with situations of conflict and their resolution, often in the mobile border markets. It is evident that thieves and criminals used the border to escape justice or hide from persecution. Polish nobility, Moldavian boyars, and Ottoman pashas searched early on for means of conflict resolution and mediation.

I suggest that institutionalized border courts were one of many instances of reaching justice in cross-cultural, and cross-border disputes. In a complex process of cross-border mediation, actors did have multiple ways of resolving conflicts. The range of possible solutions ranged from searching for an agreement directly between the two parties involved in the conflict (direct mediation and negotiation),

¹³⁹ Almost obvious is a similarity with the Ottoman imperial tent complex, see: Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000). On 'otaki' in the Ottoman-Polish border zone, see: Letter of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Jan Szembeka, Tuczapy, 25 IX 1710, BC, ms. 457, No. 79: „The Prince of Moldavia brought *otaki* which should be there until the feast of Saint Michael.” Letter of Stanisław Chomentowski to Jan Szembek, BC, ms. 460, No. 137, b.m., 27 IX 1711: „I started *otak*’ in Śniatyń, there are enough Turkish merchants.” Letter of Konstanty Turkul to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawskiego, BC, ms. 5971, No. 45209, Lisznia, 21 VI 1712: „Many Turkish merchants arrived from distant countries with great magnitude of wares and they started *otaki*; the district councilor [*starosta*] and tax collectors set there their tents according to the custom.” *Otaki* are also mentioned on regular basis in border judge Jan Świrski’s correspondence, see letter of Jan Świrski to Jan Tarło, in Latyczów, 2 VII 1741, CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 177v: “When the new pasha will arrive, we should inquire so that he allows new *otaki* to be set next to Kalusz, because they are reserved in several places, in Mohylew, Hotin, Horodenka and Śniatyń.”

through violent feuds to directly addressing a local overlord or even central state institutions. Contemporaries benefited from a wide range of possible solutions, and often the method of justice the actors sought was dependant on the situation (emotional or financial intensity of the conflict), the person (social standing), and time. ‘The growing financial and emotional attractions of [the] legal process’ in the eighteenth century helped create the Ottoman-Polish border court, but the border court of justice in itself was not a result of a linear civilizing process in Norbert Elias’ spirit.¹⁴⁰ Rather, Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles realized that they could delegate the conflict resolution to a special institution set up and controlled by themselves that could and did play the role of a mediator, facilitated and accelerated the conflict resolution. Nobles and pashas could delegate to the border courts of justice, a largely impartial institution, the conflict resolution. Similar border courts, created to mediate conflict situations and to safeguard peace in the borderlands existed elsewhere, for instance, the so-called ‘chambre mi-partie’ on the Dutch-Habsburg border created in 1648.¹⁴¹ What is remarkable about the Ottoman-Polish courts is the fact that actors created them in a bottom-up process and their existence did not result from an interstate treaty.

Firstly, I show that the creation of border courts originated from a burning need and the cross-border cooperation of Ottoman and Polish subjects. It also stemmed from the overall peaceful Ottoman-Polish coexistence and conviviality that made a creation of a border court of justice possible. In doing so, I examine the history of the Ottoman-Polish border court that until today was not investigated.¹⁴² Secondly, I illustrate how the border courts worked on few carefully selected and richly documented case studies. These case studies illustrate how the courts functioned, but also serve as an illustration for the colorful social composition of the borderland’s society and indicate how seeking justice worked in practice.

In the beginnings of the eighteenth century, Ottoman and Polish actors intervening in a conflict situation often reminded each other of the latest 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz that constituted a legal and binding framework for (both) Poles and Ottomans.¹⁴³ The treaty itself, however, did not discuss border conflicts or execution of justice in the borderland, but rather embraced a generic mutual friendship, an essential concept in Ottoman and Polish networking and diplomacy that appeared throughout almost all

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Cummins and Laura Kounine, “Confronting Conflict in Early Modern Europe,” in *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2016), 2.

¹⁴¹ Bram De Ridder, “Sustaining the Munster Peace: The Chambre Mi-Partie as an Experiment in Transnational Border Arbitration (1648–1675),” *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 1 (2016): 36–37, <https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2016-1-35>.

¹⁴² Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683-1792*, 153, fn. 66 remarked that the history of Ottoman-Polish courts is difficult to trace.

¹⁴³ Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 581–605.

Ottoman-Polish diplomatic treaties. Often, both parties did not address their complaints on any interstate treaty but rather a universalistic ‘justice.’

In 1709, for instance, Yusuf Pasha of Bender directly addressed the Grand Crown hetman Adam Sieniawski asking for justice for an Ottoman merchant attacked, robbed, and imprisoned on the Polish side of the border. While doing so, Yusuf Pasha suggested that similar conflicts need to be resolved promptly as ‘minor issues can create larger quarrels.’¹⁴⁴ In another instance, Mehmed Pasha of Hotin dispatched a Jew with a lawsuit against a Polish noble that kidnapped and imprisoned a Moldavian-Jewish trader. The nobleman, however, did not reply to the lawsuit and in this way, likely avoided justice. Similar situations catalyzed closer cross-border cooperation in establishing a joint border court of justice.

The Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles’ efforts to establish a border court of justice were, however, not the first. As early as 1676, Polish-Russian efforts resulted in the creation of a joint border court of justice to rule over all civil and criminal conflict situations in the Polish-Russian border zone.¹⁴⁵ The Polish-Russian Perpetual Treaty of 1686 sped up the process of creating a regularized institution for justice execution. Larry A. Bakken has suggested on the American example that the creation of courts of justice in border zones could have been connected with the growing population density that created a bottom-up pressure to regulate legal conflicts.¹⁴⁶ This might have been the case in the Ottoman-Polish and Polish-Russian case, too.¹⁴⁷ Together with a more regular border life and lack of open wars, especially in the Ottoman-Polish case, border courts of justice became necessary for everyday life.

From 1714, thus, the Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles worked closely together on establishing a legal basis for conflict resolution with a border court of justice for all civil and criminal matters that could issue irrevocable and binding sentences. In 1715, the provincial council of Podolia nominated the deputy councilor of Kamieniec Podolski (*burgrabia kamieniecki*), Łokuczewski as the first border judge. The nobles did so at the request of Mehmed Pasha, governor of Hotin. The future sessions of the border court were to be held in Kamieniec Podolski, which created a concern for the Polish side. The Palatine of Podolia Humiecki was unwilling to invite large groups of mounted Ottomans to the most critical

¹⁴⁴ Letter of Yusuf Pasha of Bender to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, no place [Bender], no date [ca. 1709]. ANK, ADzied 26/32, No. 18. For a similar case involving homicide of an Ottoman merchant Abdullah, see Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski, “Południowo-wschodnie pogranicze Rzeczypospolitej u schyłku Wojny Północnej: w kręgu aktywności hetmana wielkiego koronnego Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego po Poltawie,” in *Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem: księga jubileuszowa profesora Krystyna Matwijowskiego*, ed. Jerzy Maroń and Bogdan Rok (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2006), 1151–53.

¹⁴⁵ Wincenty Skrzetuski, *Prawo polityczne narodu polskiego*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Drukarnia JKMci i Rzeczypospolitej u XX Scholarum Piarum, 1784), 418–19; Teodor Ostrowski, *Prawo cywilne albo szczególne narodu polskiego* (Drukarnia J.K.Mci i Rzeczyplitej u XX. Scholarum Piarum, 1784), 81–82.

¹⁴⁶ Larry A. Bakken, *Justice in the Wilderness: A Study of Frontier Courts in Canada and the United States, 1670-1870* (Littleton, Colo: F.B. Rothman, 1986), 4, 27.

¹⁴⁷ There was also a similar Ottoman-Russian border court that remains unexplored, see AVPRI, fond 22, Border Commission with Turkey. I thank Dariusz Kołodziejczyk for this remark.

Polish-Lithuanian fortress in the region. Ottomans, on their part, distrusted Łokuczewski and his impartiality. This first attempt at nominating a judge was unsuccessful.¹⁴⁸

The efforts to create a border court of justice first moved ahead in 1721 when the king's council, pressured by borderlands' inhabitants, established the first border court for the Palatinate of Podolia directly bordering the Ottoman district of Hotin. In February 1721, the first session of this court convened in Kamieniec Podolski. A large number of Ottomans and Tatars led by Ali Ağa visited the city during this winter in search of justice.¹⁴⁹ From this time on, the court held its sessions annually and probably dealt with all cases between Polish subjects with Tatars, Moldavians, and Ottomans. Simultaneously, the Moldavian Prince Mihai Racovița, cooperated with the Grand Crown hetman Adam Sieniawski to establish a separate court for cases between Moldavian and Polish subjects.¹⁵⁰ Works on establishing border court did not succeed immediately. All sides complained about the scarcity of judges as the job was overwhelmingly unpopular. The elected judges often took their duties without haste or remained uninterested in working as border judges altogether. Judges often did not arrive in the borderland at the same time, thereby obstructing the courts' work. The courts also did not convene regularly, but rather as needed.

All these issues were finally solved in 1732 and 1733 by a combined effort of Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia and Antoni Dembowski, Bishop of Płock. In this year, king Augustus II signed a document that established the first permanent border court of justice for the Palatinate of Podolia.¹⁵¹ 'According to the Treaty of Karlowitz, I decided to establish this border court so that justice could be served to all aggrieved parties from both sides of the border in all harms, damages, homicides, robberies and all other injustices and so that both sides could search for justice and receive satisfaction' – Augustus II of Poland-Saxony argued in favor of his decision in a letter to border judges.¹⁵² The courts were moved from Kamieniec Podolski to a small border city-fortress of Żwaniec. In 1736, the constitutions of the Polish diet confirmed the existence of this court and prolonged its work.¹⁵³ The Ottoman-Polish border

¹⁴⁸ On the person of Łokuczewski (spelled also as Łokuciewski or Łokuszewski), see Link-Lenczowski, "Południowo-wschodnie pogranicze," 1160. Łokuczewski was appointed the higher councilor of Kamieniec Podolski in 1724. He died before 13 I 1725, see: Letter of Jakub Zygmunt Rybiński, Palatine of Chelm to Jan Stanisław Kątski, Piotrków, 13 I 1725, AGAD, APP, ms. 168, p. 326. He was conflicted not only with Ottomans but with burghers and Polish nobility too, see: Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji*, 59; Antoni Józef Rolle, *Sylwetki historyczne*, vol. 8, 8 (Kraków: Gebethner i Spółka, 1892), 18.

¹⁴⁹ Letter of Stefan Humiecki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Rychty, 27 II 1721, BC, ms. 5834, No.15201.

¹⁵⁰ Letter of Mihai Racovița to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 1 III 1725, BC, ms. 2900, No. 13. Letter of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Mihai Racovița, no place, no date, AGAD, AKW, Moldavian and Walachian Section, ms. 43/83. Both sides accused each other of delays and stubbornness. Cf. Letter of Stefan Humiecki to Jan Stanisław Kątski, Lwów, 25 IV 1725, AGAD, APP, ms. 168, pp. 304 – 305, where Humiecki describes laxity of Polish judges.

¹⁵¹ ANK, Podh, 13, 4/2 (copies of documents from the court books of Kamieniec Podolski considering the border courts).

¹⁵² Letter of Augustus II to the border judges, Warszawa, 18 X 1732, APN, Podh, ms. XI, 1/34.

¹⁵³ *Volumina Legum*, vol. 6 (Petersburg: Jozefat Ohryzko, 1860), 324.

court, created by Augustus II, resulted from the bottom-up pressure to create a formalized court; this court, in turn, belonged to the fairly complicated jurisdictional structure of Poland-Lithuania.

The king's central ordonnance regulated the works and secured the court's finances. There were six sessions of the border court yearly and the court sessions convened in Żwaniec (for Ottoman subjects), and Serebrya (for Moldavian subjects), interchangeably. Writs had to be presented one week before the coming court session, and border judges announced the new sessions of the courts publicly on the Ottoman and Polish side of the border alike. The court's six judges heard all possible witnesses. The Polish Crown treasury compensated judges with a one thousand zloty pension each. The Lower Councilor of Kamieniec Podolski (*burgrabia kamieniecki*), the Municipal Office of Kamieniec Podolski (*urząd grodzki*), and another border city, Latyczów selected court functionaries (bailiff, prosecutor, scribe) from among the local noble officials. The Kamieniec Podolski's tower served as a temporary prison for convicts, and Kamieniec's Municipal Office executed the verdicts. In practice, local Polish-Lithuanian military units often executed the sentences and in case of the Ottoman subjects, the divan in Hotin, or the pasha, himself, was asked to execute the sentences.

Separate courts were also established for all other Polish-Lithuanian palatinates bordering the Ottoman Empire. All other courts, apart from the one of Podolia, were, however, ineffective. As a result, in 1763, Augustus III gave the Podolian border judge Ksawery Kaczkowski the right to judge subjects from all palatinates bordering the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁴ The long process of establishing border courts was finished this year as the last Polish-Tatar border court was created in Jahorlik. The first session of this court was to have taken place in September 1763 under the protection of the Crown Steward and owner of the city, Stanisław Lubomirski. Several plenipotentiaries of the Polish, Tatar, and even Moldavian side gathered in the border city of Jahorlik, but the court failed to convene.¹⁵⁵

What did the proceedings of the border court(s) look like? Unfortunately, a detailed description of an Ottoman-Polish border court's session has yet to be found, but another source describing in detail the proceedings of the Moldavian-Polish border court gives a sense of how this kind of cross-cultural institution operated. In February 1743, the Polish border judges gathered in an agreed upon village and informed the Moldavian representatives of their presence there.¹⁵⁶ Lengthy deliberations followed about where to meet and how to proceed as both sides intended to host the court's session. In the end, the judges agreed to meet on a raised bridge over the border stream, literally in no-man's land. In the middle

¹⁵⁴ Letter of Augustus III to Ksawery Kaczkowski, Podolian border judge, Warszawa, 21 III 1763, AGAD, Paper documents collection, No. 1876.

¹⁵⁵ See a description of this meeting: 'Opisanie przypadku zdarzonego pod miasteczkiem Jahorlikiem między obywatelami tatarskimi i polskimi', 17 IX 1763, BC, ms. 623 IV, No. 150, pp. 299-301.

¹⁵⁶ 'Dyaryusz komisji pogranicznej ekspediowanej nad wsią rzeczką Kulaczynem nad granicą wołoską pół mile za Śniatyniem', 2 II 1743, BC, ms. 591 IV, f. 1-10.

of the bridge, their servants brought a table and four chairs to accommodate Moldavian and Polish judges; the smell of coffee, wine, and other foodstuffs such as fried roses (that the author of the proceedings' report had never seen before) and other sweetmeats accompanied the proceedings. The convening took around one and a half weeks and was accompanied by many courtesies, joint lunches, and dinners on both sides of the border and innumerable bottles of wine. The judges made two copies of concluded verdicts, a Moldavian one and a Polish one, and judged all possible civil and criminal matters without an appeal. The judges formulated sentences unanimously. If the case involved a 'Turk' or a Polish noble from a more remote palatinate, the judges sometimes forwarded them to the Ottoman-Polish border court of justice, regional Polish-Lithuanian court, or the Ottoman pasha's council. This court, like all others too, formulated verdicts overwhelmingly in cases involving peasants, Jews, and other non-noble subjects.

In the 1730s, the Ottoman-Polish court of justice convened in a similar vein to the Moldavian-Polish court and formulated verdicts in cooperation with border judges, local Polish-Lithuanian notables and Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin. I discuss Kolchak's correspondence and network in chapter three. Here it suffices to say that among the most regular correspondents of the Ottoman pasha were border judges, among all Jan Świrski, the Podolian border judge (1732-1739) (*sędzia pograniczny*), deputy steward of Kamieniec Podolski (1732-1746) (*podstoli kamieniecki*) and practically a chief justice for the entire borderland.¹⁵⁷ Entirely forgotten in history books, Świrski was the most active and experienced border judge. Świrski always issued his sentences in cooperation with at least four other judges and stayed interested in the border courts even after his term of office has passed. Świrski used to write to Kolchak Pasha every week informing him about the proceedings of the border court, new cases of conflicts and asking him to send Ottoman representatives and translators to the court. Świrski met the pasha regularly and asked him in person to execute the border court's verdicts on Ottoman subjects remaining under his sovereignty and asked Polish officials to do the same in Poland-Lithuania.

Świrski was a meddling border noble with limited financial means, but seemingly never-ending energy and a willingness to meet personally with Ottoman officials. Świrski was a go-between par excellence, and his rich conserved correspondence displays a remarkable understanding for the complexities of the Ottoman-Polish borderland. Judging and mediating was Świrski's life. He mastered the methods of mediation and taught others about borderland's intricacy. Shortly after his term in office had passed, Świrski observed Moldavian officials at the mobile fair in Mohylew imprisoning suspects in criminal cases without any trial. He intervened, received letters from the Crown chancellery to the

¹⁵⁷ For the most accurate info on Świrski, see Kazimierz Pułaski, *Kronika polskich rodów szlacheckich Podola, Wołyńia i Ukrainy: monografie i wzmiianki*, ed. Tadeusz Epsztejn and Sławomir Górczyński (Warszawa: Blitz-Print, 1991), 230.

Moldavian Prince, and personally settled the affair.¹⁵⁸ Although vitally interested in the execution of the law to its full extent, Świrski's extensive correspondence is the best example of various methods of resolving conflicts that did not always involve a trial in court. Świrski respected the institution of the border court, but often, in cases that involved himself, chose to settle the matter with Ilyash Kolchak Pasha directly instead of resorting to the court.¹⁵⁹ Świrski's family used similar methods of conflict mediation. His father-in-law, for instance, Alexander Włodkowski, used Świrski's influence to ask the pasha to hang thieves who stole from his goods without a trial.¹⁶⁰

Świrski's correspondence suggests that his job was not an easy one, as perpetrators targeted him with violence due to his office. In 1733, for instance, a well-organized cross-border group of thieves involving Ruthenian peasants and Muslim Ottoman merchants acting as receivers of stolen goods, stole from Świrski's estates and mobile tent markets. When caught and prosecuted, the perpetrators threatened to burn down to the ground Świrski's house.¹⁶¹ Świrski appealed to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin to persecute the malefactors and dispatched to Hotin a copy of testimonies made in front of a Polish court with names of involved Ottoman subjects. In the very same year, Hotin's janissaries stole three of Świrski's horses. Świrski, however, did not prosecute the Ottoman soldiers in the border court, but instead addressed the Ottoman governor and asked him for compensation.¹⁶² Ilyash Kolchak's friendship and regular access to Ottoman commodities (coffee, tobacco, water pipes or Damascus soap) thanks to his extensive Ottoman connections were Świrski's additional compensation for his work. Świrski often complained about the high costs of holding the border courts and indicated that 'the thousand zloty of payment that we get is not sufficient with the high expenses that we incur, because –while hosting these courts– we need to host not only foreign judges but also ours and our [military] officers, who assist the border courts.'¹⁶³ The job was not an easy one, and it required a passion and idealism that Świrski displayed well into his later years.

Świrski also had to deal with social expectations on both sides of the border. This became visible in the case of a runaway Ottoman woman who escaped to Poland with two infants in 1731. Świrski and

¹⁵⁸ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Jan Tarło, Palatine of Lublin, no place, no date, [ca. 1741], CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 269v-270v.

¹⁵⁹ Letter of Jan Świrski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, from Kamieniec, 28 III 1734, COIM, ms. 333, f. 330v-r.

¹⁶⁰ Letter of Alexander Włodkowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, no place, no date, COIM, ms. 333, f. 264v-r.

¹⁶¹ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge and Deputy Pantler of Kamieniec Podolski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Kamieniec Podolski, 23 III 1733, COIM, ms. 333, f. 163v: „Proszę Waszej Paszyńskiej Mości, abym w mojej tak znacznej szkodzię miał satysfakcyę, bo nie dość co mi szkody narobili, ale jak ich wypuszczono z Chocimia to się przechwalają mnie i dwór spalić.” See also the fascinating confession of all involved thieves in the same manuscript, ff. 240v-241v, ‘Litera confessata stawiennego Iwonicy do sądu wiceburgrabskiego przez administratora Wielmożnego JMci Pana Świrskiego, podstolego podolskiego’, Kamieniec Podolski, 23 III 1733.

¹⁶² Letter of Jan Świrski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, from Kamieniec Podolski, 6 V 1733, COIM, ms. 333, f. 87v-88v.

¹⁶³ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Jan Tarło, Palatine of Sandomierz and General of the Podolian Lands, from Karyszków, 5 XI 1740, CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 161v-162v: „A tysiąc złotych co bierzem pensyi trudno się obejść przy znacznym ekspensie, a jeszcze prezydując tym sądom to nie tylko postronnych komisarzów przyjmować i traktować trzeba, ale i swoich i tych oficerów, którzy asystują sądom pogranicznym.”

other border judges ordered her to return all movables that she brought from the Ottoman fortress but protected her and her children as she converted to Catholicism. The woman's husband was a Hotin garrison janissary, and soon the janissaries started to rebel and press Ilyash Kolchak to get his children back. Świrski decided, henceforth, to split the children, keep the younger one with the mother in Poland and send the older one to the Ottoman lands to appease the mother and the father. The border court ordered the peasant accomplices of the woman either hanged or punished ruthlessly for transporting the woman over the border river. This worked, and the case was settled.¹⁶⁴ Świrski, thus, settled conflict matters within and without the framework of the border court of justice.

Informal justice usually implied writing to the two involved parties and searching for an agreement. In 1734, in the case of another Ottoman runaway woman, Waclaw Rzewuski informed Kolchak Pasha that he will first 'write to the owner of these estates [where the woman is – M. K.]; then if he refuses to satisfy the demands, I will be trying insistently to forward this case to the border court – as the fastest court– to be judged there.'¹⁶⁵ Świrski, in another case involving debts between Polish nobles and Ottoman soldiers, suggested first to mediate and if both parties could not reach an agreement to send the case to the border courts. As these cases indicate, direct mediation was the first method of negotiating in a conflict situation.

Świrski often complained that plaintiffs did not use border courts of justice as the path from the court's verdict to its execution was a long one. This was indeed the case with the subjects of the Princes of Moldavia, who did not always comply with the court's orders and searched for justice themselves. Świrski permanently reported in the over four hundred pages of letters to his patron Jan Tarło about cases of Moldavian judges not arriving at the border for the court session or them imprisoning suspects without a trial.¹⁶⁶ Świrski traveled to the Prince of Moldavia Gheorghe Ghika to negotiate Moldavian judges' regular appearances on the border.¹⁶⁷ The ever-changing Princes of Moldavia often took justice into their own hands and hanged criminals caught *in flagrante*. Mihai Racoviță, Prince of Moldavia in the 1720s commented after his officials hanged Polish peasants that 'if (...) any thief from the Polish side was caught during the crime by my guard and if he was hanged, then under the law, the local court should not be censored in any way, since the universal law orders to punish such people excessively.'¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Letter of Jan Świrski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, no place, April 1731, COIM, ms. 333, f. 234v-r; letter of Jan Świrski to Jan Tarło, from Żwaniec, 30 V 1731, CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 29v-30v.

¹⁶⁵ Letter of Waclaw Rzewuski, Crown Writer to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, from Kamieniec Podolski, 12 IX 1734, COIM, ms. 333, f. 166v: „A ja naprzód napiszę do posesora tych dóbr, po tym zaś, jeżeliby odmówił satysfakcyi, starać się będę usilnie, aby ta sprawa sądem pogranicznym jako najprędzszym rozsądzona była.”

¹⁶⁶ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Jan Tarło, Palatine of Sandomierz and General of the Podolian Lands, no place, no date [ca. 1741], CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 260v-270v about the case of Dobrawski, Polish noble whom Moldavian officials caught, imprisoned and put in chains for weeks until their demands were met.

¹⁶⁷ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Jan Tarło, Palatine of Sandomierz and General of the Podolian Lands, no place, 3 VII 1741, CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 559, f. 172v-173r.

¹⁶⁸ Letter of Mihai Racoviță to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 13 III 1723, BC, ms. 2900, No. 10.

Infrequently, the Ottoman governors imprisoned Polish subjects, even nobles, and judged them in their court.¹⁶⁹ Often, in the case of lost goods, the Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles tried to search for them on their own on the other side of the border through mediators and go-betweens.¹⁷⁰ Only the most spectacular cases of violations reached the central courts.

A case that was indicative of the complex competitions in the borderland transpired in 1722. That year, Racoviță's people caught a group of Moldavian boyars stealing horses in Moldavia. The boyars worked for the wealthy officer of the Polish Crown Army, Marcin Kalinowski and his brother Józef¹⁷¹. It turned out that a well-organized group of Polish nobles and Moldavian boyars stole entire herds of Tatar and Moldavian horses in the borderland on a regular basis. The Grand Crown hetman, Adam Sieniawski, was aware of Kalinowski's actions, but it seems that he was helpless against his quite powerful and influential protégé, even though he knew precisely who the thieves were¹⁷². Sieniawski commented on this situation by stating 'that our lords [Polish nobility – M. K.] protect in their goods Moldavians expelled from their country and let them (...) steal horses and commit other excesses, and with these gains, they cherish and protect them.'¹⁷³ Racoviță wrote first (apparently a few times) to Sieniawski and then, frustrated about his dilatoriness, directly to the king, Augustus II. Further information is not available, but it is likely that Kalinowski was never punished for his actions.

Another well-documented case involved another influential local Polish noble Kazimierz Mierzejewski. Mierzejewski used to kidnap Moldavian peasants in order to settle them in his landed estates. Racoviță first tried mediation and wrote to Sieniawski about this case and, when Sieniawski did not react, Racoviță informed Augustus II again.¹⁷⁴ Sieniawski defended Mierzejewski pointing out that 'I have known him from his young years and he always gained a good reputation and displayed kindly honor.'¹⁷⁵ Sieniawski claimed that Mierzejewski had never crossed the border, and he also stated that nobody had ever complained about his actions in the past. In the end, Racoviță threatened to inform Istanbul about the violation of the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz by Mierzejewski and his accomplices. This proved a successful strategy as Mierzejewski sent his private commissioners to the Moldavian Prince to negotiate an agreement.

¹⁶⁹ Letter of Jan Świrski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, no place, no date, COIM, ms. 333, f. 295v-r.

¹⁷⁰ Lettr of Jan Kondorat, Moldavian pârçălab (administrator) of Hotin to Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia, Hotin, 29 IV 1714, ANK, ADzT ms. 282, f. 79v, on the case of Ottoman horses stolen from Hotin by a Polish noble woman Zielińska.

¹⁷¹ Letter of Mihai Racoviță to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 3 XI 1722 (old style) [24 XI 1722], BC, ms. 2900, No. 18.

¹⁷² Letter of Marcin Kalinowski to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Lublin, 30 VI 1720, BC, ms. 5865, No. 17031.

¹⁷³ Letter of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Jan Szembek, Grand Crown chancellor, 22 III 1719, BC, ms. 476. Cited after Link-Lenczowski, "Południowo-wschodnie pogranicze," 1158.

¹⁷⁴ Letter of Mihai Racoviță to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 1 III 1723 (old style) [12 III 1723], BC, ms. 2900, No. 13. Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Augustus II, Brzeżany, 10 II 1726, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, ms. 70/677.

¹⁷⁵ Letter of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Mihai Racoviță, no place, no date, AGAD, AKW, Dział Moldawski i Wołoski, ms. 43/83. „JMP kasztelana [zakroczymskiego Kazimierza Mierzejewskiego – M. K.] znam z młodości lat jego zawsze dobrze i poczciwie zarabiającego sobie na honor i reputacye, a żadnych nigdy nie miał *temeritates* i nikt się i razu na niego nie skarżył.”

As the case studies of Kalinowski and Mierzejewski reveal, there were numerous ways of addressing conflict on the border. In an ideal-typical model of borderland justice, in the first instance, the plaintiffs addressed the defendants directly to search for a settlement (direct negotiations, see figure 1). If this method did not work, the plaintiff often addressed the overlord, in both described cases the king of Poland-Lithuania. In the next instance, private commissioners mediated many conflicts like in Mierzejewski's case. In the last stage, the conflict situations reached the local border courts. As the courts ruled irrevocably and efficiently, with time, their verdicts gained esteem in the borderland. In the 1710s and 1720s informal justice was often more popular than formalized border courts; from the 1730s onwards, however, the border courts seemed to have been used on a regular basis, particularly in severe cases where other methods of negotiation did not bring a compromise.

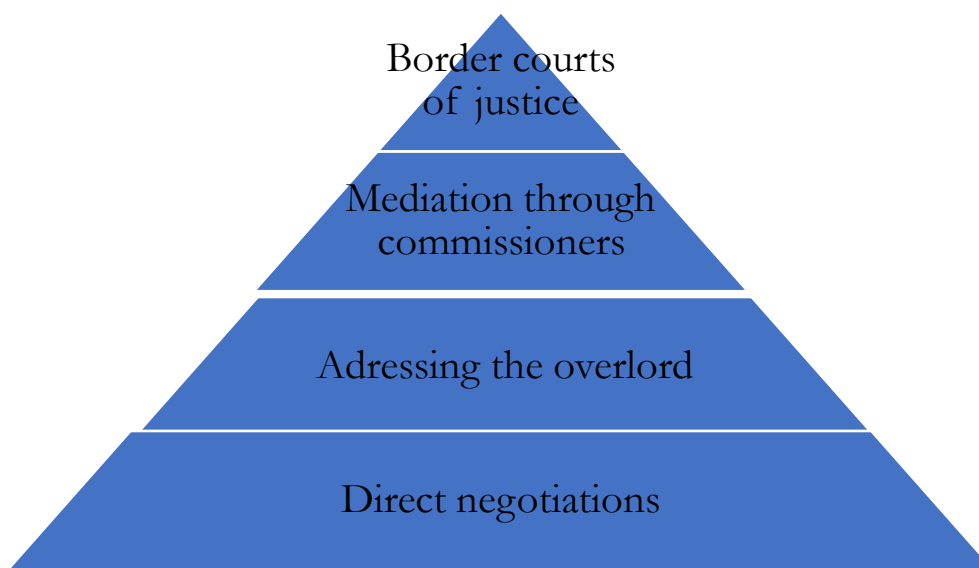


Figure 1: Model of reaching justice in the Ottoman-Polish borderland in the eighteenth century.

The correspondence of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha is filled with innumerable conflict matters of which all were quickly resolved. The pasha had his representative at the border court of justice, Ali Ağa Rudnicki, a Lipka Tatar colonel in Ottoman service who mediated and translated between Ottoman defendants and Polish plaintiffs. The sources even provide some spectacular cases of the court's effectiveness. In 1763, the border judge Ksawery Kaczkowski ruled in the prominent case of Michał Czarnocki, a Polish noble who stole several thousands of florins from the Jewish and Muslim merchants of Hotin.¹⁷⁶ As he could not pay his debts himself, the Crown Treasury took over his landed estates, and

¹⁷⁶ Letter of Mehmed Pasha of Hotin to Ksawery Kaczkowski, Hotin, 22 IV 1765, BK, ms. 142, p. 42. See also other letters in this manuscript.

the Crown paid back the debt.¹⁷⁷ This example suggests that the border courts of justice worked and issued verdicts that were later on executed to the full extent of the law.

To sum up, there were various methods of reaching justice in border zone conflicts involving Ottoman, Polish, Moldavian or Tatar subjects. First, both sides of the conflict tried to settle the matter with each other directly; if this method proved unsuccessful, usually the conflicted parties searched for mediation through a local border lord, Polish, Ottoman, or Moldavian. As the discussed case studies suggest, sometimes the centers in Warsaw or Istanbul could be used to seek justice or at least put pressure on borderland lords to take action. Occasionally, private commissioners were sent to the border zone to mediate in conflict situations. The most popular were the border courts that from the 1730s assumed an essential position in the Ottoman-Polish borderland's life and demonstrated the social liveliness and conviviality of this borderland in the eighteenth century. The border courts of justice, however, were just one of many methods of seeking justice and noninstitutionalized conflict resolution still kept its ground.

Quite striking is the similarity with the North American colonies where the colonized and the colonizers often searched for a mediated middle ground outside of formalized French or British courts of justice.¹⁷⁸ According to my knowledge, similar border courts of justice, however, did not exist in South East Asia, India, or the Americas where colonial powers enforced their law system instead to judge mixed criminal or civil cases in the borderlands. Scholars working, for instance, on South America accentuated the incorporation of native inhabitants into the litigation of the Spanish Empire.¹⁷⁹ In a similar manner, the British judged native Americans in the borderland along the lines of the English common law applied in a universalistic (and ineffective) way to all king's subjects.¹⁸⁰ The discussed courts of justice in the Ottoman-Polish borderland, on the contrary, applied the defendant's law system and hence gave the involved parties more trust in the impartiality and the rule of law. It would be interesting to search for examples of similar institutions around the world that regulated life and conflicts in border zones based on a compromise in legal cultures, rather than the imposition of one legal system over the other.

¹⁷⁷ See an undated description of Czarnocki's violations: BC, ms. 623 IV, No. 247, p. 493-494. Mehmed Pasha of Hotin to Tomasz Alexandrowicz, envoy extraordinary to Istanbul, Hotin, 11 III 1765, BC, ms. 624 IV, No. 169, pp. 345-346 and other his letters in this manuscript.

¹⁷⁸ White, *The Middle Ground*, 343-51.

¹⁷⁹ Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 85-87 on the involvement of Tenochcan Mexica women in colonial litigation.

¹⁸⁰ White, *The Middle Ground*, 343-44.

Chapter 3: Cross-Border Networking in the Ottoman-Polish Borderland: The Border ‘Friendships’

In March 1733, Lastek Cieński, a provincial Polish noble dispatched a curious letter to Piotr Pawłowski, secretary of Ilyash Kolchak, governor of Hotin. Cieński asked Pawłowski to influence Ilyash Kolchak Pasha to provide him –as he promised– with a horse, a tent, Ottoman travel bottles, and a spear. Cieński also asked for ‘pink, elderflower, and orange sherbet from the pasha’s kitchens, at least four jugs, and tobacco, but only a good one.’ Cieński not only inquired about receiving goods, but also provided goods and services to Ilyash Kolchak: he accompanied his letter with two French pistols and the pasha’s watch which he had taken to Poland for repairs.¹⁸¹ Cieński’s letter is a good example of cross-border networking, conviviality, and the exchange of goods that cemented border friendships and networks in the Ottoman-Polish borderland.

This chapter deals with Ottoman-Polish networking in the eighteenth century. I argue that a commensurable concept of border friendship, constantly evoked and confirmed in the correspondence, served to cement, maintain, and extend the Ottoman-Polish networks. I situate this concept within the growing body of literature on the history of emotions, a field that as of now has few followers in the field of Ottoman studies that still needs their followers in the Ottoman studies.¹⁸² The concept of friendship in the border correspondence had a different tradition and intensity than in Ottoman high diplomacy where friendship (*dostluk*) between states and rulers figured predominantly as a political concept.¹⁸³ Rather than confirming inter-state agreements, the language and terminology of friendship in the borderland help to surmount obstacles, ease minor conflicts, and deepen the social bonds that encompassed both

¹⁸¹ Letter of Lastek Cieński to Piotr Pawłowski, from Solec, 15 III 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 122v.

¹⁸² For the friendship as a concept within the history of emotions see Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin, eds., *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300 - 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Klaus Oschema, ed., *Freundschaft oder “amitié”? Ein politisch-soziales Konzept der Vormoderne im zwischensprachlichen Vergleich (15.-17. Jahrhundert)*, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beiheft 40 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007); for the Islamicate concept see Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt, “Friendship in Indian History: Introduction,” *Studies in History* 33, no. 1 (February 2017): 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0257643016677396>; precursory for the Ottomans Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Emma Flatt, “Practicing Friendship: Epistolary Constructions of Social Intimacy in the Bahmani Sultanate,” *Studies in History* 33, no. 1 (February 2017): 61–81, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0257643016677445>; Mana Kia, “Indian Friends, Iranian Selves, Persianate Modern,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36, no. 3 (2016): 398–417, <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-3699019>; for another cross-cultural example of a Chinese-European encounter see Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), chap. 3.

¹⁸³ On that see recently Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 31. I thank Nicolas Vatin for making me aware of that.

sides of the border. The language of friendship was reciprocal, exclusive, and required constant confirmation which generated entire volumes of correspondence.

Christian and Muslim concepts of friendship have different traditions, but are reconcilable and commensurable. In the Christian context, the classical works by Cicero and Aristotle predominately influenced the concept of friendship. Only males were capable of forging spiritual friendship bonds. Aristotle suggested that three main types of friendship exist: advantage-friendship, pleasure-friendship, and virtue friendship – with the last viewed as the highest and rarest form of all friendships.¹⁸⁴ Constantly reprinted and translated in the early modern period, Cicero's and Aristotle's works had a major impact on the European concepts of friendship that started evolving in the early modern period and would change considerably during the Enlightenment with the creation of a conscious self. In the old Polish literature, authors and poets defined friendship as a referential social bond which involved both benefits and services given to one another. For an early modern Polish noble, the ideal friendship involved not only verbal and written announcements and confirmations, but also tangible benefits and services provided reciprocally to one another.¹⁸⁵ Only social equals could forge friendships in any European context, and as such, nobles searched for friends among other nobles.¹⁸⁶

In the Ottoman context, the concept of friendship originated from various branches of Islamic traditions. In the Quran, friendship figures as an essential concept and the text allow the formation of friendships with infidels, as far as they do not send Muslims into exile and do not wage war against them.¹⁸⁷ Ottoman friendships were intimate and involved forming social bonds, as in Europe, between equals.¹⁸⁸ The classical Ottoman author, Mustafa Ali, for instance, remarked with displeasure on the practice of friendships between beardless boys and mature and influential Ottomans.¹⁸⁹ The Persianate culture profoundly influenced Ottoman thinking on friendship by suggesting the possibility of creating

¹⁸⁴ Barbara Caine, "Introduction," in *Friendship: A History*, Critical Histories of Subjectivity and Culture (London ; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub, 2008), X.

¹⁸⁵ Agnieszka Czechowicz, "O przyjaźni: figura serpentinata w dwudziestu czterech odsłonach," in *Przyjaźń w kulturze staropolskiej*, ed. Małgorzata Trębska and Agnieszka Czechowicz, *Studia i materiały z dziejów literatury wczesnonowoczesnej* 2 (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2013), 9.

¹⁸⁶ The extensive discussion on patronage goes beyond my inquire, see Antoni Mączak, *Unequal Friendship: The Patron-Client Relationship in Historical Perspective*, Polish Studies, Transdisciplinary Perspectives 20 (Frankfurt am Main ; New York, NY: Peter Lang Edition, 2017), 20–21.

¹⁸⁷ Mohammad Ali Shomali, "A Probe into the Concept of Friendship in the Qur'ān," *Religious Inquiries* 2, no. 3 (2013): 82.

¹⁸⁸ Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 78.

¹⁸⁹ Serkan Delice, "Friendship, Sociability, and Masculinity in the Ottoman Empire: An Essay Confronting the Ghosts of Historicism," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42 (2010): 108, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0896634600005598>.

and maintaining friendships through correspondence without personal meetings.¹⁹⁰ Ottoman handbooks on letter-writing included examples of letters, sometimes emotionally loaded, written to friends.¹⁹¹

Ottoman pashas were often at least bilingual if not multilingual and coped with their daily administrative issues in Ottoman Turkish and with the rest of their day in their own vernacular. Christine Woodhead suggested that Ottoman grandees who were ‘effectively bilingual’ occupied posts where they could use their language skills daily.¹⁹² The language of friendship was then often the vernacular and not Ottoman or Latin. Official matters, for instance, in cases involving border making, had to be conducted in Ottoman and Latin. Luigi Marsili’s conserved correspondence concerning border making in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderland is mostly in Ottoman Turkish,¹⁹³ but communication in vernacular was faster and more important for daily conviviality.¹⁹⁴ Only the crème de la crème of Polish nobility could quickly and easily acquire a translation of an Ottoman letter. Others usually had to forward letters to central or local courts where translators were at hand. Writing in Polish or any other vernacular made it easier to act, write, and respond faster. Some dealings had to be conducted in Ottoman, especially diplomatic issues. This, however, did not apply to daily contacts and conviviality which promoted the vernacular over Ottoman Turkish, or Latin.

But how do we define friendship? Verena Epp, a historian of the early Middle Ages, defined friendship as ‘a mutual, value-oriented, and morally connecting obligation [...] that is made between two or more partners –individuals or collectives– has effective and contractual elements and is expressed in reciprocal services.’¹⁹⁵ To this definition, we can add that border friendship required constant confirmation through letters and gifts and existed between equals. If not maintained and confirmed, border friendship could weaken or fall into oblivion. Historians dealing with friendships in the past suggested the difficulty in dissociating friendship from kinship and platonic from erotic relationships.¹⁹⁶ This is, however, unproblematic in cross-border friendships which definitely involved unrelated people of different faiths and seldom had the chance to transform into erotic relationships.

¹⁹⁰ Flatt, “Practicing Friendship,” 62.

¹⁹¹ Victor Louis Ménage, “An Ottoman Manual of Provincial Correspondence,” *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 68 (1976): 35.

¹⁹² Christine Woodhead, “Ottoman Languages,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, The Routledge Worlds (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 149. This is certainly true of the Polish borderland (see below the example of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin).

¹⁹³ See the new edition Mehmet Demiryürek et al., eds., *Boundary Letters: Ottoman Officials to Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1699-1701)* (Ankara: Birleşik Kitabevi, 2015).

¹⁹⁴ For a similar argument, see Radway, “Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543-1593,” 173.

¹⁹⁵ Verena Epp, *Amicitia: zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 44 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999), 299; cited after Oschema, *Freundschaft oder “amitie”?*, 12.

¹⁹⁶ Caine, “Introduction,” XII.

In the eighteenth century, Ottoman-Polish networking hit a new tone. In a recent study of cross-border political networks in the same region, Michał Wasiucionek suggested that historians underestimate the extension of patronage networks in the seventeenth century. Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas constructed their political factions in the buffer playground of Moldavia supported their party and provided them with resources (often delivered as gifts). Wasiucionek subsumed the cross-border networking under the patronage concept ‘that signifies their [actor’s] unequal status, power and differential access to resources.’¹⁹⁷ Patronage required the language of affection and a personal approach but only to a limited extent. On the contrary, border friendships were relations between equals and did not involve a financial dependence in the dyadic friendship tie. Overall, Wasiucionek’s work is suggestive of far-reaching patronage networks and invites comparison with other regions.

In Liao China, between Tokugawa Japan and Choson Korea, or between the Papal State and the Spanish Crown, cross-border networking played a crucial role in the social landscape of the borderlands and the everyday conviviality.¹⁹⁸ The essential studies on these places by Naomi Standen, James Lewis, or Hillard van Thiesen rarely, if at all, use friendship and its discourses as an analytical tool. Instead, they focused on the political aspect of the border, as opposed to the affectional and emotional border landscape. Border friendships were not a stable and unchangeable social phenomenon but rather remained discursively challenged. Regular border correspondences imagined, discussed, and enacted friendships daily providing historians with a rich primary source base and building a vibrant and multifaceted language of friendship.¹⁹⁹ From this perspective, it is useful to shift our interest –as Dariusz Kolodziejczyk proposed– from the geo-topographical approach to a socio-cultural one, as the geographical or inter-state boundaries only had a limited influence on the lives of borderland people, who easily transgressed delimitations.²⁰⁰

My focus in this chapter is not on actual border crossings, but rather on everyday borderland friendships, conviviality, and networking. This chapter highlights the language of friendship in a

¹⁹⁷ Wasiucionek, “Politics and Watermelons,” 22.

¹⁹⁸ Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007); James Bryant Lewis, *Frontier Contact between Choson Korea and Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Hillard von Thiesen, “Vertrauen aus Vergangenheit. Anciennität in grenzüberschreitender Patronage am Beispiel der Beziehungen von Adelshäusern des Kirchenstaats zur spanischen Krone im 16. und 17. Jh.,” in *Zwischen Wissen und Politik: Archäologie und Genealogie frühneuzeitlicher Vergangenheitskonstruktionen*, ed. Frank Bezner and Kirsten Mahlke, Akademie-Konferenzen / Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 6 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2011), 21–39.

¹⁹⁹ Daniel T. Lochman and Maritere López, “The Emergence of Discourses: Early Modern Friendship,” in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. Daniel T. Lochman, Maritere López, and Lorna Hutson (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 1–3.

²⁰⁰ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “Ottoman Borders in Eastern Europe,” in *Ein Raum im Wandel: die osmanisch-habsburgische Grenzregion vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Norbert Spannberger and Szabolcs Varga, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 44 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014), esp. 36–37.

qualitative social network analysis that focuses on cross-border ego-networks. Social network analysis is not a method used often by microhistorians as it tends to focus on the ties between actors more than their meaning or the actors themselves.²⁰¹ Focusing, however, on ego-networks which are easier to trace in historical sources and shift from quantitative to qualitative allows a historian to uncover networks that often remain understudied or invisible at first glance. In what follows, I adopt an approach similar to Francesca Trivellato, and I incorporate into the narrative ‘the principal lessons of social network analysis’ and the growing body of literature on friendship as a historical and discursive category.²⁰² I reconcile the microhistory of social connections with the social network analysis, a method used traditionally in studying commercial networks, but not often used on cross-border networks resulting from everyday conviviality.²⁰³

The first part of this chapter maps a large Polish migration (1709-1714) in the Ottoman-Empire through Benoe’s extraordinary notebook. For the first time, Benoe did not stay in the Ottoman Empire alone, but with at least several hundreds of nobles and composed a notebook that elucidates his daily contacts. I suggest that the large influx of Polish nobles, who were regularly seeking Ottoman protection and support in times of trouble, changed the nobles’ perspectives on the Ottomans. Polish nobles saw Ottoman neighbors no longer seen as a threat, but rather as a possibility for border friendships and even political cooperation. This shift found expression in cross-border networking and in the impressive density of eighteenth-century networks which are incomparable to the same structures a century before.

Following the lines of Benoe’s notebook composed in Bender, the next sections elucidate Ottoman-Polish and Moldavian-Polish networking. I suggest that the concept of border friendship, friendships that actors confirmed with letters, information, gifts, services, and support, played a crucial role in the eighteenth-century Ottoman-Polish cross-border networking. The last section of this chapter suggests the entanglements of the cross-border networks on two rich source examples. Networks often overlapped and actors in conflict situations called upon their friends from the other side of the border. The story starts, however, first in Sweden.

²⁰¹ Charles Wetherell, “Historical Social Network Analysis*,” *International Review of Social History* 43, no. S6 (December 1998): 127–28, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000115123>.

²⁰² Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 16.

²⁰³ See Trivellato, “Is There a Future to Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?,” 15 with reference to Giovanni Levi’s early work; see also Edoardo Grendi, “Il sistema politico di una comunità ligure: Cervo fra cinquecento e seicento,” *Quaderni storici* 16, no. 46 (1) (1981): 92–129 for an example of microhistorical study of a community and social interactions within it.

Mapping Networking Strategies in the Ottoman–Polish Borderland: Benoe’s Notebook, and Polish Exiles in the Ottoman Empire

During a random visit to the Stockholm archives, I visited the Swedish War Archive (Krigsarkivet), where archivists had moved several Oriental manuscripts from the State Archives (Riksarkivet). I had a look at the map collection and realized that this distant archive possessed a large collection of maps, drawings, and sketches depicting the now forgotten Ottoman fortress of Bender in today’s Moldova. In 1709, Charles XII of Sweden lost the battle of Poltava to Peter the Great and ran for his life to the Ottoman Empire. Charles XII lived close to the fortress of Bender and ruled from there the Swedish Empire in northern Europe. Upon his death, his so-called Bender archive was shipped to Sweden on a French ship. One of the handwritten drawings from this collection (dated 1713) depicts the so-called Winter Palace of the Swedish king, Charles XII, in Bender with a stone wall surrounding it. In the upper left-hand corner, it portrays a small manor (see illustration 11). Although the legend of the map is in German, the wording under the house is in Polish and reads “Palatine of Kiev” (*woyвода kijowski*), who was at that time Józef Potocki (see illustration 12). Potocki grew up together with Benoe, and they lived in this house for around five years. Benoe, with his beautiful handwriting and organizational talent, served Potocki as a scribe, archivist and a personal secretary. Potocki and Benoe were young men and just started their careers, Potocki as a scion of a wealthy and influential family, and Benoe as his scribe. They followed to Bender the Swedish king Charles XII and served him.²⁰⁴ Charles XII and his loyal Polish companions built a camp city around the city and fortress of Bender that soon became so large that it outsized the Ottoman fortress itself (see illustrations 10). It was there that Benoe learned Turkish and drafted his notebook filled with notes written in the first person.

²⁰⁴ Akdes Nimet Kurat, “The Political Activity of Charles XII, King of Sweden, in Turkey,” *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries* 3, no. 3 (1937): 428–431.

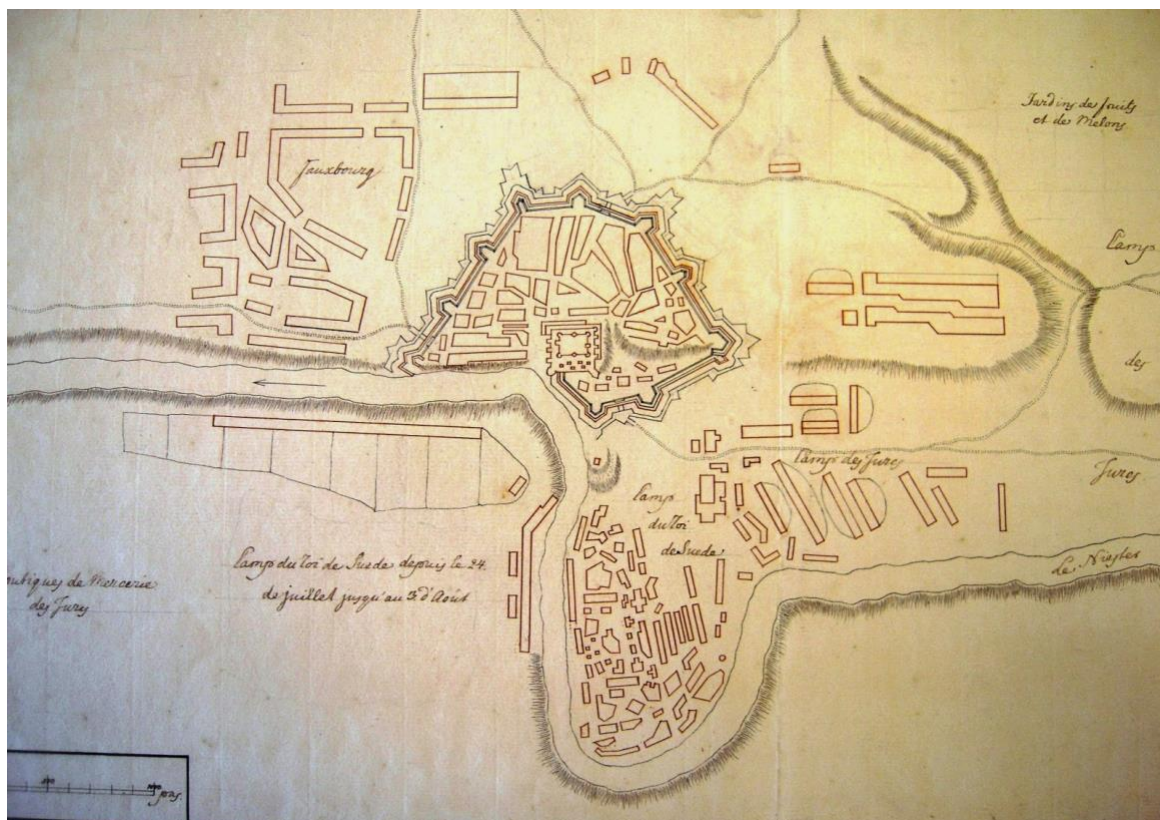


Illustration 10: Part of the map entitled „Grundriss der türkischen Festung Bender” [Plan of the Turkish Fortress Bender], ca. 1709-1713. This map depicts in the middle the Ottoman fortress of Bender; below it, and described as ‘Camp du Roi de Suède’, is the multi-ethnic camp in Bender, which was almost as large as the Ottoman fortress itself. The every-day needs of this camp were so enormous that a separate suburb (described as *Fauxbourg*) came into being next to the Ottoman fortress. KA, Sveriges Krig, 12: 114.

In Bender, Benoe was approximately twenty-five years old and at the beginning of his mature life. Appointed as a diplomat to Istanbul thirty years later, he recalled from his early years that he had ‘spent his entire youth on horseback.’²⁰⁵ Most of his early years in the Ottoman Empire remain obscure due to a lack of sources; however, a few aspects of Benoe’s early years can be traced through his private archive. Benoe frequently traveled between the provincial fortress of Bender and Istanbul, and his master, Józef Potocki, and other Polish nobles serving Charles XII empowered him to meet Ottoman officials in Istanbul. Benoe also shopped for other Polish nobles in the markets of Istanbul. Benoe’s notebook, composed in the manor in Bender, maps the Polish émigrés into the Ottoman Empire. Benoe’s notebook gives clear clues for the networking strategies between Polish nobles, Ottomans, and the diplomatic milieu of Istanbul.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Krzysztof Szembek, Primate of Poland, from Bursztyn, 6 III 1741, ANK, ASang., Koresp. 21, f. 109v-111v: „Ja *penitus* nie znam straciwszy wiek mój na koniu”.

²⁰⁶ Benoe’s Notebook, SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 5v-32v.

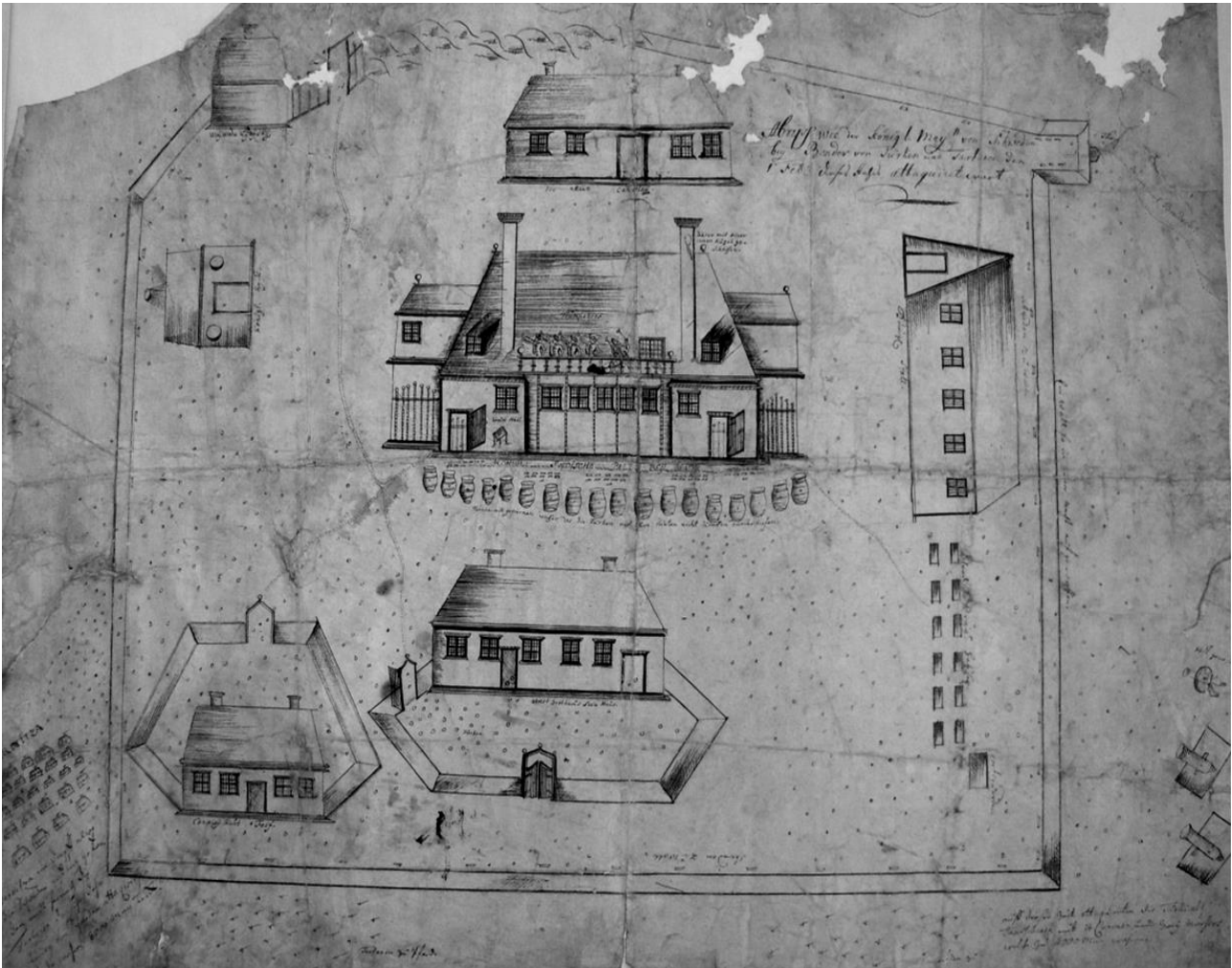


Illustration 11: A drawing of the Swedish winter palace in Bender from 1713 entitled “Abrys wie der Königliche Majästet von Schweden bey Bender von Türken und Tataren den 1. Feb. [February 12] dieses Jahres attackiret wareet“, [Sketch of how His Majesty the King of Sweden in Bender was attacked by the Turks and the Tatars on February 12], KA, Sveriges krig, 12:125.

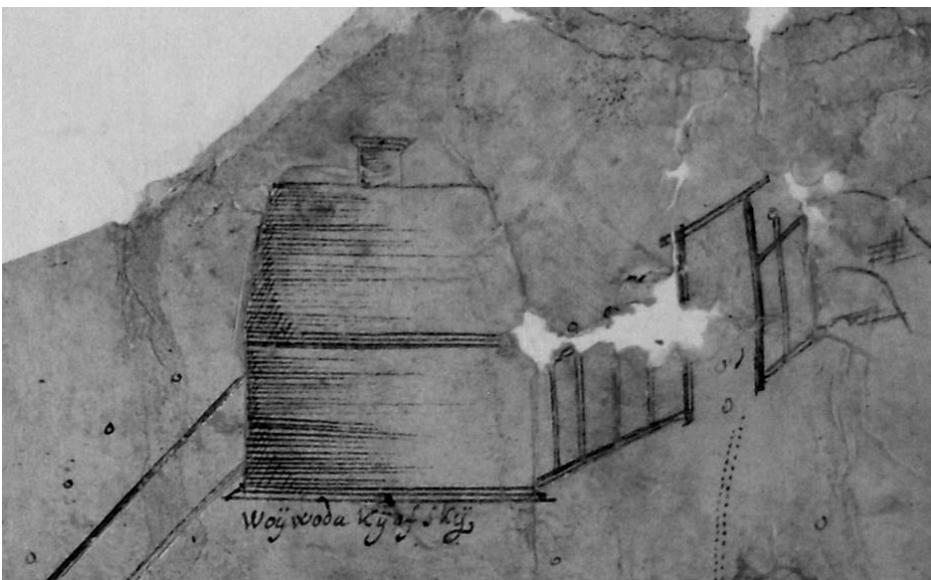


Illustration 12: Detail from Illustration 11 depicting a house, described as ‘woywoda kyofsky’ (Palatine of Kiev).

Benoe begins his notebook by describing his networking with the diplomatic milieu of Istanbul. On the first page, he mentions his talks and dealings with des Alleurs, French ambassador in Istanbul, from whom he intended to obtain a French cook for his master. Benoe also frequently conversed with des Alleurs' secretary and exchanged letters with him. "While handing over my letter to des Alleurs [writes Benoe – M. K.], I shall speak to him about my business."²⁰⁷ Decades later, another French ambassador in Istanbul, Castellane, described Benoe as "Paul Benoît, français de nation" identifying him, due to his French origins, as a French subject.²⁰⁸ Benoe networked not only with French diplomats but also with Swedes in Istanbul.

On the same page of the notebook, Benoe mentions Swedish diplomats, Stanisław Poniatowski, and Thomas Funck. "To His Sincere General Poniatowski, I shall confide my business. However, before that, I should first get some news about the situation of the Swedish king [Charles XII], especially what is the amount of money that they promised me, and when could I collect it."²⁰⁹ Benoe was planning to obtain one thousand florins from Poniatowski, who was a mentor to him. Although in the 1740s and 1750s, Benoe and Poniatowski belonged to enemy political camps in Poland-Lithuania, they still exchanged letters filled with friendliness and elaborate displays of respect and friendship. Aside from contacts with the diplomatic milieu of Istanbul, notes concerning his relations with other Polish-Lithuanian subjects in the Ottoman Empire and with Ottomans dominate Benoe's notebook.

In his notebook, Benoe mentions an entire gallery of Polish-Lithuanian exiles present in Bender: Józef Potocki, his patron; Kazimierz Czartoryski, Lithuanian cup-bearer; Michał Eperyeszy, Lithuanian standard-bearer;²¹⁰ Jan Grudziński, Starost of Rawa;²¹¹ Bazyli Zagwojski, military officer, and Stanisław Tarło, the crown master of the kitchens. Some of them maintained friendships with Benoe long after they went back to Poland-Lithuania. Zagwojski was still in touch with Benoe later on in his life, as the latter lent him large amounts of money. He invited Benoe to his sister's funeral a few years after their return to Poland-Lithuania.²¹² Stanisław Tarło, Benoe's friend in Bender, died in 1721; but his stepsons, Adam and Jan, had cordial relationships with Benoe, who bought several objects for them in the Ottoman

²⁰⁷ Benoe's Notebook, f. 5v. „Z JMP Dezalorem *itidem* przy oddaniu listu traktować będę.”

²⁰⁸ Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683-1792*, 135, fn. 3. Letter of Michel-Ange Castellane, former French ambassador in Istanbul to Paweł Benoe, à Paris, 28 II 1748, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, f. 5v.

²⁰⁹ "JMP Generalowi Poniatowskiemu tak tego jako i tego zwierzyć się interesy, wprzód jednak wyrozumiawszy z niego jako Króla JMci szwedzkiego są położone, a zwłaszcza co za *quantitas* sumy jest deklarowane i kiedy się jej odebrać spodziewają.", Benoe's notebook, f. 5r.

²¹⁰ Letter of Michał Eperyaszy to unknown recipient, from Adrianople, 13 VIII 1713, BC, ms. 2747 IV, f. 359-362 (mentioning Benoe in Bender).

²¹¹ Benoe's Notebook, f. 6r.

²¹² SL, ms. 65, where multiple receipts preparing the lending of four thousand florins for Zagwojski. Letter of Bazyli Zagwojski to Paweł Benoe, no place, 8 III 1721, SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 454, f. 29r.

Empire.²¹³ Adam's and Jan's wives exchanged letters with Benoe's wife, Marianne.²¹⁴ Benoe also supported Michal Eperyeszy's son, with whom he was in Bender in his early career, with lavish gifts – such as a Turkish horse.²¹⁵ All of these Polish-Lithuanian nobles were a part of Benoe's network within the Ottoman Empire, but all of them networked intensely with the Ottomans, too. As we will see later, all the mentioned nobles belonged to the Ottoman border pasha Ilyash Kolchak's network.

In the Ottoman Empire, Benoe networked with other Polish subjects and with the diplomatic milieu of Istanbul. He maintained intense relationships with Polish nobles present there and engaged in discussions and correspondence with French and Swedish diplomats. The Polish-Lithuanian exiles were in Ottoman territory for approximately five years, which strengthened their social bonds. Benoe's networking in the Ottoman Empire worked primarily along the lines of noble solidarity much like networking within the Ottoman elites functioned around ethnic solidarity.²¹⁶ The mobility of Polish-Lithuanian exiles in the Ottoman Empire and their separation from their places of origin accelerated their networking with each other. Keeping that in mind, Benoe was –sociological terms– a sociometric star with a plenitude of dyadic ties. There were strong and weak ties between him and other Polish-Lithuanian exiles, where a strong tie is 'a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services' provided between people involved in social networking.²¹⁷ This sociological approach, however, usually focuses on one point in time and ignores developments in the *longue durée*. Developments over long periods are habitually harder to trace and research. It is, however, possible in the case of well-conserved private papers like Benoe's archive.

Benoe's archive allows us to trace some of his interactions with nobility over time. The previously described relations between Benoe, Eperyaszy, Grudziński, or Czartoryski were weak ties; whereas others between Benoe, Potocki, and Poniatowski were strong ties which endured. Poniatowski treats Benoe as a peer in the 1740s and 1750s since they Poland started their career at the same time and from positions of relatively weak social influence.²¹⁸ The relationship between Benoe and Potocki, Benoe's patron, evolved. In the beginning, Benoe was one of Potocki's many servants, and Potocki addressed him as

²¹³ Letters of Adam Tarło, Starost of Goszczyń, and Jan Tarło, Palatin of Sandomierz and their wives to Pawel Benoe, and his wife, SL, fond 145, ms. 14, part 7.

²¹⁴ The letters are reaching back to 1721, although most intensive correspondence is preserved from times of Benoe's embassy in Istanbul, 1742-1743.

²¹⁵ Letter of Jan Eperyeszy to Pawel Benoe, no place, 15 IX 1749, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, f. 389v-r, asking for the promised horse.

²¹⁶ I. Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 3 (1974): 233–240.

²¹⁷ Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380.

²¹⁸ Letters of Stanisław Poniatowski to Pawel Benoe, and of Pawel Benoe to Stanisław Poniatowski, SL, fond 145, ms. 10 and ms. 454. Poniatowski addressed Benoe with a cordial form: "My Lord and Beloved Benefactor" (*Wielmożny Mój Kochany Dobrodziej*).

such.²¹⁹ Potocki changed the way how he addressed Benoe in writing over time. Early addresses are simple, as to a servant to change to elaborate addresses in his last letters from the 1750s, when Potocki visibly began treating Benoe as a peer.²²⁰ Benoe's social standing improved over time. His Polish-Lithuanian network inside the Ottoman Empire helped Benoe in extending his networking strategies after returning to Poland-Lithuania. The best example of this is Benoe's relationship with his former patron family, the Potockis. In his old age, Benoe exchanged letters not only with Józef Potocki but with all of the Potocki family members, many of whom were financially dependent on Benoe's loans.²²¹ Based in the Ottoman-Polish borderland, this *crème de la crème* of Polish nobility belonged to the network of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha during the 1720s and 1730s.

Polish-Lithuanian subjects present in the Ottoman camp in Bender had plenty of time to connect with ordinary people, as well as with Ottomans and Moldavians. Benoe also had the opportunity to interact with the diplomatic milieu in Bender and Istanbul; he frequently intermingled not only with the French in Pera but also with Swedish diplomats, likely due to his French background. His long-term presence in Bender allowed Benoe to create his first connections with Ottoman subjects. When Augustus III of Poland-Saxony dispatched Benoe to Istanbul in 1742, Benoe profited greatly from it.

Ottoman-Polish Cross-Border Networking

Benoe's notebook abounds with scribbled bills of exchanges with Ottoman merchants, organized in a double-entry bookkeeping style. Two Ottoman merchants, Köse Ahmed and Zerniş Ancı, were among his most devoted business partners.²²² Benoe used to buy sabers, chests, jewelry, animals, knives, tobacco, belts, and tapestry-woven carpets from these two merchants. Benoe was not only in touch with ordinary Ottomans but also with the Ottoman Grand Vizier Baltacı Mehmed Pasha. Benoe received assurances of support for himself and other Polish-Lithuanian exiles from the Grand Vizier, as well as gifts such as horses.²²³ In the turbulent years from 1710 to 1712, Benoe was in Istanbul observing the changing political landscape and getting to know the ruling elites of the Ottoman Empire.²²⁴ With an

²¹⁹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Józef Potocki, from Żurawno, 6 VI 1734, CDIAUK, fond 49, opis 1, ms. 2908, f. 7v-8v.

²²⁰ Letters of Józef Potocki to Paweł Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 10.

²²¹ Letters of members of the Potocki family, SL, fond 145, ms. 10 and 65.

²²² Benoe's notebook, f. 9v-10v; 26v-27v.

²²³ Letter of Stanisław Tarło, Crown Master of the Kitchen (*kuźmistrz koronny*) to Charles XII of Sweden or his chancellor von Müller, Căușeni, no precise date, received in the Swedish chancellery on 26 VIII 1711, Sveriges Riksarkivet (Stockholm), Polonica 328 (no pagination).

²²⁴ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Józef Potocki (?), [from Istanbul], 13 XI 1712, BC, ms. 2728 IV, f. 77v-88v.

uncommon insight into the life of Ottoman court, he played the role of informer, diplomat, and linkage between Istanbul and Polish-Lithuanian exiles in Bender.

Benoe's first contacts facilitated his interaction with the Ottomans in the 1740s and 1750s. Benoe networked with the Ottoman governor of Hotin, who held a vital border fortress in the region created in 1713.²²⁵ The pasha not only facilitated Benoe's letter exchanges between Istanbul and Poland-Lithuania, but also furnished him with passports for tax-free purchases in the Ottoman Empire. Preserved letters suggest that their friendship was long-lived, as even the Ottoman governor's son wrote to Benoe.²²⁶ A Polish secretary of the Ottoman pasha facilitated the correspondence. The secretary wrote to Benoe in 1742 to 'declare the humble submission and to greet You with my true friendship and to inform Your Lordship that all Polish dispatches [to the Ottoman Pasha- M. K.] are being read and answered by me.'²²⁷ With his fascinating hybrid identity visible by his twofold name, the Ottoman secretary –of possibly Lipka Tatar origin– signed his letter as Ismail (Muslim forename) Ağa (an Ottoman title) Józefowicz (a common Polish surname). His standing in Hotin was firm. In the eighteenth century, Ottoman governors established roots and entire dynasties in the provinces, unlike a century before when governors rotated from one post in the Ottoman to another.²²⁸ Still, in this fragmented world, the networking between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles was significantly dependent on go-betweens such as Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, who drafted their correspondence and frequently traveled to the Polish nobles.

Apart from significant cross-border networking in the immediate borderland, an essential factor in extending Benoe's network among the Ottomans was his friendship with Ebu Bekir Ağa, Benoe's escort to Istanbul in 1742. This Ottoman official escorted Benoe to and from Istanbul and accompanied him during most official audiences and meetings in Istanbul. Benoe confirmed their friendship on his return to Poland-Lithuania when Benoe offered Ebu Bekir Ağa a choice between green and red carriage

²²⁵ Letter of Ahmed Kolchak, Pasha of Hotin to Pawel Benoe, in Hotin, 19 X 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 1, f. 8v and others there.

²²⁶ Letter of Ahmed Bey, kaymakam of Hotin, son of Ahmed Kolchak to Pawel Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 1, f. 12v, from Hotin, 4 XI 1742 confirming friendship and pointing towards the friendship between Ahmed Bey's father and Benoe.

²²⁷ Letter of Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, secretary of the Pasha of Hotin to Pawel Benoe, in Hotin, 3 XI 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 200v: "Śmiem moją najniższą submisją odezwać się oświadczając się z moją prawdziwą sąsiedzką przyjaźnią i donosząc WM Panu, że wszystkie ekspedycje polskie przeze mnie bywają czytane i odpisywane."

²²⁸ On Ottoman administration in the seventeenth century, see: Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim: Ejalet kamieniecki 1672-1699* (Warszawa: Polczek, 1994), 13; for the decentralization see Halil Inalcik, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Edward Roger John Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 32; for the eighteenth century see Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 155.

with seven horses, as ‘he earned himself this respect.’²²⁹ As this example illustrates, the borderland was not only a zone of contact but also an entry point for every diplomat going to Istanbul.

The contacts Benoe had with Ottomans were, however, based initially on everyday exchanges of information and goods. These were often channeled through the intermediation and cultural brokerage of Benoe’s ordinary servants and the administrators of his estates. Some traces suggest that their role in conducting and sustaining contacts with the Ottomans was crucial and based on everyday life encounters and conviviality. One of Benoe’s intermediaries was Józef Pawłowski, who administered Benoe’s estate in Jabłonów, located near the Ottoman-Polish border. In an extensive collection of Pawłowski’s letters to Benoe, filled with agricultural, economic, and regional news, there is a letter which starts as follows:

‘There was no other courier here from Hotin [Ottoman fortress- M. K], only the one from whom I got a letter, and which I sent [...] to Your Lordship and I received an answer to this letter, which I forwarded to the post office. I also informed Your Lordship about this courier, and from whom he brought a bird, but there will be no use for this bird whatsoever, because [...] it does not want to present itself, but timidly runs away.’²³⁰

This letter, likely describing an ostrich (or a hunting bird) delivered from Ottomans to Benoe as a gift, is the only such mention in the extensive collection of Pawłowski’s letters. However, its tone and character indicate that letters and gifts from the Ottomans to Benoe were common. Hence, exchanges of goods and ideas between Ottoman subjects and Polish nobles were often conducted through the mediation of ordinary Polish-speaking nobility, as opposed to extraordinary go-betweens with hybrid identity, mestizo or *mélange* background.²³¹ Conversely, go-betweens such as Ismail Ağa Józefowicz played an undeniably important role in the process of communicating, translating, and mediating between the Ottoman and Polish worlds. Their credentials as interpreters facilitated the correspondence between Ottomans pashas and Polish nobles; their linguistic competence oiled the wheels of cross-border networking.

²²⁹ Letter of Marianne Benoe to Paweł Benoe, no place, 14 VIII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 223r.

²³⁰ Letter of Józef Pawłowski, administrator to Paweł Benoe, [Jabłonów], 6 IX 1745, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 2, f. 22v: “Inszego posłańca nie było tu z Chocimia, tylko ten od którego list odebrał i posyłał przez Bursztyn JW Pana Dobrodzieja i respons na tenże list odebrałem na pocztę o tymże samym posłańcu donosiłem od kogo był ptak mało się na co zda, bo go noszą i w pole Pan Michaleski z nim chodzi, ale nie chce tylko ucieka.”

²³¹ Cf. Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 58; Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York ; London: Routledge, 2002), 17–22.

Natalie Rothman has detected similar processes in the Ottoman-Venetian context. With her trans-imperial subjects, Rothman identified interpreters as go-betweens.²³² Not all intermediaries, however, fit this category. I suggest some intermediaries were just ordinary nobles without the unique language skills that would enable them to feel at home in two different cultures. It does not seem plausible to –following the example of Alida C. Metcalf– unnaturally extend the definition of a go-between to accommodate all possible intermediaries.²³³ Instead, in zones of contact, networking was a combination of both direct exchange and mediation through go-betweens, ordinary, everyday encounters (which were perhaps conducted in a pidgin tongue, enabling essential communication), and more decorative forms of contact expressed in writing (correspondence) which would revolve around the concept of border friendship. Both elements created a fascinating cultural fusion, which finds its quintessence in the merged material culture of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility and Ottoman pashas. Through everyday encounters and mediation, the Ottomans and Polish nobles participated zealously in a direct exchange of goods and fashion.

Polish nobles often explicitly asked Ottomans for specific gifts or trade privileges. In one of Benoe’s letter books, there are copies of letters dispatched by one of Benoe’s correspondents, Jan Klemens Branicki, to the governor of Hotin, the Grand Vizier, and the Prince of Moldavia.²³⁴ In the letter to the Ottoman border governor, Branicki asks that he ‘orders the deliverer of this letter to go from Hotin to the Danube to buy a superb horse for me which will fit our Polish costume,’ and inquired if the pasha could provide the messenger with an Ottoman escort. Branicki (and Polish-Lithuanian nobility in general) is known for his taste in Eastern commodities. Branicki had a janissary orchestra which played in front of his windows at nine in the morning every day, although the music was –reportedly– ‘with no harmony whatsoever, only some kind of screech and clatter, quite pleasant from far away, but from a close distance simply dreadful.’²³⁵ A penchant for and exchange of cultural ‘Ottomanica’ such as clothing, music, animals, foodstuffs, and stimulants strengthened the Ottoman-Polish networking. In the end,

²³² Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 58. According to my reading Rothman uses the word go-between only once and refers rather to transimperial subjects.

²³³ Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Eve M. Duffy and Alida C. Metcalf, *The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 9–10 Metcalf differentiates between physical, transactional and representational go-betweens that include even armchair travelers.

²³⁴ Letters of Jan Klemens Branicki, Grand Crown hetman to the Pasha of Hotin, Grand Vizier and Prince of Moldavia, no place, ca. VII 1751, SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 454, f. 77v-r: “Oddawcy listu tego zlecilem, aby z Chocimia, mógł się dobrać ku Dunajowi, dla wyprowadzanie dla mnie jakiego konia dobrodziańskiego, strojowi naszemu polskiemu przyzwoitego.”

²³⁵ „Ale to wszystko nie miało żadnej muzycznej harmonii, tylko jakiś pisk i loskot, z daleka nieco miły, z bliska przeraźliwy.” Jędrzej Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, ed. Maria Dernałowicz, wyd. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1999), 200.

Polish' costume style much resembled the Ottomans' style and was almost indistinguishable from Ottoman style for the contemporary inhabitants of Rome or Paris.²³⁶

Consumption of coffee and tobacco grew increasingly in the eighteenth-century, and Polish nobles imported it from Ottoman lands. These exchanges were reciprocal. In 1729, for instance, the border judge Jan Świrski asked Piotr Pawłowski, secretary of Ilyash Kolchak, governor of Hotin, for 'six *okkas* [Ottoman measurement of ca. 1.28 kg – M. K.] of excellent green coffee [...], also soap of formidable quality two *okkas*, two pipe's steams, and two *okkas* of tobacco.' Additionally, Świrski asked for an Ottoman tent from the pasha. In return, he proposed to offer the pasha a formidable fox winter coat.²³⁷ Others sent entire shopping lists to Pawłowski asking for horses, tents, Ottoman water bags, spears, and even 'rose, birch, and orange sorbet' from the pasha's kitchens as in Lastek Cieński's case.²³⁸ These everyday exchanges filled hundreds of pages of Ottoman-Polish correspondence and illustrate that an exchange of goods and commodities accompanied cross-border networking and expressions of border friendship. Friendships had to be confirmed by a regular supply of reciprocal gifts.

Before concluding our inquiry, let us look closer –for comparative reasons– at the Ottoman cross-border networks of two other Polish nobles and an Ottoman border governor: Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski (died 1726), Stefan Humiecki (died 1736) and Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin. The first was Grand Crown hetman and the Castellan of Kraków, and the second occupied a prominent post in the borderland as the Palatine of Podolia. Both had regular dealings with Ottomans. In Sieniawski's case, his contacts and network were in part inherited from his ancestors, whereas Humiecki was the first in his family to reach senatorial dignity and built his network from scratch. Last, but not least, Ilyash Kolchak Pasha was a Bosnian mercenary who converted to Islam and made an astounding career in the Ottoman border administration. The cross-border networking of these three figures, like in the case of Benoe, went far beyond the casual exchange of official letters and over time developed into cross-border friendship, extended through the intensive exchange of goods.

The best example of Sieniawski and Humiecki's Ottoman cross-border network is their relationship to the long-standing Ottoman governor of Hotin, Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha. This pasha ruled in Hotin for many years following the creation of a new Ottoman administrative district around

²³⁶ Birgitt Borkopp-Restle, "Persian Art and Polish Sashes: Symbols of National Identity and Luxury Textiles in an International Market," in *The Fascination of Persia*, ed. Axel Langer (Zürich: Museum Rietberg Scheidegger & Spiess, 2013), 136–151. See also chapter eight and illustrations there.

²³⁷ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Piotr Pawłowski, Ottoman secretary, from Kamieniec Podolski, 14 VI 1729, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 305v-306v.

²³⁸ Letter of Lastek Cieński to Piotr Pawłowski, Ottoman secretary, from Solec, 15 III 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 122v.

Hotin fortress (1713).²³⁹ Abdi secured the reconstruction of this border fortress and remained governor of Hotin (with interruptions) until his death there in 1721. Both Sieniawski and Humiecki exchanged letters regularly with Abdi Pasha and ‘consequently with other pashas of Hotin to strengthen this relationship; all of that to collect volumes of their letters.’²⁴⁰ Although Sieniawski, Humiecki, and Abdi Pasha probably never met, they knew each other quite well. In 1713, Humiecki reported that he ‘saw the pasha of Hotin on the bank of the Dniester river [the border river] and we greeted each other.’²⁴¹ However, their primary contact remained through correspondence in both Ottoman Turkish and Polish. Abdi Pasha did not master Polish, and his letters had to be drafted by an Ottoman translator, Hüseyin Efendi. Hüseyin may have learned Polish as a war captive; his handwriting and spelling in Polish are rather untrained and more closely resemble the spoken language, while the links between letters resemble those in Arabic script. Like Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, Hüseyin Efendi was a skilled go-between, a cultural hybrid living in the Ottoman-Polish contact zone, fluent in Ottoman Turkish and Polish, and mediating between the two worlds.

Sieniawski, Humiecki and Abdi Pasha exchanged a letter per week. The importance of Abdi Pasha and the governors of Hotin in general as a link to the Ottoman world cannot be overemphasized. Through the extensive exchange of letters, the actors came to know each other well. For example, shortly before his death in Hotin in 1721, Abdi Pasha wrote the following to Sieniawski:

‘I heard from Your Lordship’s servants that You like to hunt with pointing breeds and sight hounds; I sent to Silistra to obtain some of them for Your Lordship. I could not find any pointing breeds, but I am sending Your Lordship through my servant Ağa, the “Lipka” [Tatar of Polish-Lithuanian origin – M. K.] swift and healthy sighthounds: two white-colored, one yellow, and the fourth and most splendid one piebald, black and white.’²⁴²

²³⁹ For Abdi Pasha’s biography see: Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmanî yabud Tezîkire-i Meşâbir-i Osmâniyye*, ed. Orhan Hülâgü, Mustafa Ekincikli, and Hamdi Savaş (Istanbul: Sebil Yayinevi, 1996), 472.

²⁴⁰ Stefan Humiecki, *Relacye różnych komisji ad Orientem sprawowanych ab Anno 1712 aż ad Annum modernum 1718 przez tegoż Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jegomości P. Stefana Humieckiego, wojewodę podolskiego uczyniona na Sejmie Grodzieńskim in Anno 1718* (Lwów, 1736), T2v-T2r: “Z tej racyi korespondencya moja z Apty Paszą, a po tym consequenter z inszemi Paszami Chocinskiemi inwaluit; żebym mógł z tych listów volumina składać”.

²⁴¹ Letter of Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, from Rychty, 27 II 1721, BC, ms. 5834, No. 15201.

²⁴² Letter of Abdi Pasha, governor of Hotin to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, in Hotin, 29 XII 1721, BC, ms. 2700, f. 67 (hardly damaged original): “Mam pewną relacyę od ludzi Waszeci Mego Wielce Mości Pana, którzy z listami wyjeżdżają od Waszeci Mości Pana do mnie, że często na rekreacyę w pole hartami polujesz. Umyślnie dla Waszeci Mego Wielce Mości Pana [z] Sylistrii przyprowadzono hartów, z których hartów, które najlepsze i rończe przez umyślnego Agi Lipkańskiego posyłam hartów, z tych dwa białe, trzeci żółty, czwarty biało i czarno srokaty, bardzo piękny i rończy.”

As this letter demonstrates, Ottoman and Polish-Lithuanian elites shared similar tastes and fashion for extravagant commodities, such as animals (horses, hounds, falcons), clothing, and weaponry. Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles perceived each other as peers, partners, and equals, and not as enemies. Almost none of the messengers who carried letters from the Polish nobles to the Ottomans –and vice versa– returned home empty-handed. In this way, highly popular Ottoman commodities from the far edges of the Ottoman Empire landed in the hands of Polish nobles, and these gifts cemented the relationships between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. Apart from material gifts, pashas and nobles eagerly awaited and received information from each other. The Ottomans were highly interested in information about the Habsburgs and the Russians, whereas the Polish nobles were eager to hear news from Istanbul and Persia. Go-betweens, such as Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, often facilitated these exchanges between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles.

Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin and His Polish Network

The best example of an Ottoman go-between is Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, a mercenary of Bosnian origin who later became the Ottoman governor and the commander of Hotin's fortress and administrative district.²⁴³ In the 1720s, Kolchak, who wrote letters in Polish to Sieniawski in his hand, facilitated the exchange of information between Abdi Pasha of Hotin and the Polish nobles. At that time, Kolchak was a commander in the janissary corps. His mediation helped to arrange audiences for Sieniawski's servants at the Abdi Pasha's divan in Hotin.²⁴⁴ In 1721, Pylyp Orlyk, a Cossack hetman under Ottoman protection, was passing by Hotin incognito on his way to Istanbul and he got in touch with Abdi Pasha thanks to Kolchak's mediation.²⁴⁵ Kolchak's go-between role was only possible due to his knowledge of Polish and Poland-Lithuania. Kolchak, like Ismail Ağa Józefowicz and Hüseyin Efendi, communicated, translated, and mediated between the Ottoman governors, Sieniawski, and Orlyk while preserving a profoundly complex identity; he wore his Ottoman identity on the surface while carrying Moldavian and Polish elements underneath.

²⁴³ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Zaproszenie do osmanistyki: Typologia i charakterystyka źródeł muzułmańskich sasiadów dawnej Rzeczypospolitej: Imperium Osmańskiego i Chanatu Krymskiego* (Warszawa: Wydawn. DiG, 2013), 31–32; Mehmed Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i osmanî*, vol. 3, *Tarih Vakfi yurt yayınları* (Istanbul, 1996), 797.

²⁴⁴ Letters of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, in Hotin, 1721-1722, BC, ms. 5855, No. 1884-1885.

²⁴⁵ z Tokar Tokarzewski Karaszewicz, *Dziarjusz Hetmana Orlika*, 17:83.

Intermediaries and skilled go-betweens occasionally rose to a position that enabled them to create their network. At the apex of his career, Ilyash Kolchak Pasha became the governor of Hotin himself and built an extensive network of informers within Poland-Lithuania which consisted of almost one-hundred people involved. A recently discovered manuscript preserved in Ukraine and another one in Moscow containing Kolchak's Polish correspondence gives a wholesome image of how Ottoman border pashas networked within Poland-Lithuania.²⁴⁶ Luckily for us, in 1739, the Russians conquered Kolchak's fortress and took him to Moscow as a captive along with his entire archive. Now, Kolchak's Polish correspondence is conserved alongside twenty-seven volumes of documents and letters sewn together in the archive of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire. Based on two manuscripts of around two thousand pages, it is possible to draw an almost full image of Kolchak's network. How did an Ottoman governor with such a complex identity network with Polish-Lithuanian nobility?

Kolchak was able to write in Polish himself, but all his correspondence was conducted by a Polish secretary named Piotr Pawłowski, who composed replies, made copies of dispatched letters, and handled the Polish part of the archive. Pawłowski, a go-between *par excellence*, was probably a convert to Islam and renegade of Polish origin, was well-connected in Poland-Lithuania, and had many financial and commercial dealings with the Polish nobility. Thanks to his long service to the Ottoman pasha, he created his own extensive network within Poland-Lithuania, as often Polish nobles used his mediation skills when reaching out to Ilyash Kolchak with minor issues.

Kolchak was not dependent on translators or intermediaries in his networking, as he could speak Polish well. Polish nobles, aware of that fact, frequently visited his fortress. In 1734, for instance, Michał Potocki, Palatine of Volhynia, forwarded his brother's letters to Kolchak and added that 'he will come to talk with Your Lordship and will have the honor to bow [in front of You] in Hotin.'²⁴⁷ Carl von Löseken, a German officer in the Polish-Lithuanian service, informed the pasha that a friend of his had arrived and wished to see him; furthermore, he added that 'if You do not take it amiss, [I will send him] with my wife and other ladies and they will greet You.'²⁴⁸ The ladies, as Löseken added, intended to shop in the Ottoman city-fortress. During a Russian invasion of Poland-Lithuania, the leader of an anti-Russian movement, Michał Potocki, sent his wife, silver, and jewelry to Kolchak.²⁴⁹ Polish nobles wanting to visit

²⁴⁶ Chernihovski Oblatnoi Istoricheskij Muzei imeini W. W. Tarnovskogo [Czenihiv District State Historical Museum, further: COIM], ms. 333; Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, further: AVPRI], fond 26, Archive of Kolchak Pasha, ms. 2.

²⁴⁷ Letter of Michał Potocki to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Satanów, 16 III 1734, COIM, ms. 333, p. 336v-r: "Że zaś więcej się referuje JM Pan wojewoda, brat mój na ustną konferencye z Waszą Paszyńską Mcią."

²⁴⁸ Letter of Carl von Löseken to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Okopy Św. Trójcy, 3 IX 1733, COIM, ms. 333, p. 208v: "Donoszę, że pewny mój przyjaciel w poniedziałek rano mnie w Okopach chce nawiedzić, który mieć pragnie honor widzenia Waszą Paszyńską Mości, więc jeżeli za złe mieć nie będziesz, to tegoż dnia żonę moją i z damami drugimi kłaniać będzie w Chocimiu."

²⁴⁹ Letter of Michał Potocki to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Warszawa, 2 XII 1735, COIM, ms. 333, p. 133v.

and talk with the pasha frequently appear on the pages of his correspondence. Probably the best example of the personal meetings between the pasha and Polish nobles is contained in the letter of a grieving father:

‘Because my weak health put me to bed for a few weeks, I could not greet Your Lordship, My Great Pasha and personally tell you about my despair. Now, with this humble missive, I report that my son of young age, taken by frivolous behavior, bathed on horseback in the Dniester river. When he tried to cross over to the Polish side, just next to the rocks on the Polish side, he drowned, and I cannot even find his body.

The inhabitants of this village called Nasłowcz are afraid of Your Lordship's anger. Because of that, I report personally to Your Lordship about my despair and that he drowned by accident and was not killed by anyone.

Moreover, when I had this honor of greeting Your Lordship in person, You warned me not to cross over to the Polish side to my estates, and I love every order that You give me.’²⁵⁰

In the end, the letter’s author –who lived in Ilyash Kolchak’s estates during a Russian invasion of Poland– adds that the pasha had told him in person about the dangers of crossing the river and returning prematurely to Poland. Thus, it seems that it was quite common for Polish nobility to cross the border, walk through the streets of the Ottoman city-fortress of Hotin, and shop there. Noblemen and noblewomen also sought shelter in the pasha’s estates in 1733 and 1734 when the Russian army entered Poland-Lithuania. In-person encounters between the Polish-Lithuanian nobility and Kolchak went smooth thanks to his proficiency in Polish, Polish culture, and the language of friendship.

Ilyash Kolchak Pasha’s networking extended well beyond these everyday encounters in part due to his official standing as governor of Hotin. As a rule, military officers and border judges formed the core of Ottoman pashas’ networks, as most correspondences arose from minor conflicts. To provide an example, in 1737, Florian Schylling, commandant of Kamieniec Podolski, informed the pasha that an Ottoman merchant called Mustafa had arrived in this Polish border city to sell oranges and lemons. Mustafa, however, did not behave according to cultural expectations for a Muslim merchant and instead

²⁵⁰ Letter of Wojciech Popławski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Nasłowcz, 9 VI 1735, COIM, ms. 333, p. 300v-301r: „Że mnie Pan Bóg słabym zdrowiem kilka niedziel złożył dlatego nie mogę sam upaść do nóg Jaśnie Oświeconego Paszy i Dobrodzieja oraz osobiście nie mogę uczynić relacyę o moim nieszczęściu, teraz przy mojej niskiej suplice mojej donoszę, iż mój syn będąc w młodym wieku, wzięła go swawola, na koniu puścił się w Dniestr kąpający się, chcąc przepłynąć na polską stronę przy samym brzegu polskim pod skałą utonął, którego i ciało nie mogę znaleźć.”

acted ‘against modesty, custom and his faith’ by getting drunk at the local tavern. Unfortunately, this was not the end of the story as, at midnight, the delinquent harassed a young Polish noblewoman in her house. In the end, the city’s guard imprisoned Mustafa, but Schylling freed him for the sake of ‘conserving [...] the neighborly friendship’.²⁵¹ What is uncommon in Kolchak’s example is the friendliness and frequency of many of his exchanges. Kolchak’s manuscripts of Polish correspondence suggests that all of the most important Polish-Lithuanian commanders dispatched a letter per week to the pasha, and if they failed to do so, they felt obliged to excuse themselves. Kolchak also maintained friendly quotidian encounters with ordinary border soldiers. The finest example of this is the fact that Polish soldiers stationed at the Ottoman border used to ask Kolchak for wood from his forests to heat their homes or build their houses.²⁵²

The pasha’s network included ordinary nobles. As the pasha’s manuscripts indicate, ordinary nobility was often in cordial contact with Ilyash Kolchak. An example which illustrates this is Józef de Campo Scipio, Kolchak’s regular correspondent.²⁵³ Originating from a Polonised Italian Scipio family, he engaged in regular correspondence with the pasha and provided him with political and military information from Poland-Lithuania. In return, Kolchak informed Scipio of the situation in the Ottoman Empire and updated him on the Ottomans’ progress in their wars with Persia. Scipio used the Ottoman state couriers (called *ulak*) to dispatch his correspondence throughout the Ottoman Empire with the pasha’s support which strengthened their bond. The pasha’s fortress at Hotin was an important hub at the northern-most pivot of the ‘right-hand road’ (*sağ kol*) connecting Istanbul to Crimea and the north-east, and thus Scipio’s letters might have arrived in Istanbul –thanks to pasha’s support– in only six days.²⁵⁴ In this way, Scipio could and did exchange letters with the French ambassador in Istanbul, the marquis de Villeneuve.²⁵⁵

In some cases, the Ottoman pasha played the role of patron to Polish-Lithuanian noblemen, noblewomen, and even clergy. In 1734, Russian troops entered Poland-Lithuania to support Friedrich Augustus II of Saxony’s candidacy for the Polish crown. Consequently, Kolchak began receiving a large volume of petitions from Polish nobles asking for protection and shelter in his estates. The administrative district under the protection of Ottoman troops was a refuge for Polish nobles in times of trouble.

²⁵¹ Letter of Fabian Schylling to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Kamieniec Podolski, 24 IV 1737, COIM, ms. 333, p. 194v-195v.

²⁵² For instance: letter of Fabian Giedymin to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Czarnokozenice, 1 V 1734, COIM, ms. 333, p. 6v-r.

²⁵³ Henryk Palkij, “Józef Scipio (zm. 1743),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Warszawa-Kraków: FNP, 1995), 81–83.

²⁵⁴ Colin J. Heywood, “Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumeli During the Eighteenth Century (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman Ulak, I),” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi: Beşeri Bilimler* 4–5 (1977 1976): 40–41, 51, fn. 22.

²⁵⁵ Letter of Józef Scipion to marquis de Villeneuve, in Kamieniec Podolski, 13 III 1734, CDIAUK, fond 254, opis 1, ms. 597, f. 19v-r (copy in Scipion’s hand).

Consequently, Stanisław Jabłonowski, Starost of Czehryń in the triple Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland, fled to Hotin with his wife and entire court and asked for shelter in one of the pasha's villages.²⁵⁶ Entire noble families crossed the border while waiting for the situation in Poland-Lithuania to improve. Perhaps surprisingly, even Catholic priests from the borderland received Ottoman protection when they requested it.²⁵⁷ However, the pasha's network reached beyond even the Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderlands and included diplomats.

One of the pasha's Polish-writing correspondents was the French envoy extraordinary at the Polish-Saxon court, marquis de Monti. Monti was likely aware that Kolchak's secretaries were able to correspond in Ottoman Turkish, Latin, or Polish, but not French.²⁵⁸ By the same token as Scipio, Monti used the pasha's couriers to dispatch news and letters from Poland-Lithuania to the French ambassador in Istanbul, marquis de Villeneuve. These letters are preserved today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.²⁵⁹ As his letter books demonstrate – Villeneuve used different ways to send letters to Monti, but most of them passed through the hands of Ilyash Kolchak.²⁶⁰ Small gifts smoothed the exchange of letters between Monti and Villeneuve. In December 1734, Monti conveyed information from Poland-Lithuania to the pasha in a letter with an enclosed golden snuff box.²⁶¹ Indirectly, Monti promised pasha the grace of his master by stating that he 'informed about all of that My Lord, His Majesty the King [Louis XV – M. K.] and about the friendship, with which you support the entire French nation.'²⁶² Ilyash Kolchak Pasha's network encompassed not only the direct borderland but also diplomatic centers such as Istanbul and Paris. The pasha's network included not only French diplomats but also Polish diplomats on their way to and from Istanbul.

In Kolchak's correspondence, we find letters from all the diplomats who passed by Hotin. It seems evident that Polish diplomats to Istanbul, who as a rule passed through Hotin, exchanged letters with Ilyash Kolchak. Their frequency, however, and chronology suggest that diplomats kept

²⁵⁶ Letter of Stanisław Jabłonowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Dłusk, 6 VV 1735, COIM, ms. 333, p. 262v-r.

²⁵⁷ Letter of Priest Stanikowski to Ilyasz Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Mielnica, 21 IV 1734, COIM, ms. 333, p. 165v.

²⁵⁸ In one of the letters conserved in Moscow, marquis de Villeneuve asks Piotr Pawłowski, Kolchak's secretary to write not in Polish, as he was unable to find reliable translators from Polish, but in Ottoman Turkish, Latin or Italian, see marquis de Villeneuve to Piotr Pawłowski, à Constantinople, 23 IX 1735, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 386v.

²⁵⁹ 'Lettre reçues de M. de Monty, ambassadeur en Pologne (1731-1733)', BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français ms. 7196.

²⁶⁰ 'Lettres au Roi, au cardinal de Fleury et à M. de Monty, ambassadeur en Pologne (1728-1737)', BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français ms. 7177, f. 337r : « Partie le 28 novembre 1733 par de courrier tartare au Pacha de Choczim. »

²⁶¹ Letter of marquis de Monti, French envoy extraordinary in Poland to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Gdańsk, 10 XII 1733, COIM, ms. 333, p. 318v; letter of marquis de Monti, French ambassador in Poland to marquis de Villeneuve, French ambassador in Istanbul, Gdańsk, 10 XII 1733, BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français 7196, f. 297v-299r.

²⁶² Letter of marquis de Monti, French envoy extraordinary in Poland to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Warsaw, June 1733, COIM, ms. 333, p. 309v-310v: "Informuję o tym wszystkim Króla JMci, Pana Mego Miłościwego, oznajmuąc oraz Jego Królewskiej Mości o Przyjaźni, którą WMM Pan całej nacyi francuskiej sprzyjasz i o respekcie, który masz ku imperatorowi nad tymże narodem tak mądrze I z taką ku wszystkim rzetelnością panującemu."

corresponding with Kolchak years after their return to Poland and provided him with the news – in the form of both printed and handwritten newsletters. In exchange, Ilyash Kolchak furnished them with passports, forwarded their letters to Poland-Lithuania or Istanbul, and functioned as a link between Warsaw and Istanbul. This exchange involved not only information but also goods. In November 1734, Polish resident in Istanbul, Jan Stadnicki, dispatched to Poland ‘five Turkish horses’ and asked Kolchak for his protection and passports.²⁶³ In the same manner, Jan’s father, Józef Stadnicki, sent additional servants to Istanbul for his son and asked pasha for passports and protection.²⁶⁴ Senders accompanied their letters with small gifts, dominated by silver, gold, and other luxury objects. Some of the letters suggest the sender’s striking familiarity with Kolchak’s family. Józef Sierakowski, envoy extraordinary on duty from 1732 to 1733, for instance, adds a postscript in almost every letter with familiar greetings for the pasha’s younger brother and son.²⁶⁵

Kolchak’s network can be displayed schematically in a graph which illustrates all the previously discussed groups within his Polish network. (see figure 2). Among all of Kolchak’s around one hundred correspondents, the largest group measured by a number of letter writers, regularity of correspondence, duration of contact, and frequency of correspondence is that of military officers who amount to one-third of all Kolchak’s letters. Military officers are closely followed by magnates, noble informers, and noble subjects (Polish nobles living in the pasha’s estates). A smaller but also significant group includes various diplomats. The smallest group in size is that of priests and women who only occasionally addressed the pasha.

²⁶³ Letter of Jan Stadnicki, Polish resident to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Pera, 19 Xi 1734, COIM, ms. 333, p. 58v.

²⁶⁴ Letter of Józef Stadnicki, Castellan of Biecz to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, at the castle in Niemirów, 9 VIII 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 143v-144v.

²⁶⁵ Letter of Józef Sierakowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Zabż, 18 VII 1733, COIM, ms. 333, p. 10v-r.

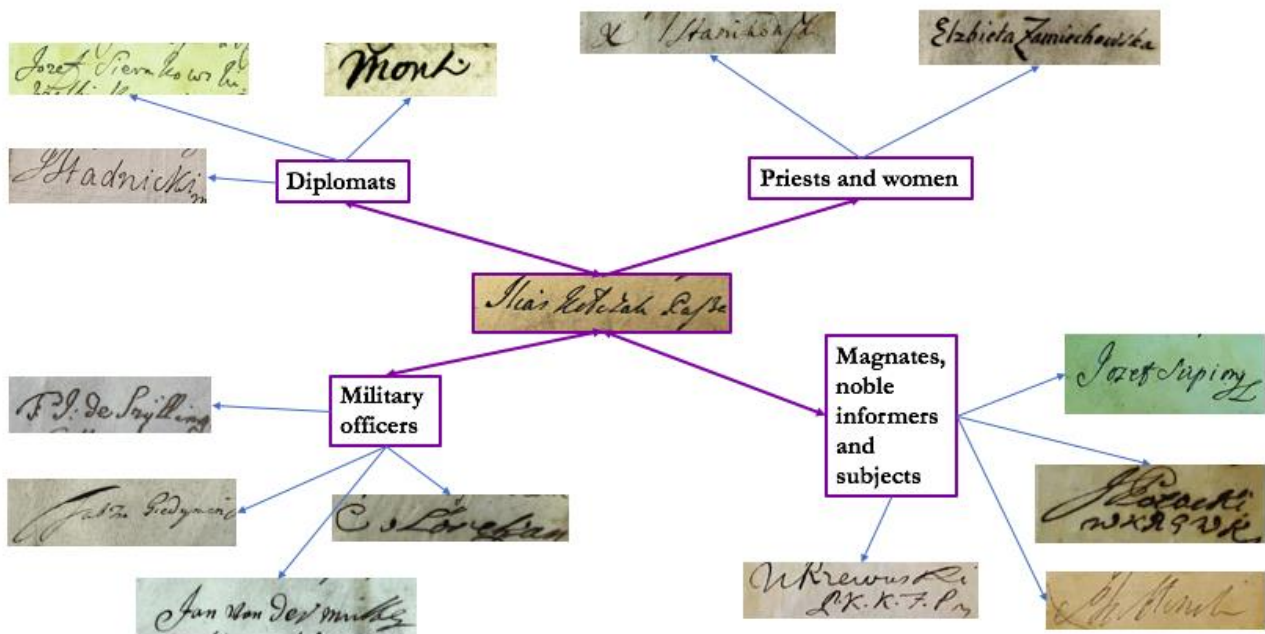


Figure 2: Schematic graph of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha's network with four main groups. All signatures are original and were taken from COIM, ms. 333.

In Ilyash Kolchak's rich correspondence, the idea of border friendship appears in almost every letter, and it allows us to understand what elements actors conceived as a part of the concept of cross-border friendship. Four aspects emerge as essential to cross-border friendship. Firstly, to cement a friendship, it had to be taken care of and evoked in reciprocal and regular correspondence. Thus, Kolchak's regular correspondents searched for ways to excuse themselves if they interrupted the steady flow of correspondence. In one of his letters to Kolchak, Stanislaw Poniatowski evoked and repeated 'their grateful friendship' as many as eight times.²⁶⁶ Secondly, border friendships needed confirmation not only in writing but also in material gifts. Adam and Jan Tarlo, brothers and Palatines of Lublin and Sandomierz, respectively, asked in 1733 for Kolchak to lend them tents that they intended to use in the fields of Warsaw during the election of a new king.²⁶⁷ Thirdly, border friendships relied on a regular exchange of information. Kolchak provided almost every one of his correspondents with information from Persia; although not always accurate, Ilyash delivered it punctually. In return, his Polish friends provided him with regular access to news about Russians. They were his eyes and ears in the north. Finally, friends in the borderland provided each other with services and help in times of trouble. This came to the fore during the Russian invasion of Poland when many nobles ran to Ilyash Kolchak for

²⁶⁶ Letter of Stanislaw Poniatowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, in Wolczyn, 11 V 1731, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 31v-32v.

²⁶⁷ Letter of Adam and Jan Tarlo to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, in Piękoszew, 26 IV 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 90v-91v.

refuge. All of that was possible thanks to the fact that Kolchak and the Polish nobles treated each other as equals.

To summarize, Ottoman-Polish cross-border networking in the eighteenth century worked in two significant spaces: in the borderland, where regular contact was easy to conduct thanks to the presence of Ottoman governors on the Polish-Lithuanian confines, and in Istanbul. The presence of Polish-Lithuanian exiles in the Ottoman Empire between 1709 and 1714 created an extraordinary situation for networking in the borderlands and intensified Ottoman-Polish contact and mutual understanding. Benoe could use his superb in-between standing to network with ordinary Ottoman merchants and with the elites of the Ottoman Empire. These first encounters made it easier for Benoe to build an extensive cross-border network both in the borderlands and in Istanbul in his later years. Cross-border networking in the Ottoman-Polish zone of contact functioned, however, not only through the mediation of go-betweens but also through everyday contact between ordinary people who lived in the borderland and were in daily contact with the Ottomans. The intermediation afforded by Polish scribes such as Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, Hüseyin Efendi, and Piotr Pawłowski or other go-betweens was essential but was not the only way to reach out to the Ottomans. Contact between Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas was an interplay between mediation and direct exchange aided by the long-standing Ottoman border pashas' knowledge of Polish.

From the borderland, networking moved to the Ottoman imperial capital of Istanbul through yet other actors, who like Benoe combined living in the borderland with diplomatic missions to Istanbul. People such as Ebu Bekir Ağa, Benoe's escort to and from Istanbul, played a unique role in the contact of diplomats in the social spaces of Istanbul. This I discuss in Istanbul in more detail in chapter six. Cross-border networking facilitated the exchange of goods and fashion over the border. Clothing, watches, snuffboxes, music, animals, foodstuffs, and stimulants accompanied letters and oiled the networking efforts of Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas. These gifts often expedited the correspondence and helped in maintaining contacts. These goods traveling with the letters strengthened the networking efforts and stimulated Polish-Lithuanian fashion for cultural 'Ottomanica.' As we have seen, however, these exchanges were not one-sided, but somewhat reciprocal.

The border governors of Hotin linked the Ottoman and Polish social worlds. Translators and other go-betweens facilitated their networking efforts, but occasionally Ottoman pashas could communicate in Polish and therefore, accelerated the exchange of information and goods. The Prince of Moldavia, a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire, played a similar role to that of governors of Hotin for the Moldavian lands.

Moldavian-Polish Cross-Border Networking

Apart from several notes on how to trade and network with the Ottomans, Benoe's notebook gives some initial clues about how Benoe managed to shoot two birds with one stone by trading tax-free in the Ottoman Empire and to network with the Princes of Moldavia. In a separate note, titled "Buying items from Istanbul" Benoe wrote:

"There is no easier way to transport various items, sabers, damasks, silks, horses as a borderland lord [*pan pograniczny*] as to be in close friendship with the Prince of Moldavia and send people to Istanbul under his name and transport commodities bought there [back to Poland-Lithuania – M. K.] without taxation as things bought for the private needs of that Prince."²⁶⁸

In this note, Benoe underlines the most important strategy of cross-border networking within the Principality of Moldavia. In the eighteenth century, it was crucial to establish ties with the Princes of Moldavia, who ruled this tributary state of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶⁹ The Principality of Moldavia was a buffer zone between the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, various cross-border patronage networks supported candidates for the throne of Iași, a Moldavian capital located in today's Romania. Because of the repeated 'betrayals' by Moldavian rulers and boyars –who made a habit of changing sides in wars– the Ottomans decided to appoint the so-called Phanariots as the rulers of Moldavia and Walachia. Based largely in Istanbul, the Phanariots were Greek-speaking, Orthodox elites of the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁰

As Benoe's note indicates, the Princes of Moldavia were at the center of cross-border networking. The prince was, however, only one of many candidates to the throne from various Phanariot families, who competed in Istanbul for the Moldavian throne. Changes in leadership were so frequent in Moldavia that boyar elites of the Principality often tried to reach social standing in Poland-Lithuania and the

²⁶⁸ Benoe's Notebook, f. 14v.: "Nabywanie rzeczy z Stambułu Nie może być łatwiejszy sposób do wyprowadzenia rzeczy różnych, szabel, demeszek, jedwabiów, koni jako Panu Pogranicznemu, który by miał przyjaźń ścisłą z hospodarem wołoskim, aby pod jego tytułem do Stambułu posyłać i tam bez myta wyprowadzał kupione na potrzebę swoją drobiazgi."

²⁶⁹ Viorel Panaite, "The Legal and Political Status of Wallachia and Moldavia in Relation to the Ottoman Porte," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society, and Economy* 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9–42. Of lesser importance is here the Principality of Walachia, more distant from Poland-Lithuania and in the eighteenth century entering the orbit of Habsburg expansion.

²⁷⁰ For a short description of Phanariots see Ștefania Costache, "Loyalty and Political Legitimacy in the Phanariots' Historical Writing in the Eighteenth Century," *Südost-Forschungen*, no. 69/70 (2010): 27–31.

Ottoman Empire using naturalization in the former and cross-confessional networking in the latter.²⁷¹ In addition to the Princes of Moldavia, boyar elites also networked beyond the borders with Polish nobles.

Benoe followed well-established networking patterns in his early years when he got in touch with Constantin Mavrocordato, Prince of Moldavia, and his entire family in the Ottoman Empire.²⁷² In the 1740s, while preparing for his embassy to Istanbul, Benoe exchanged letters with Grigore Ghika, Prince of Moldavia and Grand Dragoman of the Sublime Porte.²⁷³ Benoe was also in touch with Constantin de Scarlatti, a member of an influential Phanariot family that held multiple offices in Moldavia.²⁷⁴ While experiencing problems with his health in the 1750s, Benoe exchanged letters (and Jewish physicians) with Constantin Racoviță, Prince of Moldavia, on a regular basis.²⁷⁵ Benoe used this connection to stimulate trade between the Jewish community of Bursztyn, the capital of his estates, and the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁶ Benoe was also in touch with Nicolai Paladi, the Principal of Czerniowce (Rum. Cernăuți, Ukrainian: Chernivtsi), a border city based in the Principality of Moldavia.²⁷⁷ Paladi and his predecessor, Jan Halepiński, were well-informed and aware of Benoe's life and joined him, for instance, in grief after his daughter's death.²⁷⁸

A Polish-speaking community in Moldavia with its Catholic Church diocese based in Bacău facilitated the networking between Polish nobles and Moldavian boyars.²⁷⁹ Benoe supported the Bishop of the Catholic Church in Moldavia, Stanisław Jezierski OP, who traveled to visit his bishopric in 1741. Benoe provided him with letters of recommendation and financial support. On his part, Jezierski provided Benoe with information from Moldavia and Istanbul.²⁸⁰ Benoe's Moldavian network comprised not only of influential informers and mediators but also of casual go-betweens, as in the case of his Ottoman networking.

²⁷¹ Feneșan, "Diplome de indigenat polon ale boierilor moldoveni Grigore Hăbășescu și Gheorghe Hâjdău."

²⁷² Benoe's Notebook, f. 5v.

²⁷³ Letter of Grigore II Ghika to Józef Potocki, Grand Crown hetman and Benoe's patron, Constantinopoli, 22 V (old style) 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 3, part 2, f. 1v (original), ms. 21, part 3, f. 11r-12v (copy) mentioning correspondence with Benoe, dragoman Marini, and secretary of Benoe's embassy Paweł Starzyński.

²⁷⁴ Letter of Constantin de Scarlatti to Paweł Benoe, partial letter, no place [Constantinople or Iași], no date [1742-1743], fond 145, ms. 11, par 1, f. 22v; Iași, 22 IX 1742 (probably old style), ms. 11, part 1, p. 18v-r; ms. 21, part 3, p. 1v.

²⁷⁵ Letters of Constantin de Racoviță to Paweł Benoe, Iași, 1752 and Benoe's answer, Bursztyn, SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 454, f. 89r.; Letter of Paweł Benoe to Constantin Racoviță, no place [Bursztyn], 14 VII 1753, SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 454, f. 103v.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷⁷ Letter of Nicolai Paladi, Starost of Cernăuți to Paweł Benoe, in Czerniowce, 15 VI 1748, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 2, f. 185v-r.I

²⁷⁸ Letter of Jan Halepiński, Starost of Cernăuți to Paweł Benoe, in Czerniowce, 25 III 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 16, f. 14v.

²⁷⁹ Jan Reychman, "Biskupstwo bakowskie w świetle historiografii rumuńskiej," *Nasza przeszłość: Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce* 4 (1948): 317–40.

²⁸⁰ Letter of Stanisław Rajmond Jezierski OP, Bishop of Bacău to Paweł Benoe, Iași, 29 VIII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 197v-198v.

Benoe communicated with Moldavian partners thanks to the intermediation of go-betweens. The most important of them was Paweł Janowicz. Janowicz was a burgher and lived between Moldavia and Poland. He served Benoe and aided him in letter exchanges with the Moldavian court, but he also forwarded Benoe's correspondence from the borderlands to Istanbul while using the extensive postal system of the Ottoman Empire and the Moldavian Prince's dispatch riders.²⁸¹ Janowicz's intermediation is an interesting example of casual relations between Moldavian and Polish-Lithuanian subjects. To be sure –and Benoe is only one example among many Polish-Lithuanian borderland nobles– contacts in the Moldavian-Ottoman-Polish zone of contact were common and based on everyday exchanges. Go-betweens –such as Janowicz who crossed the border systematically and lived on both sides of it simultaneously– facilitated the networking.

As a comparison, let us look at the cross-border networking strategies in Moldavia of Adam Sieniawski (died 1726), the Grand Crown hetman and Castellan of Kraków. Sieniawski's cross-border networking, like Benoe's, went far beyond the casual exchange of official letters and hit the tones of border friendship. An intense exchange of letters, goods, services, and information strengthened Sieniawski's bonds with the princely Moldavian Racoviță family. Like in the case of Kolchak's correspondence, Sieniawski's friendship with the Racoviță family had to be cultivated and evoked in regular correspondence. Letters had to be accompanied by material gifts which strengthened and confirmed the bond. Sieniawski provided the Prince of Moldavia, Mihai Racoviță, with information from Poland and awaited news from Moldavia, the Crimean Khanate, and Istanbul. The conserved and partly published correspondence between Sieniawski and Racoviță demonstrates the extent of Sieniawski's network in Moldavia and the conviviality of Moldavian-Polish border friendships.²⁸²

Sieniawski first forged contacts with the Prince of Moldavia, Mihai Racoviță, through the intermediation of Dumitrașco Racoviță, Mihai's brother.²⁸³ Sieniawski entered into correspondence with Mihai Racoviță in 1708, and both partners exchanged numerous letters in 1709. Later, Racoviță and Sieniawski exchanged letters every week. In this relationship, Sieniawski and Racoviță primarily exchanged information: the former provided the Prince of Moldavia with handwritten newsletters from Poland-Lithuania and northern Europe, and the latter furnished Sieniawski with news from the Ottoman Empire. However, this was only a part of the affectionate and effectual border friendship. Both partners exchanged people and goods, such as professional hunters, or –immensely popular in Poland-Lithuania–

²⁸¹ Letters of Paweł Janowicz to Paweł Benoe, Iași and L'viv, 1744-1746, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 188v-192r.

²⁸² Veniamin Ciobanu, "Documente poloneze de la Mihai Racoviță," *Revista Arhivelor* 52, no. 4 (1975): 455–61. Ciobanu edited only Racoviță letters from 1709, for others see, BC, ms. 2900.

²⁸³ Letter of Dumitrașco Racoviță and Iordache Russet to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 27 VIII 1708, in: Mariusz Kaczka, ed., "'Stada WMM Pana...w....respekcie roztają i zostawać będą.' Kilka listów gospodarów i bojarów moldawskich do Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego (1696-1710)," *Studia Historyczno-Wojskowe* 5 (2015): 304.

Moldavian wine and apples.²⁸⁴ Mihai Racoviță's wife sent Sieniawski's wife hand-knitted handkerchiefs, and Dumitrașco Racoviță and his wife Ilena gifted Sieniawski and his wife Elżbieta a variety of Moldavian apples because (as Dumitrașco put it) 'I know that Your Grace takes special pleasure in this sort of apples.'²⁸⁵ Sieniawski's and Racoviță's entire families remained in constant contact, were well-informed about each other's wellbeing, and exchanged goods and information with remarkable intensity.

Not only did the Moldavian Prince and his family engage in correspondence with Polish nobles, but Moldavian boyars did, as well. A Moldavian boyar, Gheorghe Rossetti, corresponded with Sieniawski, too. In a similar manner to the above-discussed case of burgher Pawel Janowicz, Rossetti lived in both Moldavia and Poland, regularly switching between both places and playing the role of a link between the Polish and Moldavian noble worlds. Rossetti was strongly linked to the network of the Racoviță family.

Polish correspondence between the Racoviță family and Rossetti was easier thanks to the presence of a Polish scribe in Iași. All Racoviță's and Rossetti's letters to the Sieniawski family were composed by the Polish secretary of Moldavian Princes Gheorghe Strahoschi (in Romanian parlé), Jerzy Franciszek Strachocki (in the Polish version of his name) or Georgius Franciscus Strachocki (in the Latinized version).²⁸⁶ Strahoschi/Strachocki was a real chameleon, a hybrid and a go-between *par excellence* that facilitated networking in the Moldavian-Polish zone of contact. The spelling of his name changes from document to document, although he seemed to identify himself (at least in correspondence with Polish partners) as a 'born Polish nobleman.'²⁸⁷ His fluent knowledge of Polish facilitated contacts between the Racoviță family and Moldavian boyars and Polish nobles; his multiple social interactions in Moldavia and Poland-Lithuania and remarkable cross-border connectivity made him an exemplary go-between. Similar to Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, Hüseyin Efendi, or Piotr Pawłowski, Strahoschi/Strachocki played a crucial role in the process of communicating, translating, and mediating between the Moldavian and Polish worlds. Thanks to Strahoschi/Strachocki, Moldavian-Polish border friendships were more easily forged.

Networking and forging border friendships with Moldavians was also easier due to their common Christian faith and due to recurrent groups of Moldavian exiles seeking shelter in Poland-Lithuania. As Ilona Czamańska suggested, recurring political turmoil in the Principality of Moldavia fueled waves of political immigration from Moldavia to the Polish Crown.²⁸⁸ Second generation Moldavian exiles that

²⁸⁴ Ciobanu, "Documente poloneze," 458.

²⁸⁵ Letter of Dumitrașco Racoviță to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 25 IX 1725 (old style) [6 X 1725], BC, ms. 5929, No. 33436; Letter of Ilinca Racoviță to Elżbieta Sieniawska, 25 IX 1725 (old style) [6 X 1725], BC, ms. 5929, No. 33437.

²⁸⁶ Silviu Văcaru, "Noi informații cu privire la viața pisarului Gheorghe Strahoschi," *Biuletin istoric* 3 (2002): 157–60.

²⁸⁷ Letter of Jerzy Franciszek Strachocki, Secretary of the Prince of Moldavia to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Iași, 22 VII 1724 (old style), BC, ms. 5956, No. 40427: „urodzonego szlachcica polskiego.”

²⁸⁸ Czamańska, "Rumuńska imigracja polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku.”

settled in Poland often learned Polish and mediated between Polish nobility and Romanian boyars. The above-mentioned boyar, Gheorghe Rossetti, was in direct contact with Adam Sieniawski not only thanks to the letters drafted by a professional scribe, but also thanks to direct contact with Constantin Turculeț, the son of a first-generation Moldavian exile who made a career in Poland-Lithuania.²⁸⁹ Turculeț served Polish nobles as an informer and translator thanks to his knowledge of Polish and contacts on both sides of the border.

To sum up, Moldavian-Polish networking functioned in a similar manner to the same processes in the Ottoman-Polish zone of contact. Go-betweens played an increasingly important role in the networking efforts of Moldavian boyars and Polish nobles. Thanks to the Moldavian exiles in Poland-Lithuania and a common faith, forging border friendships was easier than in the Ottoman-Polish zone of contact. Benoe and others networking with Moldavian boyars could also count on help and mediation from the Catholic church in Moldavia. The networking efforts of Polish nobles were aimed at the Prince of Moldavia, but also incorporated masses of Moldavian boyars. As in the Ottoman-Polish case, Polish nobles established border friendships with Moldavian boyars and princes based on regular correspondence, and the exchange of goods, services, and information.

Moldavian-Ottoman-Polish Zone of Contact

For the sake of the narrative, I divided this chapter into clear blocks and separated Ottoman-Polish and Moldavian-Polish networks which are difficult to distinguish in the sources. The historical reality was much more complicated than a straightforward narrative and involved conflicting border friendships and overlapping networks. Moldavian, Ottoman, and Polish actors were aware of each other's networks. In 1708, the Moldavian Prince Mihai Racoviță wrote the following letter to Adam Sieniawski:

‘When the Ottoman messenger from His Lordship the Ottoman governor asked me if I dispatched the letter of His Master to You, my servant came back from Your Grace bringing me a letter from Your Lordship, in which You confirmed that You had received the letter of His Lordship the Ottoman governor. So I passed this message on to the Ottoman messenger right away. When he insisted that there must be an answer from Your Lordship to the letter of His Lordship the Ottoman governor, I answered that there is none, giving as an argument the information from Your Lordship’s letter in which You write that there was nobody who could translate the letter of the Ottoman governor since Your interpreter died recently. On that, the messenger answered that

²⁸⁹ Kaczka, “The Gentry of the Ottoman-Polish Borderlands.”

there was a Polish translation included, translated accurately word for word before sending, and sealed together with the Ottoman letter of His Lordship the Ottoman governor.²⁹⁰

The letter above describes a captivating communicative triangle (see figure 3): Yusuf Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Bender and the Silistra province, sent a letter to Adam Sieniawski in Ottoman Turkish with an enclosed translation in Polish. When he surprisingly did not receive an answer, he sent a dispatch rider to Mihai Racoviță, Prince of Moldavia –as he was aware of the correspondence between Racoviță and Sieniawski– pressing Racoviță to make Sieniawski answer the Ottoman letter. Unfortunately for Racoviță, at precisely this moment, his messenger from Poland-Lithuania arrived in Iași bringing Sieniawski’s letters for him. Seeing the letters, the Ottoman messenger further pressed Racoviță to force Sieniawski to answer Yusuf Pasha’s letter. All three actors –Yusuf Pasha, Sieniawski, and Racoviță– not only remained in touch with one another but were also aware of each other’s networks and correspondence. Their networks overlapped with one another, and in any case of a refusal to respond, actors pressed other members of the network to get a response. Other similar overlapping networks came to light in conflict situations.

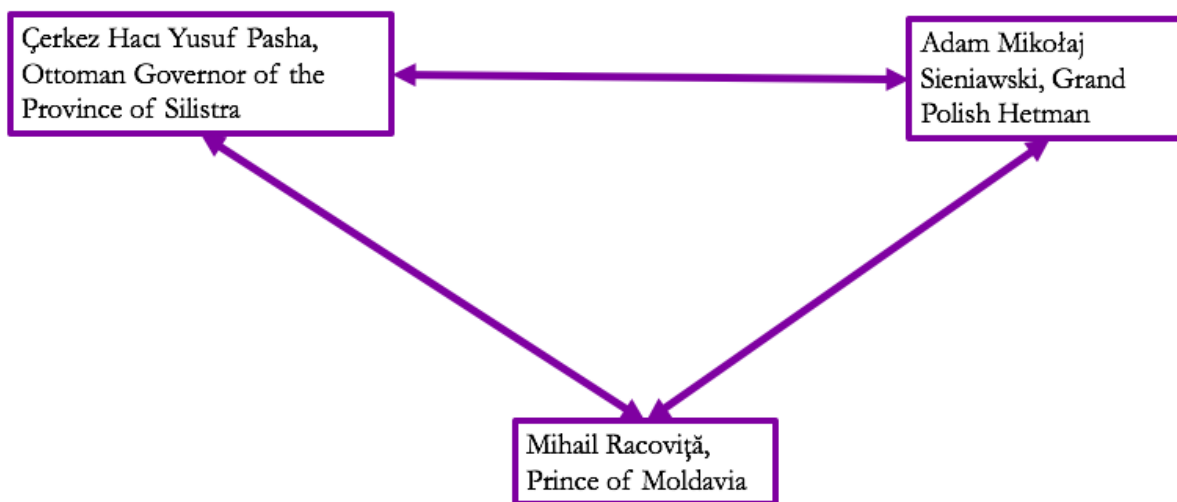


Figure 3: Cross-Border Communicative Ottoman-Moldavian-Polish triangle of Sieniawski, Racoviță, and Yusuf Pasha.

This example of intriguing social interconnectedness and cross-border networking in the Ottoman-Polish borderland is indeed not isolated, although such examples are difficult to trace in the sources. Another such network becomes visible in a conflict situation over Jahorlik, a borderland city, and possession of a Polish-Lithuanian noble, Jerzy Lubomirski. Situated on the southern edge of Poland-

²⁹⁰ Letter of Mihai Racoviță, Prince of Moldavia to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, in Iași, 9 II 1708, ANK, ADzied, 26/32, No. 12.

Lithuania, this border city shared confines with the Principality of Moldavia and the Ottoman province of Silistra. In a conflict involving one of Lubomirski's servants and the Commander of Jahorlik, Haç Bey, Racoviță addressed Sieniawski in several letters complaining about Lubomirski's servants' violent attacks on Moldavian lands and regular kidnappings.²⁹¹ Sieniawski, unaware of the situation, engaged in a letter exchange with Lubomirski, asking if the Moldavian accusations are true. Simultaneously, Lubomirski exchanged letters directly with Racoviță, but they could not reach a common ground. In the end, Lubomirski wrote to Sieniawski:

‘I wrote to the Prince of Moldavia [Racoviță – M. K.] about this business, but my inquiry was not satisfied since my estates were invaded by him more than once. (...) There is no other solution, but that we both send our mediators there, and then we will see who is guilty. I already took care of that since he will be reprimanded by the pasha of Bender [Osman Pasha – M. K.] with whom I have several neighborly affairs [*interesach sàsiedzkiech*] and who is a just man.’²⁹²

The letter continues in this manner, and Lubomirski calls Racoviță a ‘rascal’ and Osman Pasha his ‘friend’ more than three times, shielding himself with this social bond against all Moldavian accusations. This captivating example of cross-border networking aptly displays how various networks overlapped and how actors living under the same suzerainty created their independent networks with partners from the other side of the border. Border nobles established social bonds and strong ties by engaging in the most favorable interactions which rarely followed simple state allegiances. For instance, Sieniawski's connection with Racoviță was stronger than that with Lubomirski. Lubomirski, for his part, had established a longstanding friendship with Osman Pasha. In a conflict situation, both blocks (Sieniawski with Racoviță and Lubomirski with Osman Pasha) tried to outweigh each other's influences in the borderland and put their networks and border friendships on display. (see figure 3) These kinds of situations were certainly not isolated.

²⁹¹ Letter of Mihai Racoviță, Prince of Moldavia to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, Iași, 1 III 1723 (old style) [12 III 1723], BC, ms. 2900, No. 13.

²⁹² Letter of Jerzy Lubomirski to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, no place, 5 I 1723, BC, ms. 5874, No. 22318.

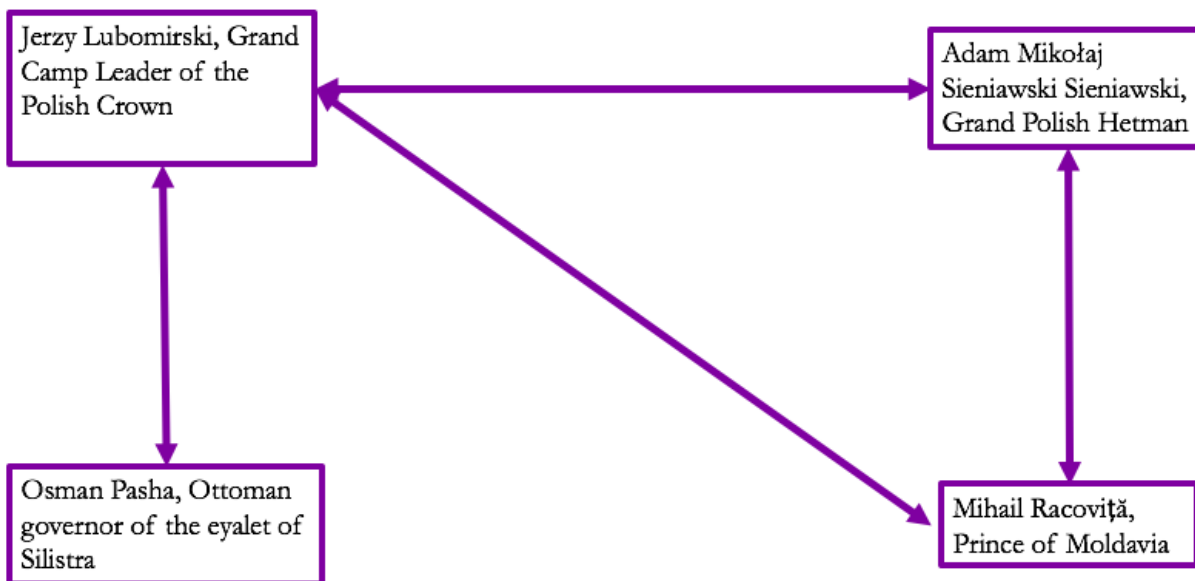


Figure 4: Cross-Border communicative Ottoman-Polish-Moldavian interaction of Sieniawski, Racoviță, Lubomirski and Osman Pasha.

The above source examples indicate that the reality of networking was far more complex than the clear-cut narrative blocs of this chapter would suggest. The entire borderland was crisscrossed with networks that often overlapped. Ottoman subjects allied with Polish subjects against other Ottoman or Polish actors in conflict situations. The fact that this was possible suggests that the Ottoman borders in Europe were more porous than previously imagined and that border friendships existed across the borders. In 1714, Józef Potocki stated in one of his letters to Sieniawski that ‘it is hard to live in the borderland without border friendships.’²⁹³ Border friendships were necessary for everyday life, conviviality, and networking.

The concept of the border friendship involved several elements; once forged, friendship had to be taken care of, confirmed, and evoked in regular correspondence. Letters that traveled across the borders contained information and often arrived with gifts. The exchange of information and gifts strengthened the bond between friends in Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire. Lastly, border friendship involved serving and supporting one another in case of need. The best examples of this were Moldavian boyars searching for shelter in Polish dominions during political turmoil, or Polish noblewomen, noblemen, and priests running to Ilyash Kolchak’s side to hide from Russian danger.

This chapter participates not only in the recent historiographical discussions on friendships and their meaning in diplomatic history and the history of borderlands, but also in the ongoing debate on the negotiation, mediation, and connections between the Islamic and Christian worlds in the early modern

²⁹³ Letter of Józef Potocki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, in Wyszogród, 2 VIII 1714, BC, ms. 5920, No. 31142.

period. As I argued, following the lines of Natalie Rothman's research, networking in the Ottoman-Polish borderland was possible thanks to the myriad of go-betweens, fluent in multiple cultures, who provided networking actors with their linguistic expertise and fluency in more than one culture.²⁹⁴ Thanks to the services of Ismail Ağa Józefowicz, Hüseyin Efendi, Piotr Pawłowski, and Franciszek Strachocki, Ottoman, Moldavian and Polish actors could and did communicate with high frequency and ease. Not surprisingly, Ismail, Hüseyin, Piotr, and Franciszek were secretaries and interpreters.

For the period between 1740 and 1770, Nancy L. Hagedorn identified no less than one hundred men and women who worked as interpreters in the Anglo-Iroquois encounters. These interpreters, as she suggested, 'mediated the interchange of cultures as they facilitated the exchange of words and promises.'²⁹⁵ On the other side of the same continent, interpreters who mastered more than one native language acted as negotiators, diplomats, and translators with the Comanche.²⁹⁶ In the borderlands, however, where daily contacts and conviviality allowed masses of nobility to experience the Ottoman Empire, contacts might have been more direct than previously imagined. Nobles like Benoe who lived for several years in the Ottoman Empire could acquire Ottoman culture and language to make a career. Due to the character of the sources and go-betweens' vital interest in preserving their standing, other forms of mediation or direct exchange are less visible to us today. The knowledge of the language and culture of the other in settled borderlands, such as the Ottoman-Polish borderland, was more common than previously assumed. The culture of the other transgressed the boundaries in the pockets, on the saddles, in the bags, carts, and coaches of numerous individuals, who are hard to trace in the sources as this kind of travel was common that it often escaped the record. Benoe, for instance, spent much of his early years traveling between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire. Later on, Benoe self-fashioned in Poland-Lithuania as an expert in Ottoman matters and got involved in border making. The next chapter presents these aspects of Benoe's activities.

²⁹⁴ Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 10–11.

²⁹⁵ Nancy L. Hagedorn, "'A Friend to Go between Them?': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker during Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (1988): 61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/482433>.

²⁹⁶ Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 113.

Chapter 4: Border Making and Transregionality of the Ottoman-Polish Borderland²⁹⁷

In 1727, Mustafa Pasha, governor of Hotin, informed the novice Grand Crown hetman Stanisław M. Rzewuski of a long debate in the borderland considering a small village of Serafińce. Based in a spot where the imagined Ottoman-Polish border transgressed a flat terrain void of rivers, mountains, or other natural obstacles, Serafińce remained a contested territory for many years, and its allegiance was uncertain. Moldavians claimed it as an ancient Moldavian territory, and Poles did the same. Mustafa Pasha reported that

‘the Palatine of Belz [Stanisław Potocki – M. K.] entered our borders violently and took control of this village, built an Orthodox church on the Moldavian border, chopped and transported oak wood, built houses and mowed the hay on the Moldavian side. From this border, he controlled the Moldavian soil and fields. Former Moldavian Prince and Palatine Mihail [Racoviță – M. K.] petitioned and informed about it Abdi Pasha of renowned memory [former governor of Hotin – M. K.]. The High Porte sent a *firman* [order – M. K.], asking him to dispatch old people living on the border in the fortress so that they could confess where was the Moldavian and Polish border.’²⁹⁸

Racoviță, however, did not send his commissioners to the border, and the conflict persisted for years.²⁹⁹ Apart from the old people of the region, Mustafa Pasha asked Rzewuski to send over commissioners with the written interstate delimitation of 1703 so that it could be confronted with peasants’ testimony. This conflict involved first local landholders, then local overlords (Moldavian Prince, Ottoman governor, Grand Crown hetman), and culminated in an Ottoman intervention from Istanbul. The conflict was multilayered, and the actors used resources of authority, documentation, and pure violence to argument their claims and keep control of the contested territory.

Similar multilayered uncertainties about the border that involved Polish nobles, Moldavian boyars, Ottoman pashas, as well as regional and central courts, transpired on a regular basis in the

²⁹⁷ This chapter was fully rewritten after my presentation at the Harvard-Princeton Graduate Conference in Early Modern History in early 2018. I would like to thank Ann Blair (Harvard) and Anthony Grafton (Princeton) for their numerous and generous remarks.

²⁹⁸ Letter of Mustafa Pasha of Hotin to Stanisław M. Rzewuski, Grand Crown hetman, from Hotin, 10 II 1727, BC, ms. 5898, No. 26831: “JW JMP wojewoda belski gwałtem w granice wszedłszy i opanowawszy półtorej godziny rachując wzdłuż i wszerz pół milę i cerkiew jedną na granicy wołoskiej postawiono i z lasów dębinę rąbiąc wywożono, domy budowano i w granicy wołoskiej oraz i siano koszą, z tej granicy grunta wołoskie i pola opanowane są. Przeszły gospodar wołoski wojewoda na imię Michał do Prześwietnej Porty suplikował i oznajmił był o wszystkim do seraskier Abdy Paszy JMci sławnej pamięci od Prześwietnej Porty ferman był zesłany, aby starych ludzi na granicy w fortocy mieszkających zesłał i zeznali wołoską i polską granicę.”

²⁹⁹ See also letters of Stanisław M. Rzewuski to Grigore Ghika, Prince of Moldavia, no place, 20 IV 1728 and in Rożno (?), 17 V 1728, BJ, ms. Przyb. 84/52, f. 85v-86r in the same matter.

borderland. Perhaps the most famous one is the conflict between Aleksander Balaban, a Polish border noble, and an influential Moldavian boyar, Gheorghe Ursachi, that dragged on for over half a century. In the 1680s, Balaban lent Ursachi an astronomical sum of a hundred twenty-nine thousand Dutch lion thalers secured on Ursachi's landed possessions in the Principality of Moldavia. The latter was unable to pay, and the Prince of Moldavia Gheorghe Duca decided to transfer the rights to twenty-nine villages in Moldavia from Ursachi to Balaban. Balaban transferred his rights directly to his master, Jan III Sobieski of Poland-Lithuania, and in this way, began a never-ending quest by Sobieski to take these landed possessions under his control, and after his passing, under Radziwill's family control.³⁰⁰ In 1742, Michal Radziwill, Sobieski's heir instructed Benoe to take care of this matter in Istanbul and provided him with three bundles of documents on the Balaban-Ursachi case.³⁰¹ This seemingly private case involving two noblemen soon escalated to involve all the possible rulers in the region: the Prince of Moldavia, king of Poland-Lithuania, local Ottoman authorities, and in the end even the Ottoman administration in Istanbul. Was this an interstate conflict or perhaps a transregional story in which actors used every possible authority and convoluted negotiation method to support their claim?

This chapter traces the multilayered story of the Ottoman-Polish borderland from a transregional perspective. Historians of borderlands traditionally focus their attention on interstate borders as a separating, clarifying, and static geographical phenomenon. Only recently, following the collapse of the Berlin wall and creation of a borderless European Union, have historians turned their attention to borders as a connecting phenomenon which foster exchanges and cultural transfers.³⁰² The most famous study of an early modern boundary, that of Peter Sahlins on the French-Spanish border in the Pyrenees, however, explicitly focuses on ways in which the French and Spanish state appropriated a contested border territory and paid some attention to local forces.³⁰³ The spatial turn and recent developments in migration studies gave historians new concepts such as translocality, transnationality, and transregionalism that empowered actor-driven research and fueled historical research since the 2000s.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ For Ursachi see Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV-XVII* (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1971), 453–54; Ioan Bogdan, ed., *Documente culese din Archive și Biblioteci Polone*, Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor urmare la colecționea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, supl. III, vols. 1: 1641-1703 (București: Ministeriului Cultelor și Adademiei Române, 1900), 224–25. See also AGAD, Czolowski Collection, ms. 390 for Sobieski's inventory in this matter.

³⁰¹ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Michal Radziwill, Lithuanian Field hetman, from Bursztyn, 19 XI 1742, AGAD, AR, part 5, ms. 536, f. 7v-8v.

³⁰² For references please see chapter two where I discuss the literature in more detail.

³⁰³ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1991), XVII.

³⁰⁴ Melanie Hühn et al., eds., "In neuen Dimensionen denken? Einführende Überlegungen zu Transkulturalität, Transnationalität, Transstaatlichkeit und Translokaltät," in *Transkulturalität, Transnationalität, Transstaatlichkeit, Translokaltät. Theoretische und empirische Begriffsbestimmungen*, Region-Nation-Europa 62 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 11–46; Christopher H. Johnson et al., eds., *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). Pablo Hernandez Sau's at the EUI and Benjamin Sacks' project at Princeton have a transregional scope as it traces one family in diverse spatial settings.

Scholars working on modern migration patterns suggest that the binary thinking involving two states, and binary categories of ‘immigrant’ – ‘emigrant’ are too narrow and heuristically void to explain the migration patterns that happened since at least the nineteenth century involving highly creative and mobile individuals.³⁰⁵ Jürgen Osterhammel and Sebastian Conrad suggested that transnational history is a ‘pragmatic approach behind which there is no elaborated theory or a special method of research’ and which is, as an approach most useful for studies from the nineteenth century on.³⁰⁶ Historians of the early modern period were reluctant to apply ‘transnationality’ as a category to early modern realities that had ‘little to do with nations’ and rather turned their attention to other alternatives.³⁰⁷ Christian de Vito recently suggested replacing this concept with that of ‘translocal microhistory’ to depart from binary divisions between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ or ‘exclusion’ and ‘integration.’³⁰⁸ Vito’s statement that ‘translocal microhistory has as its double objective the deconstruction of universalistic concepts and the reconstruction of the histories, meanings, and representations that lie beneath them,’ and is thus a history from below is informative and suggestive; however his concept, is too broad to be used here.³⁰⁹

Instead, I apply the concept of transregional history, developed recently by a team of Dutch scholars. Within this concept, ‘effectively, for anyone living in the early modern period, be it a merchant, a craftsman, a farmer, a clergyman, or even a king, the border did not exist.’³¹⁰ The prefix *trans* implies a perspective that crosses two regions in a borderland, hence Ottoman and Polish provinces neighboring the border are taken together. Transregional history aims at widening the perspective and focuses not on single boundaries, but manifold ones on different levels, for instance between neighboring landlords, Church hierarchies, provinces, and in the end, states. This method, strongly influenced by Tamar Herzog, follows the ‘borderless’ historical actors, coexisting spatial levels of separation, and ‘how different actors constructed the manifold boundaries that permeated their world.’³¹¹

This chapter aims at addressing the conflicting narratives of possession produced on different levels and scales through Benoe’s private archive. In 1740, Benoe’s only daughter Magdalena passed away leaving Benoe in unimaginable pain and grief that transgresses his notes, manuscripts, and correspondence. For around a year, Benoe locked himself up in his castle at Bursztyn, received letters

³⁰⁵ Hühn et al., “In neuen Dimensionen denken?,” 12.

³⁰⁶ Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., “Einleitung,” in *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871 - 1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 14; Jürgen Osterhammel, “Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 27, no. 3 (2001): 471.

³⁰⁷ Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 3, fn. 7.

³⁰⁸ Christian G. De Vito, “Verso una microstoria translocale (micro-spatial history),” *Quaderni storici*, no. 3 (2015): 821, <https://doi.org/10.1408/82695>.

³⁰⁹ Vito, 822.

³¹⁰ Violet Soen et al., “How to Do Transregional History: A Concept, Method and Tool for Early Modern Border Research,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 4 (July 31, 2017): 353, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700658-12342541>.

³¹¹ Soen et al., 355; Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 3.

that he rarely answered and did not go out. At this time, Benoe was at the height of his career as a self-made negotiator, diplomat, and news expert working on the triple Ottoman-Polish-Russian border. Benoe's personal tragedy created an unexpected richness of well-conserved sources that I explore here. Following his nomination as Polish commissioner for a delimitation with the Ottomans and Russians, Benoe created an information network involving a multitude of local and central actors, military officers, chancellors, and the king himself. Benoe was aware of the importance of confirmed information in the decision making processes. He collected and organized 'raw, specific and practical' information, structured, changed, and transmitted it to the court as ready knowledge which central authorities were eager to receive.³¹² It was only with the help of local actors like Benoe and his friends and informers that central courts were able to accumulate and produced knowledge used in decision making processes.

Early modern actors experienced a constant information overload that produced indispensable information masters like Benoe, able to accumulate, store, and operationalize information.³¹³ Jean-Baptiste Colbert was useful to Louis XIV not only because of his extensive information network, but above all because of his passion to structure and operationalize collected information into ready knowledge. Benoe worked through a constant flow of information that flooded his castle with letters, descriptions, maps, and archival materials, and then sent to the court a digested essence in the form of short letters that he meticulously edited and corrected. Benoe understood that in the information overload, the news reported on paper was suspicious and untruthful unless confirmed several times and eye-witnessed.³¹⁴ Nobles expected 'perfect,' 'right,' 'effective,' 'reliable,' and 'honest' information; otherwise, information transformed into rumor or gossip.³¹⁵

This chapter addresses first Benoe's strategies of information collecting and transmitting. In the first part, I illustrate Benoe's early modern self-fashioning strategy based on information procurement and performative expertise. In doing so, I bring the agency to a multitude of invisible agents that provided Benoe with information, that belonged to Benoe's news network, and that Benoe meticulously erased

³¹² Information is "a representation of the world that is available in a connection with a specific task", is unsorted, chaotic and new in dissociation from knowledge that is organized and structured, see Arndt Brendecke, Markus Friedrich, and Susanne Friedrich, eds., "Information als Kategorie historischer Forschung. Heuristik, Etymologie und Abgrenzung vom Wissensbegriff," in *Information in der Frühen Neuzeit: Status, Bestände, Strategien*, Pluralisierung & Autorität 16 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008), 16. I thank Christian B. Flow from Princeton for drawing my attention to this book.

³¹³ Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 13; Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System*, Cultures of Knowledge in the Early Modern World (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

³¹⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2014), 49.

³¹⁵ The adjectives are taken from the documentation of the Old Polish Dictionary (2nd half of the 17th-first half of the 18th century), keyword 'information,' available at: <http://www.rcin.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=7232&from=publication> (retrieved: 10.07.2018). Cf. Brendecke, Friedrich, and Friedrich, "Information als Kategorie historischer Forschung," 26.

from his reports.³¹⁶ The invisible Cossack dispatch riders that brought Benoe letters and oral information formed the base of his network and were indispensable in establishing how the Ottoman-Polish-Russian confines changed. Benoe's network and conserved correspondence brings to the fore a multitude of actors vitally interested in the ever-changing boundaries – from regional peasants and Cossacks called to testify, through local landlords up to the central court – and in this way, allows a historian to build a genuinely transregional and multilayered narrative. It also complements the historiography of the Pontic Steppe that focused largely on Russian colonization and ignored the existence of any other actors and competing interests in the region.

In the second stage of Benoe's work, the central court used the structured and essentialised knowledge from Benoe and other sources in the decision-making process. In their correspondence with Benoe Polish chancellors evoked the king's involvement in the border controversy to argue their decision making and the procurement of further information from Benoe. In doing so, they used civilizational arguments, compared Ukraine with the Indies, and evoked the colonizing Polish past in Right-Bank Ukraine. By awakening the alleged ancient Polish rights, digging out documents from archives and libraries, and confronting these materials with Benoe's dispatches, they hoped to establish the true and original Ottoman-Polish-Russian confine. In doing so, the chancellors used maps – the easiest way to control and layer space.³¹⁷ In the end, Benoe drew the border himself and in a prolonged negotiation agreed to pack his bags and discuss the border issue in Istanbul.

The Diplomat's Craft and Mind: Benoe's Information Network and Self-Fashioning

In the late 1730s, the Ottomans and Russians commenced a new war that was about to change confines in the Caucasus and the triple Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland. The war ended with the Treaty of Belgrade on September 29 (18) 1739, which set into motion the difficult process of border making. The Ottomans and Russians appointed border commissions, dispatched diplomats to the borderland and negotiated a new border on the ground. Their efforts touched upon vital interests of local Polish landholders, as the new Ottoman-Russian border was set in Polish territory. In 1740, the central diet in Warsaw debated on how to act and examine the boundary. Outraged with Russian presence in Poland, nobles searched for a scapegoat and almost threw the secretary of the Russian embassy in Warsaw out of the window.³¹⁸ Benoe was present during the debate, but he did not say a word that could have

³¹⁶ For a similar process of erasing traces of helpers in the history of science see Steven Shapin, "The Invisible Technician," *American Scientist* 77, no. 6 (1989): 554–63.

³¹⁷ Christine Marie Petto, *Mapping and Charting in Early Modern England and France: Power, Patronage, and Production*, Toposophia (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 1.

³¹⁸ Diary of the Diet in Warsaw 1740, APwP, Akta Braci Czeskich, ms. 2192, p. 55 and passim.

been recorded in the diet's diary. However, his friends did and suggested appointing a Polish commissioner to inspect the border. In the end, the king and his council appointed Benoe as the Polish commissioner for the Ottoman-Russian border commission.

The nomination coincided with Benoe's personal tragedy. Although he received orders to make his way to the border and inspect its true limits, he did not. Instead, he remained in his castle for almost a year, collecting information, receiving messages, and interrogating messengers. Benoe had a myriad of informers based mostly in the borderlands who thanks to his immobility left traces in his archive. In hundreds of letters, his informers provided Benoe with valuable information regarding the movements of the Ottomans and Russians in the borderlands. They were important links in his information network and furnished him with lists of affected place names and eye-witness reports.

Not only did the information travel to Benoe in letters but also through oral communication. The invisible Cossack dispatch riders, old peasants from the region, and various informers travelled from the borderlands to Benoe's castle to deliver information. Thanks to them, Benoe tapped into an up-to-date information stream. These actors are usually forgotten and kept out of history books. Who were Benoe's informers exactly? There were several identifiable groups within Benoe's information network: military officers, nobles from the contested region, and central and regional administrators. The first and largest group was military officers stationed in the region with deputy hetman Nitosławski, officers Taban and Łupiński, and general Bukowski as Benoe's most devoted informers.³¹⁹ All of them dispatched one letter per week to Benoe. The crucial chain in the network, however, were not the officers themselves, but a Cossack dispatch rider, Sawa. Sawa, a Cossack colonel, rode on horseback between the borderland and Benoe's castle, crossing a distance of almost eight hundred miles each week. Sawa lived in the borderland and was an eye witness par excellence. Together with other Cossack informers, he saw the Ottomans and Russian changing the boundaries and experienced the border first hand. Officers and nobles expressed their absolute trust in Sawa's testimony and skills.

Benoe read officer's reports and annotated them, listened to Sawa's testimony, but also searched for other sources of information. News gained a hold in early modern Europe only if confirmed by different sources or reaffirmed in repetitive letters.³²⁰ Benoe searched for corroboration and used other means of establishing where the former triune boundary was. Benoe's most important and trusted informers included nobles from the region and holders of king's tenancies. Jan Jabłonowski and his wife Teresa, holders of the king's tenancy around the border city of Czehryń, informed Benoe in regular letters

³¹⁹ Letters of Franciszek Xavery Nitoslawski, deputy hetman to Pawel Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 2 (18 letters; 1740-1742); letters of Aleksander Taban, officer to Pawel Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 14 (6 letters, 1740-1741); letters of Józef Łupiński, officer to PB, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 2 (11 letters, 1740-1754). Letters of general Bukowski are not conserved, but their existence is indicated in other cited materials.

³²⁰ Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 3.

about how the confines shifted, how Russians entered border forests and villages in a no-man's land, and how they set churches on fire.³²¹ Jabłonowski's reports, filled with testimonies from local inhabitants, peasants, administrators, and nobles were just a part of an extensive machinery set in motion to prove the extent of the confines and the Polish possession of the alienated landed estates. Jabłonowski ordered his border governor to query in the provincial archives, find any useful and related documents, and dispatch them to Benoe. Exactly like in the case of Serafińce, in a contested zone where documents were scarce, local old peasants testified to establish where the border was.³²² Jabłonowski and Benoe also searched and shared published books with international treaties.

Benoe's information management reached beyond a conventional news network and included research in local and provincial archives and libraries, enhanced by Benoe's connections with the central court and chancelleries. Apart from creating an up-to-date news network, Benoe petitioned state actors to gain access to historical documents. Benoe embarked on research in Warsaw's libraries and archives and obtained copies of interstates Ottoman-Polish, Ottoman-Russian, and Polish-Russian treaties. He also collected descriptions of how the last Ottoman-Polish border commission of 1703 worked and where it set the confines. Deputy Chancellor Małachowski provided Benoe with a copy of the Polish-Russian Eternal Treaty of 1686 and queried for him in Warsaw's libraries. Małachowski encouraged Benoe to get in touch with Ignacy Humiecki –whose father led the Ottoman-Polish border commission in 1703– in order to get published and unpublished documents from his private archive.³²³ Benoe researched in the Crown archives, asked for copies of official interstate delimitations, and furthermore, personally searched for documents in Chancellor Żaluskowski's library, the largest library of Poland-Lithuania.³²⁴ The Grand Lithuanian Chancellor, Jan Sapieha, on Benoe's request searched for border documentation in the Lithuanian archives.³²⁵ Last but not least, those who lost lands in the contested region searched for documents and provided Benoe with copies of treaties and their personal interpretations. Benoe bound all these documents, supplemented by reports from Ottoman governors and Russian military officers, together with his scribbled notes, copies of treaties and testimonies together in a single manuscript. Trained as an information master, archivist and scribe, Benoe used his skills to

³²¹ Letters of Teresa Jabłonowska to Paweł Benoe, from Mariampol, 14 XI 1740, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 74v-r; letter of Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski, Starost of Czehryń to Paweł Benoe, from Horochów, 5 VI 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 85v-87v. See also letters of Golembiowski, Russian ambassador in Warsaw to Krzysztof Szembek, Primate of Poland, no date [1741], no place SL, fond 145, ms. 25, f. 27v-r.

³²² Letter of Teresa Jabłonowska to Sokolowski, governor of Czehryń, from Mariampol, 17 XI 1740, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 77v-77r (letter and envelop). Cf. letter of Ivan Neplyuyev to Rudnicki, governor of Czehryń, from Perewoloczna, 12 VIII 1740, SL, fond 145, ms. 25, f. 14v-r.

³²³ Letter of Jan Małachowski to Paweł Benoe, no place, 22 VIII 1740, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, f. 2v-3v; letter of Jan Małachowski to Paweł Benoe, in Dresden, 14 I 1741, AGAD, MK, KK 3, f. 15-16.

³²⁴ Letter of Andrzej Cichoński, clerk in the Crown archives to PB, from Warsaw, 3 XI 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, f. 86v-87v.

³²⁵ Letter of Jan Sapieha Grand Lithuanian Chancellor to Krzysztof Szembek, Primate of Poland, in Jędrzejów, 25 I 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 25, f. 26v-r (copy).

make the documents useable and searchable.³²⁶

Documents collected, Benoe worked his way through the assembled material and dispatched to the court regular reports in the form of long and elaborate letters. Benoe understood that information means power and influence.³²⁷ He made use of his information network and collected documents to boost his own role as an expert in borderland matters, a distinguished diplomat and negotiator. Benoe digested the conflicting reports, confronted written testimonies, and from an unsorted staple of information dispatched back to the court organized and structured knowledge.³²⁸ Historians have long suggested that information was easily accessible in the early modern period and large news entrepôts submerged in information overflow.³²⁹ The information abundance led to confusion, mistrust, and a need for corroboration and also created the need for information masters who could cope with the overabundance and provide decision-makers with credible information.³³⁰

Filled with biases in favour of long-established noble families, Benoe had to prove his worth to the central court to gain new appointments. Benoe grasped this chance, used it to his own ends, and manipulated information to his own advantage.³³¹ As a self-made expert, Benoe boosted his own role in the borderland and self-fashioned himself as the expert that he certainly was. Connected to the great of Poland-Lithuania, he had to rely on his talents and skills as a master of information rather than his descent in his social ascent.³³² The early modern Europe presented to gifted individuals ‘multiple tracks and alternative possibilities for forming identities, marking personhood, experiencing life as concrete, singular

³²⁶ “Copies of acts regarding diplomatic treaties and delimitation between Russia and Turkey in the years 1740-1743, and the diplomatic actions of Paweł Benoe, Crown Prosecutor, Polish envoy extraordinary”, Library of the Zamoyski Family Fee Tail (Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskich), ms. 3820 (see fn. 26). Unfortunately, this manuscript, probably a nineteenth century copy, was turned to ashes in October 1944. However, copies of letters collected by Benoe are conserved today in his archive in SL, fond 145, ms. 25. See also Numan Pasha, governor of Silistra to Józef Potocki, Grand Crown hetman and Benoe’s patron, at the *divan* in Bender, 21 ramazan 1153=10 XII 1740, *Ibidem*, ms. 25, f. 47v (Latin translation written in Benoe’s hand); ms. 21, part 3, f. 38v-r (Ottoman original); Ismail Aga Józefowicz, Polish secretary of an Ottoman Pasha to Paweł Benoe, in Hotin, 3 XI 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 200v and letters of Eufryn Lob, Russian officer to Nitoslowski, no place, 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part, 2, f. 29v.

³²⁷ Daniel H. Nexon, *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change* (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics), Princeton Studies in International History and Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 104.

³²⁸ For the differentiation between information and knowledge as an organized and structured set of information see Brendecke, Friedrich, and Friedrich, “Information als Kategorie historischer Forschung,” 16.

³²⁹ For a summary see Michiel van Groesen and Helmer Helmers, “Managing the News in Early Modern Europe, 1550–1800,” *Media History* 22, no. 3–4 (October 1, 2016): 263, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2016.1234683>.

³³⁰ Markus Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge*, trans. John Noël Dillon, Cultures of Knowledge in the Early Modern World (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 69.

³³¹ David Waldstreicher, “Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999): 245, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2674119>.

³³² Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 9; for the concept of self-fashioning applied to the 18th century see E. Hagen and Joris Oddens, “Self-Fashioning in the Eighteenth Century: A Brief Historiographical Introduction,” *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 47, no. 1 (2015): 4–8 and case studies in the same volume.

individuals, or constructing subjectivities.³³³ In the past, individuals selves and personas were never a constant and changed over time. The selves were made, re-made, and coined over and over again.

Benoe's self comes to the surface in his reports to the court on the borderland with less or more intense frequency. Benoe coined himself as a master of borderland information, added more of his own agency, crossed it out, and added it again (see illustration 13). His diplomatic persona, thanks to the preserved drafts of his correspondence, is not a ready product. Quite on the contrary, it is a self-in-the-making that he made and publicized over several stages, influenced by responses from the society that surrounded Benoe and made him who he was. Benoe played the role of a go-between who collected information and extracted its essence for the court, which was submerged in contradicting reports and incredulous reports by Ottoman and Russian diplomats. Benoe's goal was clear: to provide the chancellors and the king with reliable information based on eye witnesses and first-hand reports while boosting his own role in the borderland.

Benoe was aware that in the early modern world letters were never written for the eyes of the actual addressee alone. He intended his letters for a wider audience and put a lot of effort into editing and proofreading. Benoe knew that his letters might be copied, redistributed, read aloud, or even translated into other languages. Intellectual historians pointed out that early modern scholars often drafted and corrected their letters several times to reach the right tone.³³⁴ Benoe took to quill and ink to depict himself as a skilled and talented diplomat with a perfect understanding of borderland matters, a master of information able to harness the chaos of conflicting news. He drafted and redrafted his letters many times before sending them off (see illustration 13).

³³³ David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska, eds., *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 3; for the connection between the research on self, biography and microhistory see Sigurður G. Magnússon and István Szijártó, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 138–39.

³³⁴ Laurence W. B. Brockliss, *Cavel's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 98.

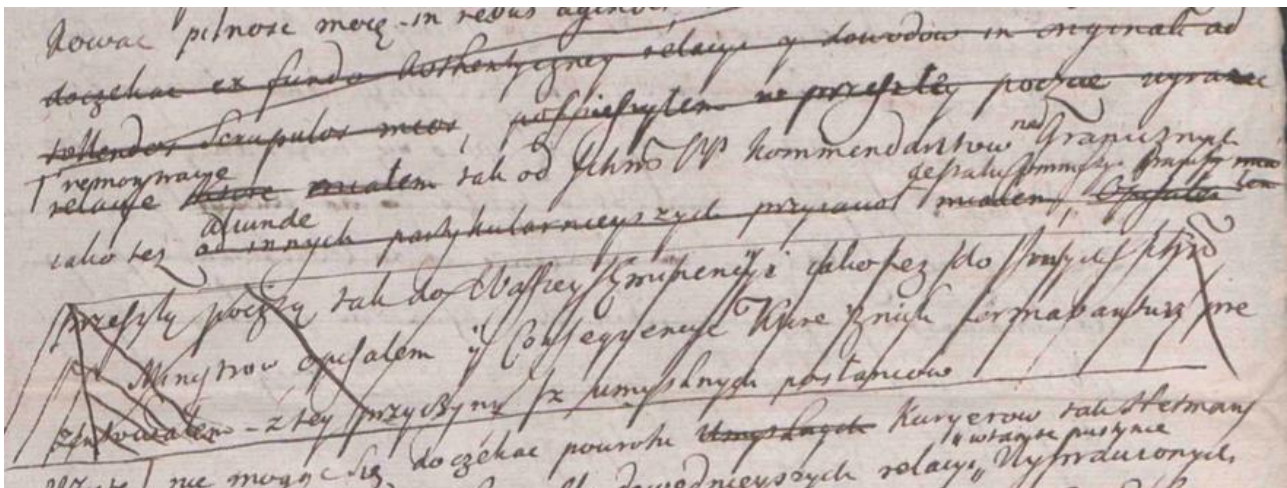


Illustration 13: Fragment of Benoe’s draft of a letter on border matters to Cardinal and Primate of Poland, Krzysztof Szembek, with numerous crossing-outs, no place, no date [1741], SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 153v.

The process of how Benoe worked with information can be best exemplified in a single letter dispatched to Cardinal Krzysztof Szembek in 1741.³³⁵ This letter is preserved in several drafts, and copies of the dispatched original. In the first draft of this letter, Benoe goes back to his obscure informers (invisible Cossacks) and mentions Stefan Nalewajko, a Cossack living in the borderland and his primary informer on the actual location of the confines. In this early version of the letter, it was Nalewajko who provided Benoe with accurate and useful information. Benoe’s agency remains in the background, his self is the one of a master of information who verifies reports and selects the most veritable one:

‘I inquired this honest and trustworthy man, the Cossack of Gard [*kozak gardowy*], Stefan Nalewajko, through a dispatched rider [...] if there were on the border any old border mounds [*kopce*]; he answered from his reliable sources that there were none, because he **saw** [...] how they [Ottomans and Russians; emphasis added – M. K.] digged out the first shovel of soil in previously untouched places.’³³⁶

³³⁵ Letter of Pawel Benoe to cardinal Krzysztof Szembek, from Bursztyn, 13 VIII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, ff. 148v-152v (three drafts); this is an answer to the letter of Szembek sent from Warsaw on 7 VIII 1741 preserved in: SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 8, f. 24v-r. Other letter of Benoe to Szembek (dispatched from Bursztyn on 6 III 1741) is preserved in copy books of Sanguszko family, who were in conflict with Benoe over land possessions: ANK, ASang, Koresp. ms. 21, ff. 109-111v. This is an indication that his letters were widely read and copied in Poland-Lithuania, not only by his political friends, but also by enemies.

³³⁶ Letter of Pawel Benoe to cardinal Krzysztof Szembek, from Bursztyn, 13 VIII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, ff. 148v-152v (first draft; text crossed out): “A mianowicie ten Stefan Nalewajko, kozak gardowy, alias czlowiek *probus*, którego ja *inter praesentes* zafundowanej jurysdykcji pisze. Pytalem *per expressum* czy byly tam jakie kopce dawniejsze. Odpowiedzial mi *de certa scientia*, że żadnych nie było, gdyż patrzal na pierwszy ryskal, gdy nim zaczęto kopać, że się rzecz dziala na gladkim i nigdy nie tykanym gruncie.”

Benoe gives agency in the early version of this letter to an intermediary who provided him with an eye-witnessed report crucial in establishing how the Ottomans and Russians moved the boundaries without the Polish consent. Benoe accentuated the knowledge of reliable informers in this letter more than his own expertise and eye-witness account. Stefan Nalwajko was the crucial informer. Nalwajko commanded the fortress of Gard, located exactly in the contested lands, and as such, was present at all times in the borderland.³³⁷ In the last version of the letter, however, Benoe crossed out Nalwajko and replaced his involvement with his own agency and expertise:

‘I inquired *personally* and I interrogated trustworthy people and I did not find any old border mounds, but only new ones made in previously untouched places.’³³⁸

In the third and final draft of the letter, Nalwajko’s name disappears, he becomes an invisible helper and Benoe describes only his own personal expertise and eye-witnessed experience. In the same letter, Benoe also highlighted his mastery of interstate treaties, previous delimitations, their papers, and his interconnectedness in the borderland. Benoe clearly intended this letter to be read not only by Szembek, the actual addressee, but also by other ministers who belonged to the king’s council and could transmit his message at the king’s court, to the king and throughout all of Poland-Lithuania. In another letter (depicted in illustration 13), Benoe reformulated almost all of the passages involving messengers, intermediaries, and informers, making their role in collecting information invisible and unimportant. To support his words, Benoe attached to his letter all of the copies of collected documents. Benoe intended his letters as a first stage in a self-fashioning effort that reached from handwritten reports to prints.

In his celebrated monograph on the invention of news, Andrew Pettegree suggested that the ascendancy of prints in early modern Europe is not a straightforward story of printing press victory over skills of scribes and secretaries.³³⁹ Owners of the first newspapers struggled to make ends meet, and the news’ consumers had to learn how to read them. Printed newspapers without a commentary and with dry and isolated information were unpopular. As late as the second half of the eighteenth century handwritten newsletters prospered in Italy. The Medici family collected four million letters and

³³⁷ Sulimierski, *SGKPiL*, 2:488–91; see also Benoe’s letter addressed to the elders and commander of the Zaporozhian host, 27 V 1741 in Pavlo S. Sokhan’, ed., *Arkhiv Kosha Novoi Zaporoz’koï Sichi: Korpus Dokumentiv, 1734-1775* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1998), 267, No. 225; see also Volodymyr Milchev, “Konfiguraciya ta ustrij Volnostej Vijska Zaporozkoho Nyzovoho za chasiv Novoyi Sichi,” *Naukovi praci istorychnoho fakultetu Zaporiz’koho derzhavnogo universytetu* 20 (2006): 30, 34 (map localizing Gard).

³³⁸ Letter of Pawel Benoe to cardinal Krzysztof Szembek, from Bursztyn, 13 VIII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 149v (last draft): “Pamiętałem teraz i sam *ex personali* uważać i ludzi słusznych badać, a nie znalazłem tam podobieństwa starych kopców, tylko nowe na surowym i nigdy nie tykanym korzeniu sypane.”

³³⁹ Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 8, 110.

newsletters in six thousand four hundred volumes spanning from 1537 to 1743, and this empire of information was written by hand.³⁴⁰ As I discuss in chapter five in more detail, Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire shared a culture of handwritten manuscripts long into the eighteenth century. In Poland, the king's court, nobles, aristocracy, clergy and municipal councils ordered and consumed the handwritten newsletters that escaped Church censorship and provided news ordered in short and contextualized paragraphs.³⁴¹

Since the sixteenth century, however, the European market expanded for printed news pamphlets, a much more popular source of information that 'attempted an explanation of causes and consequences.'³⁴² Two centuries later, the printing press was increasingly in use in Poland-Lithuania. In 1729, Piarists (later Jesuits) started printing a regular newspaper, the 'Polish Courier' (*Kuryer Polski*). Its production was inexpensive, and its distribution wide.³⁴³ It delivered brief information from various provinces; from the king's court travelling between Warsaw and Dresden; from Vienna, Stockholm, Berlin, Moscow, Istanbul, Rome, Naples, Venice, Paris, Frankfurt, Lisbon, and Amsterdam. The 'Polish Courier' systematically provided readers with information from the southern borderlands of Poland-Lithuania.

In this context, Benoe's printed description of his efforts and work in the borderland marks his awareness that an extensive, traditional, and elaborate manuscript culture co-existed, like in most of Europe, with prints. The story of early modern media, like the story of Benoe's self-fashioning, is a tale of coexisting means, handwritten or printed, in reaching the same goal of credibility and recognized expertise. After around a year at his castle, Benoe commenced his trip to the borderland. Soon after, he drafted and printed a news pamphlet on his works in the borderland, the 'Account of the Delimitation between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.'³⁴⁴ On four pages in quarto –in this self-fashioning masterpiece– Benoe brings back the invisible Cossacks, his informers, and describes the reach of his network and skills. Stefan Nalewajko, Benoe's Cossack informer, comes back in this print, not as an informer, but as a member of Benoe's entourage and network. Cleverly written in the third person, Benoe depicted himself as a negotiator able to maneuver between Cossacks, Ottomans, Russians, Moldavians, local Polish nobles and peasants. According to the art of diplomacy, Benoe set all his actions as border commissioner in writing, inspected Russian and Ottoman border mounds and sent a report back to the king. In passing,

³⁴⁰ See the Medici Archive Project on <http://www.medici.org/mission/> (retrieved: 17.07.2018.)

³⁴¹ Sławomir Radoń, "'Za króla Sasa...'. Zainteresowania opinii publicznej w czasach saskich w świetle 'gazet pisanych,'" *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 9 (2003): 96.

³⁴² Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 9.

³⁴³ Małgorzata Dawidziak-Kładoczna, "Osiemnastowieczny pierwowzór tabloidu na przykładzie 'Kurieria Polskiego' i 'Uprzywilejowanych Wiadomości z Cudzych Krajów,'" *Oblicza Komunikacji* 4 (2011): 231.

³⁴⁴ Paweł Benoe, *Relacja z Ukrainy względem delimitacji między Rosją y Portą* [*Account of the Delimitation between Russia and the High Porte*] (Lwów (?), 1741), conserved in: SL, fond 116, ms. 74, ff. 10v–11v. Cf. letter of Jan Małachowski, Polish Deputy Chancellor to Józef Potocki, Grand Crown hetman, from Dresden, 16 VIII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 25, f. 34v-r (copy).

Benoe suggested in his pamphlet that a new envoy is needed in Istanbul as the border controversy ‘can be settled only by the Ottoman Porte.’³⁴⁵

Benoe’s pamphlet, inexpensive in production and produced en masse, caused Russian frustration and drew the king’s court’s attention to Benoe. This strategy was successful and Benoe won the appointment as envoy extraordinary to Istanbul. His dream of reaching the echelons of Polish nobility was coming true as every diplomat could expect a reward in the form of high titles for their service. In 1754, a few months before Benoe’s death, Jan Branicki, the Grand Crown hetman, dispatched a letter to Benoe asking for his help in preparing a new mission to Istanbul of a Colonel Malczewski. Benoe gave advice to both Malczewski and Branicki, and put them in touch with his correspondents in Istanbul.³⁴⁶ Branicki expressed also his interest to Benoe in acquiring ‘accurate maps of Ukraine, one made by some colonel who camped in Ukraine with an army during the reign of John Casimir [Beauplan – M. K.], and another one made during the delimitation between Turks and Russians. With it, as I heard, [Branicki added – M. K.] you have a printed description of Your glorious works in this border commission.’³⁴⁷ As these examples suggest, well into his advanced years, Benoe maintained his reputation as an expert in the diplomatic and borderland matters as an effect of his successful self-fashioning strategy relying on handwritten and printed reports.

Border Making in the Eighteenth-Century: Mapping the Unknown

How did Benoe’s knowledge transmitted to the court influence decision making and why was it important to establish exact confines? In summer 1741, Chancellor Jan Małachowski greeted Paweł Benoe after his trip to Ottoman-Polish-Russian triple boundary with the following letter:

‘Your Lordship Sir, My Gracious Lord and My Beloved Brother,

I salute Your Lordship for Your happy return from the Polish Indies. About this country [south-eastern borderlands of Poland-Lithuania – M. K.] –although it is Polish– we know much less than about America, which is the subject of many books. And it is

³⁴⁵ *Benoe, 2v.*

³⁴⁶ Letter of Jan Klemens Branicki, Grand Crown hetman to Paweł Benoe, and answer of Benoe on its back, in *Zamość*, 28 XII 1754, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 413v-r.

³⁴⁷ Letter of Jan Klemens Branicki, Grand Crown hetman to Paweł Benoe, in *Zamość*, 14 II 1751, SL, ms. 454, fond 5, part 1, f. 51r: “Ze mapy ukraińskie *accurati* delineowane, jedne przez jakowegoś pułkownika obozującego z wojskiem w Ukrainie za panowania Jana Kazimierza *exacte* uformowaną; drugą przy rozgraniczeniu Turków z Mokszą zrobioną i przy niej skrypt pewny *gloriosi partus* WMM Pana na ówczas wspomnionego rozgraniczenia z strony naszej chwalebnie *provinciam* utrzymującego drukowany konserwujesz u siebie.”

only eye witnessing that can provide us with proper information. The description of Your Lordship's travels opens our eyes, but there are in this place savage spots which are impossible to find on any map; we categorically need a new map with -above all- Polish borders marked as they should be, and with markings where they [Russians and Ottomans – M. K.] are now forming border mounds with bad prospects for us. Nobody can do it better than Your Gracious Lordship, because You are familiar with it.³⁴⁸

Benoe's success in self-fashioning depended on the lack of knowledge of confines and the no man's land in question around the middle of the eighteenth century. His actions in the borderland and meticulous collecting, querying, and mapping efforts coincided with a world-wide effort in mapping the unknown lands and territories that by the eighteenth century reached a transnational and transregional level of knowledge transmission.³⁴⁹ Colonial powers realised early enough that maps of new territories served to control, establish the rule, and exploit. The Spanish mapped the New Spain in a survey, 'Relaciones Geográficas' between 1578 and 1584 and produced no less than sixty-nine manuscript maps of the new territories, a curious merger of native and colonial knowledge.³⁵⁰ But it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Spanish military officers charted unknown parts of the Americas.³⁵¹ When Russian peasants entered Siberia and replaced the nomadic tribes grazing their animals, what followed was the amateur and professional mapping effort so vividly described by Valerie Kivelson.³⁵²

Benoe's efforts at mapping the borderland met with a clash of similar endeavours on all sides of the triple border and beyond that in the salons of French cartographers that closely observed changes in boundaries and social landscapes of East Central Europe. Land surveying efforts in Poland started in the sixteenth century and developed with Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, who drew maps of the south-eastern palatinates of Poland-Lithuania, and published a description of Ukraine (see illustration 14).³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Letter of Jan Małachowski to Paweł Benoe, in Dresden, 26 VII 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, f. 8v: „Wielmożny Mnie Wielce Mci Panie i kochany Bracie, Winszuję WMc Panu szczęśliwego z Indyi Polskiej powrotu, bo tamten kraj lubo Polski mniej nam jest wiadomy niż Ameryka, o której tyle ksiąg informuje; a co tam chyba *ex re oculis* sollicita może nie się informować. Relacya WMc Pana podróży cokolwiek otwiera nam oczy, ale te dzikie terminy nie znajdujące się na mappie żadnej *merentur* koniecznie *ad informationem* jakiejkolwiek mappy *per modum* takiej jaka *inter particularae* bywa z dystynkcyą granic Polskich jak być powinny; z dystynkcyą jak teraz sypią kopce *cum praepudicio nostro*. Nie potrafi nikt tego lepiej, jako WMc Pan, bo znasz się na tym.” All translations are mine if not stated otherwise.

³⁴⁹ David Turnbull, “Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces,” *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 18.

³⁵⁰ For this merger, see Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 97–101.

³⁵¹ Chantal Cramaussel, “Humboldt et la cartographie du nord de la Nouvelle-Espagne,” *Cahiers des Amériques latines*, no. 36 (January 31, 2001): 164, <https://doi.org/10.4000/cal.6589>.

³⁵² With plausible parallel to European colonialism, see Valerie A. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 171–72.

³⁵³ Czesław Chowaniec, “Une carte militaire polonaise au XVIIe siècle (Les origines de la carte de l'Ukraine dressé par Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan),” *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 3, no. 12 (1952): 546–562; vividly on Beauplan's

Beauplan's maps were still in print and used in the eighteenth century. In the 1770s, another vagabond cartographer, Giovanni Rizzi-Zanoni, produced a full map of Poland-Lithuania (published first in Paris in 1772) in which he denoted areas in the contested south-eastern borderlands of Poland-Lithuania in both Polish and Ottoman Turkish (see map 2).³⁵⁴ Beauplan's and Rizzi-Zanoni's maps belonged to the three hundred twenty-five maps in the king's Crown register that helped nobles control territory and manifest possession.



Illustration 14: Detail from the map entitled ‘Delineatio Generalis CAMPORUM DESERTORUM vulgo UKRAINA, cum adjacentibus Provinciis Bono publico erecta’ from 1648 by Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan with a reversed perspective. Most contested territories are described on this map as ‘Loca deserta abo dzike polie’ [Empty places or the Wild Fields]. In the 1740s, conflicts and delimitation involved the region of the forests and city of Czehryń (visible at the bottom). Marked in green on the Black Sea coast is the Ottoman province of Silistra with Oczaków (Özü in Ottoman Turkish) as its capital, and seat of the local Pasha. The Muscovite-Polish frontier followed the river of Dniepr in the East (here on the left side). Map from Atlas van der Hagen, courtesy of Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

Beauplan marked on his map the contested territories as ‘the empty or Wild Fields,’ this notion however, disappears from Rizzi-Zanoni’s map and from common usage. The uncontrollable, and barbarous, India-like ‘Wild Fields,’ where Benoe did not dare to travel without a military escort, are identical to the

work, see Serhii Plokhyy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 316–17.

³⁵⁴ Ottoman names were produced probably by Antoni Crutta, dragoman in Polish-Lithuanian and later Russian service: Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Antoni Crutta, autor tureckich napisów na ‘Carte de La Pologne’ G. B. A. Rizzi-Zannoniego,” *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 49, no. 1/2 (1999): 163–70.

Ottoman notion of ‘dest-i kıpçak,’ a wild and uncontrollable wasteland that Ottomans employed to describe the Pontic Steppe.³⁵⁵ By the middle of the eighteenth century, these lands previously kept in flux and undefined to avoid conflicts became the backbone of a new Russian colonization project. Brian L. Boeck in his work on the Don Cossacks suggested that the Cossacks became scouts of Russian territorialisation and colonization. He also observed that Russian steppe borders came to a closure together with the Treaty of Belgrade (1739).³⁵⁶ Although the treaty only started a complicated process of border making, Russians did move in, settled peasants, and built new villages in the contested lands that Rizzi-Zanoni plausibly marked with squares (illustration 15).³⁵⁷ But, possession had to be proved and maintained.



Illustration 15: Detail from the ‘Carte des frontières de Pologne et de Russie, contenant la partie méridionale de l’Ukraine et la cours du Dnieper depuis Kiovie jusqu’à la Samara’ by G. A. B. Rizzi-Zannoni from 1772. The contested territories from the 1740s, below the city of Czehryń (at the top of the map), are delineated with a dotted line. BnF, Département cartes et plans, GD DD-2987.

Soon enough, a French mapmaker in service to the Russians, Daniel de Bosket, charted the contested steppe in detailed maps produced in 1730s-1740s.³⁵⁸ This was a part of a Russian effort to map, permeate, control, and colonize the steppe border through military Cossack and Serbian colonization. Bosket’s maps were a means in describing, controlling, and subjugating the newly conquered territory to Russian control. Another included visible new border markers set in the contested territory. Benoe on his trip to the borderland saw ‘two border mounds to the north the Russian one in a square form, six ells

³⁵⁵ Michael Polczynski, “The Wild Fields: Power and Space in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian/Ottoman Frontier” (Ph.D., Georgetown University, 2017), 74.

³⁵⁶ Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries*, 242.

³⁵⁷ See Khodarkovsky’s review of Boeck’s book in: *American Historical Review*. June 2011, vol. 116 Issue 3, 897-898.

³⁵⁸ Olga Sitkarova, “Vijskovyj Inzhener General-Anshef Danilo de Bosket,” *Ukrains’kyj Istorycnyj Zurnal: Naukovyj Zurnal = Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 5, 2008, 275–94.

high, ten ells wide, polished with red clay and surrounded by a several ells deep moat; to the south, the second, Turkish one, a round one, with half the height and width of the Russian, made with black turf and without a moat.³⁵⁹ The visible border markers indicated the extent of Russian colonization to the north and Ottoman to the south.

The Ottomans did not lag behind. Ottoman map-making started in the fifteenth century, developed with Piri Reis and aimed at courtly elites, military officials, and scholars.³⁶⁰ In the outermost fringes of the Ottoman Empire, maps depicted both internal and external boundaries (see illustration 16). In the eighteenth century, Ottomans were well-aware of changes in the social landscape of the Pontic Steppe and of the Russian colonisation efforts. Ottomans followed and consumed Western cartography and produced their own maps.³⁶¹ The Topkapı Sarayı Library holds not only an eighteenth-century map of Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland made by an Ottoman mapmaker, Mustafa, but also a detailed translation of a 1769 map produced by the French royal cartographer, George-Louis Le Rouge.³⁶² Thanks to their friendly relations with the French, Ottomans could also tap into rich French documentation.



Illustration 16: Detail from the map entitled ‘Memalik-i ‘osmaniyyenin aktar sumalitesı haryutesider’ [The Depiction of the Provinces of the Elevated Ottoman State] from 1780s, depicting the same region as map 2. The contested territory is described as ‘Serb-i cedid’ [‘New Serbia’], while just below the softly dotted confine, the land is described twice as ‘Özü tatarları’ [The Tatars of the Özü province], thus as a part of well-protected Ottoman domains. Sereda, *Silistrensko-Očakovskiät eâlet*, 200.

The French were the first to map these contested lands in new maps and political memoirs. In

³⁵⁹ Benoe, *Relacya z Ukrainy*, fol. 1v.

³⁶⁰ Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans: The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), 105.

³⁶¹ Pınar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, *Transculturalisms, 1400 - 1700* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 153–54.

³⁶² Nigâr Anafarta, red., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler* [Historical Documents Concerning Relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)] (İstanbul: Bilmen, 1979), 77, doc. 189 and 190.

the 1760s, when Russians began penetrating steppe borderlands further south and started their first organized colonization, a French engineer, Charles Gaillard de Saudray, drafted both a memoir and a detailed map of the new territories now called the New Serbia (illustration 17). Saudray claimed that the purpose of Russian efforts was to take full control of the steppe borderland by means of the new Serbian and Cossack military settlements. He asserted that Russians ‘still brute and savage, but dexterous’ direct their energy at consolidating and expanding conquests in contested borderlands with Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas. Saudray praised the Russian spirit and the well-structured organization of new military units in the borderlands, believed the Ottoman Empire to be in total demise, described Poland-Lithuania as weak and unable to control its own borders, and added that the time had come for the Russian Empire.³⁶³ With the Polish, Russian, and Ottoman efforts at mapping the contested borderland, collecting testimonies and documents proving possession nothing was clear when Benoe himself made his way to the borderland. Mapmaking proved rights over a territory but was not the only argument in a vast repertoire of possession making.³⁶⁴



Illustration 17: Detail from the map ‘Carte de la Nouvelle-Servie’ by Charles Gaillard de Saudray, 19 VII 1767. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et plans, GD DD-2987. The contested and subjugated territories are divided up into military regiments.

Let us at this point return to Malachowski’s letter from 1741, which defined the borderland as ‘Polish Indies.’ Its text provides us with some indications of how a multiplicity of actors and factors

³⁶³ Charles Gaillard de Saudray, ‘Origin de la Nouvelle Servie’, AD, Mémoires et documents, vol. 27 (Pologne), f. 30v-36v.

³⁶⁴ Steven Seegel, *Mapping Europe’s Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3–6.

influenced the border making between Russia, the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania. Eye witnesses were crucial to establish new confines and worked together with interstate treaties, conventions, and border commissions. Border making was not a process which materialized solely on the interstate level. On the contrary, a myriad of unofficial actors, go-betweens, and people living in the contested territory participated in establishing where the border was or should have been.³⁶⁵ Renegades, merchants, passers-by, dragomans, non-noble freelance soldiers, and even ‘old and experienced’ peasants; military officers, holders of king’s tenancies, powerful notables and magnates, palatines, castellans, chancellors, and the king himself, took part in the border making process.

Benoe used various methods to gain crucial information. Archivists and librarians went through hundreds of pages of dusty books and manuscripts to find evidence in support of Benoe’s mission. Skilful secretaries copied international treaties from originals and published editions in French, reports on previous border commissions, and other advantageous documents. An entire information network and an administrative machine was in motion to obtain information. In support of the Polish claims, local ‘old and experienced’ peasants and inhabitants of the contested villages testified to which suzerain their village belonged and where the border was.

Historiography, however, was rather keen on presenting border making in the Pontic Steppe borderland as a stable and rational march of the Russian state imperialism within a social and political vacuum. Michael Khodarkovsky and more recently Willard Sunderland presented Russian colonization as an effort to begin ‘taming the wild field.’³⁶⁶ The Russian policy was ‘to tame “the violent” and to civilize “the wild” subjects of the Russian Empire.’³⁶⁷ Sunderland argued for a Russian rationale in settling the Black Sea steppe as a successful change in Russian policy from keeping an open frontier to settling a military outpost and a fixed border.³⁶⁸ With the creation of New Serbia under a Serbian General Horvat in 1751 in the contested region, Russians settled the previous buffer zone. Russian efforts to settle the contested borderland were, however, in vain. A few years after the initial settlement, Serbians abandoned their post and New Serbia ceased to exist.³⁶⁹

The border still remained flexible like a living creature, influenced by its inhabitants. An interplay between state and non-state actors led to a process of establishing boundaries that had to be claimed and

³⁶⁵ For similar argument, see Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession*.

³⁶⁶ Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire 1500-1800*, Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 76 first published in 2002; Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

³⁶⁷ Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier*, 183.

³⁶⁸ Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field*, 50–52; see also a review of Sunderland’s book Pavel Rykin and Igor Grachev, “The Russian Empire and the Steppe. An Exchange of Views,” *Forum for Anthropology and Culture* 4 (2007): 402–15.

³⁶⁹ Harvey L. Dyck, “New Serbia and the Origins of the Eastern Question, 1751-55: A Habsburg Perspective,” *The Russian Review* 40, no. 1 (1981): 16, <https://doi.org/10.2307/128731>.

maintained. Until recently, historians stressed a significant change in border making in the eighteenth century in the case of the Ottomans. Rifaat Abu El-Hajj claimed that the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire experienced a formal closure after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699). El-Hajj argued that 1703 was the final year in shaping the imperial boundaries. However, as I demonstrated above, this was only the beginning of a long process of forming and defining borders in Eastern Europe. Neither the Ottoman-Polish border nor the Ottoman-Russian border in the region were fixed by 1703. The Ottoman-Polish-Russian case augments the thesis of a flexible border between the three states, which existed in a profoundly complex ethnic landscape with Ottoman, Polish and Russian subjects living as neighbours with diverse religious backgrounds – Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox. Borders were set and shifted in what is today Ukraine and in the Caucasus in 1705, 1740, 1741, and 1742. This was done in a complex process of structured and multi-layered negotiations, followed by recolonization, and a multifaceted reconfiguration of the power balance of the Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland.³⁷⁰ In this context, Benoe's work was a part of a larger mechanism and decision-making processes that led him to an appointment as envoy extraordinary to Istanbul.

Benoe Makes his Way to Istanbul

Benoe's progress in the ranks of Polish nobility relied upon his success in fashioning himself as an information master in the borderland. However, it was a reversed-engineered effort as the decision-making processes by the central court to claim possession of the contested region depended heavily on Benoe's cooperation and knowledge. Power in the early modern states was certainly not an absolute attribute. In early modern Germany and Sweden, rulers relied on the cooperation and information procurement of talented individuals that supported the monarchy in order to gain access to resources.³⁷¹ In composite, decentralized, and polycentric states like Poland-Saxony, chancellors and other actors connected with the court used the king's grace as an argument for power and decision making.³⁷² In his efforts to gain an appointment to Istanbul, Benoe aimed his letters at ministers that could secure his appointment from the king.

³⁷⁰ Russian documents of demarcations were published in: *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii*, vol. 4, No. 2077, p. 324-326 (22 X 1705); vol. 11, No. 8276, p. 291-292 (4 XI 1740); vol. 11, No. 8464, p. 527-528 (20 X 1741); vol. 11, No. 8628, p. 671-672 (12 X 1742).

³⁷¹ Anu Lahtinen and Johannes Staudenmaier, "Power and Decision-Making in Early Modern Germany and Sweden: Noble Families and Princely Government," in *Constructing Cultural Identity, Representing Social Power*, ed. C  n   Bilsel F., Thematic Work Group 2 5 (Pisa: PLUS-Pisa University Press, 2010), 102–3.

³⁷² On the polycentric states, see Pedro Cardim et al., "Introduction: Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?," in *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?*, ed. Pedro Cardim (Brighton ; Portland, Or: Sussex Academic Press, 2012), 3–10.

In order to gain an appointment as envoy extraordinary to Istanbul, Benoe addressed his reports from the borderland to influential persons at the king's court so that news of him would reach the king through word of mouth and letters. This way he hoped to gain a letter of appointment. Knowledge that he passed on from the borderland influenced the decision to send out new diplomats to neighboring countries involved in the triple boundary controversy. In his correspondence with the central court, Benoe probed how his self-fashioning strategies worked and supplemented his letters with additional pieces of raw information that supported his claims. Above all Benoe aimed his letters at the Grand Crown and Deputy Chancellors, Załuski and Malachowski, with whom he exchanged weekly confidential letters. He also addressed Church dignitaries, for instance, Cardinal Szembek and Bishop Załuski that often resided at the king's court and had access to the king's private chambers. Szembek reported frequently to Benoe to have 'communicate[d] all of that [news from the borderland – M. K.] to His Majesty, and all the Lords present here [at the court]' and invited Benoe to correspond directly with the king.³⁷³ Benoe was reluctant to do so and continued his strategy of reaching the appointment through intermediation.

All of Benoe's influential correspondents evoked the king's involvement as a crucial argument in decision making. It was the king who weighed and contemplated Benoe's reports, made decisions, appointed him for new offices, and distributed favors. Benoe, too, insisted that the king's opinion was absolutely necessary in border matters.³⁷⁴ In correspondence with Benoe, Malachowski remarked in every letter that Benoe's news and cause have been communicated to the king and if he keeps providing information he can expect only 'fame and dignities.'³⁷⁵ He also discredited and mistrusted information from other informants who 'often say and write things that they do not know for sure.'³⁷⁶ Benoe fueled these accusations and in elaborate letters kept in drafts discredited other informants.³⁷⁷ Malachowski empowered Benoe to contact holders of king's tenancies in the region to tap into new sources of information, and delegated to him the effort to filter through their information sources.

One by one, Malachowski distrusted any other informants who claimed that Russians and Ottomans split between themselves fifteen miles of Polish soil but could not provide any details. He sat on his desk, opened up maps and with available information tried to establish what possessions were at stake. However, available maps were insufficient. Malachowski, working with international treaties and available maps, was not able to locate the contested villages and forests. In the end, he ordered a new map to be drawn at the king's court, and dispatched it to Benoe asking him to draw mounds and exact

³⁷³ Letter of Krzysztof Szembek, Archbishop of Gniezno to Pawel Benoe, in Zamość, 12 VI 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 7, f. 26v: „Komunikuję tego wszystkiego Królowi JMci i wszystkim Ichmościom co tu są.”

³⁷⁴ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Załuski, Grand Chancellor, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 203v-r.

³⁷⁵ Letter of Jan Malachowski to Pawel Benoe, in Dresden, 14 I 1741, AGAD, MK, KK 3, f. 15-16.

³⁷⁶ Letter of Jan Malachowski to Pawel Benoe, in Dresden, 22 III 1741, AGAD, MK, KK 3, f. 59-60.

³⁷⁷ See letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Załuski, no place, 11 IV 1741, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 203v-r.

borders, former and new, in the form of a line. Benoe complied, and with help of engineers, he drew a map, kept a copy in his archive, and dispatched the original to the king's court.³⁷⁸

Benoe's correspondence with Malachowski and other ministers coincided with the publication of his printed news pamphlet on his works in the borderland. From this moment on, Benoe started insisting that the court send diplomats to Saint Petersburg and Istanbul in order to regulate the border incident. The two key actors, Malachowski and Zaluski, considered four different candidates for the possible appointment and weighed their candidacy against each other. In this crucial moment, Benoe kept providing the court with his knowledge and expertise and intensified his correspondence with the involved ministers. Two months after the initial debates, Benoe managed to eliminate his competitors, but still did not agree to take the post. He prolonged the negotiations, pointed out towards his age and sickness, and did not agree immediately. Benoe's goal in bargaining was to get more in financial assurances and in offices. Reluctantly, he agreed to pack his bags and go to Istanbul, but he was not reassured in his goals until late 1743 when Chancellor Zaluski reassured him of a coming appointment to the king's council.³⁷⁹ The next chapter discusses Benoe's travel to Istanbul in the context of early modern travel writing.

³⁷⁸ Letter of Jan Malachowski to Paweł Benoe, no place, 4 IX 1741, AGAD, MK KK 3, f. 193-194

³⁷⁹ Letter of Andrzej Zaluski to Paweł Benoe, no place, 4 IX 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 15, part 2, f. 50v-51v.

II ISTANBUL

Chapter 5: A Diplomat Packs his Bags: between the Border and Istanbul³⁸⁰

In 1743, Paweł Benoe embarked on his diplomatic mission to Istanbul. Unlike British or French diplomats, Benoe, as all other Polish envoys, travelled overland. First, he ceremonially crossed the border river Dniester and entered the Ottoman fortress of Hotin with his entourage. To add splendor to his entry, a large group of nobles also joined the diplomatic train. Benoe did not, however, report back to the court about the border ceremonies, but only mentioned that one of his friends present during the entry would do it in his stead. True to his word, we find no letter by Benoe describing the entry, but only a long and elaborate report by his friend Antoni Rozwadowski, kept today in the Polish Crown archive.³⁸¹

This chapter explores diplomatic travels from Warsaw to Istanbul and written records of these travels. It argues for a growing curiosity over the ‘other’ in the Ottoman-Polish encounters throughout the eighteenth century. The softening of earlier racial and aggressive notions still visible in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, changed in the eighteenth century into empathetic curiosity. This was so first and foremost thanks to Polish and Ottoman diplomats, and other travelers that ventured into the country of the ‘other’ and wrote travel diaries and correspondence that were later on, if not published, then certainly circulated, read, copied and disseminated. These, I place within the early modern traditions of travel writing and the Grand Tour.³⁸²

In this chapter, I discuss the diplomatic travel writing traditions in Poland-Lithuania and in the Ottoman Empire. Diplomatic travel was always connected with travel writing.³⁸³ Hence, the travels of Polish and Ottoman diplomats generated massive amounts of travelogues that, as I suggest, served two purposes. They were used as mnemonic tools to help diplomats remember the travel once they were back at home and were used in a similar method to modern travel guides by noble readership in order to design future travel. In both cases, the texts were accessible to the ruling elites.

It is in this context that the Polish-Lithuanian cultural zone of contact merged with the Mediterranean to the greatest extent. The large groups of Polish nobility that ventured to the Ottoman

³⁸⁰ This chapter was inspired by my participation in the Travel Literature Reading Group at Boston University in the winter semester 2017-2018. I thank Eugenio Menegon and Sunil Sharma for inviting me to participate in the group’s meetings.

³⁸¹ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski, Starost of Karaczków to Andrzej Załuski, Crown chancellor, Starzyska, 25 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 720, No. 1351.

³⁸² James Buzard recently powerfully argued for not forgetting about the importance of ‘best-educated peoples of the past’ travel’s, when giving “equal time to the underprivileged voices of the past”, see James Buzard, “What Isn’t Travel Writing?,” in *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing*, ed. Hagen Schulz-Forberg (Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2005), 56.

³⁸³ For that claim, rather implicitly see Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1250-1450,” in *The “Book” of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 37–112.

Empire were, as the richly conserved sources indicate, rather seldom surprised by what they saw and experienced. The Ottoman world was a part of their world view and sending young nobles for training to Istanbul was a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Grand Tour culture. This, however, went both ways. Ottoman diplomats embarked on trips to Poland-Lithuania with splendid cortege, too, and often felt so comfortable there that the hosts, who paid their upkeep, had to get rid of them. When in the lands of the ‘other,’ diplomats produced large amounts of travel descriptions.

Throughout the early modern period, diplomats gradually started producing more paper work. In sixteenth century Renaissance Italy, diplomats ‘wrote daily.’³⁸⁴ Diplomats compiled not only entire piles of dispatches, but also reports, relations, and ‘often a journal of [the] ambassador’s own activities, with a plaintive oblique about the absence or ambiguity of instructions, the delinquencies of couriers, assistants and colleagues, and (a recurrent theme) the ambassador’s pecuniary embarrassment.’³⁸⁵ In Venice and in Colbert’s France, a diplomat’s journal became extensive and included, apart from detailed descriptions of the ambassador’s sociability, notes, copies of the embassies’ passive and active correspondence and even records of oral discussions.³⁸⁶ Often, diplomats’ journals resembled a commonplace book more than a diplomatic journal, as the authors assembled any potentially useful information. This soon became a problem. Pierre de Girardin, a French ambassador in Istanbul (1685-1688) drafted no less than fifteen five-hundred-page-long folio volumes of his embassy journal within just three years.³⁸⁷ But did he write them himself?

Travel writing and diplomatic journals were often ghost written and forms of ghost-writing and writing delegation were wide-spread in the early modern period. In seventeenth century France, the French humanist Pierre Bergeron went as far as to rewrite the Maldives travel account of the often-drunk apothecary Jean Mocquet, altering it substantially.³⁸⁸ Mocquet was uneducated, hence Bergeron’s involvement in writing, drafting and making Mocquet’s account publishable. In diplomatic travel writing, on the other hand, the need for professional composition, and the sheer amount of paper work forced diplomats to employ skillful secretaries who took over not only the duty of writing dispatches, but also the writing of diplomats’ journal and memoirs. This was likely the case with Girardin’s journal that is written in a clear, secretary’s hand and that Girardin kept private. Benoe, on the other hand, was an

³⁸⁴ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston & Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955), 110.

³⁸⁵ Mattingly, 111.

³⁸⁶ Filippo de Vivo, “Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomatic Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy,” *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (July 2016): 519–44, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691416648275>.

³⁸⁷ Journal de Pierre de Girardin pendant son ambassade à Constantinople (1685-1688), BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français, Ms. 7162-7175. See also the extensive study on Girardin’s mission: Pierre de Girardin, *Pierre de Girardin Francia követ feljegyzései az Oszmán birodalomról (1685-1689)*, ed. Dóra Kerekes, Documenta hungarorum in Gallia 3 (Paris-Budapest-Szeged: Bibliothèque nationale Széchényi: Institut Hongrois, 2007).

³⁸⁸ See the comprehensive study of Bergeron’s work and the review by Ann Blair Ann Blair, “Grégoire Holtz, L’ombre de l’auteur: Pierre Bergeron et l’écriture du voyage à la fin de la Renaissance,” *French Studies* 67, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 92–92, <https://doi.org/10.1093/fs/kns252>. I thank Ann Blair for making me aware of this book.

exception as he drafted both his diary and correspondence in his own hand simply because his trusted secretary Sobolewski got sick on the way to Istanbul and was sent back home.³⁸⁹ Benoe's secretary appointed for his mission (and his nephew), Paweł Starzyński, was more interested in language acquisition and a planned Grand Tour than in writing Benoe's papers. Every single letter Benoe sent back home was in his own hand, and he made also copies of the most important letters, as he was sure that his letters would be circulated in the public sphere.

As Jürgen Habermas suggested in his acclaimed book on the public sphere, it was in the eighteenth century that 'for the first time private and public spheres became separate in a specifically modern sense.'³⁹⁰ In the early modern world of diplomacy, however, there was a clear distinction between public and private, publishable and secret information well before that time. The French ambassador Girardin produced, thus, large amounts of diplomatic dispatches, a detailed journal, and a memoir. These were intended not for the common eye, but were stored and used in the state archives as needed. But there also exists a printed account of his diplomatic mission that Paris and Marseille-based printers published at least twice during his lifetime. However, this work was drafted by Jean Donneau de Visé, the French court historian who made it popular and publishable.³⁹¹ Benoe and other Polish diplomats used a similar system of making their travel accounts accessible – with notable differences.

As in France, in Poland-Lithuania, there was a clear distinction between public and private.³⁹² The distinction between publishable and secret information had, however, different traditions. These are amply visible in the diplomatic sources and travelogues. Due to the long traditions of provincial and central self-governing diets where nobles debated political writings and copies of letters circulated, diplomats circulated dispatches, their journals and other descriptions of visited countries. These sources were easily accessible to the nobility in inexpensive, handmade copies. This was similar to what happened in France, where descriptions of the Ottoman Empire produced by able members of diplomatic trains appeared in print, too.

A good example of this is the Grand Embassy of Stanisław Chomentowski. Chomentowski produced a diplomatic journal-cum-travelogue that circulated in multiple manuscript copies as well as a

³⁸⁹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluzki, Grand Chancellor, in Pera, 18 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No. 1348.

³⁹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 11.

³⁹¹ This work is attributed to Donneau de Visé by Bibliothèque nationale de France. For the first edition, see: Jean Donneau de Visé, *Ambassades de M. le comte de Guilleragues et de M. Girardin auprès du Grand Seigneur, avec plusieurs pièces curieuses tirées des mémoires ("sic") de tous les ambassadeurs de France à la Porte, qui font connoître les avantages que la religion, et tous les princes de l'Europe ont tiré des alliances faites par les François avec Sa Hautesse [...] (Paris: G. de Luines, 1687)*. The second edition was published the following year in Marseille by Thomas Amaury.

³⁹² Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, "Publiczne, prywatne, intymne - o sposobach rozumienia i miejscu w kulturze w XVIII wieku," in *Publiczne, prywatne, intymne w kulturze XVIII wieku*, ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Biblioteka Badań nad Wiekami Osiemnastym / Studia i źródła 8 (Warszawa: DiG, 2014), 12.

large amount of dispatches. These were, unlike in France, not held back in the state archive, but copied and circulated throughout Poland-Lithuania with the diplomat's consent. They belonged to the public sphere, and in this sense, Benoe and other diplomats were aware that their letters, memoirs and travelogues would be read aloud, copied and disseminated. Apart from manuscript copies, Chomentowski commissioned also a printed travelogue. A poet, teacher, Jesuit and member of Chomentowski's mission, Franciszek Gościecki drafted in verse an extensive description of this diplomatic mission that Jesuits published posthumously in 1732.³⁹³ Hence, like in France, many types of sources, manuscript and print alike, covered Chomentowski's mission. In contrast to France, however, almost all these texts belonged to the public sphere and were easily accessible.

Why were some diplomatic sources published and others not? Diplomats themselves considered poems in verse publishable and handwritten 'journal d'ambassade' not. The journals with their dry and to-the-point style were rather written, used and read as a practical remedy and diplomats did not consider them worthy of a publication. The journals' functions were also clearly different. As I would like to suggest, diplomatic diaries played a dual role. In the first instance, they served as travelogues and as an antecedent of modern travel guides to future travelers. Nobles throughout Poland-Lithuania could simply use them to practical ends to plan trips or measure the time necessary for reaching different places in the Ottoman Empire. But they also played the role of a mnemonic tool to remember the travel; by using journals Benoe and others were able to better recall different stages of the journey and distances between one inn and another. This was particularly helpful in cases where they were composing or recomposing their diplomatic diary back at home (see illustration 18).

³⁹³ Franciszek Gościecki, *Poselstwo wielkie Jaśnie Wielmożnego Stanisława Chomentowskiego, wojewody mazowieckiego od Najjaśniejszego Augusta II, króla polskiego [...] do Achmeta IV, sultana tureckiego [...] z szczególnym skutkiem przez lata 1712, 1713, 1714 odprawione [...]* (Lwów: Collegium Societatis Jesu, 1732); on the high literary qualities of Gościecki's work see Alojzy Sajkowski, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, Wyd. 1., Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Prace Wydziału Filologicznego. Seria Filologia polska, nr. 6 (Poznań: Poznań, 1964), 107.

1742		1743	
7	Hotin do Lipizany	6	Souror / ^o Instygora z Stambolu
11	Tamze	3	Juny 20 mszy 7 Tedeum do kucuk Belmedzie - 3
12	Tamze	4	7 wie z Pery na fil kopra - 4
13	Tamze	4	4 do buuk Belmedje - 6
14	Tamze	6	5 do Szwycji - 4
15	Tamze	4	6 do Lymyky - 4
16	Tamze	5	7 do Berlo - 10
17	Tamze	5	8 ^o przez kamuzzyran do Borgan - Tamze
18	Tamze	3	9 do Korkkylifce - 8
19	Tamze	3	10 do chodnia Tado przez Krylaly - 6
20	Tamze		11 do Fakue przez Komara P.Machi. Expi - 6
21	Tamze		12 do Karabunar - 4
22	Tamze		13 do Karabunar - 8
23	Tamze		14 przez Benty do Aytos - 3
24	Tamze		15 wie go ramuzzyran pod Baltham do Nadyr - 19
25	Tamze		16 przed Surotem rufyuzzyran przez Baltham do Koprna - 4
26	Tamze		17 rano rufyuzzyran do Pruwady pod Kaszanka - Tamze
27	Tamze		18 - Lity - do Wifeni do Bond - 4
28	Tamze		19 rano rufyuzzyran do Kozludze - 6
29	Tamze		20 przed Surotem do Baxandjela - 9
30	Tamze		21 przed Surotem do Sis wach - 8
			22 przed Surotem do Karafu - 8

Illustration 18: Paweł Benoe’s note on the back of the letter of a Phanariot Constantine de Scarlatti from 23 XI 1742 (old style) (SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 3, f. 1r). Left column notes the path taken from the borderland fortress of Hotin to Istanbul noting the day of the month on the left and the distance (probably in the Ottoman measurement of *konaks* or the distance between one and other inn) on the right. The right column describes the way back in the same manner.

Benoe used notes scattered in his notebooks, commonplace books and scribbled on the backs of letters to draft a diary of his envoyship after his return. It was his paper world, his paper memory, and the source of great pride.³⁹⁴ Benoe almost compulsively wrote down notes from his trip – to guide himself through his own diplomatic mission. No longer a young man during this mission, Benoe recounted that ‘due to the sickness of my people there is no one who could exactly write my diary.’³⁹⁵ Benoe was upset by the absence of his private secretary who almost passed away on the way to Istanbul and had to be sent back to Poland.³⁹⁶ Deprived of his right hand, Benoe spent most of his late evenings at the embassy’s building drafting letters, and making notes by candlelight. The importance of keeping a diary, and if not a diary than extensive notes, was a must for every diplomat and Benoe was well aware of that. Filippo de Vivo recently suggested that diplomatic notes, if they were ever taken, used to be discarded once summarized in correspondence.³⁹⁷ However, as Benoe’s example suggests, diplomats drafted ample notes

³⁹⁴ I borrow this term from Matthew Lundin, *Paper Memory: A Sixteenth-Century Townsman Writes His World*, Harvard Historical Studies 179 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012). I thank Anthony Grafton for drawing my attention to this book.

³⁹⁵ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, Crown chancellor, in Pera, 18 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No. 1348: “Dla choroby moich ludzi nie mam kto by mi *exacte* notował diariusz.”

³⁹⁶ ‘Memoir to the hands of my Most Venerable Lord’, by Benoe’s secretary Jan Sobolewski in SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 1, f. 5v.

³⁹⁷ de Vivo, “Archives of Speech,” 524.

and brought them back home from diplomatic missions with the purpose of retrieval and usage in composition.³⁹⁸

In Benoe's case, his diary had to be drafted back at home exactly from notes that luckily still survive to this day. It was –as I would like to suggest– not a question of conscious discarding of notes by diplomats, but rather a question of the notes' survival. Francesco Giuliani, a Polish dragoman with intellectual ambitions and a collector of oriental manuscripts, kept diligent notes and drafts of outgoing letters that presently remain intact. Giuliani's notes display an astonishing diligence in daily record keeping that by the eighteenth century was a rule rather than an exception.³⁹⁹ Benoe's and Giuliani's examples suggest that diplomatic personnel stockpiled notes that could have been used and retrieved for later use, either by the diplomat or by others.

Benoe kept the original of his diary at his home library together with one printed and three manuscript travelogues of other Polish diplomats that went to Istanbul.⁴⁰⁰ Printed 'Compendium legationis' of Jan Małachowski (post 1699) were together on the shelf with manuscript copies of Rafał Leszczyński's (1700, two copies), Józef Sierakowski's (1733) and Benoe's lost original (post 1743) diaries. Drafting of the diary went certainly hand in hand with reading practices. The highly repetitive style of the 'journal d'ambassade' with day-to-day descriptions belonged to the traditional narratives of the Polish-Lithuanian public sphere. Every diplomat kept notes organized in chronological order, a tradition reaching back to the medieval catalogues of expenses kept by pilgrims, and these extensive notes structured the future journal.⁴⁰¹

Benoe undoubtedly used his diary as a mnemonic tool; he would have simply walked to the library shelf, opened his diary, recalled travel stages and compared them with other diplomats' travelogues. Benoe did not, however, keep the diary just to himself. On the contrary, he circulated it, dispatched a copy to the king's court, and hoped that it would be copied there and circulated further.⁴⁰² Diplomats sometimes sent their travelogues in up-to-date correspondence back to Poland-Lithuania. In 1733, Sierakowski did so and his diary was shortened and published in parts by the Polish Courier (*Kuryer Polski*), an eighteenth-century forerunner of later tabloids.⁴⁰³ Benoe and others, however, circulated their day-to-

³⁹⁸ For a similar argument, see Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 64ff.

³⁹⁹ BC, ms. 618 IV–626 IV (eight folio manuscripts with chronological order). Giuliani noted on every incoming letter a date and a name; he did not do so, however, with his rather messy drafts.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Inventory composed after the death of My Beloved Husband, His Sincere Paweł on Bursztyn and Rogoźno Benoe', Bursztyn, 20 VIII 1755, SL, fond 145, part 1, ms 101, part 14, f. 19v. Unfortunately, the original is not conserved and I was unable until now to localize a copy.

⁴⁰¹ Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 50.

⁴⁰² Letter of Paweł Benoe to Michał Radziwiłł, Field Lithuanian hetman, from Jabłonów, 29 VII 1743, AGAD, AR, part V, ms. 536, p. 9-10: "Z relacją zaś obszerną tej ekspedycyi do dworu przez umyślnych *brevibus* wyprawię, a ta nie wątpię, że WXMci Dobrodziejowi komunikowana będzie."

⁴⁰³ *Kuryer Polski*, No. CXLII-CLXXX, 1733. I am grateful to Michał Rzepka for this information.

day diaries only within the circles of Polish-Lithuanian nobility and elites. It was only in 1744 that Franciszek Radzewski, a noble activist and writer, edited Leszczyński's day-to-day Polish diary and published it for the instruction of future envoys and 'of the Polish youth that does not travel to this exotic, rough and infidel nation [...] and consequently does not have any communication with this nation and its language, news, and habits.'⁴⁰⁴ Radzewski's publication is noteworthy, his statement on the youth, however, could not have been more wrong as I suggest below and in chapter six.

Benoe's note taking and composition habits were unusual. In Poland-Lithuania, like in Louis XIV's France, diplomats delegated writing to clerks and ghost writers. A record breaker, Jan Mniszech had three diaries drafted for him, one by his son Józef, who also drew maps of Istanbul and pamphlets dispatched to the court, a second by Wojciech Jakubowski- the envoy's Polish secretary, and a third by Schwartz- the envoy's French secretary.⁴⁰⁵ All of the dairies were in French and the authors intended them for circulation only within noble circles, the court, and, in the particular case of Jakubowski's diary, at the French court.⁴⁰⁶

Mniszech did not have intellectual ambitions, but Benoe certainly did. Benoe's ambitions went further than the circulation of manuscripts as he was well aware of the importance of print and its mediality.⁴⁰⁷ Some of the most popular early modern prints were those describing or illustrating ceremonial entries of kings, diplomats and aristocracy to larger municipal centers.⁴⁰⁸ It was one of the most important aspects of the so-called 'theatrum ceremoniale', widespread in the early modern period and theorized in Johann Christian Lünig's work.⁴⁰⁹ Augustus II of Poland-Saxony published several prints about his entries to Polish-Lithuanian cities soon after becoming king of Poland-Lithuania.⁴¹⁰ Paintings, copperplate prints, and literary descriptions of such and other entries circulated across the entire Europe.

⁴⁰⁴ Franciszek Radzewski, *Poselstwo Wielkie Jaśnie Wielmożnego [...] Pana Rafała hrabi na Lesznie Leszczyńskiego wojewody łęczyckiego [...] do Mustaffy II. Cesarza Tureckiego i całej Potry Ottomańskiej [...] Roku Pańskiego 1700 odprawione* (Poznań: w Drukarni Akademickiej, 1744), sec. Do czytelnika.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Journal du voyage pour Constantinople de S. E. Mr. le Comte Mniszech, Grand Chambellan de Lithuanie et envoyé extraordinaire du Roi et de la République de Pologne faite l'année 1755', HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinet, loc. 2956/9 (Schwart'z journal); 'Journal du voyage du comte Michel Mniszech à Constantinople l'année 1755 contenant différentes observations faites par lui-même', AGAD, APP, ms. 79 (Józef Mniszech's diary); 'Journal du voyage de Constantinople fait l'année 1755 et 1756 par M. L. C. M. M.', BMV, fonds Lebaudy, ms. 139 (Jakubowski's diary).

⁴⁰⁶ Aleksandra Iwanowska, "Polskie rękopiśmienne relacje podróżnicze z epoki saskiej," in *Staropolska kultura rękopisu: praca zbiorowa*, ed. Hanna Dziechcińska (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1990), 130–31, 152.

⁴⁰⁷ On the importance of prints in the public sphere, see: Marcus Sandl, *Medialität und Ereignis: eine Zeitgeschichte der Reformation* (Zürich: Chronos, 2011), 68–69.

⁴⁰⁸ Jacek Żukowski, "Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, European Festival Studies: 1450-1700 (Farnham, Surrey, England, UK ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 213.

⁴⁰⁹ Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Politicum, Oder Historisch- und Politischer Schau-Platz Aller Ceremonien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Moritz Georg Weidmann, 1719). Benoe did not had a copy of this book but had a catalogue of Weidmann's publishing house and was certainly aware of its existence. For comprehensive studies on 'theatrum ceremoniale' in Poland-Lithuania, see the collected volume: Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard Skowron, eds., *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich: materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski na Wawelu i Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dniach 23-25 marca 1998* (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999).

⁴¹⁰ See for instance 'Prächtiger Einzug, welchen Augustus der II. am 19. März 1698 in Danzig gehalten hat', BN, mf. 38404.

Nobles of Poland-Lithuania often reproduced similar ceremonial entries on a smaller scale when officially taking central or provincial offices or a part of Crown lands under their administration. Benoe had in his library some of these panegyrics.⁴¹¹ Descriptions of such entries were widespread in manuscript form and in the eighteenth century started being printed. Usually, they were composed in prose.⁴¹²

It is in this context that we can situate Benoe's commission of a seven-hundred-verse-long poem on his solemn entries to Kamieniec Podolski and Hotin. The author, a young poet Jan Kampenhausen intended to extend the poem to two thousand verses to describe Benoe's solemn entry to the Moldavian capital of Iași as well as audiences with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan. Although probably never published, Benoe's commission marks his awareness that prints were one of the best methods of reaching a larger audience.⁴¹³ The other was through hand copied letters, newsletters and other memoirs produced and circulated with ease and without recurrence to Church censorship.

Benoe was well-aware of the mediality of diplomatic missions and made sure to duplicate, distribute, and disseminate his letters. As his personal secretary got sick few weeks after leaving Poland, Benoe charged him with the duty of receiving his letters, making copies, and disseminating them throughout Poland-Lithuania to 'friends and colleagues,' and also to large municipal centers that served as information hubs. The goal was to act against disinformation and rumors described plausibly by Benoe's servant:

'About your steps, My Honorable Lord and Benefactor, different news circulate; some assert that hearing about the plague, You established Your residence a dozen miles from Istanbul. [...] Others say that Your Lordship is coming back; others that many in Your cortege had died; others that half of Your cortege came back.'⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ 'Panegiryk JO Księciu Radziwiłłowi, miecznikowi litewskiemu przy wjeździe na starostwo lwowskie dedykowany', mentioned in, 'Inventory composed after the death of My Beloved Husband', f. 19v.

⁴¹² See for instance *Opisanie wjazdu na starostwo lubelskie Michała Mniszcha marszałka wielkiego koronnego* (w Drukarni J. K. Mci u Xięży Trynitarzów, 1785) the first printed one that I could find.

⁴¹³ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski to Pawel Benoe, in Biała, 27 IV 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 2, f. 68r: „PS. Jegomość Pan Kapitan Kampenhausen syn generalski napisał 740 wierszów na wjazd kamieniecki i chocimski JW Dobrodzieja oraz do Jaz, Wezyra i Padyszy audiencje opisać postanowil, będzie blisko dwóch tysięcy wierszów przyznawał JW biskup, iż nie poszpeci [?] druku.”

⁴¹⁴ Letter of Jan Sobolewski to Pawel Benoe, from Lwów, 16 I 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 12, part 2, f. 13r: „*De gressibus* Jaśnie Wielmożnego WM Pana Dobrodzieja różne tu *latitant* wiadomości; jedni *asserunt*, że JWM Pan Dobrodziej dowiedziawszy się o grasującym powietrzu w Stambule lokował się o kilkanaście mil *a meta proposita*, czekając pokąd *non sedabitur haec lues*, drudzy zaś powiadają, że się JWWM Pan Dobrodziej wracasz, *tertium*, że ludzi wiele miało poumierać, *quartum*, że się połowa ludzi wróciła.”

In response, Benoe reacted by sitting at his desk, taking to ink and quill and drafting new letters and handwritten descriptions that he immediately sent back to Poland-Lithuania. Benoe intended it as a performative act as his writings this way reached a wider readership and, hence, mediality.⁴¹⁵ Benoe's Greek wife also helped in transmitting knowledge about his mission and travels. Marianne received large packages of Benoe's correspondence and commissioned copies to be made and circulated within Poland-Lithuania.⁴¹⁶ These letters together with diplomatic diaries constituted a large corpus of information on travels through the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman-Polish encounters that were widely circulated in Poland-Lithuania. While the diplomatic missions lasted, the main problem was circulating rumors, most aptly described in Marianne's letter:

‘Your letter put me back to life and health, since I heard here everything possible and that the proposals in Your instruction offended the Porte. Our house hid these messages from me, but I used different tricks to get this information out of Mr. Starost [Benoe's son-in-law Rafal Skarbek – M. K.] [...] After that three hours did not pass and I was consoled by Your letter, addressed on April 23 that God settled all the affairs with honor and satisfaction. Nightmares almost finished my life because of that and because of our beloved daughter's death.’⁴¹⁷

As discussed in chapter three, letters between Istanbul and Poland-Lithuania travelled through the Ottoman postal system with the maximum, astonishing speed of around a week. So impressive was the speed that French ambassadors used to send their letters to Paris through Warsaw and sometimes, instead of taking the sea route traveled to Istanbul through Poland.⁴¹⁸ In the case of the above cited Marianne's letter, it reached the addressee from Istanbul within seventeenth days, through the slower Moldavian postal system. Benoe was well-aware of that. In order to reach the intended mediality and act swiftly against the rumors, he first switched to the Ottoman postal system. Aware of the disinformation Benoe explicitly asked the postmaster of Kamieniec Podolski to open his letters, to copy them and to send copies to all larger post offices in Poland-Lithuania to be copied there and included in handwritten

⁴¹⁵ I understand the performance in its semiotic sense as an ability to craft new meanings and interpretations through spoken or written language, repetition and reinterpretation as in Judith Butler's work on gender. Sybille Krämer, “Was haben >Performativität< und >Medialität< miteinander zu tun? Plädoyer für eine in der >Aisthetisierung< gründende Konzeption des Performativen. Zur Einführung in diesen Band,” in *Performativität und Medialität*, ed. Sybille Krämer (München: Fink, 2004), 16–17.

⁴¹⁶ Letter of Marianne Paleologus to Pawel Benoe, from Jablonów, 19 IV 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, part 8, f. 220v.

⁴¹⁷ Letter of Marianne Paleologus to Pawel Benoe, in Jablonów, 10 V 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, part 8, f. 221v.

⁴¹⁸ In 1747 comte des Alleurs travelled to Istanbul taking exactly the same route as Polish diplomats Francois Rousseau, “L'ambassade du comte de Castellane à Constantinople (1741-1747),” *Revue des questions historique*, no. LXX (1901): 437.

newspapers.⁴¹⁹ Others, like Jerzy Kahlen, a noble newsmonger and postmaster based in Warsaw, asked Benoe to provide him with a detailed description of his travel from Istanbul to the Polish borders. Kahlen furnished Benoe with French and Dutch newspapers and disseminated information about Benoe's travels in the Ottoman realm.⁴²⁰ In this way, Benoe tapped into European news networks.⁴²¹ Letters and information about his travels entered circulation among the postmasters of Poland-Lithuania and from there entered every possible household in Poland-Lithuania.

Nobles of Poland-Lithuania collected handwritten newspapers, bound them together in entire volumes, and stored them for future reference. The *Kuryer Polski*, published by Jesuits from 1729 on, regularly included a section with news from the Ottoman Empire.⁴²² From Lwów in the south to Gdańsk in the north, nobles had an interest in news from and about the Ottoman Empire, in Polish diplomats' travels to Istanbul, and in their whereabouts.⁴²³ Frequent diplomatic travels to Istanbul, as well as their mediality and coverage in manuscript and print materials, mark the high level of practical knowledge on the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian 'theatrum mundi.' The eighteenth-century saw in this respect a rise in awareness, and an acceleration in the circulation of practical knowledge on the Ottomans.⁴²⁴ The armchair travelers' literature, heavily dependent on former anti-Ottoman writings from the previous two centuries of Ottoman-Polish encounters, still portrayed Ottomans as an incarnation of backward Islam.⁴²⁵ A clear distinction has to be made, however, between the officially proclaimed reluctance to Ottomans and their culture, and practical knowledge resulting from direct contacts and access to Ottoman borderlands. Thanks to the frequent travels of Polish diplomats to Istanbul, southern Poland-Lithuania belonged to the cultural Mediterranean. It was so also thanks to the frequent travels of Ottoman diplomats the other way around.

Ottomans in the Dark? The Ottoman Travelogues (*sefaretnames*)

⁴¹⁹ Letter of Stefan Melkonowicz, postmaster of Kamieniec Podolski to Pawel Benoe, in Kamieniec Podolski, 5 V 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 5, f. 44v and other letters there.

⁴²⁰ Letter of Jerzy Kahlen to Pawel Benoe, in Warsaw, 1 VIII 1743, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 204v-205v.

⁴²¹ On the French and Dutch news flows see Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 201.

⁴²² Piotr Lewandowski, *Z historii prasy polskiej: Wiadomości różne Cudzoziemskie jako przykład rozwoju gazet seryjnych w Polsce na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku* (Będzin: Wydawnictwo internetowe e-bookowo, 2015), 118–25.

⁴²³ Adam Perlakowski, "Niepokoje pogranicza ukraińskiego i tureckiego w latach 1736-1739 (doniesienia 'Gazet Polskich')," in *Od Zborowa do NATO (1649 - 2009)*, ed. Maciej Franz and Krzysztof Pietkiewicz (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2009), 381.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Kazimierz Maliszewski, "Świat Orientu w polskich gazetach rękopiśmiennych w dobie późnego baroku," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny "Sobótka"* 51, no. 1–3 (1996): 195.

⁴²⁵ Adrianna Maśko, "Obraz islamu w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, no. 3–4 (2015): 203 and the summary of older literature there.

The common image of the Ottomans in the historiography (and Muslims in general) often implies that they did not travel and were not curious. The celebrated case of Evliya Çelebi, an Ottoman traveler that claimed to have ‘passed six cities in nine hours’ in Poland, was from this perspective an exception.⁴²⁶ This conviction stemmed from Bernard Lewis’ early research on the Muslim discovery of Europe drafted first in a 1957 article and developed further in a 1982 book.⁴²⁷ Recently, however, new research by Giancarlo Casale and Nabil Matar celebrated Ottoman and Muslim discoveries and curiosity and challenged our notions of Ottoman –and in general Muslim– travel in the early modern period.⁴²⁸ Early modern Muslims did travel and were curious; more than that, as their European counterparts they also drafted travelogues.

As in Poland-Lithuania, in the Ottoman Empire, diplomats produced travelogues and reports on visited countries. Faik Reşit Unat’s reference work on Ottoman travelogues lists forty-eight Ottoman travelogues (*sefaretnames*) drafted by Ottoman diplomats between 1655 and 1845.⁴²⁹ The penning of a travelogue was rare in the seventeenth century and took off in the eighteenth century when Ottomans required all diplomats going abroad to produce written reports. Only three of the travelers listed by Unat went to Poland-Lithuania: Mehmed Efendi (1730), Ali Ağa (1754/1755), and Mehmed Ağa (1757/1758).⁴³⁰ Recent discoveries, however, indicate that the Ottoman diplomat fluent in French, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi (1731), and the celebrated printer, İbrahim Mütefferika (1736/1737), also went on a mission to Poland and left behind a written report (*takrir*).⁴³¹ Mehmed Çelebi’s and İbrahim Mütefferika’s reports are rather laconic and shorter than their informative counterparts drafted by other diplomats. Together with other shorter reports produced on a regular basis, the Ottoman travelogues indicate that Ottomans had a steady influx of written first-hand accounts of Poland-Lithuania drafted by able men dispatched to their northern neighbor every few years.

Because Poland-Lithuania was the second largest state in Europe, many Ottoman diplomats travelled through its lands to Berlin, Stockholm or Moscow and left behind plausible descriptions of Polish lands. This was the case of Mehmed Said Efendi (1732/1733), Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1763/1764),

⁴²⁶ Cited after Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 189.

⁴²⁷ Bernard Lewis, “The Muslim Discovery of Europe,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 20, no. 1/3 (January 1, 1957): 409–416; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, 1st ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982).

⁴²⁸ Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁴²⁹ Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri*, Tarih kurumu yayınlarından 8 (Ankara: Türk tarih kurumu basımevi, 1968); for an updated list, see Caspar Hillebrand, “Ottoman Travel Accounts to Europe: An Overview of Their Historical Development and a Commented Researchers’ List,” in *Venturing beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. Bekim Agai and Olcay Akyıldız, Istanbul Texte Und Studien; Vol. 30 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2013), 61–63.

⁴³⁰ Only the first remains unpublished in the Topkapı Sarayı Archive, mf. 1641.

⁴³¹ Erhan Afyoncu and Ahmet Önal, “İbrahim Mütefferika’nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 48 (2016): 105–42.

and Abdülkerim Pasha (1775/1776), Ottoman ambassadors to Stockholm, Berlin and Moscow, respectively.⁴³² All of them described in detail their travels through Poland and in this way, enlarged the pool of available descriptions of Poland-Lithuania.

The gradual evolution of Ottoman diplomatic travel reports is most visible on the example of Ottoman diplomats dispatched to Poland. Between 1709 and 1713, when Benoe learned Turkish and other Polish exiles searched for Ottoman support in a Polish civil war, Ottomans dispatched diplomats to Poland on a regular basis. Those diplomats, usually of lower ranks, were well-informed about Poland-Lithuania and were in touch with Polish exiles present in the Ottoman Empire. All of them formulated laconic reports upon their return that recently came to light. Seyfullah Ağa, sent to Warsaw in 1713, penned in Istanbul a rather formulaic report written in the form of a letter in points depicting his discussions with the Polish-Saxon king Augustus II, but gave the readers no information about the country, its people, the king, or the political system.⁴³³ Another one, presumably from the same year, depicts the Ottoman envoys as pious men who did not want to participate in festivities involving excessive alcohol consumption, but apart from that focuses exclusively on Ottoman-Polish political discussions.⁴³⁴ Both reports were short, one-page descriptions of the official talks that resemble responses to concrete tasks bestowed upon the envoys. These reports bare an almost identical resemblance with Polish reports of the same talks that Polish nobles circulated widely in manuscript form.⁴³⁵

As Dariusz Kołodziejczyk remarked, envoys dispatched to Poland had usually the humble title of an ‘ağa’ and were not ‘efendi’ or men of letters with literary ambitions such as those usually dispatched to France or Prussia.⁴³⁶ From the 1720s and 1730s, however, envoys dispatched to Poland started drafting larger *sefaretnames*, penned themselves or by poets from their entourage, delivering detailed information

⁴³² Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 73; Norman Itzkowitz, ed., *Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 8 (contains English translation of Abdülkerim’s report); Mehmed Said Efendi, “Müşarünileyhin Avdetinde Makam-ı Sadaret-i Uzma’ya Takdim Eylediği Takrir (Takrir-i Mehmet Sait),” in *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni mecmuası* (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şürekası, 1329), 660–77 (Ottoman version).

⁴³³ For his report see İsmail E. Erünsal, “A Report from an Ottoman Ambassador to the Court of Augustus II, King of Poland,” in *Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent Anısına = In Memory of Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent*, ed. Işın Demirkent and Abdülkerim Özyaydın (İstanbul: Globus Dünya Basınevi, 2008), 621–25; İsmail E. Erünsal, “Lehistan kralı II. Ogüst’e gönderilen bir elçinin raporu (1713),” in *Yücel Dağlı anısına: “geldi Yücel, gitti Yücel, bir nefes gibi,”* ed. Yücel Dağlı et al., Turkuaz yayınları 18 (İstanbul: Turkuaz, 2011), 200–213.

⁴³⁴ BOA, HAT, 1427/58433 cited after Numan Yekeler et al., eds., *Yoldaki elçi: Osmanlı’dan günümüze Türk-Leh ilişkileri=Posel w drodze: stosunki turecko-polskie od czasów osmańskich do dnia dzisiejszego*, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, yayın nu: 133 (İstanbul/Stambul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2014), 206–8. Filled with mistakes this edition of documents is in general untrustworthy, apart from useful, high quality facsimiles of original documents.

⁴³⁵ See for instance the manuscript entitled ‘Audience of the Ottoman and Tatar envoys with the Grand Crown hetman Adam Sieniawski’, after 28 III 1713, preseved in almost every Polish archive, for instance, BC, ms. 494 III, cited after Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski, “Wokół kryzysu wschodniego z lat 1711-1713: tureccy i tatarscy dyplomaci w Rzeczypospolitej,” in *Między Zachodem a Wschodem: studia ku czci profesora Jacka Staszewskiego*, vol. 2, ed. Jarosław Dumanowski (Toruń: Wydaw. Adam Marszałek, 2003), 363, fn. 40.

⁴³⁶ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “The Ottoman Diplomats on Eighteenth-Century Poland: Contempt or Discouragement?,” *Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie* 18 (79), no. 1 (1999): 98.

about their travel means, encountered people, seen places, and an early modern who-is-who of Poland-Lithuania. All of them circulated in manuscript form and functioned as an antecedents of modern travel guides for the Ottoman elites.

Although Ibrahim Mütefferika established the first Ottoman printing press in 1726, manuscript culture prevailed in the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman travelogues circulated within the Ottoman ruling elites exclusively in manuscript form.⁴³⁷ Scholars have pointed out that the Ottoman travelogues had an ample impact on Westernization in the Ottoman Empire as well as on the Ottoman elites' extensive knowledge of Europe.⁴³⁸ Similar to Polish diplomats, Ottoman diplomats provided readers back at home with plausible descriptions of visited countries, their political systems, technological discoveries, natural resources and social hierarchies. The Ottoman travelogues took different forms, but Ottoman diplomats usually produced their accounts in prose. Ali Ağa, the envoy, dispatched to Poland in 1755, was an exception. He delegated writing to a poet from his entourage and his account is the only one drafted, as those published in Poland-Lithuania, in verse. The obviously well-educated author describes in thirty pages not only his way through Poland, but also discussions with Polish officials, a who's-who of Poland-Lithuania and details about villages, cities and palaces seen on the way.⁴³⁹ Ali Ağa's report is extant only in one copy, but the general state of preservation of Ottoman travelogues suggests that Ottomans copied and circulated diplomatic travelogues. Future diplomats going to Poland, exactly as in case of Polish diplomats, mined previous diplomatic accounts for practical information on travel methods, people to contact and meet, ways of travelling, and Polish ceremonial practices. Similar to the case of Polish diplomatic reports and diplomatic correspondence, the *sefaretnames* raised the Ottoman awareness of Poland-Lithuania and drew Ottoman and Polish elites closer together. Hence, Southern Poland-Lithuania, as the part of the country most frequented by the Ottomans, belonged to the cultural Mediterranean. Both in Poland-Lithuanian and in the Ottoman Empire the eighteenth century marked a period of increase in diplomatic travelogues. The presence of Ottoman diplomats in Poland-Lithuania did not intensify compared with previous centuries, but the amount of texts produced and conserved increased considerably. How then did Ottoman and Polish diplomats travel?

⁴³⁷ A recently published inventory of Mütefferika's belongings composed after his death indicates that he had large problems selling his books, see Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Osmanlı Matbaasının Başarısını/Başarısızlığını Yeniden Gözden Geçirmek Ya Da İbrahim Mütefferika'nın Terekesinin Tespitine Katkı," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 33 (2009): 322–25.

⁴³⁸ Esin Yurdusev, "Studying Ottoman Diplomacy: A Review of the Sources," in *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 175; see also Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁴³⁹ Ziştovili Hacı Ali Ağa, *Lehistan'da bir Osmanlı sefiri: Ziştovili Hacı Ali Ağa'nın Lehistan elçiliği ve sefaretnâmesi (1755)*, ed. Hacer Topaktaş, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. III-6. dizi, sayı 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015), 90–119 for facsimile.

Crossing the Border River

In 1743, Benoe assembled his cortege at his house in Lwów where he awaited necessary provisions and prepared carts and transportation to the border.⁴⁴⁰ When everything was ready, Benoe embarked on a triumphal procession through Stanisławów to Kamieniec Podolski where he had his first solemn entry with military assistance, music, and welcoming canon shots. The actual procession towards the border started from Kamieniec Podolski where Polish-Lithuanian officials and military joined Benoe to add splendor to his official river crossing.⁴⁴¹ Followed by multiple military units and a crowd of onlookers, Benoe and his train proceeded to the village of Żwaniec, where every Polish and Ottoman diplomat crossed the border on rafts. This passage was highly symbolic and was one of few occasions to actually sense the permeable inter-state boundary. Music and thousands of onlookers accompanied the crossing:

‘When we saw the [Turkish] cavalcade coming out of Hotin, we went from Żwaniec to [the border river] Dniester where we met all the three rafts ready for us and all our cavalry and infantry units assisting by the rafts, who presented their military insignia and continuously made noise out of drums and kettledrums and the court trumpeters played too. Thousands of commoners looked at it from our as well as from the Turkish side [of the border river]. After a woeful farewell from friends and the country we entered the rafts on horseback [...] When exiting the rafts, the Ottoman messenger sent from the Porte to escort the envoy, [Ebu Bekir Ağa] a handsome man of old age, approached us from a gazebo [*altana*] standing near the border market [*otak*] and helped the envoy to dismount his horse. Then he invited us to the gazebo where we had a cup of coffee, and during this time their assistance assembled, with enormous screaming, likely to welcome the envoy, and frightening trumpeters played too. A janissary band followed the envoy and played unbearably to the ear.’⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, in Lwów, 26 IX 1742, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 701, No. 1316 and other letters there.

⁴⁴¹ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski to Andrzej Żaluski, in Starzyska, 25 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No 1351. The following description is based on this extensive letter.

⁴⁴² Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski to Andrzej Żaluski, in Starzyska, 25 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No 1351: “Postrzegłszy wychodzące z Chocinia kalwakaty ruszyliśmy dopiero z Żwańca ku Dniestrowi, gdzie wszystkie trzy promy wolne zastałiśmy i uszykowane nad Dniestrem chorągwie nasze i piechotę przy promie stojące, której prezentując wojenne znaki, nieustające odgłosy dawali, kotłów i bębnow, nadwornicy przy tem trębacze przygrywali. Patrzyły na to tysiączne pospólstwa tak z naszej, jako i tureckiej strony. Po żalonym przyjaciół i kraju swojego pożegnaniu wjechaliśmy na koniach w promy [...] Wyjeżdżając na koniach z promów zszedł z altanki nad Dniestrem przy otakach stojącej goniec od Porty do konwoju przysłany, pięknej urody człowiek podeszły i ten z konia zszedł JW Ablegata i do tej inwitował altanki, tam po filiżance wypiwszy kaffe, tylko co schodzić zaczęliśmy wielki wrzask wojskowych ich assytenecyey odezwał się, jakoby wiwat posel, dopieroż przerażające uszy trębacze, a za posłem janczarska kapela dała się do uprzykrzenia słyszeć.”

Benoe's crossing was unusual. Envoys usually did not board the rafts on horseback, but rather on foot. The symbolic transition from Poland-Lithuania to dar al-Islam typically transpired in the middle of the river where navigators joined a Polish and an Ottoman raft together as in illustration 19. Then the envoy stepped onto the Ottoman raft, the Ottomans surrounded the envoy and his retinue and screamed loudly to welcome their guests. Instead, Benoe not only entered the raft on horseback, but also surrounded himself with so many servants that he became virtually impossible to approach. Benoe dispatched his train beforehand to the other side so that not only Ottomans, but also Polish nobles welcomed him on the Ottoman shore. Benoe meticulously planned every departure from the usual procedures and later on proudly reported back to the court that Ottomans treated better than any other diplomat before him.



Illustration 19: Johann Christian Kamsetzer's drawing depicting the border crossing of the envoy Karol Lasopolski in 1776. On the left, there are the Polish military units assisting the diplomat as well as onlookers; in the middle two rafts are joined, a Polish and a Turkish one. On the right Ottomans await the passage with a military assistance and a tent ready for the envoy's reception. Marzena Królikowska-Dziubecka, *Podróże artystyczne Jana Chrystiana Kamsetzera (1776-1777, 1780-1782), architekta w służbie króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, Wyd. 1 (Warszawa: Neriton, 2003), 67.

Ottoman envoys provided a similar narrative to that offered by their Polish peers. For Polish envoys, the travel started upon leaving home and this is where their travelogues start and end; for the Ottomans, the actual act of travelling starts from crossing the border of dar al-Islam. An exception is the travelogue composed by Ahmed Resmi Efendi, Ottoman statesman and diplomat, who traveled through Poland to Prussia in 1763.⁴⁴³ Resmi Efendi describes his travels through the Ottoman Empire starting from the Danube, often treated by the Ottomans –as Palmira Brummett suggested– as the first border

⁴⁴³ Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Sefaretname-i Ahmet Resmi* (Kostantiniye: Matba'a-yi Ebul Ziya, 1303).

between Islam and Christendom.⁴⁴⁴ In the border fortress of Hotin, Resmi Efendi proceeded exactly as the Polish envoys. As in Benoe's case, the Ottomans formed a cavalcade and the Ottoman garrison assisted Resmi Efendi to the border river. Resmi boarded the Ottoman raft with several Ottoman officials, met in the middle of the border river, the Dniester, the Polish raft and was then taken to Żwaniec on the Polish side.⁴⁴⁵

Further passages of Resmi's travelogue through Poland contain descriptions of several Polish cities (Kamieniec, Lwów, Kraków) and Resmi plausibly supplies the readers with short half-page stories of the cities and their actual state. Every Ottoman traveler paid particular attention to Kamieniec, the capital of Podolia conquered by the Ottomans in 1672. In his account, Resmi Efendi describes the monumental castle of Kamieniec that in the eighteenth century was in ruins. When asked by Ahmed Resmi how it was possible that such a beautiful fortress was not restored, his Polish companions answered that Polish nobles do not fear aggression from the Ottomans; therefore, the fortress is not needed.⁴⁴⁶ Resmi also remarked that there were still minarets in Kamieniec that the Ottomans had built after the conquest and conversion of several churches into mosques and that the Poles had tried to use as bell towers.

These passages were intended for consultation by future readers. In some cases, Ottoman copyists marked passages pertaining to Polish cities in the manuscripts with red ink to support easier consultation and retrieval.⁴⁴⁷ Thanks to this aid, future Ottoman travelers embarking on a mission to Poland could have easily consulted copies of travelogues by former diplomats, making it easier to design their travels and consult previous travelogues before and during the composition of their own travelogues. Precisely as in the case of Polish travelogues, the Ottoman diplomatic travelogues closely resemble each other and follow conventions established, most notably, by the widely read and circulated *sefaretname* of France by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi drafted in the 1720s.⁴⁴⁸ Their task, as in the case of Polish travelogues, was twofold: to aid the diplomats as a mnemonic tool to recall the travel back at home and to function as antecedents of travel guides for future diplomats and travelers.

Ottoman diplomats provided their readers with plausible descriptions not only of places, but also people- an under-researched part of early modern ethnologies.⁴⁴⁹ Ali Ağa bluntly remarked that Polish-

⁴⁴⁴ Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans*, 90.

⁴⁴⁵ Resmi Efendi, *Sefaretnâme-yi Ahmet Resmî*, 15–17.

⁴⁴⁶ Resmi Efendi, 17.

⁴⁴⁷ Hacı Ali Ağa, *Lehistan'da bir Osmanlı sefiri*, 97 (facsimile with highlighted passages pertaining to the city of Dubno).

⁴⁴⁸ Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, *Paris sefaretnamesi* (Kostantiniye: Matba'a-yi Ebul Ziya, 1306); Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi Effendi, *Le paradis des infidèles: relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, trans. Julien-Claude Galland, La Découverte 40 (Paris: Maspero, 1981).

⁴⁴⁹ On the early modern ethnology, see Palmira Brummett, *The "book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 2–4.

Lithuanian women are white and slender but cannot be described as beautiful and charming.⁴⁵⁰ Ali Ağa's statement might seem to pander to what Ottoman readers would have liked to read. However, Polish reports suggest Ali Ağa had ample interest in socializing with Polish noblewomen and other Ottoman diplomatic escorts are known for having been interested in northern European slave woman when in Hotin.⁴⁵¹ Resmi Efendi, on the other hand, paid attention to Polish-Lithuanian dress and suggested that the city dwellers of Poland-Lithuania dressed in a style similar to the Tatars, likely 'out of affection for the people of Islam.'⁴⁵² The Ottomans travelling through Poland-Lithuania were attentive to similarities in material culture and the Polish-Lithuanian taste for oriental clothing, resembling closely their Ottoman originals.

Ottoman travelers provided their readers with a Polish who's-who. Mehmed Efendi (1731) stated that those who held power in Poland-Lithuania were Stanisław Poniatowski, Józef Potocki and August Czartoryski. These three were the most powerful officials of Poland-Lithuania at time of Efendi's writing.⁴⁵³ Mehmed Efendi was aware that one of the most important offices, certainly in relation to contact with the Ottomans, was the Grand Crown hetman, an office that allowed the holder to have diplomatic ties with the southern neighbors of Poland-Lithuania. Mehmed was also aware that in the absence of a hetman during his trip, Poniatowski, the father of the future last king of Poland-Lithuania, had actual power over the army and was a de facto deputy of the vacant hetman office. Similar details appear too in Ibrahim Mütefferika's account. Apart from giving a detailed description of interiors with stamp-bedsteads, tile stoves, and while dining, forks, knives, serviettes and ways of serving food, Mütefferika paid particular attention to intermediaries. During his trip through Poland, a Lipka (Polish) Tatar Ibrahim and his twelve cavalymen assisted Mütefferika and provided him with supplies.⁴⁵⁴ Other than that, Mütefferika –and Ahmed Resmi Efendi, too – highlighted on a regular basis the presence of Jews in Poland-Lithuania who held in their hands trade and of whom some were able to communicate in Turkish. Mütefferika's account indicates that Ottoman travelers, identical to Polish travelers, imagined travel and crossed space measured in distances between one *konak* (inn) and another. His account, along with all other Ottoman travel accounts of Poland-Lithuania, served future travelers as a reference, and gave a plausible description of places, people, and habits in order to prepare these travelers for what they would see and experience when crossing the border of dar-al Islam into Poland.

⁴⁵⁰ Barbara Kucharska, "Polska XVIII wieku w oczach tureckiego dyplomaty Hacı Ali Aği," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1 (41) (1962): 37.

⁴⁵¹ *Kuryer Polski*, supplement to the year 1755, from Dubno, 3 III 1755, reproduced in Hacı Ali Ağa, *Lehistan'da bir Osmanlı sefiri*, 143–45. For an Ottoman escort, that according to the Polish observers arrived just to obtain Polish slave woman, see Dariusz Podoski, 28 IX 1759.

⁴⁵² Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 78; Resmi Efendi, *Sefaretnâme-yi Ahmet Resmî*, 28.

⁴⁵³ Musa Şaşmaz, *XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan İlişkileri* (Ankara: Altınpost Yayıncılık, 2012), 86.

⁴⁵⁴ Afyoncu and Önal, "İbrahim Mütefferika'nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi," 121.

The Grand Tour

In his seminal work on the art of travel in the early modern period, Justin Stagl suggested that from the mid-seventeenth century writers of ‘ars apodemica’ (travel advice literature) started aiming their writings at ‘young men who for the finishing of their education wanted to gain some experience of the world.’⁴⁵⁵ Stagl also indicated that in the eighteenth century, travelers explored less well-known countries and that the explorations of ‘one’s own country became more pertinent.’⁴⁵⁶ In the eighteenth-century, the Grand Tour, an educational journey abroad, became the dominant method of travel. From the eighteenth century on, travelers increasingly began searching for travel routes other than those that led to Italy or France. Maeve Devitt-Tremblay recently drew our attention to ‘alternative’ educational journeys by alternative travelers (a dwarf and a princess) coming out of Poland-Lithuania in the age of Grand Tour.⁴⁵⁷ Although the scholarship on travel writing in the Ottoman Empire is extensive, the research has successfully omitted the Grand Tour within the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵⁸ However, as I argue, the Ottoman Empire was an integral part of the Polish Grand Tour.

How do we define the Grand Tour? The Grand Tour was a standard part of the education of nobility from around the middle of the seventeenth century until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 which prohibited travelers from traveling in war-infested Europe. ‘It had several objectives—to broaden the mind, to introduce the tourist to classical civilization, to encourage social grace, to improve the command of languages, to establish useful personal and diplomatic links, and to enable wild oats to be sown at a discreet distance.’⁴⁵⁹ Conducted between the age seventeen and twenty-two, the Grand Tour was two to three years long, and a preceptor hired for this purpose supervised and overlooked the traveler’s intellectual progress. The traveler often reported back home about his progress in long and elaborate letters over the two to three years. In the basic tour, the visitors went to Italy (Rome) and

⁴⁵⁵ Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 82.

⁴⁵⁶ Stagl, 85.

⁴⁵⁷ Maeve Devitt Tremblay, “The Princess and the Dwarf: Polish Perspectives on Collecting and the Grand Tour,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (2018): 25–42, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12505>.

⁴⁵⁸ Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Anita Damiani, *Enlightened Observers: British Travellers to the Near East 1715-1850* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1979); Michèle Longino, *French Travel Writing in the Ottoman Empire: Marseilles to Constantinople, 1650-1700*, Routledge Research in Travel Writing 11 (New York; London: Routledge, 2015); Elisabeth A. Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters: Artists between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774-1839* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017); for a precursory work on the Grand Tour in Ottoman dominions see Philip Mansel, “The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire, 1699-1826,” in *Unfolding the Orient: Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, ed. Paul Starkey and Janet Starkey (Reading, UK: Ithaca, 2001), 41–64.

⁴⁵⁹ John Cannon, “Grand Tour,” in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, Second edition (Oxford, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 417.

France (Paris) and only rarely visited the Ottoman Empire or Russia because of ‘the difficulty of restricted access.’⁴⁶⁰

The Grand Tour, however, could have been organized in a diplomatic context. In the eighteenth century, as I would like to suggest, Benoe and other Polish diplomats played the role of preceptors for large groups of young noblemen sent to Istanbul on an educational Grand Tour.⁴⁶¹ Benoe’s archive and his conserved correspondence indicate that diplomats appointed for a mission to Istanbul integrated into their diplomatic cortege a large group of young Polish noblemen. Nobles of southern Poland-Lithuania targeted Benoe with petitions asking him to take under his wings their sons while on his mission to Istanbul. Hierarchical in structure and safe due to Ottoman and Polish military escort, the diplomatic cortege seemed to be the perfect travel method to Istanbul and an ideal venue for youngsters to learn. The young men in Benoe’s cortege left Poland for Istanbul to see and experience the Ottoman Empire and, most importantly, to learn languages. The diplomat taught the youngsters how to behave, educated them in music and manners, assigned them official posts at the diplomatic court, and entered alongside them into the life of Istanbul’s European salons. On top of that, the Grand Tour to Istanbul served, as Benoe’s mission indicates, as a springboard to a Grand Tour of the Mediterranean.

I discuss in further detail the group of young noblemen in Benoe’s cortege in chapter six. Here, I would like to focus on two of the most illustrative examples that clearly indicate that travel to Istanbul was a part of the Polish Grand Tour. The first example is of Flor Rozwadowski, the second of Pawel Starzyński. Flor’s story is illustrative of the Polish nobility based in the southern Poland-Lithuania for whom the Ottoman Empire was an important travel destination. Starzyński’s story is that of an extended Grand Tour that started in Poland-Lithuania, leading Starzyński through the Ottoman Empire, Italy, France and Germany and then back to Poland Lithuania. He also embarked on a trip to Istanbul as Benoe’s direct kin. Benoe did not had sons, but diplomats who did, like Jan Mniszech, took them alongside to Istanbul.⁴⁶²

Flor joined Benoe’s diplomatic mission on the Ottoman-Polish border, after a sorrowful farewell with his mother and brothers, with the goal of learning languages and seeing the world. His father, Antoni

⁴⁶⁰ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, Routledge Revivals (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 20.

⁴⁶¹ Polish research on the Grand Tour overlooks this travel direction, see Agata Ročko, ed., *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014); see also Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, “Adelige Mobilität und Grand Tour im polnischen und litauischen Adel (1500-1700),” in *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000*, ed. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini, Beihefte zu Francia ; Bd. 60 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 309–26.

⁴⁶² Mniszech went as far as to interrupt his sons regular education at the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw see Marek Bratuń, “Ten wykwiniony, wykształcony Europejczyk”: zagraniczne studia i podróże edukacyjne Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha w latach 1762-1768, *Studia i monografie* (Uniwersytet Opolski) 321 (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2002), 40.

Rozwadowski- Castellan of Halicz, was Benoe's close friend.⁴⁶³ Flor was a young boy and the joy of Antoni Rozwadowski's life, even more so after his first son died at a young age.⁴⁶⁴ In the cavalcade from the border river to the Ottoman fortress of Hotin, Flor carried a ringing bell in front of Benoe to mark his rank and dignity.⁴⁶⁵ Young Rozwadowski accompanied Benoe during his entire trip to Istanbul and assisted him in official meetings such as with the Russian ambassador Alexei Vishniakov.⁴⁶⁶ Apart from learning languages, the main purpose of his trip was to gain experience and good manners. Upon Benoe's departure, Flor remained in Istanbul in the household of the Sicilian ambassador Nicolay de Majo who 'had twelve young Neapolitan boys in his household and conserved splendid teachers, outstanding in any science.'⁴⁶⁷ Flor is representative of a larger group of Polish noblemen that travelled to Istanbul in the Polish envoys' cortege. Some of the boys that travelled to Istanbul were so busy with education –and with entertainment– that they did not write their parents at all, causing their parents great exasperation.⁴⁶⁸ In the first half of the eighteenth century, sending young boys to Istanbul for education was, by all means, an established part of the Polish Grand Tour. Some cases indicate that the trip to Istanbul was just the first part of a greater Grand Tour of the whole Mediterranean.

This was the case with Paweł Starzyński, Benoe's nephew and secretary of his mission to Istanbul.⁴⁶⁹ Thanks to their direct kinship, Starzyński was close to Benoe and followed a similar career path. As Benoe moved higher in the noble ranks of Polish nobility, Starzyński, with his clear handwriting and praised manners, took Benoe's former office and became secretary to Józef Potocki, Grand Crown hetman. In 1740, Starzyński joined Benoe on his mission to the steppes of Ukraine and inspected the Ottoman-Polish-Russian triple boundary with him. Appointed as Benoe's secretary, Starzyński was uninterested in his work and consequently, Benoe drafted his letters and diary himself. Starzyński, however, engaged in ceremonial meetings with the Moldavian and Ottoman officials on the way to Istanbul and acted as an intermediary by carrying Benoe's letters to the Ottoman governor of Hotin and the Prince of Moldavia. In Istanbul, Starzyński joined Benoe during meetings with other diplomats,

⁴⁶³ Letters of Antoni Rozwadowski to Paweł Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 2 (38 letters from 1740-1753) as well as letters of other family members there. Maria Czeppe, "Antoni Rozwadowski h. Trąby," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 32 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowe im. Ossolińskich, 1989), 401–3.

⁴⁶⁴ It emanates from Rozwadowski's letter but also from other letters kept in Benoe's archive. See for instance letter of Mikołaj Dembowski, Bishop of Kamieniec to Antoni Rozwadowski, in Czarnokozienice, 19 VII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, part 9, f. 285v-286v, kept today in Benoe's archive: "Although I haven't seen him yet, I already love him infinitely, because I should love him out of many reasons. I expect that Your Lordship will console me and I will be able to meet this angel, [Flor – M. K.] and You will allow him and his friends here for vacations."

⁴⁶⁵ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski, Starost of Karaczków to Andrzej Załuski, Crown chancellor, Starzyska, 25 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 720, No. 1351.

⁴⁶⁶ Letter of Alexei Vishniakov to Paweł Benoe, in Pera, 29 V 1745, SL, fond 145, ms. 14, f. 196r.

⁴⁶⁷ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski to Michał Radziwiłł, 4 III 1743 cited after Czeppe, "Antoni Rozwadowski h. Trąby," 402.

⁴⁶⁸ Letter of Stefan Melkonowicz to Paweł Benoe, from Kamieniec, 5 V 1743, ms. 8, part 5, f. 43r, about a boy called Jaskiewicz that did not write his father from Istanbul for months.

⁴⁶⁹ Letters of Paweł Starzyński to Paweł Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 6 (114 letters from 1740-1755). Zofia Zielińska, "Paweł Starzyński, h. Doliwa," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 42 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, 2003), 473–74.

concerts, and other get-togethers. On a velvet pillow, he carried the Crown chancellor's and king's letter to the Grand Vizier and the Sultan, respectively. Overall, during the mission, Starzyński was more concerned with sociability and polishing his French than with his official duties as Benoe's scribe. Starzyński spent his time in Istanbul socializing with other diplomats, their secretaries, and dragomans, polishing his French, and learning some Ottoman Turkish. His trip to Istanbul, as in Flor Rozwadowski's case, was a classical element of the Polish Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.

Indicative of this trend are the detailed travel diaries of Podoski from 1759-1760. Podoski's two secretaries, Adam Gotartowski and Charles Lafon drafted a Polish and a French travelogue that paid as much attention to ceremonial aspects as to the tourism of youngsters in Podoski's cortege. On 19 September 1759, Antoni Borzyslawski, Podoski's friend gave him his son Xavery, 'a cavalier of eighteen years and great prospects' with the goal of Xavery joining Podoski's entourage and receiving an education in the Ottoman Empire. From this day on, Xavery (exactly as Starzyński with Benoe) traveled with Podoski through Kamieniec, Hotin, Iași, Stanilești, Galati, Burgas, Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece to Istanbul.⁴⁷⁰ Xavery not only fulfilled ceremonial duties, delivered letters and courted Europeans and Ottomans, but also visited natural and cultural monuments on the way. Together with the Polish author of the diary, Xavery rode up the Balkan Mountains into the peaks covered with frozen snow and brought some snow down to entertain the envoy and other youngsters.⁴⁷¹

Xavery was a young noble 'of great dignity who thanks to his parent's fortune received a tremendous education – first in Jesuit schools, and then for five years in the Convent of Fathers Piarist in Warsaw. He was fluent in French, German and Latin, and well-versed in geography and universal history. In Istanbul, he accompanied Podoski during the audience with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan. On a regular basis, Xavery visited other diplomats and their dragomans; he participated in concerts at the Polish and other embassies, socialized, drank wine, dined and danced with Ottoman Greek women. Only Xavery Borzyslawski's sudden death in January 1760 interrupted his further education, which would either have been achieved by staying longer in Istanbul and receiving informal education in the salons of Istanbul, or through an extended Grand Tour of the Mediterranean, like in the case of Starzyński.

Having stayed in Istanbul for a few months, early in 1743, Starzyński decided to extend his trip, board a Neapolitan ship, and travel to Naples and further onto France on a Grand Tour of the Mediterranean. Benoe supported his trip, both financially and morally, and explicated to the court the purpose of Starzyński's trip:

⁴⁷⁰ Dariusz Podoski, 19 IX 1759.

⁴⁷¹ Dariusz Podoski, 10 XI 1759.

‘His Lordship Starzyński decided to made a round trip through Naples and France [back home] to see those countries and to obtain languages. Next week, he will embark on a Neapolitan ship, and after arriving in Naples, he will stay there four months until he masters the French pronunciation.’⁴⁷²

The goal of Starzyński’s extended trip was clearly education. In 1738, Maria Amalia of House Wettin (ruling in Poland) married Charles III of the Spanish Bourbons, the future king of Naples and Sicily. Thanks to this dynastic kinship between the courts of Warsaw/Dresden and Naples, the latter became an important travel destination in the Polish Grand Tour.⁴⁷³ Benoe supported the idea of Starzyński’s trip to Naples and made sure that he received letters of recommendation from the Neapolitan ambassadors in Istanbul and Warsaw/Dresden. Starzyński was so eager to leave that in fact, he left Istanbul before his official duties as Benoe’s secretary expired. Upon his departure, Starzyński left in Istanbul his travel library that Benoe then transported back to Poland.

Starzyński left behind not only his bulky books, but also Ottoman carpets, textiles, horse tack, and kitchen utensils that all traveled with Benoe back to Poland.⁴⁷⁴ Starzyński’s Istanbul library consisted of seven volumes in folio, seven in quarto, and thirty-two in octavo that testify to his interest in languages, history, geography and travel literature. Starzyński took with him French manuals and left behind a Turkish grammar book, a Turkish dictionary, and the folio French edition of Aubry de la Mottraye’s travelogue in two volumes that proudly boasted to deliver to readers ‘a great variety of geographical, topographical and political observations on [...] Italy, Turkey, Greece, Crim and Noghaian Tartaries, Circassia, Sweden, and Lapland’.⁴⁷⁵ A Huguenot living in England, Aubry de la Mottraye, traveled several

⁴⁷² Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żalwski, Pera, 4 V 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No. 1362 and other letters there: ‘JMP Starzyński resolwowany uczynić *circulum* powrotu swego przez Neapolim i przez Francją dla uczczenia kraju i dla nabycia języka w przyszłym da Bóg tygodniu ma się embarkować na okręt Neapolitański, a stanawszy w Neapolim ma tam z ćwierć roku zabawić pokąd się nie ufacylituje w pronuncyacji języka francuskiego.’

⁴⁷³ Bogdan Rok, “W sprawie podróży Polaków do Neapolu w XVIII w.,” in *Viae historicae: księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Mateusz Goliński and Stanisław Rosik, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 2306 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2001), 489–93.

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Inventory of Starzyński’s books that remain [in Istanbul] and will go back to Poland with the Envoy [Benoe] composed in Istanbul on 23 May 1743,’ SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 6, f. 22v-23r.

⁴⁷⁵ Aubry de La Mottraye, *Voyages du Sr. A. de la Mottraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique où l’on trouve une grande variété de recherches géographiques, historiques et politiques... des remarques instructives sur les moeurs... des peuples... des relations fidèles des événemens considérables arrivées [sic] pendant plus de 26 années... employées dans ses voyages, comme de la révolution en Turquie et du dethronement du dernier Sultan, de la guerre entre les Turcs et les Russiens et de la paix cochlü sur le Pruth, où l’auteur étoit present des affaires et de la conduite du feu Roi de Suede à Bender et pendant les quatre années qu’il a été en Turquie, de son retour en Suede, de ses campagnes en Norwegue, de sa mort et des changements arrivées là dessus*, vol. 1–2 (La Haye: T. Johnson et J. van Duren, 1727); Aubry de La Mottraye, *A. de La Mottraye’s Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa... : Containing a Great Variety of Geographical, Topographical, and Political Observations on Those Parts of the World; Especially on Italy, Turkey... Sweden and Lapland* (London: Printed for the author, 1723), title page.

times through the Ottoman Empire, and during his second trip in 1698, set sail for Izmir on an English ship. Inspired by his work, Starzyński decided to go visit Izmir himself.

Starzyński embarked on a Neapolitan ship but was unlucky in his trip. His ship stopped at the Dardanelle for over eleven days, then again at the Ottoman island of Tenedos –‘that has nothing particular about it’– where the captain decided to go first to Izmir.⁴⁷⁶ Starzyński arrived at Izmir during plague ‘when all the buildings were locked down’ and only the Dutch consul, Daniel de Hochepped offered him shelter; the unlucky traveler could not have enjoyed much of the famous Street of the Franks or Izmir’s wharf where ‘Englishmen, Frenchmen, Venetians, and Ottomans freely conversed, and Anglicans, Calvinists, Catholics, Sephardic Jews, Muslim Turks, Orthodox Greeks, and Armenians worshiped almost shoulder to shoulder, and even socialized together’.⁴⁷⁷ In Izmir, Starzyński decided to change his plans, avoid the unpleasant quarantine in Naples, and go instead to Venice on a Dutch ship, where the quarantine was ‘the most discrete and the most pleasant of all Italy’.⁴⁷⁸

Late in 1743, Starzyński spent a month at the Venetian lazaretto from where he maintained correspondence with diplomats in Istanbul and with Benoe.⁴⁷⁹ Nobles sending their children on the Grand Tour gave them detailed instructions requiring them to write a diary and letters reporting their progress.⁴⁸⁰ The instructions for noble travelers were a common practice in early modern Europe. In 1645, Jakub Sobieski required his sons leaving for a Grand Tour of France (one of them the future king Jan Sobieski) to ‘have an empty book in folio, in which you will be noting everything about your journey from the day of leaving home, until, God allows, your return. You will be noting in this book all notable things about the city or domain where you will be, everything that will be happening there; write down all your peregrinations and the distances between places and roads as I did too.’⁴⁸¹ In 1671, in his cold and dry manner, Colbert instructed his son, de Seignelay, to write a detailed report of his trip to Italy.⁴⁸² In the eighteenth century, the youth embarking on a Grand Tour reported on their progress in the form of letters. In Poland, the Grand Tour correspondence remained private while in France it was often

⁴⁷⁶ Letter of Pawel Starzyński to Pawel Benoe, from Izmir, 30 VI 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 6, f. 17v-18r.

⁴⁷⁷ Daniel Goffman, “Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City,” in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95.

⁴⁷⁸ See fn. 88. On the Venetian lazaretto, see Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, ed., *Venice and the Mediterranean Lazarettos* (Mariano del Friuli: Edizioni della Laguna, 2004).

⁴⁷⁹ Letter of Pawel Starzyński to Friedrich Hübsch, Saxon resident in Istanbul, ‘in lazaretto veneto’, 2 IX 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 6, f. 78v-r (forwarded to Benoe).

⁴⁸⁰ Anna Markiewicz, “Podróż edukacyjna Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego na Zachód Europy (1684-1686),” *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ Prace historyczne* 133, no. 1284 (2006): 44–45; Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See,” *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 2–3 (March 1996): 139–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.1996.9960876>.

⁴⁸¹ Franciszek Kluczycki, ed., *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego. vol. 1, part 1* (Kraków: w Drukarni “Czasu,” 1880), 29–30; Bömelburg, “Adelige Mobilität,” 316.

⁴⁸² Pierre Clément, ed., *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1865), 29–34; Soll, *The Information Master*, 87.

published together with the instructions.⁴⁸³ According to the well-established rules of the Grand Tour, Starzyński, thus, reported on the progress of his trip in long and elaborate letters whose language changed as he travelled through Italy and France. As Starzyński proceeded from Venice through Mantua, Bologna, Florence, and Rome to Naples he kept writing in Polish and occasionally Latin. As he reached Paris in 1744, Starzyński's handwriting and language changes to French. From now on, even after his return to Poland, Starzyński addressed his uncle Benoe in French, sometimes mixing Polish and French and displaying a fluency in both languages.

In Paris, Starzyński hired a preceptor, visited the French court on a regular basis, and entered Parisian salon society. He was, however, an unusual noble on a Grand Tour, as he struggled regularly with financial problems; he also shared his lodging with another noble. His frustration transpires through his French letters and in humble financial petitions to his uncle. When Starzyński mastered French, he decided to leave for Frankfurt where the new Habsburg emperor was about to be elected. It was a common element of the Grand Tour to watch memorable events and report back home about them. Starzyński watched the election of Francis I, duke of Tuscany, as the Roman Emperor and reported to Benoe in detailed reports on the reactions of crowds to the crowning in Frankfurt.⁴⁸⁴ On the way to the Low Countries, robbers stole Starzyński's chest of valuables and forced him to reverse his travels. After a few months in Strasburg, Starzyński decided to go back to Poland through Dresden, together with the Polish-Saxon court that was about to leave for Poland. This was the last stage of Starzyński's Grand Tour and his education that ended with a presentation of his new skills to Augustus III of Poland-Saxony and his ministers. As a rule, nobles coming back from a Grand Tour visited the court. In 1734, Stefan Humiecki, Palatine of Podolia instructed his older son Józef to pay for his younger brother's expenses during 'travels to foreign countries with a skilled preceptor [...] and upon his return from foreign countries so that he would be able to present himself with honor at the king's court.'⁴⁸⁵ Starzyński's trip was a success. Upon his return, the Deputy Crown chancellor, Jan Malachowski, reported to Benoe that his nephew was a 'cultured man' that would be able to follow his career path and congratulated him on this occasion.⁴⁸⁶ Starzyński, who started his career with the humble title of a military scribe, grew to become a general in the Crown army.

Starzyński's, Rozwadowski's and Borzyslawski's examples illustrate my claim that a Grand Tour in the eighteenth century started for Polish nobles often not in France or in Italy, but in the Ottoman Empire. Nobles based in the Ottoman-Polish borderland, opted for an educational journey to Istanbul

⁴⁸³ See for instance Toutant des Guiberts, *Le voyageur veridique, ou les instructions familiares, que donne a son fils un homme de qualite dans un voyage d'Hollande et d'Allemagne* (Paris: Herissant, 1754); first published in Paris by a Polish aristocrate in the form of letters was Jean Potocki, *Voyage en Turquie et en Égypte, fait en l'année 1784* (Paris: Royez Libraire, quai des Augustins, 1788).

⁴⁸⁴ Letter of Pawel Starzyński to Pawel Benoe, in Frankfurt, 13 IX 1745, SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 6, f. 45v.

⁴⁸⁵ Last will of Stefan Humiecki, in Rychty, 6 X 1734, SL, fond 141, part 3, ms. 120, f. 27v.

⁴⁸⁶ Letter of Jan Malachowski to Pawel Benoe, in Końskie, 4 IX 1747, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 3, f. 20v.

more often than for a trip to Italy or Spain due to geographical proximity and the lower costs of an Ottoman Grand Tour. Many of the young nobles, like Flo Rozwadowski, went exclusively on an Ottoman Grand Tour and remained in Istanbul for a few years. Others, like Starzyński, started their Grand Tour from the Ottoman Empire and continued it in Italy, France and Germany. The Ottoman Empire, Istanbul and the Eastern Mediterranean were a point of reference as important to the Polish Grand Tour as Italy or France.

Our understanding of the Grand Tour as an educational travel journey of two to three years leading to ‘France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries’ should be broadened to include the Ottoman Empire and other parts of Europe that usually remain out of the scope of research on the noble Grand Tour in the early modern period.⁴⁸⁷ The usual chronology of the Grand Tour from ca. 1660 until 1789, rightfully questioned by Elisabeth Fraser in her splendid work on artists in the Ottoman Empire, ought to be revised.⁴⁸⁸ Firstly, the Grand Tour already existed in Elizabethan England and not only left from Poland-Lithuania but sometimes led to it.⁴⁸⁹ Secondly, the end of the Grand Tour did not come with the French Revolution. Rather, due to revolutionary wars in Europe, travelers often searched for alternative routes leading them to the Ottoman Empire or Russia.⁴⁹⁰ In 1784, the cosmopolitan Jean Potocki undertook a fairly independent Grand Tour, and traveled alone from Ottoman Europe to Istanbul and later on to Egypt.⁴⁹¹ Following the steps of his predecessors, Waclaw ‘Emir’ Rzewuski (1784-1831) traveled as far as the Arabian Peninsula and let himself be portrayed as an Arab emir.⁴⁹² The Grand Tour, thus, did not end with the French Revolution but persisted as a method of travelling well into the nineteenth century.

Mapping the Unknown Fringes of Europe: Travel from Istanbul to Poland

Justin Stagl indicated in his seminal work on ‘ars apodemica’ that the eighteenth century saw not only a rise in the popularity of the Grand Tour, but also in curiosity over unexplored parts of Europe.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁷ See the classical work William E. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), VIII, 27 that mentions “Turkey” twice as a destination for “occasional travel.”

⁴⁸⁸ Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*.

⁴⁸⁹ Sebastian Sobiecki, “‘A Man of Curious Enquiry’: John Peyton’s Grand Tour to Central Europe and Robert Cecil’s Intelligence Network, 1596-1601,” *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 3 (June 2015): 408, <https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12088>.

⁴⁹⁰ Mansel, “The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire, 1699-1826,” 54; see also Izabela Kalinowska, *Between East and West: Polish and Russian Nineteenth-Century Travel to the Orient*, Rochester Studies in Central Europe (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 23–24.

⁴⁹¹ Potocki, *Voyage en Turquie et en Égypte, fait en l’année 1784*.

⁴⁹² Stefan Kieniewicz, “Waclaw Seweryn Rzewuski,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 34 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1992), 180–83.

⁴⁹³ Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 85.

Travelers started traversing unexplored and undescribed parts of Europe and publishing massive amounts of travelogues that brought the unknown to the European readers. Ottomans participated in this curiosity with their own well-established tradition of travel writing and reporting on European countries.⁴⁹⁴ The Ottoman *sefaretnames* did not describe in detail the travel through the Ottoman Empire, but rather focused on the lands beyond the borders of dar al-Islam, providing readers with detailed instructions on travel out of the Ottoman realm. For instance, the educated and fluent in French Ottoman diplomat, Mehmed Said Efendi, in his travel *takrir* (report) did not discuss his travel from Istanbul to the confines of Poland-Lithuania at all.⁴⁹⁵ The Polish travelogues, on the other hand, described the travels from diplomats' homes to the confines of Poland-Lithuania, as in case of Podoski (1760); Podoski's travelogue's readers could have traced his journey from his doorstep to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. In both cases, however, –as previously discussed– the accounts remained largely unpublished.

The most popular description of a journey between Istanbul and Poland came from the quill of an outsider. It is in this context that we can situate the travelogue of the enlightened writer Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711-1787) who describes his journey to Poland in the cortege of the British ambassador Jack Porter (1762).⁴⁹⁶ In the preface to the Italian edition, Boscovich stressed that his travelogue should serve future travelers and instructed them on how to travel through the Ottoman Empire to Poland in a diplomatic cortege as individual travel could have been 'disastrous and seriously dangerous.'⁴⁹⁷ Boscovich's travel report, dedicated to the former French ambassador in Istanbul- Charles de Vergennes, resembles in its narrative, structure, and practical outlay Franciszek Radzewski's travel diary of Leszczyński's mission to Istanbul (published 1744). Boscovich's travelogue has seen three editions, in French (1772), Italian (1784), and German (1789), all in quarto and chronological order, which made his travel account more accessible than Radzewski's Polish edition that was never translated. Boscovich's travelogue, intended for Western readers, and Radzewski's travelogue, aimed at the Polish-Lithuanian book market, were both, thanks to the in-quarto size and limited page number, intended as practical travel aids that could be taken along for travel and consulted on the way.

⁴⁹⁴ Bâki Asiltürk, "The Image of Europe and Europeans in Ottoman-Turkish Travel Writing," in *Venturing beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, and Caspar Hillebrand, Istanbul: Texte Und Studien; Bd. 30 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2013), 30–51; see also Mirza Sheikh I'tesamuddin, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, and Lutfullah Khan, *Exploring the West: Three Travel Narratives*, ed. Musherul Hasan (New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) for a Mughal travel narrative of eighteenth century Europe.

⁴⁹⁵ Said Efendi, "Takrir-i Mehmet Sait," 660–62.

⁴⁹⁶ R. P. Joseph Boscovich, *Journal d'un voyage de Constantinople en Pologne, fait à la suite de son Excellence Mr. Jaq. Porter, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre* (a Lausanne: chez Franç. Grasset et Comp., 1772); Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich, *Giornale di un viaggio da Costantinopoli in Polonia* (Basano: a spese Rimondini di Venezia, 1784); Joseph Boscovich, *Des Abt Joseph Boscovich Reise von Constantinopel, durch Romanien, Bulgarien, und die Moldau nach Lemberg in Pohlen, Aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit einigen Zusätzen begleitet, nebst einer Karte* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1789).

⁴⁹⁷ Boscovich, *Giornale di un viaggio da Costantinopoli in Polonia*, IV.

Boscovich's travel diary gave a detailed description of the journey between Istanbul and the Polish city of Lwów. In order to facilitate consultation, Boskovich indicated new place names with italics and put every new entry under a date header, exactly as in Radzewski's publication. Neither the original French edition, nor the Italian version, however, had a map that would allow the reader to easier imagine the traveled space. Later German editors 'found it a good idea to add a travel map to this German translation, which was not in the original'.⁴⁹⁸ In the end, the German editors also added a short description of the lands of Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldavia through which Boscovich traveled to Poland. The short, diary-like, and to-the-point descriptions of Boscovich's travel were not enough for the German editors. The map added to the German edition made consultation easier and allowed the readers to easily imagine the enormous spaces covered in Boscovich's trip (see illustration 20).

⁴⁹⁸ Boscovich, *Des Abt Joseph Bosconich Reise von Constantinopel*, 143.



Illustration 20: Boscovich’s travel map illustrating a typical trip from Istanbul to Poland-Lithuania. In red, the German editors marked Boscovich’s route and with clear colors delineated provinces and tributary states of the Ottoman Empire. Boscovich traveled almost exactly the same route as the Grand Ambassador Rafał Leszczyński in 1700. Boscovich, *Des Abt Joseph Boscovich Reise von Constantinopel*, map after 156; Ilona Czamańska, ed., *Poselstwo Rafała Leszczyńskiego do Turcji w 1700 roku: dziennik i inne materiały* (Leszno: Urząd Miasta Leszna, 1998), 136.

Boscovich and Radzewski clearly indicated that the best way to travel through Ottoman Europe was by joining a diplomatic cortege. The information about diplomats leaving for Istanbul or traveling back to Europe traveled fast and Leszczyński, for instance, was joined by ‘many young nobles from senatorial houses who volunteered to travel [with the envoy].’⁴⁹⁹ Jack Porter, on the other hand, traveled with the son of the Dutch ambassador Daniel de Hochepeid, with Boscovich and with Charles Hübsch, the son of Friedrich Hübsch – a Saxon resident in Istanbul, ‘who, apart from many other languages, speaks well in Turkish and Greek, and proved extremely useful during the entire trip because of his experience and spirit.’⁵⁰⁰ Boscovich’s and Radzewski’s travelogues introduced the travelers to the travel mean in order to focus later passed places and their descriptions. The chronological order of the

⁴⁹⁹ Radzewski, *Poselstwo wielkie Rafała Leszczyńskiego*, 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Boscovich, *Journal d’un voyage de Constantinople*, 35.

travelogues made the information retrieval easier to the readers. In both travel diaries, cursive marked new place names and thanks to that, readers found necessary information easier, without reading the entire travel diary.

The multiple editions of Boscovich's travel diary and the presence of Radzewski's travelogue in noble libraries in Poland-Lithuania, indicate that the eighteenth century saw an awakening of interest in practical information on how to travel in Ottoman Europe.⁵⁰¹ Practical knowledge was accessible to noble readership in Europe and Poland-Lithuania. Ottomans participated in the production of travelogues in the eighteenth century. Detailed *sefaretnames* produced in the eighteenth century quickly developed to form a pool of available information on European countries, their people, cities, and traditions. In contrast to Europeans, however, Ottomans circulated their travelogues exclusively in manuscript form. This, as I illustrated, did not mean that practical travel knowledge was not accessible to future Ottoman travelers. On the contrary, previous travelogues were conserved, copied, circulated, and consulted by new travelers getting ready for their trip to Poland-Lithuania or other European countries.

In the eighteenth-century, travelers crossed the boundaries between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire on a daily basis. The Ottoman and Polish travelers brought both cultures and societies closer together and their travelogues served as antecedents of modern travel guides.⁵⁰² Back at home, their travelogues served to inform armchair travelers and those interested in foreign countries; thanks to their travels and their reports, next generations of travelers could tap into ready sources of information. This curiosity grew to such an extent that the eighteenth century saw a new phenomenon of 'global women' –extremely mobile females traveling widely between Muslim and Christian lands of Europe–reporting on the Ottoman Empire and travels through Ottoman Europe. These remarkable women transcended cultural boundaries, traveled cross-culturally, and reported on their travels in marvelous writings that were well before their time. Two of the most prolific female writers, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Salomea Pilsztynowa, drafted their travelogues with the purpose of publication in mind. Their travelogues responded to the rising need among the readership for detailed information about travels within Ottoman Europe. Lady Mary's "Turkish Embassy Letters" found their way into print in 1763, a year after her death and quickly sold out.⁵⁰³ Salomea Pilsztynowa's "Echo of the Journey and My

⁵⁰¹ I came across Radzewski's travelogue in the provincial library of the Sanguszko family conserved today in Tarnów.

⁵⁰² For the development of guidebooks, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 48; Gerrit Verhoeven, "'Brought Together at Great Effort': The Place of Author, Publisher and Reader in the Genesis of the Early Modern Travel Guide," *Quaerendo* 34, no. 3–4 (2004): 240–253, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1570069043419335>.

⁵⁰³ Anita Desai, "Introduction," in *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Malcolm Jack, Reprint (London: Virago, 2009), XXV.

Live's Adventures,' drafted around the 1760s, appeared in print first in 1957, and just recently became available to a wider readership through a partial English translation.⁵⁰⁴

Lady Mary and Pilsztynowa were closely connected in their travels to the diplomatic world of Istanbul. Montagu traveled to Istanbul with her husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, appointed as English ambassador in 1717; Pilsztynowa, as a young girl of fourteen, married the Lutheran ophthalmologist Jacob Halpir and traveled with him to Istanbul. Lady Mary and Pilsztynowa quickly became involved with Ottoman elites, although in different circumstances: the first socialized with Ottoman woman, often in Turkish baths, during the time of her husband's appointment, the second abandoned by her husband, learned his profession, the Turkish language, and started working as an oculist herself.⁵⁰⁵ Lady Mary gave her readers plausible descriptions of Ottoman society and Ottoman women in particular; Salomea lived and worked in the world of Ottoman women. Their travelogues served as a guide and window into Ottoman society and as travel guides, although admittedly, Lady Mary described the practicalities of travel only in passing.

Salomea, as a woman, had access to the harems of Ottoman officials, traveled soon out of Istanbul, and found an appointment in the harem of Ahmed Köprülü, Ottoman governor of the Rumelia province. A restless spirit, she soon traveled back to Istanbul, and in the 1750s, she became an oculist in Eski Saray, the old palace inhabited by wives of former Ottoman sultans. Pilsztynowa, a skilled traveler, furnished in her memoir-cum-travelogue detailed and vivid descriptions of several travels between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire. Like in the case of Lady Mary's letters, Pilsztynowa intended her book not just as a curiosum and an assembly of first-hand narratives but also as a practical guide to travelers embarking on a trip to Istanbul. Thanks to their publication, Lady Mary's short and practical info on travel, usually not exceeding two or three lines, as well as her curiosity and novel perspective on Ottoman women, inspired generations of male and female travelers. Pilsztynowa, less of a literary figure and rather a practical traveler, drafted a much more comprehensive travel instruction for future travelers.

Pilsztynowa composed her diary in 1760, after conducting a trip to Egypt and Jerusalem. At the end of her memoir-cum-travelogue, she added a practical instruction for travelers 'according to the truth [and] describing the ease of travel to Jerusalem:'

'After coming to Hotin on the Turkish border, the one who wants to have a higher level of security should go to the Ppasha with a small gift and ask him for a passport and for *menzil* (this

⁵⁰⁴ Pilsztynowa, *Proceder podróży*; Regina Salomea z Rusieckich Pilsztynowa, *The Istanbul Memories in Salomea Pilsztynowa's Diary "Echo of the Journey and Adventures of My Life" (1760)*, ed. Paulina D. Dominik (Bonn: Max Weber Stiftung, 2017).

⁵⁰⁵ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, "Na tropach Salomei Reginy Pilsztynowej: glosa do zyciorysu," in *W cieniu wojen i rozbiorów: studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej XVIII i początków XIX wieku*, ed. Urszula Kosińska, Dorota Dukwicz, and Adam Danilczyk, Prace Instytutu Historycznego UW (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2014), 218.

is post horses) and the pasha is always happy to help the neighbors. After getting that from Hotin [the traveler] will reach Iași in five days. In Iași [the traveler] should go to the Prince of Moldavia, who will be ruling over Moldavia at this time and should ask him for the same, passport and post horses to Bucharest, and this Prince will easily do that, and will give a passport and horses. And those who want to have a higher esteem and honor, should have introductory letters from the Grand Crown hetman, because the Princes of Moldavia and Walachia have the Polish lords in high esteem and it is possible to write to them in many different languages, because they always have their secretaries who can write well in Latin, Polish or French etc. From Iași to Bucharest the road is good and safe; it is the main road. [The traveler] should reach Bucharest in eight days of slow travel. From Bucharest to Giurgiu, a Turkish city on the Danube it is a one day travel. In Giurgiu, it is possible to take post horses, and Giurgiu is a capital for all carters; and there is the customary price of thirty Dutch lion thalers for a good cart with a pair of horses all the way to Istanbul. From there [to Istanbul] it takes between fifteenth and eighteenth days of travel. I traveled this way from the God's grace a few times in my young age. [...]

The one who wants to travel on the sea will arrive sooner and cheaper, since from Hotin to the city of Kilia on the Black Sea coast it is just eight days of travel, and there [the traveler] can board a merchant's ship, the travel to Istanbul costs just one Dutch lion thaler per person and [the traveler] will arrive in just three days. [...] As a woman, I was a few times on the sea but nothing happened to me thanks to God's grace.⁵⁰⁶

Entangled in the world of diplomacy and Ottoman elites, Pilsztynowa provided her future readers with detailed instructions on how to travel to Istanbul. Her methods of privileged travel with letters of recommendation were used by merchants and noble travelers journeying without company. Pilsztynowa's travelogue and Lady Mary's letters signal a new age of travel in the Ottoman Empire. From the eighteenth

⁵⁰⁶ „Na przykład przyjechawszy do Chocimia na turecką granicę i kto chce wielkie mieć bezpieczeństwo, niechże pójdzie do paszy i zanieś my jaki prezencik, i prosi go o paszport i o menzyl (to jest o pocztę) i zawsze pasza rad uczynić ludziom sąsiedzki, tedy otrzymawszy to z Chocimia za pięć dni zajędzie do Jas. W Jasach poszedłszy do księcia jaskiego, który natenczas będzie miał władzę nad ziemią moldawską, i także go o to prosić, żeby dał paszport i pocztę do Bukaresztu, i ten książę łatwo uczyni, i da paszport i pocztę. A kto sobie chce lepszą powagę i honor uczynić, ten niech ma instacjonalne listy od j. w. hetmana wielkiego koronnego, gdyż książę wołoski i książę multański mają w bardzo wielkiej konsyderacyi panów polskich i można do nich pisać różnymi językami, bo mają zawsze u dworów swoich sekretarzy dobrze umiętnych po łacinie, po polsku, po fracusku etc. Tedy z Jas do Bukaresztu jest dobra droga i bezpieczna, walny gościniec. Za dni osiem powoli jadąc zajędzie. Z Bukaresztu dzień jazdy do Griorgiewa, miasta tureckiego nad Dunajem. Aż do Giorgiewa poczta służy, a w Giorgiewie jest stolca na furmanów i jest zwyczaj, że za wóz dobry z parą koni daje się lewów trzydzieści aż do samego Stambułu. Tam jazdy zazwyczaj dni piętnaście lub osiemnaście bardzo bezpiecznie i ładny kraj. Ja tę drogę z łaski P. Boga kilka razy przejechałam w moim młodym wieku. [...] Kto chce morzem jechać, to jeszcze prędzej i z mniejszym kosztem zajędzie, bo c Chocimia do Miasta Kili nad Morzem Czarnym będącego jest tylko jazdy dni osiem, a tam siadłszy na okręt kupiecki, od jednego czleka daje się tylko lewa do Stambułu i za trzy zajędzie dni.” Pilsztynowa, *Proceder podróży*, 269–70. This passage was not included in Dominik's translation.

century on, travels in the Ottoman Europe became more common. Not only diplomats and young gentlemen on a Grand Tour but also women ventured to the Ottoman capital and beyond.

This chapter illustrated my claim that the southern Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire were organically connected in the eighteenth century. Travelers regularly followed the roads between Warsaw and Istanbul and Ottoman travel writing about Poland as well as Polish writing about the Ottoman Empire became more extensive, detailed and information-oriented. The travelogues drafted by diplomats functioned as antecedents of modern travel guides. Future travelers used them to extract information useful for designing a new diplomatic mission or other unofficial travel. As I suggested in this chapter young nobles from Poland-Lithuania included the Ottoman Empire in their itinerary of the Grand Tour that extended beyond the French Revolution and persisted well into the nineteenth century. Upon their arrival in Istanbul Flor, Starzyński or Xavery entered the European salons of Istanbul and participated in the European sociability that involved extensive alcohol consumption, dancing with Greek women and regular lunches and dinners at European embassies. The next chapter addresses the sociability issue.

Chapter 6: Sociability in the Diplomatic Milieu of Pera in the Eighteenth Century

Introduction

On 1 February 1733, Polish envoy Józef Sierakowski greeted the Venetian bailo, Angelo Emo at the Polish embassy. Emo arrived at the Polish embassy on the Bosphorus with his court of altogether twenty-seven caiques. Sierakowski and his court were not the only ones to greet Emo, but also Ali Ağa, an Ottoman official who had befriended the Polish envoy and was regularly at the Polish embassy in Bakırköy. The celebrations started with the ceremonial entry of Emo into the building and culminated in a dazzling wine tasting. Sierakowski's chamberlain offered the guests wine not in the usual glasses, but in large buckets. The effect was obvious. At the end of the celebrations, Emo was unable to walk himself to the pier and his servants had to carry him.⁵⁰⁷ This kind of excessive European sociability in the presence of Ottomans transpired on a regular basis during the time of Sierakowski's mission to Istanbul. Just a few days before, and in the presence of Ali Ağa, too, the French ambassador, Louis de Villeneuve, visited the Polish embassy with the same outcome. This chapter deals with this (and other) types of diplomatic sociability.

On 19 October 1910, Georg Simmel held a lecture in Frankfurt am Main on the sociology of sociability. Simmel interpreted the desire of humans to interact with each other as an important factor in the society-building process.⁵⁰⁸ He defined sociability as a 'play-form of associations' and pointed it out as an important factor in the dialectic tensions between the individual and the society. According to Simmel, sociability provides individuals with the feeling of belonging, and sociable behaviors are usually found between social equals. Simmel also pointed towards the main problem –so amply visible in historiography– that, namely, 'everything may be subsumed under sociability which one can call sociological play-form.'⁵⁰⁹ To explain his understanding of sociable behaviors, Simmel used the example of coquetry 'which finds in sociability its lightest, most playful, and yet its widest realization.'

The word sociability, 'meaning the tendency of humans to embrace "society" as the essential framework of their lives', is French and traveled from the French 'Encyclopédie' into all romance languages: English, German and even Turkish.⁵¹⁰ Starting in the 1960s, the concept of sociability has been

⁵⁰⁷ Dariusz Sierakowski, 28 I 1733, 1 II 1733, 76-77, 81-82.

⁵⁰⁸ Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Sociability," *American Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 3 (1949): 254–61.

⁵⁰⁹ Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Sociability," *American Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 3 (1949): 258.

⁵¹⁰ Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017), 52; Giuliana Gemelli and Maria Malatesta, "Sociabilità e storia nella storiografia francese contemporanea," *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea* 9, no. 4 (1980): 596; for the Spanish historiography see Jordi Canal, "La storiografia della sociabilità in Spagna," *Passato e Presente* 34 (1995): 151–64; Lilti does not date it precisely, apart from stating that it is an eighteenth century phenomenon: Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 211–12; English translation of Lilti's book is totally wrong and translates "XVIIIe siècle" on the mentioned pages as seventeenth century Antoine Lilti, *The World of the Salons*:

increasingly used in social sciences and historiography to ‘analyze the processes of politicization, trace the history of the phenomenon of association, study provincial academies, and describe intellectual networks.’⁵¹¹ In France, Germany, Spain or Italy, historians have been using the concept of sociability to study the history of literature, forms of aristocratic get-togethers, and consumption patterns.⁵¹² In Polish historiography, studies of sociability in the eighteenth century are non-existent and are subsumed, for the early modern period, under the categories of every-day life or customs and habit studies.⁵¹³ In Ottoman studies, the concept of sociability has been used for some time now, and studies on sociable substances (coffee and tobacco), spaces and activities (coffeehouses, brothels, meetings in private houses organized by Ottoman men and women, picnicking in parks or boat trips on the Bosphorus) are booming.⁵¹⁴ The overtone is on stimulants, coffee, and tobacco, the bread and butter of early modern Ottoman sociability. Finally, recent studies in the new diplomatic history developed an ample interest in the diplomatic sociability in Istanbul as well.⁵¹⁵ None of the discussed studies, neither those on the Spanish tertulia, nor

Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 124; see also Yair Mintzker, “‘A Word Newly Introduced into Language’: The Appearance and Spread of ‘Social’ in French Enlightened Thought, 1745-1765,” *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (2008): 511, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2008.03.003> who studies the vocabulary and confronts it with usage by historians.

⁵¹¹ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 6.

⁵¹² Eva Velasco Moreno, *La Real Academia de la Historia en el siglo XVIII: una institución de sociabilidad*, Historia de la sociedad política (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000); Andreas Gelz, *Tertulia: Literatur und Soziabilität im Spanien des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Cuestión palpitante. Siglos XVIII y XIX en España ; v. 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2006); Elisa Novi Chavarría, “Forme e spazi della sociabilità aristocratica napoletana nel Settecento,” in *Sociabilità aristocratica in età moderna: il caso genovese: paradigmi, interpretazioni e confronti*, ed. Roberto Bizzocchi and Arturo Pacini, Quaderni del Dipartimento di storia, Università di Pisa ; 1 (Pisa: PLUS-Pisa University Press, 2008), 73–86; Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Macht, Emotion und Geselligkeit: Studien zur Soziabilität in Deutschland 1500-1900*, Geschichte (Franz Steiner Verlag) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009); Brian Cowan, “Public Spaces, Knowledge, and Sociability,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 252–66.

⁵¹³ Marek Ferenc, “Czasz nowożytny,” in *Obyczaje w Polsce: od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*, ed. Andrzej Chwalba (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2004), 162–64; Renata Galaj, *Życie codzienne szlachty polskiej w okresie sarmatyzmu*, Wyd. 1., Rozprawy i studia (Uniwersytet Szczeciński) ; t. 365 (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 1998), 28.

⁵¹⁴ The literature is enormous; I give here only a sample Cemal Kafadar, “How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Volume 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–69; Ahmet Yaşar, “The Coffeehouses in Early Modern Istanbul: Public Space, Sociability and Surveillance” (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2000); Cengiz Kırılı, “Coffeehouses: Leisure and Sociability in Ottoman Istanbul,” in *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe, c.1700-1870: A Transnational Perspective*, ed. Peter Borsay and Jan Hein Furnée, Studies in Popular Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 161–81; Dana Sajdi, ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007); Shirine Hamadeh, “Garden Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul,” in *Gardens, City Life, and Culture: A World Tour*, ed. Wangheng Chen and Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection ; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008), 88–108; François Georgeon and Paul Dumont, eds., *Vivre dans l’Empire ottoman: sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*, Collection Histoire et perspectives méditerranéennes (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997); John Grehan, “Smoking and ‘Early Modern’ Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 1, 2006): 1352–77, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.111.5.1352>; Arus Yumul, “A Prostitute Lodging in the Bosom of Turkishness: Istanbul’s Pera and Its Representation,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30, no. 1 (February 2009): 57–72, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802579444>.

⁵¹⁵ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), chaps. 3: European-Ottoman sociability in Istanbul; David Do Paço, “A Social History of Trans-Imperial Diplomacy in a Crisis Context: Herbert von Rathkeal’s Circles of Belonging in Pera, 1779–1802,” *The International History Review*, June 18, 2018, 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2018.1482940>; Christine Vogel, “Der Sonnekönig an der Hohen Pforte: Herrschaftsrepräsentation und diplomatische Soziabilität im Palais de France im

those on the Parisian salons or the Turkish coffeehouses, attempt to define, however, what the early modern sociability was or present a working definition. As such, sociability is a buzzword that needs a working definition to make it an analytical tool in historical research.

It is undeniable that sociability as a historical concept is associated with new forms of socializing in the eighteenth and nineteenth century: the Spanish tertulia, the French salon, or the Italian salotto. At the crossroads between public and private space, all these forms of sociable behavior imply a connection with the man of letters, literary or artistic production, and knowledge exchange. Sociability as a concept is inherently connected with inter-human and often cross-cultural gatherings facilitated by the consumption of stimulants (alcohol, coffee, tea), foodstuffs and various forms of entertainment (conversing, gambling, dancing, listening to concerts and readings). This corresponds to Simmel's understanding of sociability and the main example he provided to explain it, namely coquetry, 'which finds in sociability its lightest, most playful, and yet its widest realization.'⁵¹⁶ Implicitly present in almost all past studies on sociability is also its understanding as a leisure and voluntary activity. Sociable behaviors in the eighteenth century were –to use a term coined by American sociologist John R. Kelly– 'socially intense' meaning that the level of physical activity was low, whereas the level of social interaction was at its highest. But sociable behaviors also included trips, excursions, and other touristic activities that Kelly identifies as 'doubly intense leisure' that mixed high level of action with intense communication.⁵¹⁷ Diplomatic sociability in the eighteenth century, however, was above all connected to the creation of a new sociable space: the salon.

In a recent study on the history of the salons, Antoine Lilti made a thoroughly researched and multifaceted contribution to the history of the French sociability and worldliness (*sociabilité et mondaineté*) in the eighteenth century. Lilti provided a detailed analysis of the Parisian salons as originating from court culture, and indicated that, contrary to the common understanding, (accepted for instance by Dena Goodman) salons did not always evolve around women, but women and men organized them in cooperation, and sometimes only men successfully led salons.⁵¹⁸ Lilti suggested too that the salons were far from being peaceful sites of sociability between high nobility, financiers, and men of letters. On the contrary, symbolic violence, ridiculousness and humiliations kept those that aspired to join the 'beau

Konstantinopel," in *Interkulturelle Ritualpraxis in der Vormoderne : diplomatische Interaktion an den östlichen Grenzen der Fürstengesellschaft* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2016), 123–43; see also Bekir Harun Küçük, "Early Enlightenment in Istanbul" (Ph.D., UC San Diego, 2012), 12–13.

⁵¹⁶ Simmel, "The Sociology of Sociability," 1949, 258.

⁵¹⁷ For Kelly's model of socially intense, and doubly intense leisure see John Robert Kelly, *Freedom to Be: A New Sociology of Leisure* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 30.

⁵¹⁸ Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 67–68; Lilti's work is hotly debated in the historiography. See the review by Elena Russo, "Review of 'The World of the Salons: Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris,'" *Reviews in History*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.14296/RiH/2014/2041> I thank Matthew MacDonald from Princeton University for making me aware of this review; Cf. Dena Goodman, "Filial Rebellion in the Salon: Madame Geoffrin and Her Daughter," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989): 30, <https://doi.org/10.2307/286432>.

monde' in check.⁵¹⁹ Far from the ideal of a sociable site dominated by equality in conversation, salons were places of painful contestation of each other's status, and were dominated by the high nobility. Still, the salons were a melting pot, where court etiquette did not apply, where wit was used as capital and where one could fight his way to appreciation and acceptance. Based on new sources from the *Contrôle des étrangers*, Lilti remarked that diplomats participated with astonishing regularity in the Parisian salons, acted as intermediaries for compatriots visiting Paris, and sometimes started their own salons.⁵²⁰

The new sociable spaces traveled in the memoirs, letters and luggage of young Polish nobles that frequented the best salons of Paris and were transplanted with adjustments in new circumstances. Some of those voyagers, including the young Mniszech brothers, toured the Ottoman Empire before they embarked on a classical Grand Tour and talked with Voltaire and other prominent figures.⁵²¹ Polish nobles adopted the new sociable space of the salon, but not without significant changes and new implementations best exemplified by the Polish embassy in Istanbul. At the building of the Polish embassy in Istanbul, the envoys created a curious mixture of French, Polish and Ottoman forms of sociability. First of all, the envoys entered the regulated and clear patterns of European sociability in Pera, existent there since at least the second half of the seventeenth century. These included circulating lunches, dinners and concerts, given by one envoy or ambassador to the others on a fixed day of the week. As the opening postcard of this chapter illustrates, Ottomans were not excluded from these get-togethers. However, these rendezvous included a consumption of massive amounts of alcohol and therefore, alcohol was the key excluding element. After digging through extensive sources, I was unable to find descriptions of any high-ranking Ottomans drinking alcohol at the building of the Polish embassy in Istanbul and, as we can assume, the envoys would have been eager to report on any such incidents back home as an instance of cultural victory over the always sober Ottomans. It is much easier to find drinking Ottomans on diplomatic missions in Europe like, for instance, Yirmisekizade Mehmed Said Efendi in Paris, who chased French noblewomen through the parks of Paris and liked wine.⁵²²

European-Ottoman sociability was not limitless.⁵²³ The limiting aspects included not only the enormous consumption of alcohol by Europeans that brought many a diplomat to bankruptcy, but also simple language barriers. Russians in eighteenth-century Paris, as Lilti indicated, tended to often socialize in the Russian embassy and foreigners in general 'gathered together in groups defined by nationality.'⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁹ Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 151–55.

⁵²⁰ Lilti, 126–33.

⁵²¹ Marek Bratuń, "Paris aux yeux des jeunes Sarmates éclairés en 1766-1767 d'après une correspondance inédite de Joseph et Michel-Georges Mniszech," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 371 (1999): 257–74; Bratuń, *Ten nykwintny, nykształcony Europejczyk*, 40, fn. 11.

⁵²² Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 42.

⁵²³ Cf. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 65–66; For a similar argument, see Vogel, "Der Sonnekönig an der Hohen Pforte," 129, fn. 27.

⁵²⁴ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 68.

This was not much different than in Istanbul and diplomats or their suit members who, like Benoe, could easily converse in Turkish belonged to an absolute minority. Similarly, up until the late eighteenth century, the number of Ottomans able to converse freely in French was minuscule.⁵²⁵ Yirmisekizade Mehmed Said Efendi, upon an appointment as an ambassador to Sweden, visited the Polish envoy Sierakowski and the latter remarked that ‘this gentle, gracious man speaks splendid French’, which certainly made his communication easier.⁵²⁶ Said Efendi’s multilingualism, however, was an exception and not a rule.⁵²⁷

This is not to say that European-Ottoman friendships were not possible and that European and Ottoman concepts of friendship were irreconcilable.⁵²⁸ On the contrary, as John-Paul Ghobrial suggested, even if the Europeans and Ottomans ‘could not understand each other’s language, they were connected by the networks of people –dragomans, doctors, servants, scribes, renegades, and other agents– who were in constant motion between Ottoman and European households.’⁵²⁹ Stanisław Poniatowski, a young and talented Polish noble and diplomat, is the embodiment of a European able to cultivate friendships with Ottomans, without almost any command of Turkish. Poniatowski, who ended up on Ottoman soil with the Swedish king Charles XII and Benoe, skillfully adjusted to new cultural codes, changed costumes from Polish to French to Turkish, and conversed with Ottomans through a translator. Poniatowski enchanted Ottomans with his charisma and with his rapid adjustments to the Ottoman culture; advised by the Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Pasha to dress in the Ottoman style as this would allow him to move more freely in Istanbul, he swapped his costume to an Ottoman one and presented himself to the Grand Vizier in the new dress. Ali Pasha was so surprised that he offered to pay for Poniatowski’s travel costs.⁵³⁰ Nevertheless, behavior such as Poniatowski’s required going out of the European bubble in Istanbul, a choice not made by most Europeans in Istanbul. The language barrier was a hard obstacle to overcome.

Istanbul was, of course, not Paris and many of the rules that applied to European sociable spaces did not work in the Ottoman capital. The relations between European diplomats in Istanbul were overwhelmingly friendly across the confessional and ethnic borders and diplomats and their households socialized and created a distinct sociable space – the diplomatic salon of Istanbul.⁵³¹ What were the

⁵²⁵ Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 20, 44–45.

⁵²⁶ Dariusz Sierakowski, 13 XI 1732.

⁵²⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst, 1998), 35.

⁵²⁸ Classical notions of friendship are based on widely read Cicero’s *De amicitia* David Garrioch, “From Christian Friendship to Secular Sentimentality: Enlightenment Re-Evaluations,” in *Friendship: A History*, ed. Barbara Caine, Critical Histories of Subjectivity and Culture (London ; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub, 2008), 168; on the Ottoman concept of male friendship with focus on relations between young beardless boys and Ottomans see Delice, “Friendship, Sociability, and Masculinity in the Ottoman Empire,” 108–9.

⁵²⁹ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 87.

⁵³⁰ Stanisław Poniatowski, “Le journal d’une frère d’armes de Charles XII,” ed. Serge Gorianov, *Revue contemporaine*, no. 7 (September 5, 1910): 24; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *İsveç Kralı XII Karl’ın Türkiyede kâlişi ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, 1943), 137–38.

⁵³¹ Conflicts usually occurred between commoners and diplomats solved them avoiding Ottoman intermediation Julia Landweber, “Venetian Vagabonds and Furious Frenchmen: Nationalist and Cosmopolitan Impulses among Europeans in

characteristics of this space? Meeting at European embassies on a rotating basis, Istanbul salons were highly hierarchical and executed with punctuality. The European embassies were, as I suggest earlier in this chapter, the space of diplomatic and European sociability par excellence. Every diplomat, including Benoe and other Polish envoys, was expected to organize sumptuous lunches, dinners and concerts and provide for them – a rather heavy financial burden. The spatial proximity of ambassadorial complexes in Pera in the eighteenth century created a diplomatic district in Pera that encouraged and made this sociability possible. In this chapter, I trace the European embassies in Istanbul and the diplomatic salons of Istanbul staged on fixed days of the week by every envoy. I start from mapping the European embassies in Pera in order to study the European sociability in Istanbul found in rich diplomatic diaries. After that, I move on to the Ottoman-Polish encounters that in the eighteenth century had a visible limit. I suggest that Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles in Istanbul met mostly within the confines of the ceremonial and that the diplomat's sociability focused their own household and on other Europeans. In the last part of this chapter, I focus on Benoe's court in Istanbul and demonstrate that two dominant groups (young nobles and merchants and commercial agents) built the core of Benoe's court. Benoe's sociability in Istanbul evolved around those young nobles and his court.

The Diplomatic Sociability in Istanbul

The diplomatic world of Istanbul in the eighteenth century is an excellent example for the study of sociability. The historiography has focused, traditionally, on European-Ottoman ceremonial encounters, cultural translations, or classical grand narratives of political history.⁵³² Only recently have historians –among others, Eric Dursteler, E. Nathalie Rothman, John-Paul Ghobrial and Christine Vogel– drawn our attention to the importance of intra-European and European-Ottoman sociability and networks within the diplomatic circles of Istanbul.⁵³³ These new cultural and social approaches to

Galata,” *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014): 202; on the European solidarity see Alexander H. Groot, “Dragomans’ Careers: The Change of Status in Some Families Connected with the British and Dutch Embassies in Istanbul, 1785-1829,” in *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. de Groot, and Maurits H. van den Boogert (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2000), 224.

⁵³² For an example of traditional diplomatic history see: Gerard Rudolf Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations during the Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte, 1726-1744* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1975); for an example of diplomatic history focused on ceremonial see: Christine Vogel, “Der Marquis, das Sofa und der Grosswesir: zu Funktion und Medialität interkultureller diplomatischer Zeremonien in der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Die Audienz: ritualisierter Kulturkontakt in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Burschel and Christine Vogel (Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 221–46.

⁵³³ Apart from previously cited works see Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Eric Dursteler, “A Continual Tavern in My House: Food and Diplomacy in Early Modern Constantinople,” in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, ed. Machtelt Israëls and Louis Alexander Waldman, Villa I Tatti (Series) 29 (Florence, Italy: Villa I Tatti, 2013); Rothman, *Brokering Empire*; Rosanne Baars, “Constantinople Confidential: News and Information in the Diary of Jean-Louis Rigo (c. 1686-1756), Secretary of the Dutch Embassy in Istanbul,” *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources* 41, no. 1 (2014): 143–171, <https://doi.org/10.2143/LIAS.41.2.3064605>.

diplomatic history have drawn our attention to the European news networks that Istanbul was a part of. In a recent excellent study based on a daily diary produced in the Dutch embassy in Istanbul, Rosanne Baars suggested that European diplomats in Istanbul relied heavily on the Istanbulite Levantine community for information.⁵³⁴ As I illustrate below, the Levantine Christians (Christian subjects of the Sultan of European origin) belonged to the list of regular guests to the Polish embassy in Istanbul; merchants, missionaries, monks, priests, janissaries, and local women visited the embassy, dined and dances with Polish nobles, and brought and received news.⁵³⁵ The intra-European sociability in Istanbul was limitless; the European-Ottoman sociability was rather not. In another recent study on diplomatic sociability in Pera, Christine Vogel suggested (based on a French example situated in the 1670s) that ‘Ottomans appeared in the Palais de France only occasionally and in informal contexts.’⁵³⁶ This might be connected with the character of diplomatic dispatches which are used as a main source by historians.

Benoe produced dispatches along the lines of letter-writing handbooks, local tastes and expectations. Benoe accustomed himself with former diplomat’s dispatches and diaries and read printed or handwritten diaries of former diplomats in order to collect information as well as to learn how to write. Benoe also read French handbooks and other publications on the art of writing letters.⁵³⁷ Back in Poland-Lithuania, nobles read, copied and disseminated diplomatic dispatches that Benoe and other Polish diplomats sent from Istanbul. The nobles expected Benoe to produce an account fitting the local cultural code.⁵³⁸ Benoe, Podoski and other Polish envoys played the crucial role of cultural translators who deciphered, decoded and elucidated the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul in order to appease the curiosity of a wider noble readership back at home. The nobles expected descriptions of intra-European and European-Ottoman sociability that could boast the glory not only of the Polish-Saxon kings, but the Polish nobility in particular. This is why the diplomatic dispatches and diaries that I discuss below are filled with descriptions of diplomatic sociability.

In the Ottoman Empire, diplomats had the protected status of *müstemins* (temporary non-Muslim subjects of non-Muslim rulers) bearing *aman* (safe-conduct).⁵³⁹ Benoe rode on horseback, used coaches pulled by six horses, and possibly, like Podoski, visited aqueducts, Orthodox churches, and mosques and

⁵³⁴ Baars, “Constantinople Confidential,” 145.

⁵³⁵ For the Levantine community in Istanbul, see recently Do Paço, “Circles of Belonging in Pera,” 10–13; Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Levantiner: Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich im “langen 19. Jahrhundert,”* Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122 (München: Oldenbourg, 2005), 53–61 for the concept of Levantines.

⁵³⁶ Vogel, “Der Sonnekönig an der Hohen Pforte,” 129, fn. 27.

⁵³⁷ ‘Inventory composed after the death of My Beloved Husband, His Sincere Pawel on Bursztyn and Rogoźno Benoe’, Bursztyn, 20 VIII 1755, SL, fond 145, part 1, ms 101, part 14, f. 19v (two copies of unidentified ‘Commerce de lettres’ and other volumes of published correspondence).

⁵³⁸ Peter Burke, “Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe,” in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9.

⁵³⁹ Edhem Eldem, “Foreigners on the Threshold of Felicity: The Reception of Foreigners in Ottoman Istanbul,” in *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400 - 1700*, ed. Donatella Calabi, Stephen Turk Christensen, and Robert Muchembled, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 117–18.

behaved much as in his own country. The intra-European solidarity provided diplomats in Istanbul with support from other diplomats who, in cases of mistreatment, intervened and protested to avoid a precedent that could negatively influence the entire diplomatic community of Istanbul. By the eighteenth century, all European diplomats had freedom of movement in and around Istanbul.⁵⁴⁰ They resided in a diplomatic district on the hills in the vineyards of Pera which allowed them to loosen the Ottoman control and easily socialize with one another and with Ottoman subjects. The quite freely located diplomatic district of Pera was organically connected to Galata, a major ‘Frank’ center and port city. Both of Pera and Galata, by the eighteenth century, were islands of European culture in the middle of the Muslim Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴¹ The diplomatic district of Pera with its embassies located within walking distance from one another created a unique atmosphere for European sociability and made it possible.

Exploring the Space(s) of European Sociability in Istanbul

The sociability of diplomats living and working in the Ottoman domains was remarkable. The spatial proximity of ambassadorial residences in the urban space of Pera marked and facilitated diplomatic and intra-European sociability in Istanbul. This proximity, and therefore accessibility, of the ambassadorial quarters, boosted and increased occasions for sociability in Istanbul. Benoe and other Polish envoys joined the intra-European sociability of Istanbul immediately upon their arrival. The presence of the Polish king’s resident, from the Hübsch family, facilitated this process. The Levantine Hübsch family acted as an intermediary for Benoe; they introduced him to the European circles of Pera and provided him with indispensable advice. Benoe, however, did not arrive in Istanbul alone. His diplomatic cortege outnumbered all permanent ambassadorial households in Istanbul and this was also the case with other Polish missions in eighteenth century Istanbul. Benoe’s massive diplomatic train created a social world on its own, a world strongly connected to Benoe’s patronage strategies.

Polish embassies arriving in Istanbul were of considerable size. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Perot Catholic community of Istanbul never exceeded three to four hundred souls.⁵⁴² To juxtapose the image it suffices to state that ordinary envoyships from Poland-Lithuania consisted usually

⁵⁴⁰ Fariba Zarinebaf, “Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century,” *Review of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 01 (2012): 80, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2151348100003025>.

⁵⁴¹ Edhem Eldem represents the opposite of mine and Fariba Zarinebaf’s interpretation of a relative freedom of European sociability in Istanbul and instead suggests that the vision of a ‘European’ Galata and Pera is a projection of nineteenth century realities into the past and is anachronistic. Both mine and Zarinebaf’s research does not support this view. Cf. Edhem Eldem, “A Vision Beyond Nostalgia: The Ethnic Structure of Galata,” *Biannual Istanbul* 1 (1993): 28–33; Edhem Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripherized Capital,” ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, *Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 135–206.

⁵⁴² Laura Elisabeth Binz, “Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650-1760: Between Local Religious Culture and Confessional Determination” (Ph.D., European University Institute, 2013), 41.

of one hundred-fifty to two-hundred people and grand ambassadorships reached hundreds of people.⁵⁴³ Concurrently, the permanent Dutch embassy in Istanbul counted around forty people while the largest household of the Venetian *bailo* reached the number of one hundred souls.⁵⁴⁴ From this perspective, the incoming Polish diplomats with their massive trains contributed immensely to the local European society. This was even more so in the eighteenth-century when European embassies relocated to Pera.

The French embassy was the first to move to Pera in the 1530s and others followed suit.⁵⁴⁵ By the end of the eighteenth-century, most of the diplomatic representations in Istanbul were in Pera, along the Grand Rue du Pera (today's İstiklal Caddesi), where they created a diplomatic quartier. The great fire of 1709, which consumed most of the wooden architecture, facilitated the sociability of diplomats even further as diplomats rebuilt their embassies closer together. The Dutch built their large embassy complex –for instance– on a plot neighboring the French ambassador's residence and the French interpreter's house.⁵⁴⁶ The French ambassador's embassy was close to them on the Grand Rue de Pera and the ambassador de Bonnac rebuild it in the 1720s with a lofty ambassador's mansion built *alla turca*.⁵⁴⁷ The Dutch and French household members could have simply walked to each other's buildings as the embassies were located door-to-door (see illustration 21). Nearby was the Venetian bailate, a large structure encircled by a stone wall and surrounded by houses of dragomans and European merchants. In walking distance from the Venetian bailate was also the Swedish, Russian and Neapolitan embassy in the early 1740s.⁵⁴⁸ A little further away was the ever-changing-spot of the British ambassador.⁵⁴⁹ Close to it was the newly established competing embassies of Prussia and (with only ephemeral presence) Denmark.⁵⁵⁰ All the embassies were in fact in walking distance from one another which made diplomatic sociability possible. (see illustration 22)

Benoe and other Polish envoys settled usually in the Pera district, in proximity to other embassies.⁵⁵¹ Unfortunately, the location of their houses is not always mentioned in the sources, apart from cases when diplomats got in trouble. In a usual case, the Ottomans assigned Polish diplomats the

⁵⁴³ See more below in the section on diplomat's cortege.

⁵⁴⁴ Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity*, 119.

⁵⁴⁵ Paolo Girardelli, "Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 50 (2014): 29–58, doi:10.1017/S0896634600006579.

⁵⁴⁶ Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity*, 115–16.

⁵⁴⁷ Jean-Michel Casa, *Le Palais de France à Istanbul: un demi-millénaire d'alliance entre la Turquie et la France=İstanbul'da bir Fransız Sarayı: Fransa ile Türkiye arasında 500 yıllık ittifak* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), 25.

⁵⁴⁸ Tommaso Bertelè, *Il Palazzo degli ambasciatori di Venezia a Costantinopoli e le sue antiche memorie: Ricerche storiche con documenti inediti e 185 illustrazioni* (Bologna: Casa Editrice Apollo, 1932), 278, plate 137.

⁵⁴⁹ On problems with establishing new sits of the English ambassador: Nigel Webb and Caroline Webb, *The Earl and His Butler in Constantinople: The Secret Diary of an English Servant among the Ottomans*, New ed. (London: Tauris, 2009), 20–21; cf. Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 166–67.

⁵⁵⁰ Helmuth Scheel, *Preussens Diplomatie in der Türkei 1721-1774* (Berlin & Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1931), 10–12.

⁵⁵¹ Jan Reychman, "Rzekoma siedziba ambasady dawnej Rzeczypospolitej w Stambule," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951): 399–414.

houses of recently deposed Ottoman or Phanariot officials. In August 1735, Ottomans forceably removed Jan Stadnicki, the Polish resident in Istanbul, from his quarters. Two Turks lifted him in the air and threw him on a cart covered with hay in front of the French Palace as Stadnicki's lodgings were close by. The Habsburg and Russian ambassadors watched this situation personally, and went to Sierakowski's embassy on foot.⁵⁵² It is highly probable that the houses of Benoe in 1742 and later envoys were also located close to other ambassadorial buildings on the Grand Rue de Pera. Usually, sources mention that to reach the other embassies, envoys went for a short walk and did not need any other means of transportation. Polish diplomats' trains were so large, however, that generally, Ottomans lodged only diplomats with close companions in a palace on the Grand Rue de Pera. In 1759, for instance, Ottomans gave Podoski and his cortege a palace and seven other guest houses (*bans*) spread around the city.

In the course of the early modern period, the ambassadorial buildings in Pera created a diplomatic district that made the sociability possible.⁵⁵³ In 1671, Antoine Galland, the famous translator of 'A Thousand and One Nights', who frequented book bazars in Istanbul and socialized with Ottoman scholars, clearly saw Pera as a diplomatic district. Similar to Polish envoys, Galland succinctly reported on instances of European sociability and marches of the French nation staged out of the Palace de France. For him, Pera was the European part of Istanbul.⁵⁵⁴ By the eighteenth century, Pera was an obvious destination for European visitors. In the 1710s, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu stayed in Pera and depicted it as a 'place that very well represents the Tower of Babel.'⁵⁵⁵ Salomea Pilsztynowa, the Polish ophthalmologist and traveler, described it in 1760 as a center of Christian religiosity and as a diplomatic district:

'In Istanbul, I lived in the district of Eyüp, but I often spent time in Galata and Pera, where

⁵⁵² 'Information de ce qui est arrivé au Résident Stadnicki à la Porte Ottomane au mois d'août 1735', HStA Dresden, 100026 Geheimer Kabinett, loc 3553/6, f. 170r-171v. Stadnicki got into trouble for supporting one after another two competing candidates to the Polish throne.

⁵⁵³ For a similar argument see Fariba Zarinebaf, *Mediterranean Encounters: Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 68-88 (especially the section on Grand Rue du Péra); Still, most of the descriptions of Pera in the 18th century are anecdotal, and the stress is on the sixteenth and nineteenth century, see Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 320 where Pera appears only in passing and later on as a fully constructed European district in the 19th century. The social landscape of Pera in the 18th century deserves its own research on a mixture of European and Ottoman sources; for the 19th century see Paulina D. Dominik, "From the Polish Times of Pera: Late Ottoman Istanbul through the Lens of Polish Emigration," in *History Takes Place: Istanbul Dynamics of Urban Change*, ed. Anna Hofmann and Ayşe Öncü (Berlin: Jovis, 2016), 92-103.

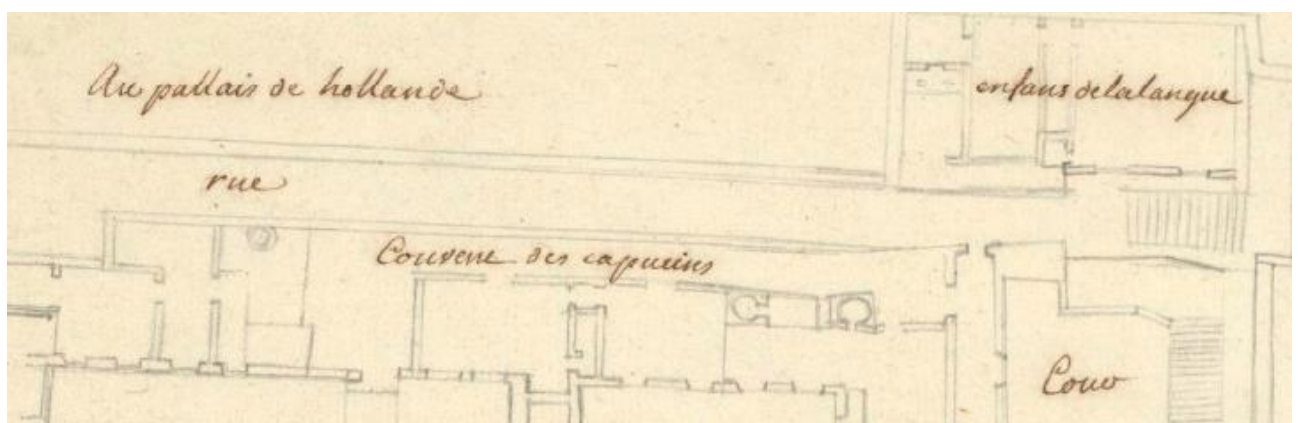
⁵⁵⁴ Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, ed. Charles Chefer, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1881), 170, 197; Madeleine Dobie, "Translation in the Contact Zone: Antoine Galland's Mille et Une Nuits: Contes Arabes," in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*, ed. Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009), 30-31 Dobie has as low opinion of Galland's journal as Polish historians had of Polish diplomatic journals. For that see below.

⁵⁵⁵ Letter XLII to unknown recipient, Pera, 16 III 1718 in Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Malcolm Jack (London: Virago, 2009), 122-23; For this permanently repeated citation form Montagu's letters see Ian Coller, "East of Enlightenment: Regulating Cosmopolitanism between Istanbul and Paris in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (2010): 451-52; Eric R. Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Past & Present* 217, no. 1 (2012): 47-48, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gts023>.

seven Catholic churches are located. After mass, in order to entertain myself and make new acquaintances, I visited the German [Habsburg] envoy, the Russian envoy, Mr. Hübsch, private envoy and advisor of His Majesty the Polish King, embassies' translators, merchants, whom I visited frequently and I dined with them. Those envoys recommended me to our envoy [Podoski] [...] and thanks to that this envoy was keen on me.⁵⁵⁶

Pilsztynowa's description perfectly depicts the spirit of diplomatic and cosmopolitan sociability in which European incomers took part in the diplomatic salons of Istanbul. Pera in the eighteenth century was the first place to go for Europeans in Istanbul. The seven churches described by Pilsztynowa were often adjacent to embassies and in this way, solidified the European presence in one part of wider Istanbul.⁵⁵⁷ The diplomatic district and churches shaped the social landscape of Pera as dragomans, European merchants, Greek Perots and other Levantines drew together to the same social space and neighborhood. Close distances between ambassadorial complexes encouraged the sociability of diplomats in Pera which reached its apogee in the eighteenth century. As illustrated above, to reach other embassies, diplomats just needed to go on a walk; most of the embassies were just a stone's throw from each other. This situation encouraged the diplomatic sociability and made it possible.

Illustration 21: Detail from 'Plan de situation de l'ancienne ambassade de France à Constantinople' from 1722. It depicts the southeastern edge of the massive complex of the French embassy in Istanbul encompassing the buildings of the Capuchins and a special building for language youth (in the right upper corner) which neighbored the gardens of the Dutch embassy. BnF, Département Estampes et photographie, FT 4-HA-18.



⁵⁵⁶ Pilsztynowa, *Proceder podróży*, 236 my translation; Pilsztynowa, *The Istanbul Memories in Salomea Pilsztynowa's Diary "Echo of the Journey and Adventures of My Life" (1760)*, 50. Dominik's translation is imprecise.

⁵⁵⁷ On the churches in Pera see Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIXe siècle: histoire socioculturelle de la communauté de Péra* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 34–39.



Illustration 22: Detail from the ‘Plan de la ville de Constantinople et de ses faubourgs, tant en Europe qu’en Asie’ by François Kauffer from 1776 depicting in proximity the Habsburg, Spanish, French, Dutch and Venetian embassies with those of Naples, Russia, Sweden, England and Prussia placed slightly further away. Although the space of Pera and Galata changed considerably in the nineteenth century due to frequent fires, embassies were usually rebuilt on the same spot or close by. BnF, Département Cartes et plans, GE C-1430.

Diplomatic sociability in Istanbul intensified in the eighteenth century, so that diplomats spent most of their time receiving, visiting, and revisiting other diplomats to such an extent that in their dispatches it became a visibly troublesome burden.⁵⁵⁸ The sociability with other diplomats in Istanbul was vital for gathering information, but also maintaining the splendor of one’s own country, court, dynasty and –in case of Poland-Lithuania– nobility. Polish diplomats represented traditionally not only the king and his dynasty, but also all the nobles of Poland-Lithuania. This found a representation in their official title and corteges filled with noble youth and friends who accompanied the diplomat to Istanbul. Extensive sociability in itself ‘became an integral part of ambassador’s job description.’⁵⁵⁹ Benoe gave a good sense of this overwhelming sociability in a dispatch from February 1743:

‘Last Tuesday I had at my place the French, Sicilian and Austrian ambassadors with families and other officials of their nations. All of them -praise the Lord- were very happy with the reception. After the future audience [with the Sultan-M. K.], if God allows, I prepare myself for the second session of receptions, for English officials only, because their envoy is not present. The third session I prepare for the Venetian and Swedish envoys or maybe I will leave the Venetian and the Russian ambassadors for the last session. It is better this way because I would not be able to accommodate them all simultaneously and the preparations could be insufficient.

⁵⁵⁸ Similar Dursteler, “A Continual Tavern.”

⁵⁵⁹ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 211.

Next Monday or tomorrow, immediately before my audience, I will be welcoming the Grand Dragoman because he will come to me with good friends (...). *Apart from these solemn receptions, we do not have ordinary meals anymore because of that many guests.*⁵⁶⁰ [emphasis added – M. K.]

Benoe not only described his own sociability but provided the central court with plausible advice as to how to build the diplomat's court so that his people would serve him appropriately while in Istanbul:

‘When sending a diplomat here, it is necessary that not only he has the training and perfection in languages, but that he be accompanied by several people perfectly trained in this point, because the ministers here, living now in good brotherly love organize every day in a row *assemblée*, which one needs categorically to visit and entertain each other with every day, historical or scientific discussions, or with different games, or by communicating news.’⁵⁶¹

This situation –where a diplomat found himself with no time left for himself– does not seem extraordinary if compared with the experiences of other diplomats from Poland whose daily diaries came down to us. The daily dairies of Sierakowski (1733), Mniszech (1754-1755), Podoski (1759-1760), and Alexandrowicz (1766) are filled with descriptions of lunches, dinners, and large balls given to celebrate various occasions, or quite frankly, for no special occasion at all.⁵⁶² In the following, I focus on Mniszech's and Podoski's experience. Both set off on their journeys to Istanbul with two secretaries, Polish and French, each responsible for drafting diaries and conducting the diplomat's correspondence, respectively in Polish and French. The Polish secretary was usually a diplomat's man (close friend or family member), while the French secretary represented the king's court and his interest. Consequently, the latter corresponded with the court, reporting on the diplomat's activity and moves, often in a manner less friendly and more contradictory to the Polish diarist. This situation created an unexpected richness of sources. Charles Lafon, Podoski's French secretary, for instance, enclosed in his correspondence with

⁵⁶⁰ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, in Pera, 17 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, ms. 1349: “Onegdajszego wtorku miałem u siebie Ichmościów Francuskiego, Sycylijskiego, Węgierskiego *cum familiis et officialibus*. Wszyscy chwała Bogy byli kontenci *cum depradicatione*. Po przyszej da Bóg audiencyi, gotuję się na drugą furę traktamentu dla officialistów angielskich, ponieważ sam posel *absens*. Dla ambasadora weneckiego dla posła szwedzkiego, zostawiwszy na trzecią furę weneckiego ambasadora i rezydenta moskiewskiego, ponieważ wraz wszytkich *locus non capit praeparatoria non sufficiunt*. W poniedziałek przyszły *alias* jutro *immediate* przed audyencyą będę traktował o *supremum interpretem* ponieważ przyjdzie z dobrymi przyjaciółmi *invitando* mnie na audiencyą prócz tych solennych traktamentów codzienny stół nie miewamy przez gości.”

⁵⁶¹ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, in Pera, 22 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 711, ms. 1333: “*Alterum* wyprawując tu posła trzeba, żeby nie tylko sam miał *usum et perfectionem* języków, ale też żeby ludzi z nim było kilka *hoc in puncto* doskonałych, bo tu teraz ministrowie zachowując *philadelphia* między sobą dobrą codziennie w kolej entrentują assamble, na których trzeba koniecznie pokazywać się i zabawiać *partim* potocznymi *partim* historycznymi *partim* *scientiarum* dyskursami, albo też różnemi grammi czyli też komunikacją wiadomości.”

⁵⁶² Tomasz Alexandrowicz's daily diary is conserved in BO, ms. 1615 III.

the court a daily diary, but also wrote correspondence that mercilessly criticized Podoski and his dragoman Giuliani.⁵⁶³

A comparison of the Polish and French diplomatic diaries gives a remarkable insight into everyday diplomatic life and sociability. Historiography was not kind towards Polish diplomatic diaries. In his seminal work on Polish life in Istanbul in the eighteenth century, Jan Reychman argued that the new style of the diplomatic diaries, with their focus on everyday life and sociability, is a sign of the demise of the diplomatic skills of Polish diplomats and of their intellectual mediocrity.⁵⁶⁴ However, others most notably Bohdan Baranowski, rightly interpreted this new nature of the diplomatic diaries (which grew in length and depth and were often splendidly printed) as a sign of a changing approach towards the Ottoman world within Polish literary culture.⁵⁶⁵ While seventeenth-century diplomatic diaries often did not mince their words and applied vulgarisms to describe Ottomans and their customs, eighteenth-century diaries display more compassion and curiosity towards the Ottomans. In other words, the Ottoman pashas and the Polish nobles got closer together in the eighteenth century. This process found its best expression in widely read diplomatic diaries.

Incoming diplomats entered the European society of Pera and became part of an emerging diplomatic sociability –even with diplomats representing hostile rulers– that was vital to their social standing and information networks. The eighteenth century saw, in this respect, a rise in the culture of the salon as a place where people met on a regular basis and where they performed, staged, and enacted the rituals of sociability.⁵⁶⁶ As Antoine Lilti suggested in his study of the culture of the salon in eighteenth century Paris, diplomats depended on salons for fresh information.⁵⁶⁷ Diplomatic gatherings and other forms of sociability in Pera were a perfect occasion for gathering news and spreading rumors. The diplomatic guest houses, palaces, and waterfront mansions of Istanbul and its surroundings became part of an established European diplomatic sociability. This culture emerged in the eighteenth-century to an unprecedented extent and is best visible during Podoski's stay in Istanbul.

Jan Podoski entered Pera ceremonially on December 24, 1759, and the Ottomans accommodated over a hundred and fifty people of his cortege in seven guest houses (*hans*) and a palace in the Grand Rue du Pera.⁵⁶⁸ A curious crowd of onlookers observed Podoski's solemn entry and 'all the foreign envoys

⁵⁶³ Letter of Charles Lafon to Heinrich Brühl, king's favorite, Stanilesti, 24 X 1759, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2956/11 (no pagination).

⁵⁶⁴ Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule*, 39–40.

⁵⁶⁵ Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, 154.

⁵⁶⁶ Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 221.

⁵⁶⁷ Lilti, 378–79.

⁵⁶⁸ The following narrative is based on the French and Polish diary of Podoski's embassy preserved in: BO, ms. 614 (further: *Diariusz Podoski*) and HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2956/11 (further: *Journal Podoski*). Instead of page number only date is given as it indicates location in both manuscripts.

gathered with their courts on the balconies of their palaces to feed their curiosity.⁵⁶⁹ Podoski started his stay in Istanbul by informing not the Ottomans but the other European diplomats in Istanbul about his presence in the city. As some of the ambassadors quarreled about who would be the first to be officially greeted by the newcomer, the Polish envoy decided to inform the diplomats of his presence in an unusual manner. Podoski dismissed diplomatic priority rank and sent messengers to the spatially closest embassies first. During the next few days, Podoski was visited and repaid his visits to all the ambassadors. The envoys ate lunch, dined, and spent almost every evening together. Only visits to Ottoman officials and audiences with them interrupted this sociability. The only aspects of Podoski's daily life worth noting in the diary were details of his social life (see illustration 23). Charles Lafon, Podoski's French secretary, called it, with dismay, 'the sterility of events' worth reporting.⁵⁷⁰

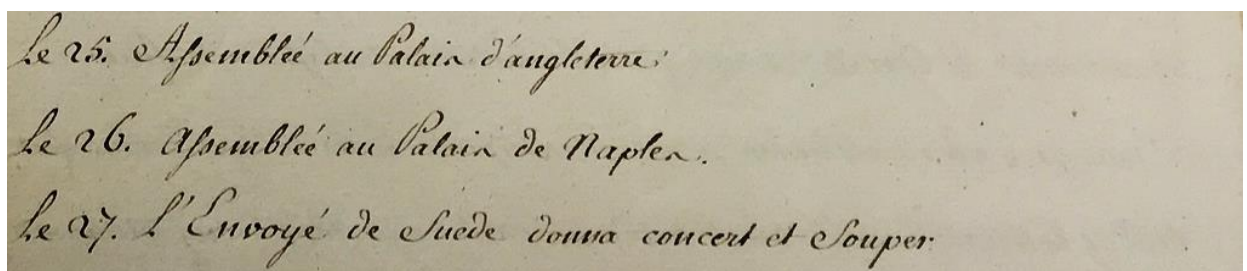


Illustration 23: Excerpt from the 'Journal de l'ambassade faite à Constantinople par S. Ex. Mr. le Comte Podoski Grand Maitre d'Hôtel de Lithuanie lieutenant général de l'armée de Pologne, chavelier de l'ordre de l'Aigle blanc' written by Charles Laffon, Podoski's French secretary. This excerpt displays short notes for 25 to 27 February 1760 when the envoy visited a concert, participated in a dinner given by the Swedish envoy and joined gatherings at the English and Neapolitan embassy.

Podoski and other diplomats enacted the ceremonies of sociability in shared meals and celebrative festivities. They screen-played and directed the rituals of sociability in a clearly visible pattern. Firstly, the newcomer Podoski offered solemn dinners to all other envoys and ambassadors. Secondly, envoys and ambassadors offered solemn meals to Podoski and his entire entourage. Later on, due to the excessive cost of such celebrations, Podoski visited and was visited by other diplomats in smaller groups of their most trusted and multilingual courtiers. Usually, (although not always) the same diplomat who offered lunch to the other diplomats, also offered another get-together (*assemblée*) later the same day which was dedicated to talking, singing, listening to concerts or playing cards. Exactly as in Paris, diplomats offered dinners to the diplomatic corps on selected days of the week: the Neapolitan envoy received guests, for instance, on Tuesdays, and the French ambassador on Sundays. This choreography changed only on

⁵⁶⁹ Diariusz Podoski, 24 XII 1759.

⁵⁷⁰ Letter of Charles Lafon to Heinrich Brühl, king's favorite, Constantinople, 18 VI 1760, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2956/11 (no pagination): „stérilité des événements.”

special occasions such as the arrival or departure of a new diplomat. Benoe, Mniszech, and Podoski took leave not only from the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, but also from the European diplomats who invited them for solemn receptions before their departure. Birthdays and the name days of the European rulers represented by diplomats in Istanbul played a special role in these celebratory meals.

Birthdays and the name days of European rulers were occasions for lavish diplomatic sociability within Istanbul. On 14 May 1760, for instance, in honor of the Swedish king's birthday, Swedish envoy Gustav Celsing offered a 'grand diner' in the newly built Swedish Palace and (directly afterwards) an evening celebration for the diplomatic and European society of Pera and Galata. On the Russian empress' name day, the Russian resident and envoy invited all the other diplomats for two consecutive dinners.⁵⁷¹ This kind of celebration involved large costs as the conveners tried to impress the other diplomats with the magnificence and the conspicuous consumption. For this purpose, diplomats employed French bakers, 'chef de patisserie' and cooks, bought French, Bulgarian, Hungarian or Greek wine and other products.

Alcohol consumption reached enormous levels as visible in Sierakowski's receptions where the wine was served in buckets. This is probably the most visible difference with Parisian salons where participants consumed wine moderately as one of the available pleasures.⁵⁷² In Istanbul, it was not a Polish specialty, however. Alcohol consumption belonged to the bon ton and Polish envoys hurried to surprise the diplomatic circles with self-made vodka brought to Istanbul in barrels as well as splendid Hungarian wines from the Tokaj region.⁵⁷³ 'If its consumption resulted at times in drunkenness the central aim of [...] drinking was [certainly] sociability.'⁵⁷⁴ Benoe's conserved bills of accounts demonstrate that the envoys spent large amounts of money for the services of a French 'chef de patisserie,' cooks, and for the acquisition of significant amounts of wine for celebrations. Benoe never had any financial problems, but just a few months in Istanbul were enough to force him to buy foodstuffs and wine on credit.⁵⁷⁵ In every single letter dispatched back to Poland, Benoe complained about the high cost of his stay in Istanbul and asked for more cash. These lamentations belonged to the usual repertoire of diplomatic dispatches in general.⁵⁷⁶ Alcohol relaxed conversations and untied tongues; those who did not drink belonged to the

⁵⁷¹ Journal Podoski, 29 XII 1759 and 14 V 1760.

⁵⁷² Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 66.

⁵⁷³ On the Polish culture of drinking in the 18th century see Magdalena Dampz, *Alkohol i biesiadowanie w obyczajowości Polaków* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2005), 18–21; Florent Quellier, "À la santé des puissances," in *À la table des diplomates: l'histoire de France racontée à travers ses grands repas: 1520-2015*, ed. Laurent Stéfani, Séverine Blenner-Michel, and Jean-Claude Renard (Paris: L'Iconoclaste, 2016), 17; May-Bo Ching, "Chopsticks or Cutlery?: How Canton Hong Merchants Entertained Foreign Guests in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Narratives of Free Trade and the Commercial Cultures of Early American Chinese Relations*, ed. Kendall Johnson (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 101 for a fascinating example of "the best wines of all sorts" consumed during Chinese-European dinners.

⁵⁷⁴ Thomas Edward Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 188.

⁵⁷⁵ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 11v-13r.

⁵⁷⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 111.

minority or were Ottoman high officials. Unusual alcohols and splendid cakes and pastries were some of the possible methods of impressing other diplomats; the others were outdoor illuminations.

To illuminate their houses in Istanbul, diplomats needed special permission from the Ottoman authorities and this is probably the reason why diplomats rarely used illuminations.⁵⁷⁷ The main stage for conspicuous consumption of food and drinks were not public spaces in Pera, but rather private palaces and their gardens. In this regard, European diplomats in Istanbul followed the example of the Ottoman elites who favored gardens as a venue for sociability.⁵⁷⁸ An exemplary description of a celebration performed by envoy Jan Mniszech on Augustus III's of Poland-Saxony name day, gives a good idea of how such garden sociability looked like:

‘Mr. Envoy, wishing to celebrate on the third of this month the King’s Feast by a great festival, was obliged to give it today, on account of the fact that his audience of leave with the Grand Seigneur was fixed for that day, to which all the foreign ministers were invited, who sent their squires to compliment him at ten o'clock in the morning. The ambassador of France, the envoys of Russia, Sweden, and Naples, were present at the dinner and thirty-six covers at the table were served.

The dessert was very fine and excited the admiration of the guests by its magnificence, representing at the top of the table the white eagle with the blue cord, and the coat of arms of Poland and Saxony (...) around which it stood in this words in golden letters ‘Vivat Augustus III Rex Poloniae’. From below was a bridge on which a fountain was placed and during the dinner, the trumpets were heard continually. In the evening, there was a ball and a splendid soup attended by all the foreign ministers, with the exception of the English ambassador and the German resident, who were very far from here and the most distinguished of the Greek nation with their wives were invited for ten o'clock in the evening. His Excellence made a fine firework display with an illumination which represented the White Eagle, and the words ‘Vivat Augustus Rex’, in the figure. When it finished two tables were served, one of thirty-six and the other of twenty covers, and dances went on until four o'clock next morning. The circumstance which brought the guests together animated the joy among them and made the meal very agreeable.’⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ Binz, “Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650-1760,” 64; Avner Wishnitzer, “Shedding New Light: Outdoor Illuminations in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” in *Urban Lighting, Light Pollution, and Society*, ed. Josiane Meier et al. (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 67–69.

⁵⁷⁸ Hamadeh, “Garden Sociability,” 91.

⁵⁷⁹ ‘Journal du voyage pour Constantinople de S. E. Mr. le Comte Mniszech, Grand Chambelan de Lithuanie et envoye extraordinaire du Roi et de la Republique de Pologne faite l’année 1755’ [further: Journal Mniszech], HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinet, loc. 2956/9, f. 197v-r.

As described in the above citation, all of the diplomats complimented Mniszech on the Polish king's name day. A dinner for thirty-six people followed and was attended by the ambassador of France, and the Russian, Swedish and Neapolitan envoys. In the evening, Mniszech gave a ball attended by almost all the diplomats, and also by the local Greek women. The ball culminated with an illumination depicting a white eagle (the coat of arm of the Kingdom of Poland) and the words 'Vivat Augustus Rex'. Following that, the entire company danced into the early morning hours. Similar illuminations in the Ottoman context were a daily appearance among the Ottoman elites. Following the mission of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to Paris in 1720, Ottomans organized lantern festivals and joined the competition of European rulers in this symbolic display of power.⁵⁸⁰ Benoe and other diplomats in Istanbul were never short of occasions for entertainment, a garden dinner, or a concert. Unlike Dutch, French or British envoys, Polish diplomats embarked to Istanbul without their spouses and their corteges were large assemblies of men.

The Christian Greek women mentioned in Mniszech's diary appear on its pages with significant regularity. The other women who joined the company of diplomats and their cortege were the wives of local Frank merchants. On 13 March 1760, for instance, Podoski's orchestra gave a concert at the Swedish embassy accompanied by the singing of Madam Gode, wife of a local French merchant, who 'sang beautifully in Italian.'⁵⁸¹ The other women who probably visited the diplomatic palaces were prostitutes.⁵⁸² The latter, however, are never mentioned in official or unofficial reports and diaries, unless in complaints. In 1743, for instance, Benoe accused his primary dragoman Francesco Giuliani at the court in Warsaw of bad conduct and illicit sex with Muslim women of dubious reputation.⁵⁸³ Benoe tried to discredit his dragoman in Poland, but his accusations give a sense of what was possible in Istanbul. Ottoman Muslim women, for their part, are totally absent from any kind of diplomatic gatherings in Istanbul.

« Mr. l'envoïé [Jan Mniszech – M. K.] voulant célébrer le 3 d. c. [de ce mois] la fête du Roi par un grand festin, fut obligé de la donner aujourd'hui à cause, que son audience de congé chez le Grand Seigneur étoit fixé pour ce jour la, au quel tous les ministres étrangers furent invités, qui à dix heures du matin envoyèrent leurs ecuyers pour complimenter S. E. et à dîne se trouvèrent l'ambassadeur de France, l'envoyé de Russie, de Suede et de Naple[s], la table fut de 36 couverts. Le dessert étoit fort beau et excita l'admiration des convives par sa magnificence, représentant au haut de la table l'aigle blanc avec le cordon bleu et les armes de Pologne et de Saxe au milieu se fit voir le renommée autour de la quelle étoient ce mot en lettre d'orées 'Vivat Augustus III Rex Poloniae' par en bas étoit un pont sur lesquels étoit place une fontaine pendant la table les trompettes se furent sans cesse entendre et au soir il y avoit bal et un soupe splendide au quel avec les ministres étrangers, excepte l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre et le Resident d'Allemagne, qui se trouvent fort éloigné d'ici se trouverent encore les plus distinguées de la nation Grecque avec leurs femmes, qui y étoient invités à dix heures du soir S. E. fit tirer un beau feu d'artifice dont l'illumination représenta l'Aigle blanc et le mot Vivat Augustus Rex en chiffre cela fini on servit deux tables l'une de 36 et l'autre de 20 couverts et on dansa jusqu'au lendemain matin à 4 heures le circonstance qui rassembloit les convives anima la joix parmi eux et rendit le repas fort agreable. »

⁵⁸⁰ Wishnitzer, "Shedding New Light," 71–72.

⁵⁸¹ Diariusz Podoski, 13 III 1760.

⁵⁸² Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010), 92–93 for non-Muslim prostitutes. European visitors might have been able to visit brothels of Galata; see also Yumul, "A Prostitute Lodging in the Bosom of Turkishness" for a more modern perspective.

⁵⁸³ AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 690, ms. 1306.

Noticeable in diplomatic gatherings in Istanbul is also the tendency of socializing within confessional groups. Podoski and Benoe visited on a regular basis almost all of the Catholic churches of Pera and Galata as well as chapels adherent to the Venetian bailate and the French embassy. Charles Lafon, Podoski's secretary, recounted that Podoski's servants carried a special chair for him that they placed in the front rows of the church among other diplomats 'following the local custom.'⁵⁸⁴ In this way, Podoski came in contact with all of the Catholics in Istanbul. Attending masses was another opportunity for –this time sober– diplomatic sociability. European diplomats in Istanbul worked closely with their respective churches (Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox), executed jurisdiction over their compatriots, and protected their co-religionists. Benoe was in contact with all of the Catholic orders in Istanbul and Polish diplomats protected the Catholic church of Moldavia.⁵⁸⁵ Confessional differences between Europeans in Istanbul were, however, never as strong as in Europe. The Dutch embassy in Istanbul protected the Catholic orders and according to Ottoman grace or disgrace, the orders would change their protectors.⁵⁸⁶

Social life in Pera consisted not only of formal gatherings, solemn dinners, and festivities staged according to the screen play of diplomatic sociability, but also of marriages and funerals. Marriages and funerals within the diplomatic Perot society, for instance, were celebrated with significant pomp. Charles Lafon, the French secretary, recounted that the marriage of the first Venetian dragoman was a special occasion for a gathering and a ball. To celebrate his servant's wedding, the Venetian bailo offered all the diplomats a dinner organized spatially on three large tables; Lafon recounted that the dinner accommodated exactly eighty people.⁵⁸⁷

Another occasion for the display of sociability and diplomatic solidarity were funerals. In January 1760, Xavery Borzyslawski, an eighteen-year-old noble from Podoski's cortege sickened after eating frozen fruits at the Venetian bailate, 'a truly innovative Italian chimera in these cold Istanbul months.'⁵⁸⁸ Soon after this, he passed away, and the envoy decided to stage the funeral instantly in Galata's church of St Mary Draperis.⁵⁸⁹ In gala clothing, accompanied by the orchestra and a janissary escort, the entire Polish embassy (around hundred fifty people) walked down the streets of Pera to Galata. Blasius Pauli, the apostolic vicar in Istanbul, orchestrated the funeral together with one hundred and twenty Catholic monks and priests, who walked in pairs with candles in their hands. Secretaries, dragomans, and squires of all embassies joined the mourning train to pay tribute in their master's name to the young Polish nobleman. The Polish orchestra played in a loop *Miserere mei Deus* during the procession. The funeral

⁵⁸⁴ Journal Podoski, 25 XII 1759.

⁵⁸⁵ Rafael Dorian Chelaru, *Congregația "de propaganda fide" și misiunea catolică din Moldova (secolele XVII-XVIII)* (Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei "Carol I, 2015); Reychman, "Biskupstwo bakowskie w świetle historiografii rumuńskiej."

⁵⁸⁶ Binz, "Latin Missionaries and Catholics in Constantinople 1650-1760," 105.

⁵⁸⁷ Journal Podoski, 18 February 1760.

⁵⁸⁸ Diariusz Podoski, 24 January 1760.

⁵⁸⁹ Diariusz Podoski, 20 II 1760.

celebrations took two days and finished after placing the coffin under the church's floor next to other Polish nobles and producing an inscription describing Xavery's short life. The above described situation is a rare example not only of diplomatic solidarity, but also of the physical presence of diplomats and their courts in the public space of Galata and Pera.⁵⁹⁰ Another example of the diplomats' presence and visibility in Istanbul and its vicinity are boat trips and embassies relocations between the summer and winter months.

Diplomats and Water

New in Mniszech's and Podoski's experiences in the Ottoman Empire are recurrent boat trips to Büyükdere and Tarabya, villages on the Bosphorus shore. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century to escape the hot months in Istanbul diplomats moved with their courts to the forests of Belgrade north of Istanbul. In the eighteenth century, however, they abandoned this tradition and moved for the summer months to *yahs* (wooden waterfront mansions) on the Bosphorus shore.⁵⁹¹ This change unquestionably followed patterns established by the Sultan. Ahmed III, the last Ottoman Sultan to reside in Edirne, was also the first to establish a pattern of an Ottoman court travelling from one *yah* to another. He often visited his Grand Vizier and step son Damad Ibrahim Pasha and his daughters in waterfront mansions on the Bosphorus shore.⁵⁹² Muslim and non-Muslim elites of the Empire, as well as the diplomatic milieu of Pera, soon followed the new Sultan's fashion. The movement between the city for the winter and country houses in the summer are typical of any elite setting in the early modern world, but are rarely studied in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹³ The elites of Paris, for example, 'deserted' the Parisian salons in the summer months and did not come back to the city every year until November.⁵⁹⁴ Spa in today's Belgium attracted in the eighteenth century a German, French, Irish, Polish, and Russian colony of elite visitors.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁰ In 1733, after the death of Augustus II of Poland-Saxony, the Jesuits staged a mourning ceremony for the Polish monarch, covered their entire church in black and displayed the coats of arms of Poland and Saxony. *Kuryer Polski*, 1733, No. CLXXX, p. 421. I thank Michal Rzepka for making me aware of this source.

⁵⁹¹ Paolo Girardelli, "Power or Leisure? Remarks on the Architecture of the European Summer Embassies on the Bosphorus Shore," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 50 (2014): 39, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0896634600006579>. I thank Paolo Girardelli for his remarks on the changing locations of European embassies.

⁵⁹² Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture, 1989), 44.

⁵⁹³ John Dunne and Paul Janssens, eds., "Introduction: Urban Elites and Their Residences in Europe from the Renaissance to Industrialization," in *Living in the City: Elites and Their Residences, 1500-1900*, Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800) 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 24.

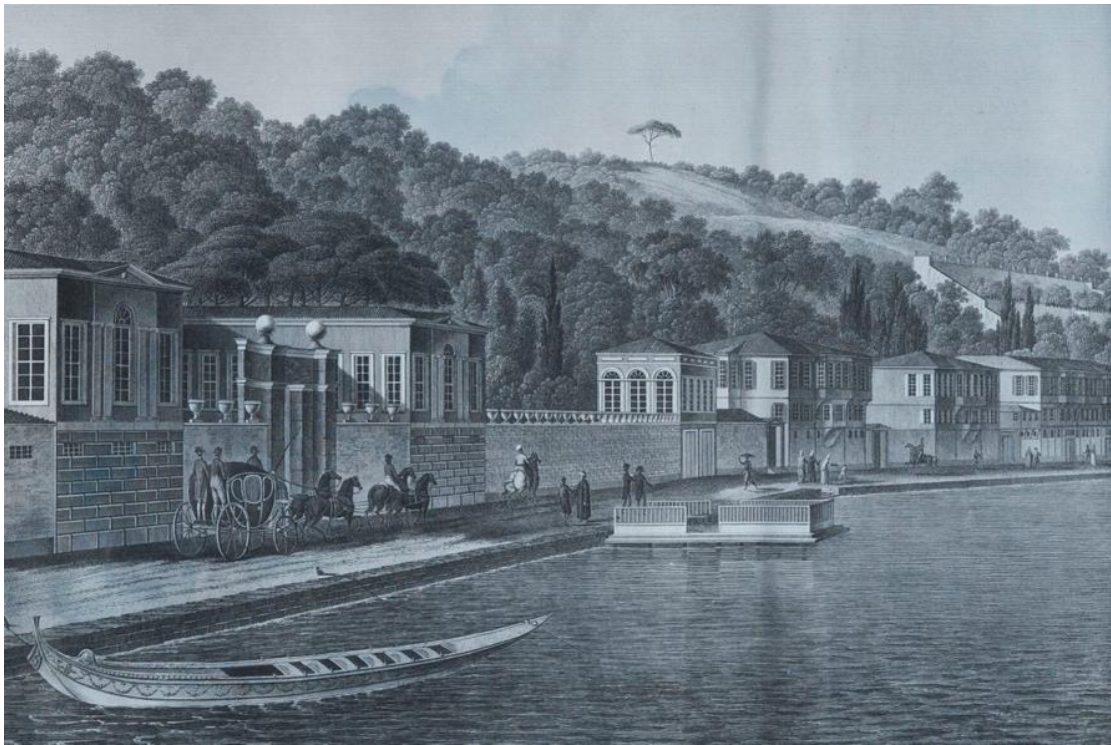
⁵⁹⁴ Lilti, *The World of the Salons*, 59.

⁵⁹⁵ Daniel Droixhe, "Avant-propos," in *Spa, carrefour de l'Europe des Lumières: les hôtes de la cité thermale au XVIIIe siècle: actes du colloque organisé par la Société wallonne d'étude du XVIIIe siècle, Spa, 25-26 septembre 2012*, ed. Daniel Droixhe and Muriel Collart (Paris: Hermann, 2013), 9–10.

Closely located next to each other, Büyükdere and Tarabya played the same role for diplomatic elites in Istanbul.

The new residences on the Bosphorus shore did not escape the attention of observers from Poland-Lithuania. Gortarowski, Podoski's Polish secretary, reported that 'starting from Tophane opposite to Skutari [Üsküdar] up to Büyükdere it [the shore] represents itself in a very long line of about four hours of boat ride almost like a [continuous] city. Indeed, all these villages are filled with beautiful palaces of Turkish, Greek and foreign merchants.'⁵⁹⁶ Gortarowski added that the Dutch ambassador, Venetian, and Habsburg envoys rented houses in Tarabya while others did so in Büyükdere. Both villages were closely located to each other and connected with the waterway and roads (see illustration 24 and 25).

Illustration 24: Detail from 'Vue de la partie Orientale de Buyuk-dèrè sur la rive européenne du Bosphore' showing the shore of Büyükdere with European residences. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, plate 47.



⁵⁹⁶ Diariusz Podoski, 8 V 1760. Antoine-Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1809), plate 47.

music as it passed by the Sultan's palace, and kept playing during their entire trip down the Bosphorus. The envoy's presence in the public space of Istanbul and its vicinity was evident.⁶⁰⁰ 'People run from the streets to the shore, since in this country horns, particularly French horns, and oboes are a rarity.'⁶⁰¹ Subsequently, Podoski and his suite visited Hübsch's residence with a splendid, three story tall garden. Podoski's secretary noted with dismay that they could not stay there longer, as an invitation for a lunch with other diplomats had instantly arrived. As this example illustrates, diplomats could not escape the obligations of diplomatic sociability even if they wished to. The only moment when the diplomat and his cortege could rest from encounters with other diplomats was during trips to the Black Sea coast, which Podoski undertook on horseback or in boats. Podoski remained in Büyükdere for a few days and visited aqueducts and other touristic attractions in the area.

Travel along and across aquatic routes was a common occurrence to foreign diplomats and crossings of the Golden Horn belonged to this repertoire. Every European diplomat resident in Pera had to ceremonially cross the Golden Horn twice on their way to official audiences with the Sultan or the Grand Vizier -- at their arrival and departure. This symbolic crossing was a logistically difficult enterprise, as diplomats needed to embark on boats with their entire cortege to present their rank to Ottomans, other diplomats, and simple onlookers. Ottomans provided every envoy with just one caique with seven pairs of oars; others with three pairs of oars had to be rented. Among his expenses in 1743, Benoe noted amounts of money paid to the caiques' rowers, which he borrowed from the Neapolitan envoy.⁶⁰² On other occasions, Benoe paid private caique rowers for the boat crossings from Galata to Istanbul. In 1755, Mniszech noted that not less than sixty boats took his sons and cortege from Pera to Istanbul. In 1760, Podoski rented thirty-six caiques to cross the Golden Horn for the audience with the Sultan and with the Grand Vizier. Only Sierakowski in 1733 could have been liberated from these costs as he resided in Bakırköy and could have arrived at the audiences on horseback, but even he used caiques to reach Istanbul or Pera for audiences with the Grand Vizier or for everyday sociability with other diplomats.⁶⁰³ As Sierakowski's example illustrates, in the eighteenth century, as today, waterways were the simplest, easiest, and fastest way of moving around, to, and from historical Istanbul.

The ceremonial crossing of the Golden Horn, however, does not play any major role in Ottoman books of ceremonies. An Ottoman protocol register edited recently by Hakan Karateke describes in a dry manner the number of Ottoman officials appointed to escort the envoy and only mentions the

⁶⁰⁰ It was also evident in diplomatic tourism. Polish and Russian envoys in the 1760s gained a privileged to visit Hagia Sophia, see Diariusz, 18 VI 1760; Hakan T. Karateke, ed., *An Ottoman Protocol Register Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: BEO Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul*, Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt Fund Series (Istanbul: Royal Asiatic Society Books and The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007), 93 (doc. 30).

⁶⁰¹ Diariusz Podoski, 8 V 1760.

⁶⁰² 'Cost of the audiences, conferences, and gift-giving in 1743', SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part, 5, f. 44v-r.

⁶⁰³ Dariusz Sierakowski, 15 XI 1733, 47-49.

ceremonial crossing in passing. It seems that for the Ottomans, the ceremonies first took off on Istanbul's Golden Horn shore. The diplomat disembarked from there in the provided caique and Ottomans invited him to Kireççibaşı chamber. For this crossing Ottomans provided Podoski with only one caique with seven pairs of oars that was sent to pick him up at the Tophane pier.⁶⁰⁴ Ottomans attempted a uniformity in reception and treated the Russian, Venetian, Swedish and Sicilian envoys of the middle rank (*orta elçi*) in exactly the same manner. Providing more caiques to certain diplomats could have created a precedent and a higher financial burden for the Ottomans.

Besides the Ottomans, European diplomats paid a lot of attention to the ceremonial crossing of the Golden Horn. Benoe staged his crossing in a glorious manner and did not save on the costs. Benoe's cortege woke up at night to get ready for the audience with the Sultan. The entire cortege dressed in uniform colors and walked down from their quarters to the pier with torches and lanterns in hand. On Tophane pier, Benoe boarded the caique filled with pillows and tapestries sent by the Ottoman Sultan. Benoe's cortege embarked simultaneously on numerous caiques from Tophane shore to Istanbul.⁶⁰⁵ In the morning hours and in torches' light, it was a spectacle for Istanbulites to watch roughly one hundred and fifty men crossing the Golden Horn. Similar crossings from Galata to Istanbul took place during every official audience with the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, at least four times for every Polish and European envoy. Like in the case of British ambassadors, the ceremony for an audience with the Sultan began at night and around nine for an audience with the Sultan or ten o'clock for an audience with the Grand Vizier.⁶⁰⁶ It was precisely this ceremony, together with descriptions of the audiences, which found the most mediality and readership back in Poland-Lithuania.⁶⁰⁷ Benoe dispatched descriptions of the official Golden Horn crossings – and his audiences there back to Poland, and circulated these descriptions in the form of *nouvelle à la main*, and possibly in printed newspapers, too. Benoe dispatched a description of his procession and audience with the Sultan to his wife and servants with an order to make copies and disseminate them. He also contacted postal officials in Poland-Lithuania who disseminated his descriptions of ceremonies to all larger Polish cities.⁶⁰⁸ Polish diplomats who marched down the hills of Pera and crossed the Golden Horn in torches' light were closely watched not only by other European diplomats, Ottoman pashas, and Istanbul's inhabitants, but also by nobles back home.

⁶⁰⁴ Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 94–95; Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda teşrifat*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), does not give ceremonial examples related to Poland.

⁶⁰⁵ 'Description of the Crown Prosecutor Benoe's audience with the Sultan', LAMB, F148 73/2, pp. 273v – 274v

⁶⁰⁶ Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 146.

⁶⁰⁷ For a meaningful definition of mediality as that what mediates between actors a meaningful sign across spatial or temporal distance, see: Jørgen Bruhn, "What Is Mediality, and (How) Does It Matter? Theoretical Terms and Methodology," in *The Intermediality of Narrative Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016), 17.

⁶⁰⁸ Letter of Jan Sobolewski, servant to Pawel Benoe, from Jablonów, 19 IV 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 12, part 2, f. 14v-15r; letter of Stefan Melkonowicz, postmaster of Kamieniec Podolski to Pawel Benoe, from Kamieniec, 5 V 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 5, f. 43v-44v.

The ceremonial crossing of the Golden Horn was the first step into the Ottoman ceremonial in Istanbul and in Ottoman-Polish ceremonial encounters.

A Diplomat in the Rain: Diplomatic Ceremonial and the Limits of European-Ottoman Encounters and Sociability

The Ottoman ceremonial defined the limits of European-Ottoman sociability in the early modern period. By the eighteenth-century, Ottomans described their court ceremonial meticulously – both for ceremonies among the Ottoman officials and with foreign envoys. Ottomans had an official master of ceremonies (*teşrifatçı*) similar to the European courts who during ceremonies controlled the compliance with the precedence and kept diligent protocol registers (*defter-i teşrifat*).⁶⁰⁹ The norms solidified by the eighteenth century and did not change much until the reforms of the Tanzimat period when Ottomans introduced the ‘new protocol’ (*teşrifat-ı cedide*) and adjusted, not without problems, their protocol to European standards.⁶¹⁰ In the eighteenth century, however, European diplomats could have still been physically mistreated and Ottomans often showed their contempt or esteem by making the envoys wait longer or shorter; by giving them splendid or miserable horses and –above all– by forcing them to bow or kneel in the Sultan’s presence.⁶¹¹ Ottomans shaped their ceremonial in a gradual evolution and in tension with the foreign envoys in a similar manner to how Europeans formed ceremonial at the courts in Vienna, Paris, and Moscow.⁶¹² By the eighteenth century, Ottomans described every detail: the ceremonial headgear of Ottoman officials, their number, position in the procession to the Sultan’s or

⁶⁰⁹ For European master of ceremonies see Hennings, *Russia and Courtly Europe*, 79–81.

⁶¹⁰ The literature on the Ottoman ceremonial is enormous. In short form see Filiz Karaca, “Teşrifat,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 40, 2011, 570–72; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı devletinde fevkalade elçilerin ağırlanması,” *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma* 27 (1989): 221–24 (audience with the Sultan); Hakan Karateke, *Teşrifat-ı cedide: son yüzyılda Osmanlı merasimleri*, Reihe Orientalistik 8 (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 1998), 159–63 (audiences with foreign envoys until the reforms); Maria Pia Pedani, “The Sultan and the Venetian Bailo: Ceremonial Diplomatic Protocol in Istanbul,” in *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ralph Kauz, Giorgio Rota, and Jan Paul Niederkorn, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 52 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 287–299 (and an article by Ernst D. Petritsch in the same volume on the Habsburg audiences); Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, “Polish Embassies in Istanbul or How to Sponge on Your Host without Losing Your Self-Esteem,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, vol. 4, Beirut Texte Und Studien Türkische Welten (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 51–58; Tetiana Grygorieva, “Symbols and Perceptions of Diplomatic Ceremony: Ambassadors of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Istanbul,” in *Kommunikation Durch Symbolische Akte*, ed. Yvonne Kleinmann, vol. 35, Forschungen Zur Geschichte Und Kultur Des Östlichen Mitteleuropa (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010), 109–125 (Polish audiences).

⁶¹¹ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800* (London and New York: Continuum, 2008), 67.

⁶¹² Harriet Rudolph, “Türkische Gesandtschaften ins Reich am Beginn der Neuzeit - Herrschaftsinszenierung, Fremdheitserfahrung und Erinnerungskultur. Die Gesandtschaft des Ibrahim Bey von 1562,” in *Das osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie: Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien, 22.-25. September 2004*, ed. Marlene Kurz, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 48 (Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 298, fn. 13 on gradual development and canonization of the ceremonial in Vienna; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York and Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), XVI.

Grand Vizier's palace as well as the structure of processions to and out of Istanbul during solemn entries. The books of ceremonies included images, similar to those in Europe, which aided the future master of ceremonies in attempting to organize and control the ceremonial space.

A historian could assume the existence of large discrepancies between Ottoman and European descriptions of the Ottoman ceremonial. The narratives, however, match with one another almost one-to-one and discrepancies are seldom. The most serious difference –which I shall discuss in more detail– is that of the final moments of the audience with the Sultan when Ottomans forced Benoe and other diplomats into a deep bow. Benoe covered the bowing ceremony in a skillful and detailed narrative that consciously omits exactly this moment of the ceremony but that gave the readers a compelling and attractive narrative of his audience with Mahmud I. This was a strategy widely adapted by early modern diplomats who translated the Ottoman ceremonial for European readers and avoided uncomfortable details of the ceremonial encounters. In the eighteenth century, however, Polish diplomats devoted more detail in their diplomatic diaries to the bowing ceremony and drafted practical descriptions that could guide future diplomats in Istanbul.

The Ottoman-Polish ceremonial encounters transpired in three most assiduously described ceremonies: the entry to Istanbul or Pera, and two audiences, one with the Grand Vizier and one with the Sultan. The ceremonial defined Ottoman-Polish encounters and sociability in Istanbul. Informal contacts between Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas were not as frequent as in the borderland where the spatial proximity and knowledge of the vernacular facilitated cultural or commercial contacts to a level unprecedented anywhere else. The ceremonial limited the Ottoman-Polish encounters in Istanbul. Of course, dragomans and other go-betweens mediated European-Ottoman encounters in Istanbul. Diplomats, who like Benoe, mastered Turkish and were able to communicate without intermediation were, however, in the minority. The majority of Benoe's cortege while in Istanbul interacted with other Europeans and with Muslim Ottomans to a much lesser extent. Benoe or Poniatowski, who forged friendships with Ottomans without any knowledge of Turkish, are exceptions that confirm the rule.

Benoe encountered the Ottoman court officials for the first time during his entry to Pera. We know the most about Podoski's procession and entry and about Benoe's solemn entry, as detailed Ottoman and Polish sources are conserved on the subject. In their ceremonial entry to Pera, Podoski and Benoe followed exactly the same route as all the other diplomats of equivalent rank. In the following section, I use Benoe's example and circumvent the source lacunae by using sources pertaining to other diplomatic entries, staged in exactly the same manner.

The entry to Istanbul was a crucial ceremony, and was always staged, even if the diplomat (like Sierakowski in 1733) actually stayed in a caravanserai outside of the city. The entry ceremony is connected

with the distribution of *hans* (guest houses) for the diplomat's extensive cortege and *ta'ym* (literally a ration or allowance; here provisions in nature and cash) for the diplomat. Polish diplomats belonged to the rank of diplomats from neighboring states that were almost fully funded from the Ottoman treasury.⁶¹³ The costs were not inconsiderable. A recently published document from the Ottoman archives indicated that the provisions in nature given to Pawel Benoe amounted to over 21 000 *akçe* per day, plus payments in cash.⁶¹⁴ This was probably one of the reasons why Ottomans were unwilling to entertain the idea of creating a permanent Polish embassy in Istanbul throughout the eighteenth-century.

Following the entry to Istanbul and allocation of daily allowance, Benoe encountered Ottomans in two core ceremonies: audiences with the Grand Vizier and with the Sultan. I illustrate these ceremonies on Benoe's example and intermittently discuss other envoys. The first audience introduced Benoe to the semantics and meanings of Ottoman symbolic rituals and was rather a light version of the ceremonial that followed later in the Sultan's presence. The second was the pure essence of Ottoman ceremonial and one of the few occasions for a foreigner (or in fact anybody) to encounter the Ottoman ruler in person. In both ceremonies, Benoe's visit to Istanbul came to its apex.

Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas encountered each other on a level far reaching commensurability, a term convincingly introduced in historiography by Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his monograph on courtly encounters.⁶¹⁵ This implies that social partners, originating from two distinct polities, environments, cultures and symbolic languages, must have an understanding of at least some rudimentary rules governing the other in order to successfully communicate and conduct diplomacy. Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas had a good deal of knowledge about the other, resulting from long standing diplomatic contacts and intensive exchanges in the borderlands. Conversely, there were always some cases of far reaching incommensurability as in the case of forceful bowing of envoys in the Sultan's presence covered with a purposeful amnesia in the seventeenth century to be discovered anew a century later. As I suggest in this section, Ottoman-Polish encounters in Istanbul in the eighteenth century were commensurable to both sides.

⁶¹³ Thomas Naff, "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 3 (1963): 305–7, <https://doi.org/10.2307/598070>.

⁶¹⁴ BOA, C.HR 3841, facsimile published in: Yekeler et al., *Yoldaki elçi*, 228 (wrongly attributed by editors to Stadnicki). Not all embassies were entitled to similar payments. British diplomats, for instance, financed their diplomatic missions largely without Ottoman support, see: Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 202.

⁶¹⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), XIV, 7; see also Susan Mokheri, "Finding Common Ground Between Europe and Asia: Understanding and Conflict During the Persian Embassy to France in 1715," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 1 (2012): 53–80, <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006512X624100>.

The surge of the ‘new diplomatic history’⁶¹⁶ in the last decades has shifted our attention away from facts and political history and towards ‘a cultural history of the political’ with a new focus on ‘the audience as a ritualized cultural contact.’⁶¹⁷ Christine Vogel suggested in numerous articles that the French ambassadors played the role of cultural translators who simplified and interpreted the Ottoman ceremonial for the French readership.⁶¹⁸ Historians have tended to place the diplomatic history and microhistory in opposition to one another.⁶¹⁹ This results from the fact that microhistory developed in opposition to grand master narratives and quantitative methods in historiography in the 1970s and 1980s. The new actor-based diplomatic history developed in the German historiography allows for an attempt at merging both methods by individualizing the diplomatic history and writing it from the perspective of a single individual. Audiences with the Ottomans were first and foremost stressful and emotionally intense and at times humiliating experience for diplomats. Benoe provided us with plausible descriptions of both the ceremonial procedures and his internal world expressed in ‘words [that] shape the emotions of those who lived in the past, marking the limits of the possible and the recognized.’⁶²⁰

By merging these new traditions, instead of a grand narrative, I focus on Benoe’s experiences and draw here an image from his rich archive, other diplomatic diaries, and Ottoman books of ceremonies. I merge abundant sources pertaining to Benoe’s mission with papers of other envoys that I employ intermittently to strengthen the narrative and give it more detail.⁶²¹ In this way, I provide an ample narrative of Ottoman-Polish ceremonial encounters written from within Benoe’s world.

The entry to Istanbul and audiences with the Grand Vizier and Sultan were Benoe’s most important ceremonial encounters while on the diplomatic mission. On a smaller scale, as demonstrated

⁶¹⁶ Only a fracture of the growing body of literature can be introduced here, Peter Burschel and Christine Vogel, eds., *Die Audienz: Ritualisierter Kulturkontakt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014); Peter Burschel and Birthe Kundrus, eds., *Diplomatiegeschichte*, vol. 21, *Historische Anthropologie 2* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2013); Christian Windler, “Diplomatic History as a Field for Cultural Analysis: Muslim-Christian Relations in Tunis, 1700-1840,” *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001): 79–106; Christian Windler, *La diplomatie comme expérience de l’autre: Consuls français au Maghreb (1700 - 1840)*, vol. 60, Bibliothèque des Lumières (Genève: Libr. Droz, 2002), 26–29.

⁶¹⁷ Peter Burschel, “Einleitung,” in *Die Audienz: ritualisierter Kulturkontakt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Christine Vogel and Peter Burschel (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 9 for a good introduction to the new diplomatic history see; Tracey A. Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History,” *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (September 2016): 441–56; Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe.”

⁶¹⁸ Vogel, “Der Marquis, das Sofa und der Grosswesir”; Christine Vogel, “Gut ankommen. Der Amtsantritt eines französischen Botschafters im Osmanischen Reich im späten 17. Jahrhundert,” *Historische Anthropologie* 21, no. 2 (2013): 158–178, <https://doi.org/10.7788/ha.2013.21.2.158> and other articles in both volumes.

⁶¹⁹ For an exception Karl W. Schweizer and Matt J. Schumann, “The Revitalization of Diplomatic History: Renewed Reflections,” *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, no. 2 (June 13, 2008): 174, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592290802096174>. A conference ‘Towards a transcultural history of diplomacy’, at the University of Tokyo in Dec. 2016 was about to explore the possibilities of exploring the micro and macro perspectives.

⁶²⁰ I borrow here from the rich traditions of the history of emotions Susan J. Matt, “Recovering the Invisible Methods for the Historical Study of the Emotions,” in *Doing Emotions History*, ed. Susan J. Matt et al., *The History of Emotions* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 43.

⁶²¹ This is a method traditionally used by microhistorians, see for instance Gene A. Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: With a New Preface*, 2005 ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and it traditionally awakes the rage of conservative historians, cf. Thomas Kuehn, “Reading Microhistory: The Example of Giovanni and Lusanna,” *The Journal of Modern History* 61, no. 3 (1989): 512–34.

in chapter six, Benoe encountered Ottoman ceremonial immediately after entering the Ottoman Empire. Border pashas staged exactly the same ceremonies for Benoe and imitated Ottoman court rituals on a smaller scale. Like in the borderland, the official ceremonies in Istanbul were not the only opportunity for a diplomat to get in touch with Ottomans.

The performative ceremonies started for Benoe in Ayastefanos on the outskirts of Istanbul from where Ottomans accompanied foreign Benoe to his lodgings. Tired after the long journey and in the ripe years of his age, Benoe dressed up in the best costume and got ready for his entry. Over thirty Ottoman officials dressed in ceremonial costumes and headgear awaited him in the tree's shadow by the Fil bridge outside of Istanbul. The Ottoman servants spread an *ibram* (a precious woolen carpet) close to a fountain and in the shadow of a magnificent tree, and it was there that Ottomans offered Benoe coffee, sorbet, incense, and a napkin. During every ceremony, Benoe felt visibly relieved when the official part was over and he could freely converse with Ottomans in Turkish. Ottomans offered Benoe standard refreshments that every foreign envoy received. In Istanbul, Ottomans consumed exactly the same stimulants during internal meetings, a fact often forgotten by historians. During imperial assemblies, Ottoman officials consumed coffee and sweetmeats on a regular basis.⁶²² Coffee in Poland was a standard drink by the eighteenth century and appears repeatedly as a staple good in borderland correspondence and as an import.⁶²³ Benoe himself imported from Istanbul no less than around one and a half ton of roasted black beans. The most desired, however, was the green and unroasted coffee that Polish nobles often ordered from Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin.⁶²⁴ In 1724, the first coffeehouse in Warsaw opened its doors.⁶²⁵ Polish nobility not only consumed coffee but also read about the proper way of doing so the 'Turkish way'. In 1757, Józef Minaskowicz published the first Polish booklet by the Jesuit and missionary Jan Krusiński on the art of drinking and brewing the 'Turkish nectar.' He instructed his readers to never drink coffee with sugar or milk but also provided an instruction for brewing a coffee sorbet, an early modern version of the cold brew.⁶²⁶ Coffee was so common in Poland-Lithuania that one of the secretaries repeatedly noted in regard to coffee drinking that during his stay in Istanbul the Ottomans granted his lord with 'full ceremony according to the customs of the Eastern honor.'⁶²⁷

⁶²² Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 26–27; Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 161 remarked the similarities of intra-Ottoman ceremonial and the ceremonial for audiences with foreign envoys.

⁶²³ Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 19, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 76–81 about imports and exports of French and Yemeni coffee.

⁶²⁴ Letter of Jan Świrski, border judge to Piotr Pawłowski, Pasha's secretary, from Kamieniec, 14 VI 1729, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 305v-306v.

⁶²⁵ Dziubiński, *Na szlakach orientu*, 250 Polish imports of Ottoman coffee are a topic in itself that requires a fully-fledged research on Ottoman and Polish sources.

⁶²⁶ Jan Krusiński, *Pragmatographia de legitimo usu Ambrosyi Tureckiej, to iest: Opisanie sposobu należącego zażywania Kawy Tureckiej* (w Warszawie: w Drukarni Mitzlerowskiej Korpusu Kadetów J. K. Mci, 1769), 16–17.

⁶²⁷ Diariusz, 24 XII 1760; Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 70, 92.

After a cup of coffee, the ceremonies resumed, and Ottomans with Benoe formed a processional column to enter Pera. Benoe prepared an exact written order of how his court should enter Pera.⁶²⁸ Benoe dressed himself and his entire cortege in new clothing with dominant royal red, light blue, silver, and gold colors with silver tassels and buttons. He ordered those who did not possess a uniform dress in color and style, mostly Armenian and Jewish merchants, to enter Pera on the side in order to not ruin the uniformity of his procession. Benoe formed the procession in accordance with the Ottomans and allowed a janissary unit to be placed in the avant-garde. The deputy of the Ottoman master of the protocol (*halife-i teşrifati*) assisted the entire process. Benoe's escort (*mihmandar*) Ebu Bekir Ağa on the left hand and chief of the gatekeepers (*kapıbaşı*) on the right hand flanked Benoe to avoid conflicts of precedent over the honorable, right side. Water-carriers closed the Ottoman column followed by Benoe's equeries, his horses, carriages, and servants. The 'chevaliers,' young sons of Polish-Lithuanian nobles that joined Benoe's trip to Istanbul for educational purposes, formed a conform group in the middle of the column. Benoe proceeded proudly, dressed richly and colorfully and surrounded by a large group of house servants, including German, Moldavian, and Turkish boys dressed in Turkish manner. Like during the ceremonial crossing of the Ottoman-Polish border, Benoe rode on horseback surrounded by personal servants. Giuliani and Marini, one disgruntled and the other freshly promoted, marched behind Benoe. Benoe's military escort, coaches and merchants closed the cavalcade. Members of the cavalcade walked in pairs and considering the large diplomat's entourage and numerous Ottoman servants and pashas present, the cavalcade certainly stretched over miles. Later depictions of Polish diplomatic cavalcades entering Pera give a good sense of how Benoe's entry might have looked (see illustration 26 and 27). This conspicuously constructed cavalcade was an occasion for Benoe and other envoys to construct their identity in the eyes of Turkish viewers.

⁶²⁸ 'The order of the entry to Pera in Istanbul in anno 1743', AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 717, ms. 1324. In the next session I individualize the narrative by following the lines of Benoe's experiences. This makes the narrative more personal and gives it more plausibility as contrasted with ideal-typical models employed, for instance, by Douglas C. Brookes, see Douglas S. Brookes, "Of Swords and Tombs: Symbolism in the Ottoman Accession Ritual," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 17, no. 2 (1993): 1–22.

Illustration 26: Ceremonial entry of Karol Boscamp Lasopolski, Polish envoy extraordinary to Pera on 12 February 1777 by Johann Christian Kamsetzer. Later eighteenth-century envoys had usually an artist with them, who illustrated every step of the diplomatic mission. Królikowska-Dziubecka, *Podróże artystyczne Kamsetzera*, 71.



Illustration 27: Solemn entry of envoy Franciszek Piotr Potocki to Pera on 31 March 1791 by Luigi Mayer. Potocki's entourage consisted of around 100 people, much less than the corteges of Benoe or Podoski. Hacer Topaktaş, *Osmanlı-Lehistan diplomatik ilişkileri: Franciszek Piotr Potocki'nin İstanbul elçiliği, 1788-1793*, vol. Sayı 23, Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. IV/A-2.2. dizi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 230.

In the splendid seventeenth-century entries to Rome or Paris, Polish-Lithuanian envoys and ambassadors often self-fashioned themselves as a peculiar mixture of Western and Oriental elements. In Michał Radziwiłł's entry to Rome in 1680 the Polish envoy military escort were janissaries dressed in Turkish style and a winged Polish cavalry unit (hussars); at the front of the cavalcade, camels led by black grooms dominated the picture. Nobles in Radziwiłł's entourage dressed in Polish or French style or in a mixture of both.⁶²⁹ This colorful amalgamate of Turkish, Polish, and French elements would have been hardly imaginable in a diplomatic entry to Istanbul. On the contrary, Benoe visibly stressed their belonging to the Western culture. In this manner, Benoe's military escort in 1743 were not winged hussars, armed with characteristic Turkish-style sabres, but German-style dragoons armed with German-made backswords.⁶³⁰ Benoe, however, dressed mostly in Polish style costumes, and French costumes in his chest were a rarity.

Usually, no conflicts arose about the nature of the procession or placing of the envoy, although Poles usually insisted on being on the right, honorable side during the entry. Ottomans kept Podoski, for instance, in the middle flanked by two gatekeepers, Hassan Ağa and Abdi Ağa, and he did not complain about that. In 1743, however, the assistant to the master of the protocol urged Benoe to take the left side next to his conductor. Benoe refused and a long quarrel started about the honorable, right side; present Ottomans urged Benoe's dragoman, Giuliani, to speak to him. Benoe answered in Turkish that 'in this point, I need neither persuasion nor instruction because I remember well the *teşrifat* or instructions, and I know with what courtesy Turkish envoys are treated in our country.'⁶³¹ Benoe demanded reciprocity. In the end, Benoe and Ottomans reached a compromise: Ottomans allowed Benoe to ride few steps back from the gatekeeper, and his escort –who more or less flanked him on both sides– rode in a minimal distance just a few steps behind. In the middle of the procession to Pera, the master of the ceremonies (*teşrifatçı effendi*) arrived and intervened personally by begging Benoe to take the left side. Benoe refused.

⁶²⁹ Sabine Jagodzinski, *Die Türkenkriege im Spiegel der polnisch-litauischen Adelskultur: Kommemoration und Repräsentation bei den Żółkiewski, Sobieski und Radziwiłł*, vol. 13, Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2013), 121–24, 217.

⁶³⁰ SL, fond 145, ms. 71, part 2, f. 12v.

⁶³¹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, Grand Crown Chancellor, from Pera, 15 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 708, No. 1328: 'Odpowiedziałem po turecku, że mi *in hoc puncto* nie trzeba ani perswazyi, ani informacyi, ponieważ pamiętam dobrze kancelarii koronnej *teşrifat* alias instruktaż i wiem *quanta civilitate* u nas *tractantur* posłowie tureccy.'

Benoe's stubbornness aside, ceremonial conflicts were rather rare, other than in Ottoman-Russian diplomatic encounters where they seemed to have been commonplace.⁶³² This scarcity might have resulted from Benoe's low diplomatic rank of envoy extraordinary and his general tendency to avoid discussing hard politics with the Ottomans. A recurrent and problematic topic in Ottoman-Polish ceremonial encounters was the presence of Russian troops in Poland-Lithuania. Benoe had to explain to the Ottomans why the Russian troops used Polish territory to storm Ottoman fortresses from the north just a few years earlier. But he tried to avoid any political discussion with the Ottomans at all cost. Polish diplomacy in Istanbul gradually lost its importance by the eighteenth century. This was so because of the civil wars in Poland-Lithuania.

In the 1710s, when Benoe as a young man spent several years in the Ottoman provinces, multiple Polish envoys representing two Polish rulers fought each other in Istanbul in much the same vein as the Britons half a century before.⁶³³ All of them tried to prove that their master was the only rightful king of Poland and they themselves the only Polish envoy that should be allowed to stay in Istanbul. This was the first of several similar situations that transpired in the eighteenth century. They were a result of the polycentric structure of Poland-Lithuanian with the king's prerogatives in diplomacy being gradually absorbed by multiple noble provincial courts who assumed the right to dispatch diplomats to foreign courts. To give an example, Augustus III of Poland-Saxony advised Mniszech in 1755 in his own handwriting that his mission was first and foremost to discredit and expel from Istanbul Karol Malczewski, another Polish envoy present there, sent to the Sultan by the Grand Crown hetman Jan Branicki.⁶³⁴ As an envoy in Istanbul, Benoe and Podoski felt the diminishing position of the Polish diplomacy on their own skins in small but significant ceremonial taunts. Podoski's men rode on horses that his secretary described as 'ugly drags,' and Benoe had to wait in a heavy blizzard to enter his audience with Mahmud I. The gradual loss of meaning of Polish diplomacy in Istanbul is symptomatic but not exceptional. It was similar, for instance, to the case of Venetian baili and ambassadors in the eighteenth century, who gradually lost their previous position in the diplomatic world of Istanbul following the decomposition of the Venetian Republic and its absorption by Habsburgs.⁶³⁵

Benoe came from a humble background, but his ambitions grew over time to include not only naturalization in Poland-Lithuania, but also joining the higher echelons of the Polish noble society. Benoe, tormented by different identifications, by duties resulting from feelings of belonging to groups and patronage networks made visible choices in the building of his embassy. From a pity noble serving

⁶³² See Itzkowitz, *Mubadele: An Ottoman Russian Exchange*, 69-70 for ceremonial conflicts about right hand, left hand and others.

⁶³³ Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642-1660*, Publications on the Near East (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 134.

⁶³⁴ Augustus III to Jan Mniszech, Dresden, XII 1755, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinet, loc. 2956/9, p. 55v.

⁶³⁵ Pedani, "The Sultan and the Venetian Bailo," 290.

other nobles Benoe advanced to a king's servant. He was also a close reader. On his shelf at home, Benoe had the diplomatic diary of his predecessor Józef Sierakowski from 1733 which contained detailed descriptions of a reception hall in the French embassy and the Venetian bailate.⁶³⁶ Benoe decided to introduce a similar space in the Polish embassy and dispatched all luggage, kitchen utensils, and furniture with servants three days before the ceremonial entry to Pera in order to prepare it. In his embassy building, Benoe constructed a quasi-throne (or audience) hall for receptions of foreign envoys and Ottomans with a canopy topped with a small painting of Augustus III of Poland-Saxony, multiple mirrors to create an illusionary depth of the room, sofas, chairs and new upholstery (see figure 5). This was the room where Benoe entertained Ottomans after his solemn entry with coffee and relaxed conversations, far from the eyes of unwanted onlookers; this was the space where Benoe received European envoys, Greeks, and European merchants. In this reception room, Benoe entertained his guests with French and Hungarian wine.

From this time on, every Polish embassy building in Istanbul included a similar reception hall. In 1760, Podoski entered his palace 'surrounded by his own and Turkish assistance, where he encountered a full-size portrait of His Gracious Majesty the king [Augustus III – M. K.], much similar to him, painted in Poland, sent here beforehand, and framed in a splendid golden frame.'⁶³⁷ Podoski covered the walls in the room with golden and silken upholstery. In this room, Podoski greeted Ottomans with coffee and sweetmeats, received other European diplomats, and gave concerts. The considerable difference between Benoe's and Podoski's audience hall was the size of the king's painting, small and inconsiderable in Benoe's case and large and splendid in Podoski's room. This difference illustrates the rather weak connection between Benoe and the king's court.

⁶³⁶ 'Regestr rzeczy po śmierci świętej pamięci Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pawła na Bursztynie i Rogoźnie Benoego (..)', SL, fond 145, ms. 101, part 14, f. 19v. Journal Mniszech, 11 IV 1755; Dariusz Sierakowski, 8 I 1733 (French embassy), 21 I 1733 (Venetian bailate), p. 66-67, 70-71.

⁶³⁷ Dariusz Podoski, 24 XII 1759: "Za tym JW posel swoją i wyżej wyrażonych urzędników tureckich asystencyą otoczony wszedł do pokoju swego, w którym zastał portret króla JMci Pana Miłościwego w całej osobie do żywego wcale podobnie, w Polsce malowany, tu wprzód przesłany w suto złożonych ramach pod baldekinem z przednie lustrowanej srebrnej zielony aksamitny kwiat wyrabiany mający materyi dokoła której słupy na kształt kolosów bogato złotem i jedwabiami są wyszywane."

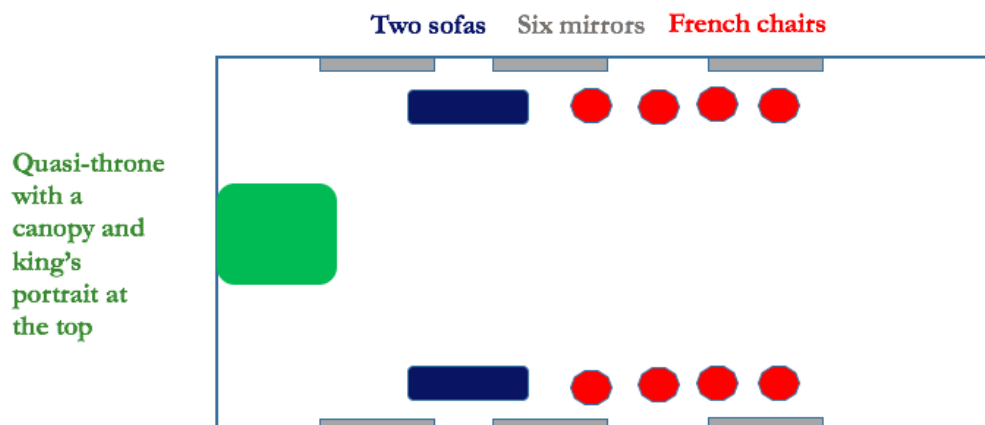


Figure 5: Schematic reconstruction of Benoe's audience hall from 1743. SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 11v-13v; letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Załuski, Lwów, 29 VIII 1742, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 685, No. 1279.

The decreasing significance of Polish diplomacy in Istanbul had no great influence over how the audiences with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan looked. All diplomats in Istanbul claimed that Ottomans received them in an unprecedented way, breaking the ceremonial and showing special favors. The French claimed precedent over the British, and the British reported back home that the French fill their reports with fiction and lies.⁶³⁸ Polish diplomats, for their part, always claimed precedent over Russian envoys. Ottomans, however, treated diplomats without great differences and according to their rank. They differentiated between three diplomatic ranks: 'small' envoy or messenger (*keñçuk elçi*), 'middle' or envoy extraordinary (*orta elçi*) and ambassador (*büyük elçi*), of which the latter two are still being used today in Turkish. In the eighteenth-century Ottomans, of course, had a different category for resident envoys (*mukim elçi*). The receptions of envoys by the Grand Vizier and the Sultan followed a similar pattern in each of the ranks.

Following the entry to Pera, Benoe gained an audience with the Grand Vizier. He was in a rush to conduct all the ceremonies quickly and leave Istanbul as soon as possible. There were two main formats for the encounter with the Grand Vizier: formal (ceremonial) and informal. The second was less official and less demanding for the Ottomans. For the informal audience, Ottomans did not change their headgear, did not provide Benoe with a caique with seven pair of oars and thirty-nine caparisoned horses and did not escort him to the Sublime Porte. Ottomans used this format for diplomats who repeatedly held conferences with the Grand Vizier, like in the case of Grand Ambassador Stanislaw Chomentowski, who met frequently with often changing Grand Viziers to talk politics. For the formal audiences, staged

⁶³⁸ Florian Kühnel, "No Ambassadour Ever Having the Like'. Die Übertretung der diplomatischen Rituale und die Stellung der Gesandten am osmanischen Hof," in *Interkulturelle Ritualpraxis in der Vormoderne: diplomatische Interaktion an den östlichen Grenzen der Fürstengesellschaft*, ed. Claudia Garnier and Christine Vogel, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung Beiheft 52 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2016), 98.

twice to deliver diplomat's credentials (or king's letter) and to pick up Grand Vizier's letter to Polish officials, all the ceremonies applied.

Benoe's parade on the way to the Sublime Porte started around ten o'clock from the Polish embassy and his cortege walked down the hills of Pera to the Tophane pier. Benoe's secretary, Paweł Starzyński, carried in front of Benoe the king's letter wrapped in a precious textile and placed on a pillow. Apart from that, Benoe's cortege walked in exactly the same order as in the entry to Pera and in candles' and torches' light. The Ottoman chief sergeant-at-arms (*çavuşbaşı*) provided Benoe with a caique with seven pairs of oars. It picked Benoe at the Tophane pier, and Benoe boarded it with his translators, Starzyński, and young Polish nobles. With his entire court, military escort, and a janissary guard unit led by a colonel (*corbaci*), Benoe crossed the Golden Horn on a dozen caiques. A dressed-up group of Polish, Armenian, and Jewish merchants from Poland-Lithuania joined Benoe's procession. After landing at the Kireç pier (today the always-busy Eminönü pier), twenty Ottoman escorts (*çavuşan*) greeted Benoe and took him to a wooden kiosk where Ottomans treated him to sweetmeats, coffee, sorbet, and incense. Afterwards, Benoe's cortege formed a cavalcade. Benoe mounted a caparisoned horse provided from the Sultan's stables –the same one as during his entry to Pera– and was flanked at all times by his escort Ebu Bekir Ağa and the chief sergeant-at-arms. Ottomans distributed an additional thirty-nine horses among Benoe's cortege, a number provided to all envoys, and doubled for ambassadors. The ceremonies reassumed after the arrival at the Sublime Porte.⁶³⁹

Benoe proceeded uncomfortably in the rain and cold. He was upset about the weather conditions, but the ceremony took place despite the constant rain, stormy waters on the Golden Horn and his complaints. At the Sublime Porte, Benoe dismounted at the stirrup stone awaited by the Grand Dragoman Ioannis Kallimaki to greet him and lead him to the guest room (*misafir odası*), where Benoe waited for 'half a prayer.' Ottomans could express here their favor or disdain by making the envoy wait shorter or longer and this is why Benoe noted in his report that he did not wait at all, but instantly proceeded to the audience hall (*'arḫ odası*) and sat on a stool opposite the Grand Vizier's sofa. Providing the envoy with better sitting arrangement was diligently reported home, too. In 1760, Ottomans – although it was not noted in his diary as any favor– provided Podoski with a chair in the European style to sit on during the audience.⁶⁴⁰ After Benoe sat down, various Ottoman officials filled the audience hall and lined up along the walls. Benoe noted that the Grand Vizier was held by the arms by two members of the council when entering the audience hall. The ritual of being taken by the arms, regularly understood

⁶³⁹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Zaluski, Grand chancellor, from Pera, 30 I 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 3, ff. 6r-9r.

⁶⁴⁰ Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 13–14.

by European diplomats as an offence, was wide spread in Ottoman ceremonial and did not escape Benoe's attention.⁶⁴¹

After the Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha took a seat, Benoe presented a short speech in Latin translated by the Grand Dragoman Kallimaki. Ali Pasha answered in Turkish and Kallimaki rendered his answer in Latin. Although Benoe was able to present his speech in Turkish, he did not as the ceremonial required the intermediation of the Grand Dragoman. Later on, however, he tried to talk face-to-face about the borders with the Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha 'son of a physician [...] a balanced and wise man that weighted his every answer so long that it became unbearable.'⁶⁴² Hekimoğlu pointed out that the first audience is just to greet the new envoy, hissed at Benoe, and refused to talk about the matter of his mission. This was the experience of many diplomats who were usually straightforward reprimanded by the Ottomans if they tried to address their mission's goal during the first audience. Benoe's knowledge of Turkish was here definitely an advantage as he could swiftly change to a less important topics and engage with the Grand Vizier (over sweetmeats, coffee, fruit beverage, and incense) in direct small talk. Benoe talked about his trip to Istanbul, his family, the latest harvest, the health of the Polish king, the king's ministers, and the border nobles that Ali Pasha knew personally. Benoe discussed first the actual issues of his mission –borders with the Ottoman Empire– in later meetings with Ottoman officials.

The ceremonies ended by granting the envoy and his retinue robes of honor. As the late eighteenth century Mehmed Esad Efendi's collection of ceremonial examples indicates, Ottomans noted diligently the occasion, number, and quality of the robes given to each envoy.⁶⁴³ Benoe received the most expensive and splendid caftan lined with sable furs. Ottomans distributed another thirty-nine casual caftans among the diplomat's cortege, starting with his dragoman Giuliani and secretary Starzyński. Poles often took them off quickly as they had a sense of their meaning for the Ottomans. Many of them were sold to Jewish merchants who re-sold them to the Sultan's palace.⁶⁴⁴ This way, the same robes of honor could have been conferred upon various diplomatic missions. With robes of honor and handkerchiefs

⁶⁴¹ Karateke, 45, 189–91; cf. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 25; Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 161; Es'ad Efendi, *Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si*, 117–18; Wójcik, Labuda, and Gierowski, *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, 2:292.

⁶⁴² Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluzki, Pera, 26 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 711, ms. 1334.

⁶⁴³ See Es'ad Efendi, *Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si*, 177–88 for examples from 1796 to 1810; see also Amanda Philips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rboads Murphey*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 112–38.

⁶⁴⁴ A similar behavior may be observed among Habsburg envoys, see Ernst D. Petritsch, "Zeremoniell bei Empfängen habsburgischer Gesandtschaften in Konstantinopel," in *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ralph Kauz, Giorgio Rota, and Jan Paul Niederkorn, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 52 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichisch Akad. der Wiss, 2009), 313; see also Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 31 on the same practice of selling caftans by diplomats and Ottoman officials.

distributed among his entourage, Benoe made his way back to the stirrup stone. Escorted only by his escort, Benoe made his way back to Pera.

There were no larger ceremonial conflicts during the audiences with the Grand Vizier, and most of symbols and signs were commensurable. Benoe shared and understood the Ottoman world of symbols and rituals. During cavalcades, Benoe and Ebu Bekir Ağa recognized the right-hand side as the more honorable one. Benoe offered sweetmeats and coffee, omnipresent in Ottoman ceremonial, to Ottomans in Poland-Lithuania. Robes of honor seemed also not to be problematic. As I discuss in more detail in chapter eight, for the Ottomans, robes of honor were a sign of submission; usually, a higher-ranking pasha bestowed caftans on lower ranking officials. By bestowing robes of honor on diplomats, the Sultan or Grand Vizier clothed their guests as they also clothed their subjects or household members. At times, diplomats aware of that fact took the caftans off instantly after moving away from the Grand Vizier's or Sultan's palace.⁶⁴⁵ On the other hand, however, as Christine Vogel recently suggested in a French example, European diplomats integrated robes of honor into 'the economy of honour and symbolic distinction reigning within the diplomatic corps and on the contemporary diplomatic stage.'⁶⁴⁶ Diplomats closely watched the number and quality of caftans offered to competing diplomats. Until the late eighteenth-century mission of Karol Boscamp, Polish-Lithuanian diplomats in Istanbul wore –like Benoe did– a traditional Polish dress with a core outer garment with long, broad slashed sleeves that resembled the Ottoman caftan (*kontusz*).⁶⁴⁷ If the caftans bestowed on diplomats and their cortege were splendid enough they were often worn back at home. Their popularity came on display in Rafał Leszczyński's audience with the Grand Vizier Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha in 1700, when the Grand Ambassador had to separate nobles fighting for the caftans as they were not sufficient to please the entire attendance.⁶⁴⁸ The ways of interpreting and translating the caftans' meaning were manifold and by interpreting them in a favorable light, their ritual meaning boasted Benoe's person as an envoy back at home.

Benoe's audience with Sultan Mahmud I was a more elaborate version of his encounter with the Grand Vizier Ali Pasha. Michael Talbot summarized recently that the audience with the Sultan should have conveyed upon the diplomat several intended impressions: that of the richness of the empire,

⁶⁴⁵ Wojciech Miaskowski, *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, ed. Adam Przyboś (Warszawa: PWN, 1985), 139.

⁶⁴⁶ Christine Vogel, "The Caftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman-French Relations around 1700," in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann, *Istanbul Texts and Studies* 17 (Würzburg: Ergon-Verl, 2015), 78.

⁶⁴⁷ Czesław Szrednicki, "Poselstwo Karola Boscampa Lasopolskiego do Turcji 1776-1778. Fragmenty dziennika," in *Wśród jarłyków i fermanów*, ed. Ewa Siemienieć-Golaś (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2004), 127. Boscamp, as the first, dressed in French style.

⁶⁴⁸ Jacek Kobus, "Po konie i kaftany. Przyczynek do opisu ceremonialno-majątkowego aspektu poselstw do Wysokiej Porty," in *Rzeczpospolita wobec Orientu w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. Dariusz Milewski (Zabrze: Wydawnictwo infortedititions, 2011), 128, 140; Ilona Czamańska, ed., *Poselstwo Rafała Leszczyńskiego do Turcji w 1700 roku: dziennik i inne materiały* (Leszno: Urząd Miasta Leszna, 1998), 77–78.

military might, the rule of law, friendship, and hospitality.⁶⁴⁹ All of these meanings came through and were well-understood by Benoe. Most problematic and incommensurable was the actual encounter between the diplomat and the Sultan and its final moment when two Ottoman gatekeepers forced Benoe to bow in front of Mahmud I. In what follows, I illustrate this ceremony on Benoe's example and suggest that in the eighteenth century, diplomats started reporting on the bowing ceremony in more detail and did not interpret it as a humiliating fact.

Audiences with the Grand Vizier and Sultan were likely to occur at short intervals if the diplomat was in favor and if the audience was granted. Delays were a sign of possible troubles for the diplomat. In 1713, Stanisław Chomentowski conferred regularly with *reis-ül küttab* (virtual Ottoman foreign minister) or *kapudan paşa* (commander of the fleet), but was refused an audience with the Sultan. The reason was the presence of up to four other diplomats from Poland-Lithuania (representing two competing kings and searching for Ottoman recognition for them) in Istanbul at the same time, and Ottoman troops gathering on the Ottoman-Polish border.⁶⁵⁰ If admitted to the audience with the Sultan, Ottomans synchronized it with the ceremonial payment for the janissary troops (usually called *lafa* in Old Polish sources, a deformed version of Ottoman *'ulufe*). The janissaries received their payments in quarterly instalments, but 'not all companies at one time', which gave Ottomans ample occasions for coinciding audiences with the payment.⁶⁵¹

The audience with the Sultan started for Benoe with the same procedures as the audience with the Grand Vizier. In 1733, Sierakowski woke up with his entire court at midnight to get ready for the audience; he probably did so due to the large distance from Bakırköy to Istanbul and because –contrary to Benoe, Podoski, and others– he rode to the audience with the Sultan on the horseback through the entire city of Istanbul.⁶⁵² This was, however, unusual. Benoe's trumpeter in 1743 gave the signal for leaving Pera between four and five o'clock in the morning. Dressed up, Benoe's entire court and associates marched down the hills of Pera to Tophane pier where the chief-sergeant-at-arms' caique adorned with pillows and tapestries awaited the Polish legacy. After the spectacle of crossing the Golden Horn on plentiful of caiques illuminated by the glow of lamps and lanterns, Benoe arrived at the Kireç pier. Once there, the chief-sergeant-at-arms offered Benoe coffee, sweetmeats, sorbet, and incense, but

⁶⁴⁹ Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 154; see also in article form Michael Talbot, "Accessing the Shadow of God: Spatial and Performative Ceremonial at the Ottoman Court," in *The Key to Power?: The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750*, ed. Sebastiaan Derks and Dries Raeymaekers (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 101–23.

⁶⁵⁰ Józef Andrzej Gierowski, "Stolica apostolska wobec groźby tureckiego najazdu na Polskę," in *Na szlakach Rzeczypospolitej w nowożytnej Europie*, ed. Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2008), 451–59.

⁶⁵¹ Pedani, "The Sultan and the Venetian Bailo," 291.

⁶⁵² Diariusz Sierakowski, 18 XI 1733.

they enjoyed them only for a moment as almost instantly forty horses arrived from the Sultan's stables to carry Benoe and his cortege to the Topkapı Palace.

Consequently, Benoe formed a cavalcade 'in the same manner as to the Grand Vizier and following the slightest point of ceremonial'.⁶⁵³ The procession went slowly with Ottomans in the front, on the sides, and in the back. In the middle, Benoe surrounded himself with court servants clothed in Polish dress with silver sticks and blue velvet headgear with silver ostrich feathers. No issue arose around the right-hand privilege. In 1760, Podoski's secretary noted diligently that everything transpired in exactly the same manner as during the audience with the Grand Vizier, implying that Podoski rode in the middle flanked by two Ottoman officials. Ottoman books of ceremonies, however, bluntly state that Podoski rode on the left side and his escort close by.⁶⁵⁴ The same procedure and ceremony was, thus, reported in two disparate manners, both conforming with the readers expectations. Similar narrative strategies are best visible in the actual encounter between Benoe and Mahmud I.

Benoe entered the palace through the imperial gate (*bab-ı hümayun*) and Ottomans disarmed him, his military escort, and servants. While crossing through the gate of greeting (*babü's-selam*), the presence of a few thousand janissaries greeted Benoe. 'When they saw the envoy, they rushed across the second court with a great impetus to prepared bowls of soup and flat wheat bread so that the ground trembled and rustled; it was a sign of janissaries' good heart towards the Padishah, otherwise, they would have not accepted this treatment.'⁶⁵⁵ Benoe conveyed in his report the impression of the military might that he experienced and that was Ottomans' goal.

Ottomans put Benoe and other diplomats under –as Dariusz Kołodziejczyk suggested– 'deliberate humiliations and psychological pressures'.⁶⁵⁶ Long waiting periods, despite bad weather conditions, was one of them. Benoe noted with disdain (not in an official and widely copied report, but in a letter) that 'in the second court, put in the proper order, I was forced to stand for two hours in a severe blizzard'.⁶⁵⁷ Benoe had to also ride on horseback and cross the Golden Horn in 'rain and cold that started raining just after the procession had left'.⁶⁵⁸ Before Benoe reached the second courtyard in

⁶⁵³ "Tymże sposobem co do najmniejszego punktu ceremonii był porządek parady naszej jako i do wezyra." Diariusz Podoski, 8 I 1760.

⁶⁵⁴ Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 94: "[Ç]uvaşbaşı ağa sagda ve elçi solda ve mihmandarı ileride yürüyüp."

⁶⁵⁵ 'Description of Benoe's audience, f. 274v: „[W]idząc już w bramie wychodzącego JMci Pana Posła wielkim impetem do uszykowanych mis przed sobą z szorbetem i przennym chlebem w plackach porwała się z znacznym klnieniem ziemi i szelestem co znakiem było dobrego janczarów ku Padyszachowi serca, inaczej by ofiarowanego nie akceptowali traktamentu.”

⁶⁵⁶ Kołodziejczyk, "Polish Embassies in Istanbul"; see also Tetiana Grygorieva, "Zur Selbstdarstellung polnisch-litauischer Botschafter im frühneuzeitlichen Istanbul," in *Die Audienz*, ed. Peter Burschel and Christine Vogel (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 96–99.

⁶⁵⁷ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Załuski, Pera, 26 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, folder 720, No. 1354: "[N]a drugim dziedzińcu, za bramą w szyku lokowany, musiałem wystawać godzin dwie na okrutnej śnieżnicy.”

⁶⁵⁸ 'Description of Benoe's audience, f. 273v.

Topkapı Palace, he was soaked and upset. Ebu Beki Ağa, Benoe's escort, tried to calm him down, assuring that any other diplomat had to go through the same procedures, even in unlucky weather, but that did not help much. The mistreatment could reach also physical dimensions as in the case of the Polish resident Jan Stadnicki whom Ottomans forcibly removed from his seat after he changed allegations and supported a new contender to the Polish throne.⁶⁵⁹ Chomentowski in 1712-1713 visibly feared for his well-being, future, and health after Ottomans put him under guard and limited his contacts with the outside world.⁶⁶⁰ But there was not much they could do about it; Benoe was at the Ottomans' mercy. With a heavy heart and soaked clothing, he proceeded to the next stage of the audience in which he was about to witness an imperial court ruling and Ottoman cuisine.

In 1743, Benoe witnessed two main judges of Rumelia and Anatolia ruling over criminal and civil cases before joining the Grand Vizier for a meal. After that spectacle, Ottomans sealed and sent off a memorandum asking for permission for an audience with the Sultan. Once returned with a positive answer, the Grand Vizier raised the Sultan's writing to his head and kissed it. Thereafter, the palace workers brought in flat silver tables and food. The dishes 'of wonderful tastes' changed in a quick manner to Benoe's astonishment. One detailed description provides the sense of awe shared by Poles dining at Topkapı Palace:

'Every one of us got a handkerchief, instead of a napkin to cover knees, and a fishbone spoon; they do not use forks or knives. We eat everything with bare hands and tore meat to pieces with fingers, which they overcook for this purpose. As we hardly took a handful from one dish, another one was brought in. This treatment took no more than thirty minutes. The china bowls circulated so fast (...) that as many as hundred dishes passed through every table. Dishes were of meat and fish, some of them quite nice in taste, other so strangely spiced that it disgusted our taste. However, the cakes and jellies were delicious'.⁶⁶¹

The number of dishes is not clear in this report, but it gives exactly the impression intended by the Ottomans: that of hospitality and richness of their empire. In 1699, Stanisław Rzewuski, Polish envoy extraordinary, for instance, was offered during his audience in Edirne seventeen dishes ranging from

⁶⁵⁹ 'Information de ce qui est arrivé au Résident Stadnicki à la Porte Ottomane au mois d'août 1735', HStA Dresden, 100026 Geheimer Kabinett, loc 3553/6, f. 170r-171v.

⁶⁶⁰ Letters of Stanisław Chomentowski, Grand Ambassador to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, BC, ms. 5777, No. 4934 (no date and place).

⁶⁶¹ Diariusz, 8 I 1760: "Dano każdemu zamiast serwety chusteczkę na przykrycie kolan, łyżki z kości rybiej, noży i widelec nie zażywają, garzciąśmy wszystko jedli i palcami mięso rozrywali, które umyślnie rozgotują, aby go łatwiej pazury pokrajały. Ledwie jedne postawiono potrawę i raz się z niej do gęby wzięło, natychmiast zabierano i przystawiano insze. Niespełna pół godziny bawił traktament. A tym szybkim misów chińskich (..) zbieraniem, blisko sta potraw na każdym stole obiegło. Potrawy były, mięso i ryby, niektóre niezłym smakiem, niektóre tak dziwnie przyprawione, że wielki wstręt gustowi czyniły. Atoli ciastka i galarety były wysmienite." Cf. Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule*, 30–31.

soups and meats to sweetmeats.⁶⁶² As in the cavalcades where the military escort was of Western-style, in their reports back home Polish diplomats, marked their belonging to the Western culture, where forks and knives were wide-spread among the elites by the eighteenth-century.⁶⁶³ In the eighteenth century, the opinion of Polish nobles on Ottoman eating habits was more curious than condemning.⁶⁶⁴ As outside observers, Poles reporting on Ottoman table manners vividly described the lack of forks as the most striking difference for European visitors, but also accepted the existence of a multitude of eating practices.⁶⁶⁵ In a similar manner, English travelers in China commented time and again on the Chinese eating habits, on chopsticks and porcelain spoons and the lack of European-style cutlery.⁶⁶⁶ Polish travelers embarking on a diplomatic sojourn to Istanbul could have watched, however, Ottoman habits in the borderland. A case in point is the opinion of Podoski's secretary, who watched Ottomans eat before crossing the Ottoman-Polish border:

‘During the lunch, two Turkish messengers from Hotin arrived in order to inform us that they are ready to receive us on their [Ottoman – M. K.] side of the river. Invited they sat at the end of the table with our interpreter, Mr. Giuliani. According to their custom, they ate with bare hands, although the dishes were quite hot and surprisingly enough, they did not even use a knife to cut the meat. They took, however, every care to not eat anything with fatback and later on literally stuffed their mouths with cakes and sweets, which they apparently enjoyed a lot.’⁶⁶⁷

In the borderland, where Ottoman messengers travelled over the border with high frequency, Polish nobles had ample occasions to observe Ottoman customs and eating habits. Benoe on his way to Istanbul was certainly accustomed with them before arriving to the imperial capital. Diplomatic descriptions of Ottoman eating habits served as an instruction and a guide to future diplomats and travelers exactly as Ibrahim Mütefferika's description of eating habits at the court of Grand Crown hetman Józef Potocki

⁶⁶² „Defter-i tamha ve ziyafetha-yı vüzera ve pašayan ve elçyan der divan-ı hümayun,” NBKM, Orientalski otdel, D. 485, f. 14b. I thank Hedda Reindl-Kiel for drawing my attention to this source.

⁶⁶³ Eliza Orman, “Krytyka sarmackiego ucztowania oparta na fragmentach tekstów literackich i piśmienniczych autorów dawnych,” *Ogrody Nauk i Sztuk*, no. 1 (2011): 313.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Kolodziejczyk, “Polish Embassies in Istanbul,” 57.

⁶⁶⁵ Joanita Vroom, “‘Mr. Turkey Goes to Turkey,’ Or How an Eighteenth-Century Dutch Diplomat Lunched at Topkapı Palace,” in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011), 166–67; Civilizational and linear interpretation of how eating habits developed result from the popularity of Norbert Elias's work rooted in European experience Jean-Pierre Poulain, *The Sociology of Food: Eating and the Place of Food in Society* (London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 147–49.

⁶⁶⁶ Ching, “Chopsticks or Cutlery?,” 104.

⁶⁶⁷ Diariusz, 29 IX 1759: “‘Podczas obiadu przyszło dwóch od paszy chocimskiego przysłanych Turków, dając znać, że do przyjęcia JW Posła na brzegu tureckim już jest wszelka gotowość. Proszeni siedli na końcu stołu przy P. Julianim, tłumaczu naszym. Jedli zwyczajem swoim palcami różne i dosyć gorące potrawy, nie krajając choć mięsa nożem. Wszelką jednak dali baczność, aby którą potrawę jedli nie była ze słoniną. Ciastka osobliwie dobrym gustem do gęby pośpieszali.’”

(1736) provided Ottoman readers with detailed descriptions of sitting arrangements at the table on chairs and diligently noted that Polish servants provided every guest with ‘napkins, a fork and a knife.’⁶⁶⁸

The culinary experiences in the Topkapı Palace were Benoe’s last moments before entering Mahmud I’s presence. After the tables had been brought away, Benoe with his two dragomans, nephew Paweł Starzyński, and five selected young Polish noblemen entered the old council room where Ottomans clothed them with robes of honor. Not even a single preserved description of his audience mentions that two Ottoman officials (*kapıs*) held every attendant firmly by the arms and made him bow. Benoe’s widely copied report mentions only two Ottomans ‘assistants’ and swiftly changes to describe the audience hall’s interior.⁶⁶⁹ Diplomats either covered this widely resented custom with silence or interpreted it in the most favorable light possible. As Michał Wasiucionek recently remarked on this custom, thanks to Paul Rycaut’s description that became available in Polish in 1678, the ceremony was known to Polish diplomats beforehand.⁶⁷⁰ It is impossible when entering the audience hall that Benoe did not know what awaited him in Mahmud I’s presence.

In her study of Polish ambassadors’ self-fashioning strategies, Tetiana Grygorieva argued that among seventeenth-century sources only one gave more details about the ceremonial of holding by the arms and all others covered it with silence or standardized expressions.⁶⁷¹ In the visual production, this disinformation led to depictions of diplomats standing armed and freely in the Sultan’s presence!⁶⁷² Dariusz Kołodziejczyk suggested that diplomats compensated the humiliation of forceful bending by writing a confabulated report back at home.⁶⁷³ In the eighteenth century, however, we do have detailed descriptions of this ceremony, which nobles interpreted simply as neither an insult nor an attempt at compromising their integrity. French secretaries Schwartz and Lafon of (consequently) Mniszech (1755) and Podoski (1760), both present during the audience themselves, rendered step-by-step the ceremony of Sultan’s audience without altering its content.⁶⁷⁴ Schwartz and Lafon were eye-witnesses of the audiences, but wrote their reports for the court and not the general noble publicity. However, Podoski’s Polish secretary, Gortarowski, corroborated their statement in his diary and added that Ottoman palace officials fought for the honor of holding Polish nobles’ arms in the Sultan’s presence.⁶⁷⁵ In this way,

⁶⁶⁸ Afyoncu and Önal, “İbrahim Müteferrika’nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi,” 125.

⁶⁶⁹ ‘Description of Benoe’s audience,’ f. 275v: “[K]ażdemu z przypuszczonych do audiencyi po dwóch [urzędników – M. K.] przydano i tak przez przedsionek bogato haftowanemi dywanami usłany do audytorza wprowadzeni.”

⁶⁷⁰ Michał Wasiucionek, “Hermeneutics of Ceremonial Lore: Glimpses of the Idealized Diplomatic Protocol as Revealed in the Polish-Lithuanian Diplomatic Accounts (1677-1763),” *Archivum Ottomanicum* in print (2018): 1–2.

⁶⁷¹ Grygorieva, “Zur Selbstdarstellung polnisch-litauischer Botschafter,” 96.

⁶⁷² Samuel Kazimierz Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis Zbaravianae et rerum apud Otthomanos anno 1622 gestarum. Conscripta a Samuele Kuszewicz* (Dantisci: Förster Jerzy, 1645), frontispiece.

⁶⁷³ Kołodziejczyk, “Polish Embassies in Istanbul,” 54.

⁶⁷⁴ For instance, Journal, 7 I 1760: “Duex chambellans le saisirent par le bras et dix huit autres firent la même fonction à l’égard des neuf autres personnes qui entrèrent avec Son Ex.”

⁶⁷⁵ Diariusz Podoski, 8 I 1760.

detailed descriptions of how the audience looked were available to a wider noble readership. There are a few possible ways of interpreting this narrative change.

Firstly, all European diplomats underwent the same procedures. From this perspective, there was nothing humiliating about an act that Venetian, French, or Habsburg diplomats experienced, too.⁶⁷⁶ Secondly, diplomats could read about this ceremony before embarking on their mission, if not in other diplomat's reports, than in Paul Rycaut's work that was translated into Polish and published four times in the eighteenth-century.⁶⁷⁷ Rycaut described the forcible bowing and interpreted it as a matter of safety since free moving diplomats and their retinues could have presented a danger to the Sultan's life. Two Ottoman doorkeepers – 'who bringing him to a convenient distance, laying their Hands upon his Neck, make him Bow until his Forehead almost touches the ground' – could have been interpreted in this way as a safety precaution.⁶⁷⁸

Thirdly, the social origin of diplomats in the eighteenth-century had changed. Eighteenth-century diplomats were of rather modest origin, and came from ascending nobility. Their families often owed their career to provincial noble courts or to the king's court. Benoe, for instance, was the son of an ennobled military engineer and entered the higher echelons of Polish-Lithuanian nobility after his mission to Istanbul as a reward for it and by the king's grace. In his early career, Benoe served the Potocki noble family, and bowing, kneeling, or hand kissing was not unknown within the Polish noble culture as a sign of reverence and allegiance.⁶⁷⁹ Benoe had less of a problem in deep bowing than the powerful seventeenth century ambassadors who represented the Polish king in Istanbul a century before.

The audience with Mahmud I was the culmination of Benoe's stay in Istanbul. After the bowing ceremony, Benoe could present his greeting in Latin –that he delivered to the Grand Dragoman beforehand in writing to facilitate translation– pass the king's letter to the Sultan, and exit the audience chamber. Benoe waited again, 'not a short time', next to the imperial kitchen, in rain and snow and observed all the Ottoman officials leaving. Then, the Polish mission formed a colorful cavalcade and returned on a horseback and in caiques to Pera. Altogether, the ceremonies and cavalcades took around twelve hours and finished at the Polish embassy building. This audience belongs to the last of the grand

⁶⁷⁶ For a similar argument see: Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 165.

⁶⁷⁷ On Rycaut, other translations and original Polish works see Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, 155–60.

⁶⁷⁸ Sir Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 3rd ed. (London: Charles Brome, 1686), 159; Sir Paul Rycaut, *Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Otomańskiej residującego z francuskiego języka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego y do druku podana w roku 1678*, trans. [Hieronim Kłokocki] (Śluc: Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska, 1678), 107–8.

⁶⁷⁹ For a source example of a noble falling to the feet of another noble see Marcin Matuszewicz, *Diariusz życia mego*, vol. 1 (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986), 652; Mączak, *Unequal Friendship*, 70, 77.

ceremonial encounter between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. Can we, however, trace any contacts between Polish diplomats and Ottomans outside the ceremonial framework?

As the opening anecdote of this chapter suggests, for Benoe and other Polish diplomats the Polish embassy in Istanbul was a social space outside of the ceremonial frame. Ali Ağa, Ottoman companion of the envoy Sierakowski in 1733, who regularly visited the Polish embassy, was a household member of Yirmisekizade Mehmed Said Efendi, an Ottoman statesman and diplomat. The latter had an ample interest in keeping friendly relations with Sierakowski as he was preparing himself for an overland diplomatic mission to Sweden that irrevocably led him through Poland. Another member of Yirmisekizade's household, Ismail Ağa visited the embassy on a regular basis, checking on the envoy's health and drinking coffee with him. At last, Yirmisekizade himself came to the Polish embassy, asking for recommendation letters to Polish officials. Sierakowski granted his wish and drafted them in his presence.⁶⁸⁰ This kind of Ottoman-Polish sociability was, however, limited. Only the diplomat's escort and guards remained in constant contact with the embassy.

Benoe and his escort (*mihmandar*) Ebu Bekir Ağa seemed to be in constant contact during the diplomatic mission and after it. The same escort accompanied Benoe to Istanbul and back to the border. Benoe's contact with his escort, Ebu Bekir Ağa, was firmly good, but paid with expensive gifts even more expensive than those gifted to the Sultan. Ebu Bekir Ağa assisted Benoe during his trip to Istanbul and back to Poland, as well as during all ceremonial audiences in Istanbul and the entry to Pera. Sierakowski and Podoski, like Benoe, stayed in touch with their escorts and in their diaries regularly reported on the progress of their career and their new offices.⁶⁸¹ Their contact resulted rather *ex officio*. It was so also in the case of a small janissary unit led by a colonel that protected the Polish embassy and dined with the diplomat on a daily basis. The sociability of Polish envoys in Istanbul with Ottomans was thus limited.

The Ottoman-Polish informal sociability had its limits due to the short stays of the Polish diplomats in Istanbul. Contrary to European resident diplomats, envoys from Poland did not have the time needed to establish deeper social bonds and socialize with Ottomans in Istanbul. On the other hand, it seems that European-Ottoman sociability had its limits. It is true that –as John-Paul Ghobrial argued– ceremonial meetings between Ottomans and Europeans created an ample occasion for sociability.⁶⁸² The sociability of European envoys in Istanbul, however, focused on other European diplomats and merchants. The informal contacts with Ottomans existed, but often created frustrations and

⁶⁸⁰ Dariusz Sierakowski, 13 XI 1732, 45-46 (Said Efendi), 8 XI 1732, 42 (Ismail Ağa), 9 XI 1732, 43 (Ali Ağa). For Said Efendi see Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 70. Some of Said's letters are conserved in Paris: Letter of Mehmed Said Efendi to unknown recipient, Constantinople, 6 VI 1743, AD, Correspondence politique, Turquie, ms. 114, f. 132v.

⁶⁸¹ For instance Diariusz Podoski, 12 I 1760 on the nomination of the escort Hüseyin Pasha to the office of the Chief Equerry (*miarbur-i kebir*).

⁶⁸² Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 73–79.

misunderstandings. Benoe earned the friendship of Ottoman pashas at a high cost. During his 1743 entry to Pera, Benoe felt a visible relief after the ceremonial was over and he could finally talk face-to-face with Ottomans behind a closed door. Benoe was, however, less pleased when all present Ottomans awaited customary gifts in cash before leaving.⁶⁸³ Ali Ağa might have been present during the bibulous festivities in the Polish embassy, but we might wonder if he enjoyed it. Mniszech danced into the early morning with the wives of Greek merchants. Yet, no Ottomans were to be found in Mniszech's embassy building during the long festivities to the glory of the Polish king. Having said that, the European and Ottoman worlds in the sociable space of Istanbul were certainly more connected than previously assumed.

The life of every Polish diplomat in Istanbul focused on other Europeans. Obviously, the most important factor for Benoe's social life in Istanbul was his household, a miniature copy of his household back at home that he brought with him to Istanbul. Most of the Poles present in Istanbul socialized among themselves and with other Europeans and rarely socialized with Ottomans, outside of bazars and other necessary encounters. In the last part of this chapter, I study Benoe's household in Istanbul as an exemplary diplomatic household in eighteenth century Istanbul.

Diplomacy and Patronage: Diplomat's Court in Istanbul

Benoe's desire for self-sufficiency encouraged the creation of a Polish-Lithuanian social space in Istanbul. Obviously enough, the envoys' sociability was most intensive within the embassy itself and with other Polish and Saxon subjects. Benoe spent the majority of his time there drafting missives in the candle's light, dining and partying at his embassy building. Three different groups can be distinguished in Benoe's court in Istanbul: young nobles, descendants of families standing under the patronage of the diplomat; merchants and commercial agents that habitually accompanied diplomats to enjoy their legal protection; and craftsmen and servicemen, who formed the largest group in the diplomat's cortege. All three groups lived together in the embassy building and guest houses provided by the Ottomans and spread throughout Pera and Galata. With these large entourages that amounted to between one hundred and two hundred people, Benoe created an ephemeral 'Polish-Lithuanian nation' in Istanbul with the diplomat as its head.

This phenomenon, however, never reached a permanence and continuity equal to the Venetian bailate (or other European missions in Istanbul), with a bailo living continuously on the premises of the

⁶⁸³ For a similar argument, see: Christine Vogel, "Geschenke als Medien interkultureller Diplomatie: Praktiken des Schenkens französischer Botschafter im Osmanischen Reich im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Medien der Aussenbeziehungen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Hoeres and Anuschka Tischer (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 158–59.

Venetian embassy with his *famiglia* and servants over longer periods of time.⁶⁸⁴ The short-lived presence of Polish envoys in Istanbul did not allow it. However, the presence of Polish diplomats in Istanbul was recurrent enough to allow a high level of organization of ad hoc missions. Let us trace the different social groups within the embassy on the example of Benoe's envoyship, whose diligent notes allow us to describe the social structure of his entourage.

Benoe transmitted to Istanbul a well-prepared court, a miniature of his court in Poland-Lithuania. Among the members of the embassy were two dragomans (Marini and Giuliani) and two secretaries (Starzyński and Sobolewski), as well as around fifteen young Polish-Lithuanian nobles and commercial agents. Polish, Jewish, and Armenian merchants accompanied Benoe to Istanbul, but were not considered regular members of the court and did not appear in his books of accounts. The young nobles with the titles of chamberlain, squire or marshal filled regular court positions, and joined Benoe during audiences. The group of craftsman and servicemen included three priests, two junior surgeons, and one doctor; a French-style music band consisting of nine musicians; a *chef cuisinier* with an apprentice as well as six ordinary cooks; one furrier and one tailor with an apprentice; thirty dispatch riders, coachmen and messengers, and thirteen valets. All together there were approximately one hundred and twenty-eight people in Benoe's cortege, with almost double that amount in horses.⁶⁸⁵ Among all these people an important group were merchants.

A stable group within every embassy was commercial agents and merchants. Polish diplomatic mission in the Ottoman Empire had a role in stimulating long-distance trade and material exchanges between Polish and Ottoman subjects. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk demonstrated that Polish envoys in Istanbul obtained commercial privileges and that numerous merchants joined their entourages hoping for tax exemptions.⁶⁸⁶ Seventeenth-century sources indicate that many embassy members spent most of their time in the covered markets of Istanbul.⁶⁸⁷ It was so in the eighteenth-century, too, and (as Benoe's archive suggests) these trading activities were well-organized.⁶⁸⁸ In order to obtain Istanbul-made goods, Polish nobles hired commercial agents or dispatched members of their own courts to Istanbul. These people were placed for safety and taxation reasons within the diplomat's cortege. A good example of that

⁶⁸⁴ Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 27.

⁶⁸⁵ The structure of the embassy is reconstructed based on: SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5 and 6 (embassy's bills).

⁶⁸⁶ Kołodziejczyk, "Polish Embassies in Istanbul," 53; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 178; see also Victor Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of the Porte with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1622 - 1628" (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1989), 26.

⁶⁸⁷ See for instance Miaskowski, *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, 151.

⁶⁸⁸ Historians often remarked that Polish nobles shopped in Istanbul or in Ottoman border fortresses but it did not stimulate any convincing research Marian Balczewski, "Zmiany w ocenie Turcji w opinii polskiej XVIII w.," *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Historica* 22 (1985): 106; Maria Bogucka, "Szlachta polska wobec wschodu turecko-tatarskiego: między fascynacją a przerażeniem (XVI-XVIII w.)," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny "Sobótka"* 37, no. 3-4 (1982): 190; and most convincing Link-Lenczowski, "Na pograniczu świata Islamu," 439-40.

is the trading activity of Jan Tarlo, Palatine of Sandomierz, a rich and prominent Polish noble.⁶⁸⁹ Tarlo dispatched his steward Saluski with Benoe to Istanbul with a stipend of one thousand two hundred florins, unlimited credit, and instructions to follow Benoe's advice in his commercial adventure. Saluski was to obtain not only horses, the most desired ware on Istanbul's markets, but also Turkish wool, cotton cloths, horse tack, and weapons.⁶⁹⁰ Another Polish noble, Michał Józef Rzewuski, placed his agent, Stanisław Gumowski in Benoe's cortege with unlimited credit.⁶⁹¹ The fact that Gumowski still owed Benoe over three thousand florins two years after the diplomatic mission suggests the momentum of his shopping endeavor.⁶⁹² Commercial agents of rich Polish nobles were part of a larger trading community within the envoyship – the others were Jewish and Armenian merchants.

Jewish and Armenian merchants went along with diplomats to Istanbul hoping to obtain tax exemptions. In 1760, several 'wonderfully dressed merchants' entered Istanbul with Podoski. These merchants traditionally travelled to Istanbul with every envoy and often sought the protection of Polish nobles. Wawrzyniec Lanckoroński, for instance, the owner of the border village of Żwaniec, protected border Jewish merchants that went to Istanbul with Benoe. These Jewish merchants travelled to Istanbul with Benoe to negotiate debts incurred in the borderland by 'the army of the Illustrious Porte.'⁶⁹³ In question were provisions obtained in Poland-Lithuania in the last Russo-Turkish war. Similarly, in 1735 an Ottoman Jewish merchant Naphtali Ganzo arrived at the trade center of Leipzig and after shopping there, went back to Istanbul with a king's emissary.⁶⁹⁴ Jewish merchants were not the only group that used the protection of Polish diplomats. Armenian merchants also accompanied Polish-Saxon envoys on their missions to Istanbul.

Armenians formed a global trade network and were well-connected through their diaspora which reached from Iran through the Ottoman Empire to Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy. In the eighteenth-century, Armenian trade in the Ottoman-Polish borderland experienced a revitalization. The volume and methods of the trade might be best illustrated by an example of an Armenian trade mission led by a merchant Szymon Bardahor Czarkisowicz. In 1709, Czarkisowicz, armed with recommendation letters and fifteenth thousand florins, carried out a trade mission from the Polish-Lithuanian city of Lublin to the Ottoman Empire. With his five compatriots, however, he was accused of spying and imprisoned by

⁶⁸⁹ Wiesław Bondyra, ed., "Testament Jana Tarły, wojewody sandomierskiego, z 1750 roku," *Res Historica* 26 (2008): 141–43.

⁶⁹⁰ Letter of Jan Tarlo to Paweł Benoe, in *Tursk*, 1 XI 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 7, p. 256v-257r.

⁶⁹¹ Letter of Michał Józef Rzewuski to PB, from Ostrów, 15 X 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 3, p. 76v.

⁶⁹² Letters of Stanisław Gumowski, Starost of Krzeczów to PB, from Ząłość, 24 IX 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 3, p. 23v-r, p. 29v-r.

⁶⁹³ Letter of Wawrzyniec Lanckoroński to PB, in *Kraków*, 7 X 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 6, part 2, p. 3v.

⁶⁹⁴ HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2955/7, *Der türkischen Jude Naphthali Ganzo, wie bei seiner Retour nach Konstantinopel der Capitaine Farinazzi dahin mitgeschickt worden.*

an Ottoman border pasha.⁶⁹⁵ These kinds of problems might have inspired Armenian merchants to search for additional protection from Polish diplomats and their military escort.⁶⁹⁶

Armenian merchants searched for Benoe's protection. For instance, in 1743, an Armenian merchant Jakub Eliaszewicz imported dried fruits and nuts as well as flocks of oxen under Benoe's protection; he apparently served Benoe during his entire embassy and obtained armed protection from the diplomats' military escort for his trade mission.⁶⁹⁷ Eliaszewicz found the support of the Armenian assistant bishop of Lwów, Jakub Augustynowicz, who explicitly asked Benoe to give protection and credit in cash to Eliaszewicz.⁶⁹⁸ On another occasion, an Armenian merchant, Teodor Kirkorowicz, contacted Benoe wishing to obtain credit for purchasing oxen in the Ottoman Empire, because he heard that 'there is golden Turkish coin in the treasury of Your Lordship.'⁶⁹⁹ Kirkorowicz's and Eliaszewicz's requests illustrate the intensity and extent of Benoe's Armenian network. The fact that Benoe godfathered Armenian merchants' children suggests that he was a recognizable personality within the Armenian merchant circles of Poland-Lithuania (and perhaps beyond as well).⁷⁰⁰

Not only commercial agents and merchants, but also diplomats themselves traded in Istanbul. Maurits van den Boogert argued convincingly that the excessive consumption of luxury goods in Istanbul forced European diplomats to search for other sources of revenue 'as they were not allowed to engage in commercial enterprise on their own.'⁷⁰¹ This, however, applies only to resident Dutch envoys. Van den Boogert sees trade with *berats* (privileges), which put Ottoman non-Muslim subjects under the protection of European embassies and law system, as an important source of revenue in the eighteenth-century. As Cihan Artunç accentuated, *berats* were an important factor in diversifying the portfolio of non-Muslim Ottoman merchants who, by acquiring a *berat*, gained European protection; simultaneously, *berat* sale constituted an important source of revenue for European ambassadors and Ottoman authorities alike. Artunç notes that the income of British ambassadors was more than doubled before 1795 thanks to the

⁶⁹⁵ 'Description of the voyage of Szymon Bardahor Czarkisowicz, Persian merchant', BO, ms. 270, No. 48.

⁶⁹⁶ On the global trade networks of Armenian merchants reaching up to Poland and Muscovy see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (University of California Press, 2011), 67, 121; on Armenian trade in Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth-century see Dziubiński, *Na szlakach orientu*, 238.

⁶⁹⁷ Letter of Jan Krzywokolski to PB, in Ismail, 25 VI 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 6, part 4, f. 52v-53v; letter of Jakub Eliaszewicz to PB, in Żwaniec, 10 IV 1745, SL, fond 145, ms. 2, f. 383v-r.

⁶⁹⁸ Letter of Jakub Augustynowicz to PB, Leopold, 4 XII 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 1, f. 20v. Eliaszewicz was apparently 'prosecutor of the Armenian church in Żwaniec' ['prokurator kościoła ormiańskiego żwanieckiego'].

⁶⁹⁹ Letter of Teodor Kirkorowicz to PB, 17 VIII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 4, f. 254v-r: "Miałem to *etiam* z ustnych relacji, że się ma znajdować w skarbie JWW Pana Dobrodzieja turecka moneta w złocie."

⁷⁰⁰ *Księga druga parafian Ormian ochrzczonych w kościele stanisławowskim od roku 1703*, accessed November 8, 2016, <http://www.archiwum.ormianie.pl/archiwuma.php?id=15&id=75369&ik=1>.

⁷⁰¹ Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the 18th Century*, vol. 21, Studies in Islamic Law and Society (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 77–80, 78 (cit.).

custom of berat's sale.⁷⁰² I was, however, unable to find any indications that Benoe or other Polish diplomats traded with berat. Instead, Benoe engaged in commercial enterprise personally and obtained the status of protected berat holders (*beratlı*) himself.

Engaging in trading activity was not viewed kindly at the court. This is why information on purchases in Istanbul are hard to find in official diplomatic correspondence. Benoe's private archive, however, indicates clearly that engaging in commercial enterprise was one of the main purposes of a diplomatic mission to Istanbul. Luckily for us, Benoe kept diligent notes of all his expenses. Andrzej Dziubiński has already suggested that Benoe beat all possible records in his import of Yemen coffee to Poland-Lithuania.⁷⁰³ Benoe brought with him 1349 *okk* of coffee (around 1500 kg). Back in Poland-Lithuania, Benoe's commercial agent Steblecki was responsible for distributing the coffee throughout the country. Benoe, however, had problems selling his coffee. The nobles were reluctant to pay the high price of fifteenth florins for an *okk* of this 'good coffee'.⁷⁰⁴ Two years after being brought to Poland, the coffee was still not sold. More profitable and less problematic was trade with oxen.

During his mission, Benoe dispatched a commercial agent Slonecki to purchase cheap Tatar oxen from the Ottoman steppes of the Black Sea. Slonecki's endeavor was made much easier as he gained recommendation letters and passports in Ottoman Turkish and Romanian from Ottoman borderland governors. Slonecki returned in autumn of 1743 having acquired a flock of oxen and watermelons for which he paid with golden Ottoman coins (*findık*) and Dutch lion thalers (*esedi gurus*) taken directly from Benoe's main treasury in Lwów.⁷⁰⁵ Benoe immediately dispatched the livestock to the Holy Roman Empire and sold it there for a profit. Apart from stable goods and livestock Benoe traded in medicines and plants.⁷⁰⁶

As illustrated above with the example of Benoe's embassy, a group of commercial agents and merchants joined every Polish diplomat on his way to Istanbul. In some regards, we can consider eighteenth century Polish diplomatic missions to Istanbul as trading mission per se. Benoe's example suggests that diplomats themselves did not shy away from trading. Merchants used Benoe's protection to shop while in Istanbul. Not only commercial agents and merchants, but also diplomats treated diplomatic missions to Istanbul as a financial endeavor and an investment opportunity. The contacts obtained during the diplomatic missions were often used in the years to come. Another group that

⁷⁰² Cihan Artunç, "The Price of Legal Institutions: The Beratlı Merchants in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 03 (2015): 726, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050715001059>.

⁷⁰³ Dziubiński, *Na szlakach orientu*, 251.

⁷⁰⁴ 'Expenses of the Istanbul coffee' and an undated letter of Steblecki, no place, no date [ca. 1744-45] SL, fond 145, ms. 13, part 9, f. 10v-r.

⁷⁰⁵ Letter of Ahmet Pasha of Hotin to PB, from the fortress of Hotin, 19 XI 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 8r; "Settlement of accounts with Slonecki for the purchase of oxen", Studenica, 15 III 1744, SL, fond 145, ms. 71, part 2, f. 5r-6r.

⁷⁰⁶ 'List of the things to-be-bought in Istanbul', SL, fond 145, ms. 71, part 5, f. 190v.

accompanied every envoy to Istanbul were young Polish nobles who –as illustrated in chapter five– went to Istanbul as a part of the Grand Tour of the Mediterranean.

A group of young Polish nobles accompanied Benoe to Istanbul and filled the position of a diplomat's squire, chamberlain, and marshal. Young nobles embarked on a trip to Istanbul mostly to obtain languages and as part of a larger educational trip of Europe. This practice appears to be a long tradition, as virtually every diplomat going from Poland-Lithuania to Istanbul took a small number of young nobles with him. These young boys of around fifteenth years of age remained under Benoe's direct protection. In 1700, for instance, the Grand Ambassador Rafał Leszczyński, arrived in Istanbul with an enormous train of over seven hundred people and one thousand horses. Among them, he brought to Istanbul twenty-four personal servants described as various young boys, 'specifically sons of friends'.⁷⁰⁷ Similar citations can be found in every Polish diplomatic diary. Polish nobles used this practice to exert political influence back home and to bind financially weak noble families from the region closer to their court.

A good example of this practice is Benoe's mission to Istanbul. Benoe's steward, Jan Komorowski, for instance, was the descendant of a small noble family based in the Ruthenian Palatinate, and his mother placed both of her sons under Benoe's protection.⁷⁰⁸ Another servant of Benoe in Istanbul, Borowski, was a brother of Piotr Borowski, Jesuit diplomat and missionary to Istanbul and the Crimea.⁷⁰⁹ Benoe financially supported Piotr Borowski on his diplomatic missions and as a natural consequence included his brother into his diplomatic cortege. There are many possible examples of this diplomatic patronage. The best method to illustrate it is by focusing on the two most ample examples of Benoe's patronage.

Let us thus examine two of young Polish nobles in Benoe's cortege more closely. One of the young nobles in Benoe's cortege was Florian Rozwadowski, son of Antoni, a close political friend of Benoe. Rozwadowski's parents dispatched Flor with Benoe to Istanbul in order to learn French. Flor joined Benoe on the Ottoman-Polish border, as his parents lived in a close-by palatinate. To use his own words, he 'looked out for the orders of Your Lordship since the will of my parents placed me under your protection.'⁷¹⁰ Young Rozwadowski lived with Benoe in Istanbul for the entire duration of the envoyship. Upon Benoe's departure, however, he did not join the diplomat's cortege, but instead remained in

⁷⁰⁷ Czamańska, *Poselstwo Rafała Leszczyńskiego do Turcji w 1700 roku*, 25–29.

⁷⁰⁸ Letters of L. (?) Komorowska to PB, from Romaszówka, 3 II 1743 and 2 VIII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 6, part 1, f. 10v-11r.

⁷⁰⁹ For Borowski's mission see Józef Sas, "Z historii misji polskiej na Krymie: Misja ks. Piotra Borowskiego T. J. (1743-1747) [From the History of the Polish missions to the Crimea: the Mission of Piotr Borowski T. J. (1743-1747)]," *Przegląd Powszechny* 103 (1909): 173–91, 369–88.

⁷¹⁰ Florian Rozwadowski's PS in the letter of Antoni Rozwadowski to PB, Biała, 2 XI 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, part 2, p. 65v: "Wyglądam i ja ordynansu JWW Dobrodzieja, pod którym wola rodziców wiek życia moje oddaje."

Istanbul in the household of the Sicilian ambassador, Nicolay de Majo.⁷¹¹ The young boy stayed in Istanbul to master Ottoman Turkish. In the years to come, Benoe financially supported his education. Diplomats in general highly valued multilingual courtiers. In 1760, for instance, a young noble Xavery Borzyslawski with a good knowledge of French, German, and Latin accompanied Podoski to all official audiences and visits with European diplomats.⁷¹² Flor and Xavery were not the only examples of courtier's multilingualism.

Another good example of a skilled noble in the diplomat's cortege is Paweł Starzyński. Starzyński was both Benoe's secretary in Istanbul and his nephew, and followed Benoe's career steps in the military chancellery of Józef Potocki, Benoe's former patron. The main purpose of his trip was courtly refinement, acquisition of new languages, and a Grand Tour of the Mediterranean, discussed in more detail in chapter five. Starzyński spent his time in Istanbul socializing with the diplomatic milieu of Pera and treated the diplomatic mission as a part of his European Grand Tour. Upon Benoe's departure from Istanbul, Starzyński boarded a Neapolitan ship and started a Grand Tour to Italy and France. To this end, he used Benoe's diplomatic connections, his political friends, and the Polish-Saxon court. Starzyński first visited the Ottoman island of Tenedos. Later on, he lived in the Dutch consul's house in the 'Frankish' district of Izmir.⁷¹³ Starzyński departed only with the most vital objects and left all other belongings back in Istanbul. A register of his books and other possessions composed in Pera manifests Starzyński interest, not only in history, but also in languages. Apart from the 'Thesaurus polono-latino-greacus' by Gregorius Knapius (1621) and other works on classical languages, the register lists an unidentified 'Turkish grammar' and 'Lexicon turcicum', probably the famous trilingual 'Lexicon turcico-arabico-persicum' by François Mesgnien Meninski (1680).⁷¹⁴

As the examples of Starzyński and Rozwadowski indicate, Polish-Lithuanian youth used diplomatic missions to Istanbul as a springboard to further education in languages and as a part of their European Grand Tour. But young Polish nobles made up just one of the groups that joined Benoe on his diplomatic mission, the other group were commercial agents and merchants. Jewish and Armenian merchants regularly joined Polish-Saxon missions to Istanbul as did commercial agents of Polish nobility. All of them hoped for tax exemptions and counted on additional legal protection by the diplomat and by his military escort. The presence of young Polish nobles, merchants, and commercial agents in the

⁷¹¹ Bill for Florian Rozwadowski's expenses, 4 VIII 1744, SL, fond 145, ms. 10, p. 72v.

⁷¹² *Diariusz*, 20 II 1760.

⁷¹³ Letters of Paweł Starzyński to PB, from Poland-Lithuania, Ottoman Empire, Italy and France, 1740-1755, SL, fond 145, ms. 14, part 6 (116 letters).

⁷¹⁴ 'Inventory of books of Starzyński, that were left behind in Istanbul and will be transported back to Poland with his Lordship the Envoy', SL, fond 145, ms. 14, part 6, p. 22v-23r.

diplomat's cortege had a strong influence on material and cultural exchanges between Polish and Ottoman subjects.

Young nobles came back home with the experience of Istanbul and with new languages. This brought together Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas on the cultural and linguistic level. Commercial agents and merchants returned richer not only in new experiences but also in wares bought in Istanbul's bazars. These new objects were then circulated among the nobility of Poland-Lithuania. Both groups had an important influence on the perception of the Ottoman world within the Polish-Lithuanian cultural space. These merchants and young nobles were highly multilingual. Thanks to their linguistic skills both social spaces were in constant contact. The next chapter deals with the question of this multilingualism that made the Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century possible.

Chapter 7: Multilingualism in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century

In 1744, Francesco Crescenzo Giuliani, a Polish-Saxon dragoman and resident of Istanbul, reported to the court that Giorgio Lomaca, another Polish dragoman, had passed away. Giuliani suggested that in light of this fact, Lomaca's yearly salary should be given to him. To support Giuliani's request, court scribes attached to his letter a Latin pamphlet written in Lomaca's hand that documented his service up-to-date. Lomaca, a jeweler and trader of Venetian-Greek origin based in Istanbul, served Grand Ambassador Chomentowski in the 1710s 'in all his dealing with the Porte' and remained –in his own words– a loyal servant to the Polish Crown. In 1736, Lomaca lost his post disloyalty to the new Polish resident, Jan Stadnicki, and Giuliani was happy to take this post. Giuliani and Lomaca, two Levantine dragomans, were in conflict with each other over a long period of time. Both dragomans were highly multilingual and able to communicate in a plethora of languages; both served the Polish-Saxon court and gained a considerable standing in Istanbul, all thanks to their multilingualism.⁷¹⁵

Languages and communication are among the fundamental interests of cultural historians, historical linguists, experts in translation studies, and literary scholars.⁷¹⁶ Cultural historians, most notably Peter Burke, remark that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'more people were becoming conscious of varieties of language[s]' leading to a 'discovery of language.'⁷¹⁷ Historical linguists highlight the omnipresence of multilingualism in the early modern world and the phenomenon of codeswitching, language crossing, diglossia and heteroglossia.⁷¹⁸ Experts in translation studies focus on the importance of translation for cross-cultural encounters and its meaning in the past. Moreover, literary scholars analyze how multilingualism transpires in literary texts that are not bound to a single language or dialect.⁷¹⁹ New conferences are emerging and try to join these diverse perspectives and bring them into dialogue.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁵ Letter of Francesco Giuliani to Heinrich von Brühl, Constantinople, 25 VIII 1744 and Lomaca's pamphlet, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 02956/06, no pagination.

⁷¹⁶ Albrecht Classen, "Multilingualism in the Middle Ages: Theoretical and Historical Reflections. An Introduction," in *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 17 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 1.

⁷¹⁷ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Wiles Lectures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 16; Cf. Claire Gilbert, "The Politics of Language in the Western Mediterranean c.1492-c.1669: Multilingual Institutions and the Status of Arabic in Early Modern Spain" (Ph.D., UCLA, 2014), 22–23 who nicknames the same process as the "crisis of language."

⁷¹⁸ See Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (London: Routledge, 2012), chaps. 27–29; see also Peter Burke, "Diglossia in Early Modern Europe," in *European Francophonie: The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language*, ed. Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent, and Derek Offord (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 33–50.

⁷¹⁹ For an overview see Dirk Delabastita and Ton Hoenselaars, "'If but as Well I Other Accents Borrow, That Can My Speech Diffuse': Multilingual Perspectives on English Renaissance Drama," in *Multilingualism in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, ed. Dirk Delabastita and A. J. Hoenselaars, Benjamins Current Topics 73 (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 2–6.

⁷²⁰ Most notably the conference "'A Host of Tongues...'" Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Translation in the Early Modern Period' to-be-held at FCSH-UNL in Lisbon, Dec. 13-Dec. 15, 2018.

Yet, in historical narratives, as in films and novels –as the Dutch historian Willem Frijhoff pointed out– we are misled. We are made to think that the world in the past was perfectly monolingual, that Martin Scorsese’s missionaries in Japan or Stephen Herek’s musketeers in France spoke in a single, discrete language.⁷²¹ However, nothing could be more misleading.

In early modern Poland-Lithuania, elites were at least bilingual, and the high nobility was trilingual. Following the incorporation of the southern provinces of Poland-Lithuania into the Polish Crown (1569), knowledge of Polish language spread among Ruthenian and Lithuanian nobles and became common in the eighteenth century.⁷²² Nonetheless, Latin remained important as a language of administration. Throughout the entire early modern period, central and provincial courts of justice filed cases in Latin and codeswitched to Polish in order to transcribe reported speech or testimonies.⁷²³ In the eighteenth century, French also gained popularity in Poland-Lithuania, and it would be hard to imagine a high noble not being able to correspond or have a chat in French at that time.⁷²⁴ Elżbieta Sieniawska, the influential wife of Adam Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, who in many ways outpaced her husband in wit, corresponded with ease in French and permanently codeswitched between Polish and French vocabulary.⁷²⁵ Benoe, himself a half-French diplomat, made his granddaughter Julianna Skarbek write letters in French in her childlike handwriting and ordered French history books for her in Warsaw.⁷²⁶ In the northern provinces, nobles tended to master German. For instance, Adam Gotartowski, Podoski’s secretary from the Baltic Sea coast, enriched his diary written in Polish with German vocabulary, a visible sign of his fluency in this language. Finally, in the provinces bordering the Ottoman Empire, the nobility ruled over a population made up overwhelmingly of Ruthenian peasants and Ashkenazi Jewish people, and in the border bazaars Turkish, Polish, Ruthenian, Yiddish, and Armeno-Kipchak mixed on a daily basis.⁷²⁷

⁷²¹ Willem Frijhoff, “Codes, Routines and Communication Forms and Meaning of Linguistic Plurality in Western European Societies in Former Times,” in *Multilingualism, Nationhood, and Cultural Identity: Northern Europe 16th-19th Centuries*, ed. Karene Sanchez-Summerer, Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, and Willem Frijhoff, Languages and Culture in History (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 17–18.

⁷²² Robert I. Frost, “The Nobility of Poland-Lithuania, 1569-1795,” in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Vol. 2: Northern, Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Hamish M. Scott, 2. ed (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 274.

⁷²³ Joanna Kopaczyk, “Administrative Multilingualism on the Page in Early Modern Poland: In Search of a Framework for Written Code-Switching,” in *Multilingual Practices in Language History*, ed. Päivi Pahta, Janne Skaffari, and Laura Wright (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 276, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501504945-013>; see also Jerzy Axer, “Łacina jako drugi język narodu szlacheckiego Rzeczypospolitej,” in *Łacina jako język elit*, ed. Jerzy Axer (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004), 151–57; Françoise Waquet, *Le latin, ou, l'empire d'un signe: XVIe-XXe siècle*, Evolution de l’humanité (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), 119.

⁷²⁴ For the newest work on the spread of French in Europe see with imaginative title Rahul Markovits, *Civiliser l’Europe: politiques du théâtre français au XVIIIe siècle*, Épreuve de l’histoire (Paris: Fayard Editions, 2014).

⁷²⁵ Elżbieta Sieniawska, *Z serca kochająca żona i uniżona sługa: listy Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej do męża Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1688-1726*, ed. Bożena Popiolek, Urszula Kicińska, and Agnieszka Slaby (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2016).

⁷²⁶ Letter of Michal Ballasy to Pawel Benoe, in Warsaw, 6 I 1752, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 52v.

⁷²⁷ On Yiddish as the language of Polish Ashkenazic Jews see Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century*, 5, 10.

The situation was even more complex in the Ottoman Empire, which ruled over a vast number of diverse ethnic groups. There, ‘Turkish was a compulsory language of business,’ but most officials ‘must have been effectively bilingual.’⁷²⁸ Ottomans functioned in a curious mixture of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic that constituted Ottoman Turkish and were all present in the language of administration. A classic example of an Ottoman intellectual, Mustafa Ali ‘wrote poetry, translated works on kingship and sex from Arabic and hagiographies from Persian.’⁷²⁹ Ottoman intellectual Esad Efendi of Ioannina mastered Greek and had ties with prominent Greek intellectuals. In the eighteenth century, the Greek language assumed an important position in Ottoman administration, particularly so in the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia ruled by Phanariot, Greek-speaking elites. To make the situation even more complicated, ‘Phanariot Greeks studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish while Greek-speaking Muslims (...) brought Greek sources into the world of Ottoman scholarship.’⁷³⁰ At the same time, Karamanlı Turkish minorities in Anatolia spoke a Turkish dialect but wrote in the Greek alphabet.⁷³¹ Unlike the Polish-Lithuanian Jewish population, Jews in the Ottoman Empire were not Ashkenazic, but largely Sephardic and communicated in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish).⁷³² Finally, as chapter three has illustrated, border officials and governors displayed at least a fluent working knowledge of the vernacular. Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, governor of Hotin, used to copy passages from his Polish correspondence by hand, to practice writing in Latin script and, apparently, simply for the fun of doing so.⁷³³ This kind of expertise, however, was hard to come by in Istanbul. When Ilyash Kolchak’s scribe dispatched a letter to the French ambassador marquis de Villeneuve in Polish, the addressee complained and instructed him to write in Turkish, French, or Italian, as it was much easier to find a trusted person in Istanbul to translate such a letter.⁷³⁴

⁷²⁸ Woodhead, ‘Ottoman Languages,’ 147.

⁷²⁹ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4.

⁷³⁰ Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768: The Ottoman Empire*, Edinburgh History of the Greeks (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 202.

⁷³¹ Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez, eds., *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi 48 (İstanbul: EREN, 2011).

⁷³² Matthias B. Lehmann, *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture*, Jewish Literature and Culture (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 31.

⁷³³ For instance, COIM, ms. 333, f. 136v where Ilyash copied first two lines of Adam Tarlo’s undated letter.

⁷³⁴ Letter of marquis de Villeneuve to Piotr Pawlowski, Polish secretary in Hotin, Constantinople, 23 IX 1735, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 386v.

The focus of this chapter is on the question of how language and communication worked between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles in Istanbul. Several generations of researchers have been interested in dragomans' multilingualism and intermediation, but diplomats' language skills, as well as the language skills of their family members and other non-diplomatic travelers to Istanbul, remain in the shadow of the dragoman literature.⁷³⁵ It is undeniable that dragomans' intermediation in the eighteenth century was essential to any communication and cultural contact between Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas. Like the Swedish dragoman, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, in his 'Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman,' Francesco Giuliani accumulated and produced knowledge about the Ottoman Empire, wrote a history of the Empire, took over the books and libraries of deceased dragomans in the Polish service, and collected Ottoman costume albums that were luckily passed down to us.⁷³⁶ After the passing of Lomaca, the new dragoman Giuliani secured his papers, and after Giuliani's passing, the new Polish dragoman Pilchenstein took over his papers and library.⁷³⁷ In this way, dragomans serving the same crown accumulated cultural capital and knowledge crucial to their work as cultural translators and their in-between standing as 'cultural amphibians' and go-betweens. However, this mediated contact went hand-in-hand with direct exchanges thanks to multilingual actors such as Benoe, his Greek wife Marianne, and travelers such as Salomea Pilsztynowa.

In the first part of this chapter, I study Benoe's experience with dragomans to suggest that translation and mediation in formal settings relied upon dragomans playing the role of translators, messengers, and linguistic go-betweens. Translations, however, were often collaborative works as I suggest with the example of a letter conserved in Benoe's archive in the Ottoman original along with its

⁷³⁵ I can provide here only a selection of the vast literature on dragomans: E. Natalie Rothman, "Dragomans and Turkish Literature: The Making of a Field of Inquiry," *Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie* 93 (2013): 390–421; Groot, "Dragomans' Careers: The Change of Status in Some Families Connected with the British and Dutch Embassies in Istanbul, 1785-1829"; Henk Driessen, "Mediterranean Divides and Connections: The Role of Dragomans as Cultural Brokers," in *Agents of Transculturation*, ed. Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, vol. 6, Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), 25–38; Maurits van den Boogert, "Intermediaries par excellence? Ottoman Dragomans in the Eighteenth Century," in *Hommes de l'entre-deux: parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée, XVIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Bernard Heyberger and Chantal Donzel-Verdeil (Paris: Indes savantes, 2009), 95–115; Bernard Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18–32; Marie de Testa and Antoine Gautier, eds., *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte ottomane*, Analecta Isisiana 71 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2003); Antoine Gautier and Marie de Testa, eds., *Drogmans, diplomates et ressortissants européens auprès de la Porte ottomane*, Analecta Isisiana 122 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2013).

⁷³⁶ For a fascinating new interpretation of d'Ohsson's work see Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters*, 101–6; for Giuliani's Ottoman costume album see Rudolf Naumann and Klaus Tüchelt, eds., *Türkische Gewänder und Osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex: "Les portraits des differens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie" aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Istanbul* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966); Abrahamowicz established that this album belonged to Giuliani see Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Ein Spiegelbild der Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert," *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 139; on Polish dragomans and their collections of manuscripts in Ottoman Turkish see Jan Reychman, "Zbiory orientaliów w Polsce XVIII wieku," in *Studia nad książką: poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Kazimierz Budzyk (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1951), 290–91; on Giuliani's extensive knowledge of the Ottoman Empire see also Domenico Sestini, *Lettres de monsieur l'abbé Dominique Sestini, écrites à ses amis en Toscane, pendant le cours de ses voyages en Italie, en Sicile et en Turquie*, trans. Jean-Claude Pingeron (Paris: chez la Veuve Duchesne & Fils, Libraires, rue Saint-Jacque, 1789), 398–99, fn. 1 written by Pingeron.

⁷³⁷ Abrahamowicz, "Ein Spiegelbild der Türkei," 139; Reychman, "Zbiory orientaliów w Polsce XVIII wieku."

Latin translations in drafts. Diplomats with a knowledge of Turkish and dragomans often cooperated in drafting translations so that they could successfully render the nuances of Ottoman Turkish in Latin, Italian, or French. In the second part of this chapter, I illustrate the outstanding multilingualism of actors other than dragomans with the example of Benoe's wife, Marianne. Fluent in Polish, Turkish, and Greek, Marianne chose to write to Benoe in a mixture of Turkish and Polish, codeswitching swiftly between one and the other. Marianne's example suggests that exchanges between the Ottoman and Polish cultural worlds were not always mediated by translators or dragomans but sometimes direct, thanks to the actors' multilingualism.

Indeed, the first question to answer here is how we define multilingualism. Linguists have offered a variety of definitions pertaining mostly to groups and to nations and less often to individuals. Sociological inquiries usually discuss four dimensions of using a language, i.e., listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing – which are stressed as the most critical factors in using languages in practice. Historians, however, possess evidence for past actors' usage of languages principally in reading and composing texts and less often in their active usage of speech. Recent research has offered a distinction between 'multilingualism' understood as a phenomenon of wider social usage of more than one language and 'multilinguality' to denote the same aspect in individual lives. As the term 'multilingualism' is commonly used by historians, I employ this term as I understand it to mean the ability to comprehend and mediate between at least two distinct languages and cultures.⁷³⁸

Dragomans Speaking in Tongues, Dragomans Quarrelling

There is no communication in intercultural contexts without translation, interpretation, and mediation, and dragomans occupied this middle ground in Istanbul for centuries. Dragomans were mediators between languages and cultures and were out of necessity multilingual. Similar to other translators and interpreters, dragomans intervened in texts or speech to achieve meaningful communication. In mediating between cultures, dragomans adjusted the translated text to the readership's culture, their way of thinking and their worldview. The translation itself was a meaning-making exercise; in translating, dragomans not only rendered texts from one language into another, but also filled semantic gaps between languages and translated highly difficult culture-bound terminology.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁸ Larissa Aronin and David M. Singleton, *Multilingualism*, Impact 30 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 1-7.

⁷³⁹ Anthony J. Liddicoat, "Translation as Intercultural Mediation: Setting the Scene," *Perspectives* 24, no. 3 (July 2, 2016): 347–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2015.1125934>.

As multilingual translators and interpreters, dragomans were ‘cultural amphibians’ and go-betweens.⁷⁴⁰ Dragomans dove into multiple cultures and mediated between them. Dragomans felt at home in more than one culture and in a state of permanent in-betweenness. In a study of cultural production in Latin America, Felipe Cala Buendía suggested that ‘cultural amphibians are characterized by their ability to comply with divergent codes without losing their intellectual or moral integrity. Moreover, cultural amphibians possess not only this chameleonic quality that allows them to cross cultural borders unnoticed but also the capacity to put different contexts in dialogue and –in doing so– transform them.’⁷⁴¹ Cultural amphibians participate in more than one culture and language and are regarded by the local inhabitants as members of the local community. Beudenía’s definition, coined concerning the twentieth century world of cultural production and politics in Bogotá, fits well in the early modern world of diplomacy.

Dragomans perfectly fit this definition of a cultural amphibian and go-between. The Ottomans regarded them as their subjects and sometimes mistreated them. Meanwhile, Europeans saw dragomans as a beacon of European culture in the Ottoman Empire. Dragomans, Janus-like, faced European and Ottoman culture. To a certain degree, dragomans monopolized the official process of cultural and linguistic translation. This was so because the majority of European diplomats in Istanbul did not master Turkish and depended on dragoman’s expertise, knowledge of the Ottoman chancellery, and legal formulas. In an ideal-typical case, a dragoman mastered Italian and French as well as ‘elsine-i selase’ that is Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. This definition fits both Grand Imperial Dragomans and Dragomans of the Fleet, two positions filled in the eighteenth century by Greek Phanariots. Grand Imperial Dragoman, Alexander Mavrocordato, for instance, mastered Turkish, Persian, Arabic, French, German, Latin, and probably Romanian.⁷⁴² As Christine Philliou suggested recently, since the accession of Mavrocordato, the Greek Phanariot families (based in the Istanbul district of Phanar) monopolized the official post of Grand Imperial Dragoman and the Dragoman of the Fleet.⁷⁴³ The competition between Phanariot families was fierce, and dragomans had to resort to other opportunities to make a living. The options to enter the service of the Ottoman state had definite limits. An alternative to working for the Ottoman state was the diplomatic world of Pera.

Giuliani, Lomaca, and Marini, three dragomans who competed in the 1730s for the post of Polish dragoman belonged to a rather new class of dragomans who had a hard time trying to enter diplomatic service. Firmly established Levantine dragomans’ families occupied almost all the available posts and

⁷⁴⁰ Peter Burke used a similar expression of “European amphibians” Peter Burke, “Renaissance Translators as Go-Betweens,” in *Renaissance Go-Betweens*, ed. Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, vol. 2, Spectrum Literaturwissenschaft (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 23.

⁷⁴¹ Felipe Cala Buendía, *Cultural Producers and Social Change in Latin America* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 27.

⁷⁴² Nestor Camarino, *Alexandre Mavrocordato, le Grand Dragoman: Son activité diplomatique 1673-1709* (Thessaloniki, 1970), 15.

⁷⁴³ Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 10–11.

created entire dynasties of translators which newcomers such as Giuliani, Lomaca, and Marini tried to enter through intermarriage or kinship.⁷⁴⁴ The Testa family –as David Do Paço suggested– monopolized the Habsburg dragomanate.⁷⁴⁵ Another branch of the same family, living in the Ottoman Empire since at least 1453, worked for the Dutch envoy. In order to find a job, the newcomers had to resort to other courts. Those new dragomans often created alliances with other newcomers cemented by marriage. For instance, Friedrich Hübsch, a well-established commercial agent of Augustus III of Poland-Saxony, married into the dragoman Timoni family.⁷⁴⁶ Soon both families created a Hübsch and Timoni bank and traded wheat across the Ottoman borders. Another dragoman, Francesco Giuliani, married Marie Pangali from a local dragoman dynasty that served Prussian diplomats. These alliances stood, however, in the shadow of constant competition.

Dragomans found themselves in constant competition for the available posts in European embassies. Polish Orientalist Jan Reychman rightly suggested that dragomans sought employment in the Polish service because it raised their status in the hierarchy of Istanbul's Frankish society.⁷⁴⁷ This was true even though payments from the Polish-Saxon treasury were irregular and hard to get. In 1765, for instance, after dragoman Francesco Giuliani's death, Maria Giuliani, received her husband's delayed salary for nine years.⁷⁴⁸ Still, newcomers such as Lomaca, Giuliani, and Marini fought tooth and nail for every available post and closely followed newly arriving embassies in Istanbul. In the 1740s, for instance, the newly established Neapolitan representation in Istanbul employed multiple unknown dragomans.⁷⁴⁹ In 1782, several of the free-lance dragomans from unestablished families found employment in the newly created Spanish embassy in Istanbul.⁷⁵⁰ Giuliani, Lomaca, and Marini belonged to a large pool of available translators who struggled for employment.

Early Polish contact with Tatars and Ottoman Turks generated the need for dragomans both in the borderland and at the central and provincial courts. In the borderland, the number of go-betweens and bilingual translators was quite high, but central and provincial courts had to rely on officially appointed dragomans. Jan Reychman in his study on the eighteenth century Polish dragomans remarked that the high level of contact with the Ottoman Empire soon led to the creation of three distinct offices

⁷⁴⁴ Lomaca appears in the *Liber Conjugatorum* and *Liber Baptizatorum Primus* of Santa Maria Draperis Catholic Church in Pera, see for instance FHL, mf. 1037132, f. 56 for baptism of Lomaca's eighteenth month son Pantaleone in 1685. One of his witnesses was a Phanariot Grighorasco Cantacuzino. I thank Natalie Rothman for drawing my attention to this source.

⁷⁴⁵ Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle*, 25-27, 46-47.

⁷⁴⁶ Antoine Gautier and Marie de Testa, *Drogmans, Diplomates et ressortissants européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*, Analecta Isisiana (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2013), 241.

⁷⁴⁷ Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule*, 56–57.

⁷⁴⁸ HStA Dresden, 12881 Genealogica, ms. 1539, Istanbul, 6 VI 1765.

⁷⁴⁹ Mehmet Demiryürek, "The Legal Foundations of the Commercial Relations between the Ottomans and Neapolitans," *Bilig* 69 (2014): 64.

⁷⁵⁰ Ingrid Cáceres-Würsig, "Im Niemandsland: Dragomane und „jóvenes de lenguas“ in der spanischen Botschaft von Konstantinopel," *Lebende Sprachen* 59, no. 2 (2014): 351, <https://doi.org/10.1515/les-2014-0013>.

for translators: a translator post in the Crown chancellery, one in the borderland capital of Kamieniec Podolski, and one for the diplomatic missions in Istanbul.⁷⁵¹ In the diplomatic practice, the first and last were often the same person, whereas the so-called border translators worked separately and rarely joined diplomats for diplomatic missions.⁷⁵² The Polish Crown treasury paid two dragomans (a main and a deputy dragoman) with the official title of ‘the Crown translator of the Oriental languages.’⁷⁵³ Up until the late seventeenth century, both posts were in the hands of native translators of Armenian or Polish origin; however, in the eighteenth century, Levantine dragomans took over and monopolized the post. Thanks to the dual position of the Polish-Saxon kings, as kings in Poland and electors of Saxony, dragomans also gained the possibility of financing through the Saxon treasury that, in cooperation with the Crown treasury, paid dragomans’ salaries up until 1763.⁷⁵⁴ It was this post that Giuliani, Lomaca, and Marini struggled to occupy.⁷⁵⁵

As two dragomans accompanied every Polish diplomat on their way to Istanbul, the stage for their struggle for the available Polish dragomanate was often Istanbul. It was precisely so in the case of Benoe’s mission to Istanbul and his experience with dragomans. John-Paul Ghobrial suggested that dragomans were in dire demand not only due to their exceptional knowledge of languages, but also due to their connections at the Ottoman court and knowledge of Ottoman etiquette.⁷⁵⁶ Diplomats often gave up on Turkish as ‘there were more than enough dragomans, renegades, and other intermediaries in Istanbul to whom diplomats could turn for linguistic expertise if necessary.’⁷⁵⁷ Benoe, able to communicate in Turkish upon his arrival, was an exception among diplomats in Istanbul and the way he

⁷⁵¹ Jan Reychman, “Tłumacze języków wschodnich w Polsce XVIII w. cz. 1,” *Mysł Karaimska* 24, no. 2 (1947 1946): 67.

⁷⁵² Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, Publications in Near and Middle East Studies 7 (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 170–72.

⁷⁵³ AGAD, ASK V, Books of Receipts and ASK VI, Books of Expenditures contains chronologically ordered bills signed by dragomans that would allow a detailed prosopographical study.

⁷⁵⁴ Judith Matzke, *Gesandtschaftswesen und diplomatischer Dienst Sachsens 1694-1763*, vol. 36, Schriften zur sächsischen Geschichte und Volkskunde (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2011), 396.

⁷⁵⁵ There is no monograph of the Polish dragomanate and no single article similar to Francesca Lucchetta’s, Natalie Rothman’s or Vesna Miović-Perić work on Venetian and Ragusan dragomanate, see: Francesca Lucchetta, “L’ultimo progetto di una scuola orientalistica a Venezia nel settecento,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 3 (1985): 1–43; Francesca Lucchetta, “Una scuola di lingue orientali a Venezia nel settecento: il secondo tentativo,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 2 (1984): 21–61; Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 210–52; Vesna Miović-Perić, “Dragomans of the Dubrovnik Republic: Their Training and Career,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 5 (2001): 81–94; see also Cécile Balbous, *Das Sprachknaben-Institut der Habsburgermonarchie in Konstantinopel* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2015). Scattered information on this post can be collected from aforementioned Baranowski’s and Reychman’s works. On the sixteenth century dynasty of dragomans from the Dzierżek family, see Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, 9–71; on the Otwinowski family of dragomans Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Samuel Otwinowski (Otfinowski), h. Gryf,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 24 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowe im. Ossolińskich, 1979), 648–49 and other articles in this volume.

⁷⁵⁶ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 88–89, passim; see also E. Natalie Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 773, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417509990132>.

⁷⁵⁷ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 41; cf. Burke, “Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe,” 14 who claimed that high quality translators were scarce.

treated his dragomans illustrates both the convoluted history of the Polish dragomanate and the cooperation between diplomats and dragomans.

A Turkish-Speaking Diplomat and Two Dragomans

In January 1743, Benoe entered the streets of Pera accompanied by a large cortège and crowd of curious onlookers ‘in all the streets, doors and windows.’ Two dragomans, Giuliani and Marini, closely followed Benoe’s horse. Several Ottoman notables accompanied Benoe’s entourage, among them was Ebu Bekir Ağa, his escort, whom Benoe befriended on the way to Istanbul. While the procession was slowly moving towards the mansion, unexpectedly, the Ottoman master of ceremonies arrived from a minor street, and a quarrel broke out between the Ottomans. Benoe reported the content of their discussion, stating that the discussion finally ceased as Ebu Bekir Ağa reprimanded the other Ottomans by stating, that ‘this envoy is not a child, as he understands everything that we are saying.’⁷⁵⁸ Polish-Lithuanian diplomats reporting back home have had a perennial tendency to overstate their expertise in languages and negotiating skills. Their reports were meant not only for the private reading of the recipients but were also widely copied and read throughout Poland-Lithuania.⁷⁵⁹ As English diplomats in Moscow, Benoe in Istanbul stressed in his report the unprecedented splendor of his solemn entry and his solid negotiation skills rooted in his knowledge of Turkish.⁷⁶⁰ Unlike his contemporaries who by highlighting their exceptional receptions stressed their efforts to keep the splendor of their court on the international scene, as we will see, Benoe did master Turkish and could have talked with Ottomans face to face.

Still, Levantine dragomans belonged to Benoe’s entourage and he cooperated with two of them while in Istanbul: Francesco Giuliani and Marino Vicino. They were both of Levantine origin and met Benoe in the vicinity of Lwów before crossing the border to travel with him to Istanbul. Giuliani received the order to join Benoe from the royal court and that was probably the reason for Benoe’s dislike and distrust of him. Giuliani, of Neapolitan origin, was a self-taught orientalist, who arrived in Istanbul ca. 1730 to work as a physician at the Tavuk Pazarı in Pera.⁷⁶¹ A skillful negotiator, Giuliani made the career switch from doctor to dragoman and entered the Polish service, becoming the longest standing Polish-Saxon dragoman with a mixed salary paid by both Polish and Saxon treasuries from 1736 until his death

⁷⁵⁸ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Stanisław Zaluski, Grand Crown Chancellor, from Pera in Constantinople, 15 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 708, No. 1328. Previous citation is from the same letter.

⁷⁵⁹ Kołodziejczyk, “Polish Embassies in Istanbul.”

⁷⁶⁰ For an example from Carlisle’s embassy to Russia in 1663 see Hennings, *Russia and Courty Europe*, 146.

⁷⁶¹ Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Franciszek Krescencjusz Giuliani,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959), 11–13.

in 1764.⁷⁶² During his mission with Benoe, Giuliani corresponded directly with the court in Dresden in French and with the Crown Chancellor Zaluski in Italian and reported on Benoe's every step. Highly esteemed, with connections in Istanbul and well-versed in Ottoman ceremonial and legal procedures, Giuliani took great pride in his skills as a dragoman and negotiator. In 1759, Charles Laffon, the French secretary of Podoski's mission, reported to the court that barefaced Giuliani insisted on walking hand-in-hand with the envoy during ceremonial entries to Ottoman and Moldavian cities, and in doing so, endangered the king's and Podoski's grace. Annoyed, the Ottoman escort reportedly commented that he would not escort two envoys to Istanbul, but only one.⁷⁶³

Giuliani's self-confidence aside, he could legitimate his longstanding activity with his firm knowledge of Ottoman Turkish. Today this is visible in the archive of the Polish dragomanate which is filled with well-drafted petitions to the sultan (*'arç* or *'arçubal*), memorandums (*takrirs*) and private correspondence with Ottoman officials.⁷⁶⁴ In his translations, Giuliani rendered diplomatic petitions in the Ottoman language of petitions that is filled with submissiveness and favor. Unable to write in Polish, Giuliani translated from Latin or another intermediary language into Ottoman Turkish. He marked visibly in his translations of diplomatic memoranda the fact that the Ottoman version was a translation of an original.⁷⁶⁵ Giuliani often searched for the right tone, crossed out mistakes and corrected them, and inserted interlineary transcriptions and translations in his main working language, Italian. Polish orientalist Zygmunt Abrahamowicz remarked that Giuliani often made mistakes in drafts; however, these were not the final versions that he submitted to the Ottoman officials.⁷⁶⁶ In texts that Giuliani dispatched to the Ottoman government, he seemed to be more careful about the wording and possible mistakes. Giuliani often drafted petitions in his name as Polish dragoman and used the Ottoman language of submissiveness correctly.⁷⁶⁷ With his firm knowledge of Ottoman Turkish writing genres, beautiful handwriting in Arabic script, and a network among Ottoman elites, Giuliani was indispensable to Polish envoys. His position as the Polish dragoman, however, did not go unchallenged.

Even though Giuliani occupied the post of the Polish dragoman, his position was challenged by other contenders to the office. Giuliani had to defend his standing on a regular basis against false

⁷⁶² Matzke, *Gesandtschaftswesen und diplomatischer Dienst Sachsens 1694-1763*, 36:338.

⁷⁶³ Letter of Charles Laffon to Heinrich von Brühl, Stănilăești, 29 X 1759, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2956/11, no pagination.

⁷⁶⁴ BC, ms. 617 IV-623 IV.

⁷⁶⁵ For instance, (in modern Turkish spelling) "Leh elçisinin takrir-i tercümesidir" ["Translation of the Polish envoy's memorandum"], 26 şevval 1169, BC, ms. 606 IV, f. 101v.

⁷⁶⁶ Abrahamowicz, "Franciszek Krescencjusz Giuliani," 12.

⁷⁶⁷ Opening formula "Devletlü, sa'adetlü sultanım hazretleri sağ olsun" and closing formula "emr-ü ferman devletlü sa'adetlü sultanım hazretlerindir", no date, BC, ms. 606 IV, f. 13v (petition asking for a clarification in regard to daily allowance due to Polish envoys) signed "Bende-i Culyani, tercüman-i Bab-i Leh". On the standardized formulas in Ottoman petitions, see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili: (diplomantik)*, Kubbealtı Neşriyatı 35 (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfı, 1994), 208, 211.

accusations of wrongdoings, bad translations, and the influence of other contenders at the court. One of them was Marino Vicino, a newcomer that served the Grand Crown hetman Józef Potocki and found in Benoe an ardent supporter at the central court.⁷⁶⁸ Young and inexperienced, Marino emerged in Poland-Lithuania from Istanbul searching for possible employment at provincial courts. Soon Marino started working for the Potocki family and became Benoe's client. In 1742, Vicino met Benoe in Lwów and became the envoy's second dragoman. During the mission, Benoe patronized Vicino and dispatched myriad letters to the king's court persistently backing him up against Giuliani. Luckily for us, one of the letters delivers an iridescent description of Vicino's skills and appearance:

'He is a man from the archipelago, of Catholic orthodoxy, and was trained in Istanbul in languages. Apart from Greek, he knows perfectly written Turkish as vernacular is much different; he knows well French and Latin, and his Italian and Polish are sufficient. I do not know if he visited Persia or Armenia, but because he is well-acquainted with the customs of people, and knows them well, he can go anywhere. He can be characterized, moreover, by the inside knowledge, mature judgment, and modest way in speaking and entertaining people connected with the world of politics. Although his face is quite black, it is not hideous.'⁷⁶⁹

Vicino was, therefore, able to communicate to varying degrees in six languages. A useful dragoman –at least in Benoe's opinion– should be well-versed in at least four languages. The preserved collection of Giuliani's correspondence discloses that he, on the other hand, was well-versed in Ottoman Turkish, Latin, and French, while Italian was his main working language.⁷⁷⁰ Giuliani also mastered Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew to a certain degree.⁷⁷¹ Greek was important as a language of contact with the Phanariot elites of Istanbul and vagabond Greek merchants. Vicino and Giuliani were unable to write in Polish and translated Ottoman documents into another intermediary language such as Latin, French, or Italian. Both Vicino and Giuliani were self-taught multilingual experts who probably did not attend any of the Istanbulite schools for dragomans. Their firm knowledge of languages strengthened their position as intermediaries between Polish nobles and Ottoman pashas in Istanbul. Even if some of the Polish

⁷⁶⁸ Marino Vicino was identified often with 'Piotr Marini'; the first name is obviously a mistake whereas Polish contemporary sources often refer to Marino Vicino in the short form 'Marini.' I decided to use his own identification from his letters to Benoe cited below. Cf. Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomacy*, 172; Reychman, "Tłumacze języków wschodnich w Polsce XVIII w. cz. 1," 68.

⁷⁶⁹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Stanisław Żaluski, Grand Crown Chancellor, Lwów, 29 VIII 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 7685, No. 1279: "Jest to człowiek *insulanae ex archipelago catholicus Orthodoxus*, wychował się w Stambule *in exercitio* języków, oprócz greckiego umie turecki *in perfecta literatum*, bo *vernacula* jest insza, po francusku i po łacinie *expedite*, po włosku i po polsku *ad sufficientiam*. Nie wiem, jeżeli był w Persyi albo Armenicy, ale że *ggenium mores gentium* zna doskonale, może wszędzie *peragrare* ile, że *interne* jest *qualificatus, iudicium maturum modestia* w mówieniu antretenowaniu ludzi, złączonych z polityką, twarzy prawda czarniawej, ale *non ad deformitatem*."

⁷⁷⁰ BC, ms. 617 IV-623 IV.

⁷⁷¹ Abrahamowicz, "Franciszek Krescencjusz Giuliani," 12.

diplomats, like Benoe, could have communicated with Ottomans themselves (at least verbally), the dragoman's presence was necessary among their entourage for ceremonial reasons.

The dragoman's presence, as I discussed in more detail in chapter six, was required during ceremonial entries or audiences with the Sultan and the Grand Vizier. Although some of the diplomats, like Benoe, could and did engage with Ottomans on their own, due to the customary procedures at the Ottoman court, Benoe depended on dragomans as intermediaries in official dealings such as audiences.⁷⁷² It was, for instance, Giuliani, who mediated between the Ottoman court and Benoe, and Giuliani carried payments in cash, letters, and gifts to the Ottomans. In 1742, Giuliani traveled to Poland-Lithuanian to escort Benoe on his Istanbul-trip. Giuliani also traveled between Poland, Saxony, and Istanbul in order to bring gifts for the Ottomans. In 1755, for instance, he traveled to Saxony to personally bring Saxon porcelain which was intended as gifts for Ottoman officials. A dragoman's role was not only linguistic, and their work as cultural intermediaries was indispensable.

Well-connected dragomans also played the role of messenger and go-between. Dragomans mediated not only between Europeans and Ottomans but also between the new Polish-Saxon envoys and the European diplomatic milieu at Pera. In this vein, for instance, Marino Vicino carried Benoe's letters to European diplomats or Phanariots.⁷⁷³ Ottomans in official meetings did not even expect the diplomat to engage in a conversation without intermediaries. This is best visible in Benoe's entry to the Ottoman border fortress of Hotin. In the presence of the Ottoman border governor and his council, Benoe gave a speech in Latin translated by Giuliani into Turkish. After that, Benoe 'said a few words in Turkish, to the pasha's great amusement and contentment.'⁷⁷⁴ However, even in this borderland setting, Benoe delivered his speech in Latin and Giuliani rendered it in Turkish. Benoe composed all his speeches in Istanbul in Latin so that the dragomans could prepare an Ottoman translation in advance.

The importance of dragomans was well displayed in Benoe's entry to Pera, the Latin district of Istanbul. Proceeded by most of this cortège and surrounded by twelve footmen right behind Benoe walked his two '*terciimans* [dragomans – M. K.] Giuliani with Marini.'⁷⁷⁵ Giuliani and Marino Vicino used their extensive networks in Istanbul to compete for the official post of the Polish-Lithuanian dragoman.

⁷⁷²E. Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 771–800, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417509990132>, does not contextualize the problem of dragomans' actual knowledge of languages, although she stresses their importance for 'trans-imperial' mediation.

⁷⁷³ Letter of Niccolò di Maio, Neapolitan envoy to Pawel Benoe, Pera, 31 XII 1742, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, part 4, f. 29r-29v. Letter of Grigorio Ghika, Grand Imperial Dragoman to Pawel Benoe (?), Constantinople, 22 V 1743 (old style), *Ibid.*, ms. 3, f. 1r-1v. Both letters indicate Vicino as the intermediary.

⁷⁷⁴ Letter of Antoni Rozwadowski, Castellan of Halicz to Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, Grand Crown Chancellor, Starzyska, 25 II 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 720, No. 1351.

⁷⁷⁵ "The order of entry to Pera in Istanbul *Anno Domini* 1743, which His Lordship the Envoy demands to be maintained by his entire cortège", [1743], AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 707, No. 1324.

Benoe supported Marini and flooded the Crown chancellery with petitions in his support. Benoe insisted in his letters to the Crown and Deputy chancellors that Giuliani should be removed from his post and replaced by Vicino; he mentioned Giuliani's infidelity, his alleged acquaintances with other diplomats, illicit sexual relationships with Ottoman women, and Giuliani's stubbornness. Vicino also gained the support of Józef Potocki, Grand Crown hetman and Vicino's former employer. Giuliani, on the other hand, had influential patrons at the king's court. In July 1743, Crown Chancellor Zaluski, irritated with Benoe's letters in support of Vicino, dispelled Benoe's hopes and bluntly stated that 'I do not know what to write to You about Giuliani since he walks his paths, has protectors at the court and will not listen to me.'⁷⁷⁶ Giuliani's protector at the court was Heinrich von Brühl, Polish-Saxon minister and king's favorite. Giuliani worked primarily as his informer and provided the Polish-Saxon court with weekly reports from Istanbul through Brühl.⁷⁷⁷ Giuliani's position was hard to undermine, even though Benoe used harsh accusations of mistranslation, misconduct, and immorality.

Benoe consistently intimidated Giuliani, and finally refused to work with him and used Vicino's services instead. In the end, the story of Vicino and Giuliani's conflict achieved a happy resolution. Benoe left Giuliani behind in Istanbul where he worked primarily as an informer and impromptu resident representing Polish interests. Vicino went back to Poland-Lithuania with Benoe, who maintained his support for Vicino's candidacy to the Polish dragomanate. In 1744, Vicino obtained the appointment as the Polish dragoman with the same salary as Giuliani's.⁷⁷⁸ With this appointment, both Francesco and Marino found independent employment in the Polish service. In addition to his normal obligations as a translator, Vicino received an order to 'train youth in oriental languages so that they could serve later in Crown chancelleries.'⁷⁷⁹ In the subsequent years, Vicino served the Crown chancellery, and Giuliani accompanied Polish diplomats on their missions to Istanbul.

Benoe used the services of dragomans and yet still distrusted them. While walking the streets of Pera, Benoe encountered a former translator, a diplomat in Polish-Lithuanian service, and agent in Istanbul, Grigorio Lomaca.⁷⁸⁰ 'This alleged Greek' who served in Istanbul's last Grand Embassy (1712-1714) walked drunk across the streets of Istanbul displaying 'patents and Polish court's old

⁷⁷⁶ Letter of Andrzej Zaluski, Crown Chancellor to Pawel Benoe, in Poznań, 19 VII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 2, f. 46r.

⁷⁷⁷ Conserved letters of Giuliani to the court are a topic in its own right, see Des Dolmetschers Giuliani Verschickung nach Konstantinopel, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 02956/05 (1737, 1739), loc. 02956/06 (1744-1748), loc. 02956/07 (1748-1761).

⁷⁷⁸ Letter of Marino Vicino to Pawel Benoe, Varsovie, 8 IX 1744, SL, fond 145, ms. 8, ff. 7r-7v, praising Benoe's protection in gaining the appointment. In subsequent years Vicino corresponded with Benoe and served as informer on the Ottoman and Tatar diplomats visiting Poland-Lithuania.

⁷⁷⁹ Senatus consilium 29 VIII 1744, AGAD, MK, LL 37, f. 74v: "Szlachetnemu Maryniemu, tłumaczowi na miejsce szlachetnego Giulianiego zwyczajna laffę ze skarby corocznie JKM naznacza *attendentiam* nad nim i dozór ćwiczenia młodzi w językach orientalnych kancelaryom swoim zlecając."

⁷⁸⁰ Matzke, *Gesandtschaftswesen und diplomatischer Dienst Sachsens 1694-1763*, 36:348.

correspondence' and demanding payment from Benoe and Poland-Lithuania.⁷⁸¹ As a solution, Benoe demanded that Lomaca should be ordered to send the Polish court's correspondence and privileges back to Poland-Lithuania to avoid 'a dishonor to the king's majesty' (which later materialized)⁷⁸², and also formulated a plan for the training of a native group of translators. Benoe asked the Crown chancellery to send two young Polish boys to him through the Ottoman postal system, who upon his departure could be placed in the household of the Neapolitan or Habsburg diplomats in order to obtain languages. These young men –according to Benoe– could have been much more trusted than any 'mad' Levantine dragoman. Similar plans were articulated repeatedly but never convincingly implemented. As mentioned in chapter six on sociability, Benoe did pursue his idea and upon his departure placed a young apprentice in the household of the Neapolitan envoy Niccolò di Maio and paid for his education. The plan of establishing a Polish-Lithuanian language school for *giovanni di lingua* did not take off, however. In the 1780s, Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last Polish king created a fully-fledged Polish school for oriental languages with regular teaching and housing in Istanbul,⁷⁸³ but until that time, Levantine dragomans remained indispensable.

Henk Driessen recently pointed out that dragomans played an essential role as cultural brokers in the Mediterranean, but despite that, diplomats and travelers deeply mistrusted them.⁷⁸⁴ The relations between diplomats and dragomans, as Benoe's example illustrated, were paved with mistrust. The topos of an untrustworthy and treacherous translator has a long tradition reaching back to ancient Rome and Greece where translators were equal to traitors.⁷⁸⁵ In Chinese-European encounters, too, trust and loyalty were the most important conditions of employment.⁷⁸⁶ Trust and its scarcity in the translation market in Istanbul appear to be a more recurrent issue than that of finding a translator. Bernard Lewis suggested in his influential work that, as Ottoman subjects, dragomans were 'too frightened to do their job properly.'⁷⁸⁷ Vesna Miović remarked that Venetian diplomats kept sending home warnings about untrustworthy and unreliable dragomans as the most vital threat to a functional Venetian embassy in

⁷⁸¹ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, Grand Crown Chancellor, Pera, 13 III 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 720, No. 1360.

⁷⁸² See Lomaca's paper with patents and original passive correspondence: BC, MS 618 IV.

⁷⁸³ Jan Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w.* (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1950), 82.

⁷⁸⁴ Driessen, "Mediterranean Divides and Connections," 32–33.

⁷⁸⁵ Rachel Mairs, "Translator, Traitor: The Interpreter as Traitor in Classical Tradition*," *Greece & Rome* 58, no. 1 (April 2011): 68, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383510000537>.

⁷⁸⁶ Pin-Ling Chang, "Wartime Interpreting during the Sino-Dutch War (1661-1662)," *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 15 (2016): 55.

⁷⁸⁷ Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans*, 25–26.

Istanbul.⁷⁸⁸ Loyalty and trustworthiness belonged to the ‘defining traits of a successful dragoman.’⁷⁸⁹ Apart from mistrust, Benoe and other diplomats constantly accused dragomans of mistranslation, a heavy accusation for someone whose primary job was to translate veritably. But if dragomans mistranslated on a regular basis, how did the European-Ottoman encounters in Istanbul work? On the contrary, as I would like to suggest, dragomans translated fairly well and as Michael Talbot recently remarked diplomats were ‘in good hands.’⁷⁹⁰ Dragomans provided diplomats not with linguistically correct translations in the modern sense, but with cultural translations that required them to manipulate the text and at times omit parts of it in the translation process.

An excellent example of a cultural translation of an Ottoman document is a letter by an Ottoman provincial governor Numan Pasha which is conserved today in Benoe’s archive in the original and a Latin translation in Benoe’s hand.⁷⁹¹ This letter from 1740 translated by Benoe in cooperation with Marino Vicino is a classic example of a cultural translation between Ottoman Turkish and a European language. First, the original evokes splendid titles and several long lines of address that are typical in Ottoman Turkish and are entirely omitted in the translation. The intitutatio of the letter is rendered with the simple ‘post titulos,’ and the translation goes straight to the actual content of the letter. This practice was typical of translations between Ottoman Turkish and Polish. Translations made for Crown hetman Adam Sieniawski from Ottoman correspondence omit the intitulation in the same manner. The main body of the translation renders the Ottoman original fairly accurately and describes the Ottoman delimitation with Russians made by Koca Mehmed Pasha in 1705. Constantly repeated in the original, the Ottoman terms ‘dostluk’ and ‘dost’ (friendship and friend) are rendered correctly with ‘amicitia’ and ‘amicus;’ others, especially abundant Ottoman adjectives are often omitted. This does not, however, influence the actual message of the letter.

The job of translating from Ottoman Turkish was not an easy one, and rendering difficult culture-bond terminology required either fluency or collaboration. As John-Paul Ghobrial recently suggested, because of the complexity of the language, translators and scribes often cooperated on translations.⁷⁹² A similar process took place between diplomats with knowledge of Turkish and dragomans who translated together or drafted joint reports from conferences with Ottoman diplomats. The Latin ‘Compendium’,

⁷⁸⁸ Vesna Miović, “Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Dubrovnik,” in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kuncevic, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 53 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 195.

⁷⁸⁹ Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans,” 794; see also Franco Castiglione, “‘Levantine’ Dragomans in Nineteenth Century Istanbul: The Pisanis, the British, and Issues of Subjecthood,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları-The Journal Of Ottoman Studies*, no. 44 (2014): 170; Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 105, fn. 64.

⁷⁹⁰ Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 152. Unfortunately, Talbot does not give any examples of documents.

⁷⁹¹ Letter of Numan Pasha of Bender to Józef Potocki, Crown Grand hetman, Bender, 21 ramazan 1153=10 XII 1740, SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 3, f. 58v-59v (original); ms. 25, f. 47v (Latin translation).

⁷⁹² Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 107.

a document describing all Benoe's negotiations and correspondence with Ottomans, was first drafted by Benoe's dragoman, Marino Vicino, in a raw version with multiple cross-outs and corrections (illustration 28). Later, Benoe, still in cooperation with Vicino, drafted a final version that was intended for distribution in Poland-Lithuania. (illustration 29). Vicino and Benoe cooperated this way on a number of documents, letters, petitions, and lists conserved today in Benoe's archive.

Another intermediary path in collaborative translation were transliterations and working dictionaries. An excellent example of this is an extensive notebook with transliterations of Ottoman documents into the Latin alphabet which was left behind by a team of hetman Sieniawski's dragomans.⁷⁹³ A first dragoman transcribed entire Ottoman letters into this notebook, as well as documents of Ottoman internal administration, and inserted interlinearly translations of new or difficult words. A second dragoman added additional interlineal translations with another hand and corrected mistakes in the reading made by the first dragoman. In the case of difficult documents with new vocabularies, such as an internal Ottoman document regulating the Ottoman postal service ('menzil hükmü') from 1699, the team of dragomans joined forces and drafted small working dictionaries of new terms with Polish translations (illustration 30), working full-time in teams to translate it.⁷⁹⁴ In the first stage, the dragomans kept the intitulation of all letters and documents and additionally, added short descriptions of the documents that were being translated from Ottoman Turkish in Latin script. In the second stage, the dragomans' team eliminated unnecessary adjectives or Ottoman titles. In the last stage, a third dragoman used the transcription, the working dictionary, and interlinear translations to draft a full Latin translation for Sieniawski.⁷⁹⁵ Out of the three, only the last dragoman mastered Latin and used all the provided materials to draft translations into that language, probably in collaboration with the other two dragomans. This working notebook is a rare example of collaborative work between several dragomans and of collaborative translations that were the daily bread of diplomatic work in Istanbul and the borderland.

Translation and mediation in official settings relied on dragomans who played the role of translators, messengers, and linguistic go-betweens. Dragomans, although regularly distrusted, were indispensable and were inscribed into the Ottoman ceremonial. Contrary to today's assumptions, translating was not the job of a single person. For instance, Benoe with his knowledge of Turkish cooperated with Marino Vicino and entire teams of dragomans to work on difficult Ottoman documents

⁷⁹³ SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 767, before 1726. For a similar practice of transliteration see the religious texts by Father Gery Desiré published by Tadeusz Majda, *Turkish Religious Texts in Latin Script from 18th Century South-Eastern Anatolia: Transcriptions, Translations, and a Study of the Language*, Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvolker 16 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2013).

⁷⁹⁴ It is an interesting fact in itself that Polish nobles had access to such documents, for the Ottoman postal system see, Heywood, "Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumeli During the Eighteenth Century (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman Ulak, I)." I thank Choon Hwee Koh from Yale University for her reading and assessment of this document as a typical 'menzil hükmü.'

⁷⁹⁵ SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 767, f. 68v-71r.

to render them in another language. This kind of multilingualism is understudied but reasonably well-known in the scholarship. Historical actors beyond dragomans, however, are rarely studied and documented well enough to allow historians access to their way of thinking, and writing – especially in the case of multilingual women. In the second part of this chapter, I focus my attention on Benoe’s Greek wife, Marianne. Fluent in Polish, Turkish, and Greek, Marianne chose to write to Benoe in a mixture of Turkish and Polish, codeswitching between one and the other. Her example suggests that exchanges between the Ottoman and Polish cultural worlds were not always mediated by others but sometimes direct thanks to actors’ multilingualism.

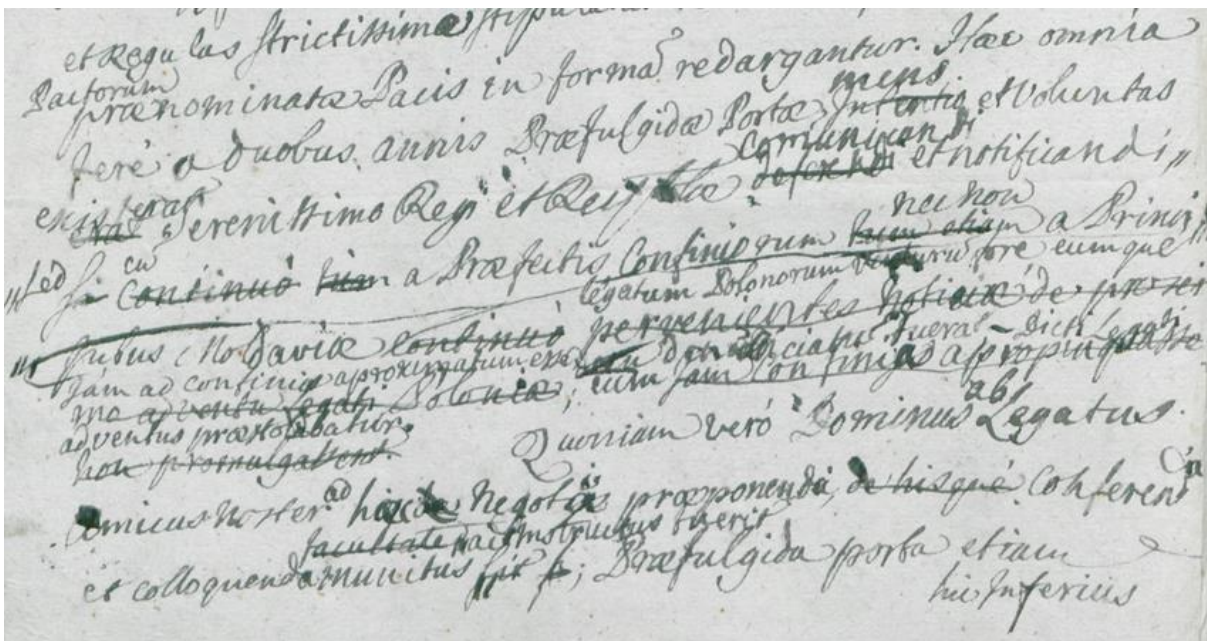
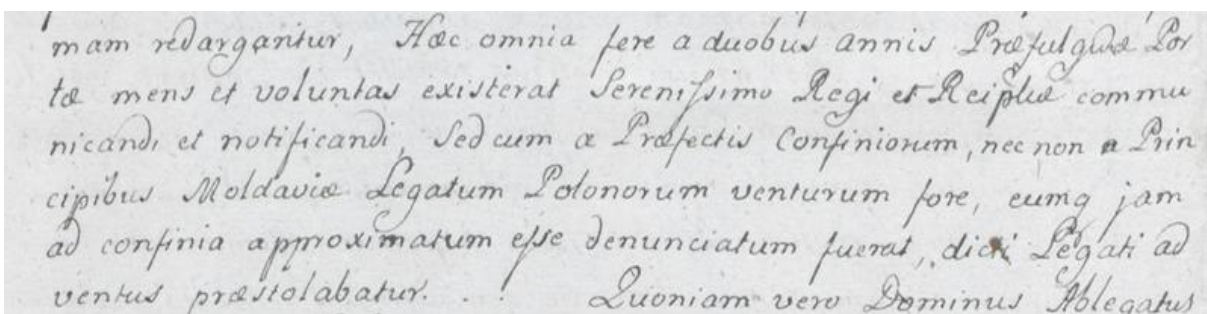


Illustration 28 (above) and 29 (below): First draft of ‘Compendium responsionum datarum ad objecta et projecta Ablegati Poloni [Benoe] in conferentiis ac colloquiis cum ministerio Praefulgidae Portae habitis 1743 Anno’ by Marino Vicino. Below the same point in the final draft in secretary’s hand. SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 2, f. 28r, 42r.



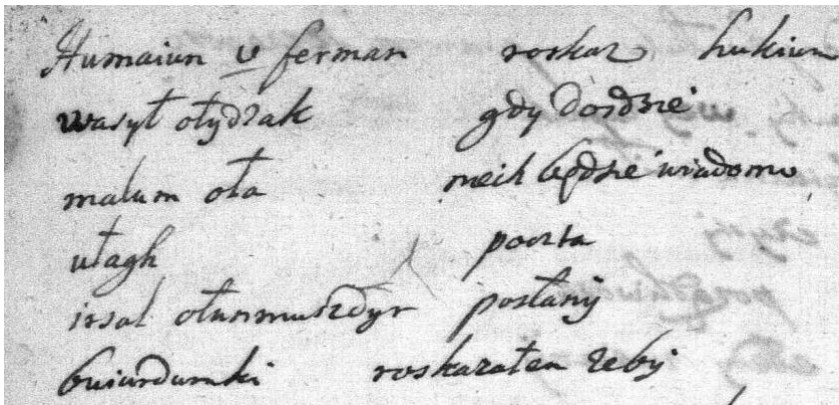


Illustration 30: Part of a dictionary for a ‘menzil hükmü’ from 1699 (Ottoman sultan’s order regulating postal stations) with Ottoman words in left-hand column and Polish translation in the right-hand column. SL, fond 5, part 1, ms. 767, f. 80r.

Turkish-Polish Language of Emotions: Benoe and his Phanariot Wife Marianne

In 1710, young Pawel Benoe embarked on a mission to Istanbul. Benoe was to probe Grand Vizier’s Baltacı Mehmed Pasha’s willingness to support Polish exiles in the Ottoman Empire. Mehmed Pasha soon granted him an audience and offered Arab horses for Benoe and other Polish nobles living in the Ottoman Empire. Benoe had time for himself, and he wandered around the covered markets of Istanbul searching for coveted objects and noted down the prices of luxury wares, including animals – horses, lions, and monkeys. Benoe shopped, met people, talked, and exchanged information. This is where he probably met Marianne Palaeologus, his future wife. Benoe brought Marianne back to Poland-Lithuania and married her. Marianne was visibly the love of Benoe’s life. Even in their later years when they both had health issues, Pawel and Marianne regularly exchanged letters filled with unusual expressions of love.

Marianne was of Greek origin and probably came from the Phanar district in Istanbul. She settled in Poland together with her sister Suzanna who was married to a Greek newsmonger in Warsaw, Michael Ballasy.⁷⁹⁶ Ballasy provided Benoe with news from the central court in Warsaw and wrote to Marianne in Greek written in Latin script.⁷⁹⁷ When Benoe was about to go to Istanbul as envoy extraordinary, Marianne provided him with a handmade shopping list in Greek and ordered him to buy medicines and plants in Istanbul. Benoe complied, bought them on June 1, 1743, and made a Polish translation of the

⁷⁹⁶ See bills for Susanna from 1748 in Benoe’s hand, SL, fond 145, ms. 65, f. 62v-r. Benoe supported financially Susanna and her son’s, Krzysztof’s education.

⁷⁹⁷ Letter of Michal Balassy to Marianne Benoe, Warszawa, 18 VII 1754, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 89r-89v, describing her progressing sickness. I am grateful to Christine M. Philliou (New York) for the reading of this letter. Balassy’s letters are dated between 1749-1755 when Benoe was Castellan of Warsaw.

list and products brought home.⁷⁹⁸ It is possible that Benoe acquired from Marianne at least a working knowledge of Greek.

Marianne was not the only Greek woman who traveled to and settled in Poland-Lithuania. Another Greek woman from the Phanar district, the courtesan Sophia Clavone was brought to Poland by Karol de Boscamp Lasopolski, Polish envoy to Istanbul from 1776 to 1778. Lasopolski might have brought Sophia, allegedly a beautiful woman, for the king. Sophia enchanted so many people that at least four of her portraits survived until the present day. Upon her arrival in Kamieniec Podolski, she married Józef de Witte, a local noble and son of Kamieniec Podolski's commander. That was not the end of her career. Soon afterward, she seduced Szczęsny Potocki, one of the wealthiest nobles of Poland-Lithuania.⁷⁹⁹ After his death, Sophia inherited most of Potocki's landed estates and continued to live a splendid and scandalous life. Sophia never learned Polish but instead conversed with Lasopolski in Turkish which she was fluent in, and while in Poland, acquired a knowledge of French.⁸⁰⁰ Another Greek woman, Maria Catzifilis de Christophori Crutta arrived in Poland in 1765 with her husband, a dragoman in the Polish service, Antoni Crutta.⁸⁰¹ Crutta, a Venetian subject born in Albania, probably conversed with his Greek wife in Turkish, as well. Precisely like the Benoes, the Cruttas had a pair of paintings made of them both, picturing Antoni as a dragoman with a document in Ottoman Turkish in his right hand and Maria Catzifilis as an idealized young woman in Ottoman style-dress.⁸⁰² Hence, Marianne belonged to a group of Greek women that married into Polish nobility.

Marianne had her own information network and alongside Benoe, she corresponded with Friedrich Hübsch and other diplomats in Istanbul. She also maintained close contact with noble women in Poland, chiefly from the Potocki family. Unluckily for us, when Benoe passed away in 1755, Marianne took with her all the bundles of correspondence and mobile possessions and moved to her estate in Sarnki, not far away from the Ottoman-Polish border.⁸⁰³ She also packed with her Benoe's weekly letters, but luckily for us left behind her letters to Benoe. Among the roughly seventy –previously unknown to scholarship– conserved letters that Marianne drafted between 1720 and 1750, all are written in a mixture of Turkish and Polish, with occasional signatures in Greek. Marianne's letters to Benoe are a wonderful testimony to the spouses' multilingualism and their playfulness with languages. Neither Benoe nor

⁷⁹⁸ „1743, June 1 I bought in Istanbul and brought home,” SL, ms. 71, part 5, f. 190v-r (verso with Greek list and recto with translation).

⁷⁹⁹ Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule*, 168–69; for a popular account of Sophia's life see Jerzy Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki: opowieść o życiu Zofii Wittowej-Potockiej (1760-1822)* (Warszawa: Pax, 1982).

⁸⁰⁰ Łojek, *Dzieje pięknej Bitynki*, 32.

⁸⁰¹ Bolesław Józef Gawecki, *Antoni Łukaszy Crutta (1727-1814)* (Warszawa: TPK, 1978), 15–18.

⁸⁰² *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 301, cat. no. 261 and 162.

⁸⁰³ A contemporary catalogue made after Benoe's death lists her correspondence, SL, fond 145, ms. 107, f. 208v.

Marianne were native speakers of Turkish, but both chose to express love and emotions in this language. It was their secret love language, a code that only they could understand.

The forerunners of the history of emotions and emotionology suggest that the year 1750 is a landmark for the start of the modern, sentimental, and romantic understanding of love. As the medievalist Barbara H. Rosenwein argued, historians tended to periodize the history of emotions into rough periods before and after that date.⁸⁰⁴ Rosenwein herself moved this periodization convincingly to include the Middle Ages, arguing that the language of love is traceable in official medieval charters and ‘love’ and ‘beloved’ ‘were already accepted as emotions in the Roman Empire.’⁸⁰⁵ In the Polish context, Alojzy Sajkowski suggested that within the riches of early modern sources, correspondence have a particular value for research on emotions and love in the past.⁸⁰⁶ Sajkowski used as his favorite source large collections of letters drafted by women and with this, women’s agency, letter writing, and the female letter ‘as a compelling object of inquiry’ gained a foothold in recent scholarship.⁸⁰⁷

Lovers and spouses in the past, as has been indicated with a Polish and Hungarian example, often developed a secret love language only understood by them.⁸⁰⁸ The spouses used code-names and ciphers to encode sensitive, emotional information, and at times asked the addressee to ‘burn this letter,’ in ‘a rhetoric of intimacy, a way of signifying that they were opening their true mind.’⁸⁰⁹ Instead of using a nomenclator or any other means of concealing information, Benoe and Marianne opted for a mixture of languages, hardly decipherable for anyone lacking a firm knowledge of Polish and Turkish. It was not a secret language per se, but rather their language of encounter, relationship, and everyday love.

Marianne composed her letters to Benoe in Latin script, in a mixture of Polish and Turkish and signed some of them in Greek, in an intertwined Greek-Cyrillic alphabet.⁸¹⁰ Such usage of contemporary eighteenth century Turkish in mixture with another language and Latin script is remarkable and

⁸⁰⁴ Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 825, 830, <https://doi.org/10.1086/532498>; Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2018), 108.

⁸⁰⁵ Jan Plamper et al., “The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,” *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 254; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 125; see also Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History*, Blackwell Brief Histories of Psychology (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), 9 on historicizing love.

⁸⁰⁶ Alojzy Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość: z dawnych listów i pamiętników* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1981), 6; see also pathbreaking Alojzy Sajkowski, “Staropolskie listy miłosne – piśmiennictwo nieznane,” *Studia Polonistyczne* 5 (1977): 105–21.

⁸⁰⁷ James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, “Living Letters: Re-Reading Correspondence and Women’s Letters,” in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. James; Gordon Daybell Andrew and Andrew Gordon (Routledge, 2016), 1–20.

⁸⁰⁸ Benedek Láng, “Shame, Love, and Alcohol: Private Ciphers in Early Modern Hungary,” *Cryptologia* 39, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 279, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01611194.2014.915270>; Iwona Maciejewska, “Szyfr w świecie miłosnego wyznania – uwarunkowania i funkcje (w dawnym liście i diariuszu),” *Napis* 17 (2011): 89.

⁸⁰⁹ Arnold Hunt, “‘Burn This Letter’: Preservation and Destruction in the Early Modern Archive,” in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 191.

⁸¹⁰ The signature in Greek is “Μαριτάννα βηροζύνα” i. a. “Marianne Benozyna” like in the letters signed in Polish. I am grateful to Christine M. Philiou (New York) and Radu Păun (Paris) for their help in deciphering Marianne’s signature.

exceptional.⁸¹¹ Marianne always addressed all sixty-six preserved letters to Benoe with the Turkish formula ‘merhametli benim ağa efendim’ (my dearest lord and master) and ended them with the formula ‘bundan başka hemen Allah’a teslim ederim yardımcı olsun sağlıklı’ (moreover, if it will be the God’s will, you will remain healthy).⁸¹² The standardized formula confirming the arrival of Benoe’s letter at the beginning of Marianne’s every letter is also expressed in Turkish with inserted Polish phrases, for instance, place names with Turkish locative and ablative cases. Three different secretaries drafted Marianne’s letters and a part of the correspondence Marianne drafted herself. (see illustration 31) Turkish parts of the letters are spelled phonetically with numerous mistakes, as Marianne visibly dictated her letters to scribes who did not master Turkish.

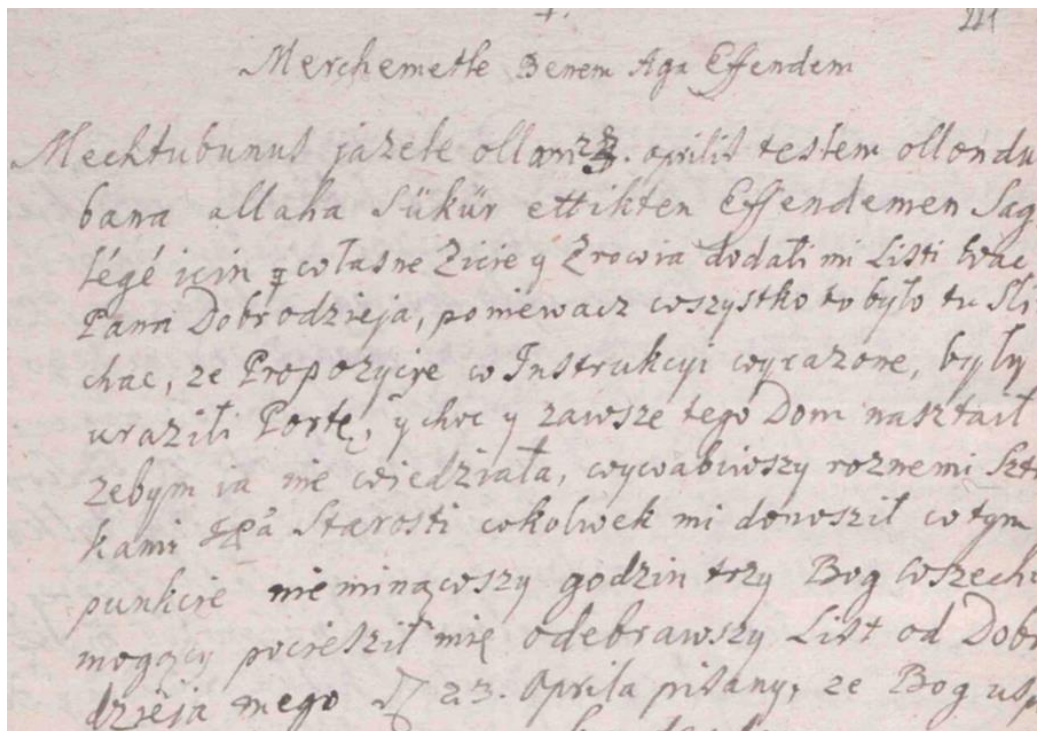


Illustration 31: First page of Marianne’s letter from 10 V 1743, where Marianne worries about the outcome of Benoe’s mission to Istanbul. First part in Turkish confirms receipt of Benoe’s letter from April 2 (24?); then the language changes into consistent Polish. SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 221v.

In the same letters, Marianne employs similar formulas, in Turkish and in Polish, praising Allah in the first and ‘the Merciful God’ in the second.⁸¹³ Similar formulas praising God are wide-spread in

⁸¹¹ Private communication with Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (Warsaw), Victor Ostapchuk (Toronto), Christine M. Philliou (New York) and Surayia Faroqhi (Istanbul) give hints, that Marianne’s correspondence is one in its kind. In private communication David Do Paço (Paris) signaled existence of similar letters in Austrian collections.

⁸¹² Letter of Marianne Benoe to Pawel Benoe, from Bursztyn, 2 II 1750, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 284r. It is not grammatically correct and seems rather like a street or broke Turkish.

⁸¹³ “Allahı yalvarırım effendimen sağlıklı için, Bóg Milosierny konserwować.” (I’m begging the Lord for the health of my Master, and if it is His will, you will be maintained.) Polish part is underlined.

Turkish to this day and have a customarily religious meaning.⁸¹⁴ In the early modern period, when border-crossers used to change faiths as easily as garments, this proves a noteworthy linguistic-religious syncretism and pragmatism rather than a practical religiosity. In a similar manner to denote cash, Marianne applied an Ottoman and a Polish term (‘akçe’ and ‘złoty’ respectively). On one occasion, Marianne ordered many things for herself and her sister Zofia from her husband. The list mixes Polish and Turkish names and numbers. Alcohols are expressed mostly in Polish, whereas food and produce are denoted in Turkish.⁸¹⁵ In the content of the letters, she changes swiftly from Polish to Turkish and back to Polish. Marianne also made visible mental, linguistic separations, and choices. She always wrote about her granddaughter Marysia in Polish and her sister Zofia in Turkish.

Marianne played with her multilingualism and often used two terms, a Polish and Turkish one, interchangeably. Benoe was to her in Turkish a ‘sevgili’ and in Polish a ‘kochany Pan’ (‘beloved’ and ‘beloved Lord’). To address Benoe, she applies two cordial formulas, the Turkish (‘benim efendim’) and the Polish one (‘mój Paneczek’) of which both have the same core meaning of ‘my master.’ She also calls Benoe regularly ‘my padishah’ (‘benim padişahım’), ‘grand agha’ (‘büyük ağa’) or ‘the genteel’ (‘çelebi’). Similarly, she addresses their son-in-law Rafał Skarbek always as ‘our son’ (‘bizim oğlu’) and her sister Zofia always in Turkish as ‘kız kardeşim’ (‘my sister’). Occasionally, Marianne drafted entire letters only in Turkish, which is a sign of the spouses’ fluency in this language. Most of them, however, are a mixture of both in varying proportions. Marianne visibly played with both languages and sometimes inserted one Turkish word into a Polish sentence and the other way around.⁸¹⁶ It was not caused by her lack of fluency in Polish but was rather a sign of her trust in Benoe’s skills in Turkish.

The more emotional the letter, the more Turkish Marianne used to express herself. Her fascinating mixture of languages served to express fears, hopes, emotions, and love. In this mixture of languages, Marianne describes her nightmares after their daughter’s death, weather conditions, and their influence on her deteriorating health. Marianne also directly expresses her pain after their daughter’s death by repeatedly asking ‘where is my child, where is my child’ and finishing her letter by stating ‘I am crazy-like and without a soul.’⁸¹⁷ This letter and similar emotional letters are written almost entirely in Turkish, with just small Polish insertions. Every time Marianne tried to express her emotions, be it love to Benoe or her granddaughter, fear of harsh weather, or joy over summer, she did so in Turkish. It

⁸¹⁴ For instance “Allah kabul etsin” (May the Lord hear your prayers) or “Allahtan” (luckily).

⁸¹⁵ “Na tę podwodę effendymen ioladym puzdro saraplan iki turlu wedlug rozkazu Dobrodzieja mego kaplon dort, rosolisu dwa buteleczki, podgońsiek para, ozor bir, sudzuk bir i fide, ale o garnuszki Panuniu proszę. Kyrkardasym effendyme iolasy bir baryleczeck piolunu sarab we tutun.” SL, fond 145, from Bursztyn, 4 I 1749, ms. 1, f. 259v-260r.

⁸¹⁶ For instance: “Zaraz bildirdim jak tylko stanął Pan Studeniecki, jak był rozkaz Dobrodzieja, tak zostawiłam beczkę wina.” (I immediately made known and after the arrival of Studeniecki, according to Your Lordship’s order I left a barrel of wine.) Turkish word underlined. SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 240r.

⁸¹⁷ SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 316v-r (in Sarnki, 18 I 1753).

suggests that to Marianne and Benoe, Turkish was their language of choice for emotions and in expressing their emotional world in this way, they thus concealed the message even from those who wrote Marianne's letters down.

A period of trials accompanied Benoe's departure for Istanbul in 1742. Marianne did not join Benoe and remained behind in the Ottoman-Polish borderland. She took care of their landed estates, reported to Benoe about the reception of his embassy in Poland, forwarded letters, and disseminated Benoe's manuscript descriptions from Istanbul. Above all, Marianne corresponded regularly with Benoe in letters written in her hand or by Jan Sobolewski, Benoe's secretary who was forced to come back to Poland during Benoe's mission. Their separation heightened the emotionality of Marianne's letters. In all those letters, Benoe is her 'beloved,' who left her behind longing for him to return as quickly as possible. Marianne used various arguments to make Benoe come back from Istanbul sooner, pointing towards her deteriorating health, piling family and administrative issues to be taken care of, and encouraging Benoe by stating that she 'supplicates to the Highest Lord so that He send You in the best occurrences back to me as soon as possible.'⁸¹⁸ With time, the tone of Marianne's letters was becoming more and more dramatic and previously unimportant issues gained weight as arguments to motivate Benoe's return. Finally, in the summer of 1743, Benoe, concerned for Marianne's happiness, decided to return and Marianne advised him on gift-giving and prepared gifts and lodgings for his return.

Marianne's letters are a memorial to the multilingualism in the Ottoman-Polish zone of contact in the eighteenth century. Marianne was not the only woman to display such an elaborate and practical multilingualism. While in Istanbul, Benoe received a visit from Madame Avetica, Marianne's friend who went to check on him and reported back to Marianne about his well-being and living conditions.⁸¹⁹ At a similar time, another woman, Salomea Pilsztynowa, traveled to Istanbul and used her multilingualism to mingle with the Ottoman elites. Although Salomea wrote her memoirs in Polish, she used so many words from the Ottoman realm that the first editors of her diary saturated the edition with a small dictionary to explain Salomea's vocabulary. Pilsztynowa mastered not only Turkish, but even Ottoman criminal court procedures and knew how to leverage her claim in front of an Ottoman judge.

Dragomans with their knowledge of a plethora of languages certainly facilitated encounters in Istanbul between Polish and Ottoman subjects. Dragomans played the role of translator, go-between, and messenger for Polish diplomats and Istanbulite elites. Diplomats, however, could and did select between a number of dragomans competing for the post of Polish dragomanate. The translation work was sometimes so complicated that entire teams of dragomans transliterated Ottoman documents,

⁸¹⁸ Letter of Marianne Benozyna to Pawel Benoe, from Jablonów, 19 IV 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 220v.

⁸¹⁹ Letter of Marianne Benozyna to Pawel Benoe, in Jablonów 10 V 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, f. 222v.

drafted dictionaries, and worked as a team to translate particularly tricky documents. Dragoman's intermediation was essential and indispensable to Ottoman-Polish encounters. However, as Marianne's letters suggest, functional multilingualism allowed diplomats such as Benoe to gain direct access to the Ottoman culture and language. Throughout his stay in Istanbul, Benoe used his knowledge of Turkish to plan and design his gift-giving strategies at the Ottoman court. The last chapter focuses on Benoe's gift-giving in Istanbul and the borderland in a microhistorical perspective.

Chapter 8: Caftans and Porcelain: Ottoman-Polish Gift-Giving in the Eighteenth Century

At the beginning of the 2000s, a Japanese team of archaeologists from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo worked on a final archaeological survey at a site in El Fustat, the famous ancient capital of Egypt. Among them was a young intern, Makiko Matsumura. The entire team of archeologists focused on the Chinese blue and white-glazed porcelain, as the primary purpose of the excavations was to trace consumption of Chinese goods in the Near East. Makiko, however, took notice of shards of European coffee cups found on the site. These had the so-called ‘Indian flower’ motif and trademark with crossed swords over a star in blue underglaze (illustration 32). These cups were produced by the Saxon porcelain manufacture at Meissen. The coffee cups that Matsumura found are significantly different from the Meissen porcelain that circulated in Europe. Like in Chinese porcelain, the coffee cups had no handles or saucers. The shape of the cups was surprisingly uniform and differed considerably from the larger cups used in Europe. Matsumura concluded that the coffee cups from El Fustat belonged to the genre of so-called ‘Türkenkoppchen’ (Turkish coffee cups), a special ware produced for the Ottoman market by the Meissen porcelain manufacturer.⁸²⁰



Illustration 32: ‘Indian flower’ motif (left) and twisting stripe design porcelain cups discovered at the archaeological site at El Fustat. Matsumura, “Meissen Porcelains,” 8 (ill. 1) and 10 (ill. 7).

Augustus II of Poland-Saxony founded the Meissen porcelain factory in 1710. It became an early producer of merchandise for the Ottoman market. In the 1720s, Manasses Athanas, an Ottoman

⁸²⁰ Makiko Matsumura, “Meissen Porcelains Excavated at El Fustat and Their Background,” *Keramos: Zeitschrift Der Gesellschaft Der Keramikfreunde e.V. Düsseldorf* 192 (2006): 7–16; see also Kari Telste, “A Wedding Gift and Transculturation: Chinese Porcelain in Norway and the Danish Asian Company in China in the Eighteenth Century,” *Cultural History* 7, no. 1 (2018): 5, <https://doi.org/10.3366/cult.2018.0156> for the same difference between European and Chinese products.

merchant based in the Balkans, ordered three thousand six-hundred Turkish coffee cups from Meissen for distribution in the Ottoman Empire.⁸²¹ This was the first order to come from the Ottoman Empire. Matsumura argued in her article that these early orders from Meissen were rather inexpensive merchandise that the Meissen manufacturers produced for mass consumption; the Turkish coffee cups were white, unpainted, and without a trademark (illustration 33). She also suggested that porcelain from the early years of Meissen's production was not among the diplomatic gifts presented by foreign diplomats at the Ottoman court.⁸²² A recent study by Tülay Artan on the consumption patterns of Ottoman princesses, however, demonstrated that the consumption of Chinese porcelain in the Ottoman Empire diminished in the eighteenth century and was replaced by European-made porcelain. The registers of Ottoman princesses' belongings reveal an enormous growth in porcelain from Meissen and Sèvres-Vincennes in the Ottoman royal households.⁸²³ Ottoman princesses, as Artan suggested, regularly 'hunted' for porcelain among diplomatic gifts.⁸²⁴ Porcelain was among the main diplomatic gifts brought to Istanbul by Benoe and other Polish diplomats throughout the eighteenth century.

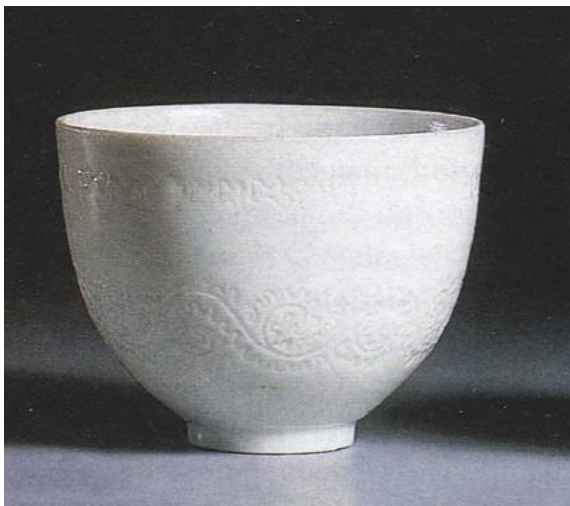


Illustration 33: Unpainted white Turkish coffee cup produced for the Ottoman market, Meissen, ca. 1775-1780. Anette Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißener Porzellan," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Alfred Brückner (Leipzig: SKD, 1995), 273, No. 435.

This chapter deals with diplomatic gift-giving from a microhistorical perspective and argues that through the giving of gifts, Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles in the eighteenth century influenced each other's tastes and fashions leading to transculturation. Objects exchanged and acquired from the Ottoman Empire strengthened the fashion in Poland for Eastern objects and textiles, while Polish gifts stimulated the Ottoman consumption of European objects. While most of the research on diplomatic gifts focus on the Maussian theory of gifts as a 'system of total services' and the cumbersome division

⁸²¹ Julia Weber, "Von Moskau bis Lissabon, von Dublin bis Konstantinopel: der Handel mit Meißener Porzellan im 18. Jahrhundert (1719-1773)," *Keramos: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Keramikfreunde e.V. Düsseldorf* (2012), no. 216 (2012): 6.

⁸²² Makiko Matsumura, "Meissen Porcelains Excavated at El Fustat and their Background," *Keramos: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Keramikfreunde e.V. Düsseldorf* 192 (2006): 11, fn. 9.

⁸²³ Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 113-47; see also Anette Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißener Porzellan," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, ed. Alfred Brückner (Leipzig: SKD, 1995), 272-74.

⁸²⁴ Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors," 125.

between gift and bribery, this chapter brings back into the discussion the agency of individuals in a case study of Benoe's gift-giving in Istanbul. As Catharine Fletcher and Valentin Groebner suggested, ambassadors and envoys were *persona mixta*, 'dual but insufficiently separate figure in which official and private incomes and functions overlapped in a complex manner.'⁸²⁵ On a diplomatic mission, the diplomat was not a prisoner of ritual, ceremonial, and symbolic communications, and as Benoe's gifting suggests, a diplomat could and did make his own choices within a range of possibilities.⁸²⁶ On the one hand, Benoe followed established patterns of gifting and presented Ottomans with porcelain, watches, and textiles – the leading European gifts presented to the Ottoman court; on the other hand, he refused to present gifts to Mahmud II, risking possible refusal of his entry audience.

The first part of this chapter traces the shared understanding of gift-giving in the Ottoman-Polish exchanges and suggests, along with the lines of the Maussian theory, that the diplomatic giving was reciprocal and that a gift invited and awaited a response in kind or services. Following Catherine Fletcher's understanding of the threefold categories of gifts (gifts between princes, presents on the road, and leaving gifts), I suggest that gifting belonged to a complex system of supporting envoys from foreign countries. Just as Renaissance ambassadors leaving Rome received golden chains, easily transferable to cash and money, Benoe received lodging and money in Istanbul.⁸²⁷ These gifts were a part of a reciprocal system of 'systemic exchange between European courts and their representatives' to which Ottoman and Polish courts and diplomats belonged.⁸²⁸ Gifting involved not only luxury objects but also such trivial objects as flowers, baskets of fruits, vegetables, and forage gifted to Polish diplomats in Istanbul. To date, research suggests the unilateral character of European-Ottoman gift-giving practices. Europeans gifted but did not receive gifts. I argue that European-Ottoman gifting practices were uneven but reciprocal and extended from Istanbul to the provinces where Ottoman border governors engaged in an intensive and reciprocal exchange of gifts with Polish nobles. It is here, in the material culture of gifts, that the Ottoman-Polish encounters and shared cultural zone of contact comes to its fullest exemplification.

The second part of this chapter focuses on a detailed microhistorical study of Benoe's gifting strategies and ends by analyzing the gifts of porcelain as the chief luxury good gifted in Istanbul. It suggests the tensions between Benoe's official and private persona. Polish gift-giving in Istanbul was modeled on precedence, but Benoe made his own decisions on gifting that he communicated to the court

⁸²⁵ Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 68; Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 37 with further examples.

⁸²⁶ Cf. Jan Hennings, "The Failed Gift: Ceremony and Gift-Giving in Anglo-Russian Relations (1662–1664)," in *International Diplomacy*, ed. Iver B. Neumann and Halvard Leira, Sage Library of International Relations, 1 (Diplomatic institutions) (London ; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2013), 94–96.

⁸²⁷ Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 153–54.

⁸²⁸ Fletcher, 154.

rather than consulting with the Crown officials. Benoe's meticulous documentation also suggests a close connection in gifting between the borderland and Istanbul. The third and last part of this chapter connects diplomatic gift-giving practices with the borderland and based on the rich conserved documents, suggests that Polish nobles participated in an intensive and reciprocal exchange of gifts in the borderland, connected through diplomatic channels with Istanbul.

Polish and Ottoman Notions of Gift-Giving

In a 2010 article, John Watkins, opening the premises of the new diplomatic history, claimed that 'despite ample records documenting the importance of diplomatic gift-giving' the topic has slipped the attention of scholars.⁸²⁹ In recent years, however, research on diplomatic gifts has experienced a surge of new publications on an unprecedented, never-before-seen scale.⁸³⁰ New thematic volumes focus on gift exchanges not only in France, England, or Italy but also in Eastern Europe and from a global perspective.⁸³¹ In a recent article, Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger suggested eight theses for the exchange of diplomatic gifts in European courtly circles: 1) gifts were exchanges made through diplomats and no longer gifted in personal meetings between rulers; 2) precisely as in cultural anthropology and the Maussian theory, gifts were reciprocal, and a gift invited a counter-gift; 3) gifts could not have been refused without far-reaching consequences; 4) the material worth of gifts had a meaning and was often communicated to the public; 5) the symbolic meaning of diplomatic gifts was of utmost importance; 6) gifts and tributes were often hard to distinguish, and the differentiation depended upon labeling; 7) the

⁸²⁹ Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 10.

⁸³⁰ In the Ottoman context the most important are Hedda Reindl-Kiel's works who is preparing a monograph on Ottoman gifting practices Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Dogs, Elephants, Lions and a Rhino on Diplomatic Mission: Animals as Gifts to the Ottoman Court," in *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Istanbul: Eren, 2010); Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "East Is East and West Is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey (London; New York, 2005), 113–123; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Diplomatic Gifts to the Christian West," in *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*, ed. Robert Born, Michal Dziewulski, and Guido Messling (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2015), 95–118; Aykut Mustak, "A Study on the Gift Log, MAD 1279: Making Sense of Gift-Giving in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Society" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007); Sinem Arcaç, "Gifts in Motion: Ottoman-Safavid Cultural Exchange, 1501-1618" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 2012); Peter Burschel, "A Clock for the Sultan: Diplomatic Gift-Giving from an Intercultural Perspective," *The Medieval History Journal* 16, no. 2 (2013): 547–563, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971945813515022>; Claudia Swan, "Birds of Paradise for the Sultan: Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch-Turkish Encounters and the Uses of Wonder," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29, no. 1 (2013): 49, <https://doi.org/10.18352/dze.8464>; Pablo Hernández Sau, "Gifts across the Mediterranean Sea: the 1784 Spanish Gift-Embassy to Constantinople and its Cross-Cultural Diplomatic Practice," in *Embajadores culturales: transferencias y lealtades de la diplomacia española de la Edad Moderna*, ed. Diana Carrió-Invernizzi (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016), 107–35.

⁸³¹ Gerd Althoff and Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, "Die Sprache der Gaben. Zu Logik und Semantik des Gabentauschs im vormodernen Europa," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 63, no. 1 (2015): 1–22 and other articles in this volume; in Polish scholarship the topic remains a terra incognita, but see recently Magdalena Lorenc, "Do ut des, czyli rzecz o darze w dyplomacji. Przypadek siodła z daru sultana Mustafy II dla posła Stanisława Malachowskiego z 1699 roku," *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, no. 4 (2014): 81, <https://doi.org/10.14746/ssp.2014.4.4>; Kobus, "Po konie i kaftany. Przyczynek do opisu ceremonialno-majątkowego aspektu poselstw do Wysokiej Porty."

language of diplomatic gifts became a *lingua franca* of European courts in the seventeenth century, and 8) diplomatic gifts had an ambiguous meaning and could be permanently reinterpreted by the giving and receiving parties.⁸³² Each of the eight theses can also be applied to European-Ottoman gift exchanges.

As in the European diplomatic gift exchanges, Ottoman-European exchanges were reciprocal. Not accepting or offering customary gifts could result in severe consequences, the material worth of gifts was significant, and gifts brought by European diplomats to Istanbul were put to display before their audience.⁸³³ The exchanges were reciprocal but uneven, as the Ottoman sultan conceived his persona as being above all other world rulers, quite like the Habsburg Emperors who greedily defended their standing within the European diplomacy as being above kings and princes. The symbolic meaning of gifts was of utmost importance in Istanbul, and as Ernst Petritsch suggested on the Habsburg-Ottoman example, the meaning of a diplomatic gift as an honorary gift or tribute depended on the interpretation and labeling made by both sides involved.⁸³⁴ From at least the sixteenth century, Ottomans participated in the European diplomatic *lingua franca* of gift-giving with Hurrem Sultan, for instance, sending the Polish king Sigismund Augustus handkerchiefs, face towels, shorts, and waistbands.⁸³⁵ Of course, there are also differences.

Ottomans identified different categories of gifts. In his recent study of British-Ottoman relations, Michael Talbot rightly identified three categories of gifts in the diplomatic context: ceremonial robes of honor (*hil'at*), tributary gifts (*piskeş*), and informal gifts (*hibe*).⁸³⁶ The *piskeş* appeared for the last time in an Ottoman-Polish treaty in 1672 when after a military defeat, the Polish king was obligated to send a yearly tribute of twenty-five thousand golden coins to Istanbul.⁸³⁷ The final Ottoman-Polish treaty in 1699 did not mention the tributary gifts, abolishing this practice for the entire eighteenth-century. Customary gifts (*hediyе*) that were dispatched yearly to the Crimean Khan and inscribed in Ottoman-Polish treaties were also abolished by the eighteenth century, although informal gifts were still sent to the Khan and his family on a regular basis.⁸³⁸ The informal gifts (*hibe*) were practically not present in Ottoman-Polish gift exchanges because the ambassadors arrived in Istanbul for only a limited amount of time and usually left within a year.

⁸³² Althoff and Stollberg-Rilinger, "Die Sprache der Gaben," 11-17 (section 4: "Der diplomatische Gabentausch der Frühen Neuzeit-acht Thesen.").

⁸³³ Mustak, "A Study on the Gift Log, MAD 1279," 45.

⁸³⁴ Ernst D. Petritsch, "Tribut oder Ehrengeschenk. Ein Beitrag zu den habsburgisch-osmanischen Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 20 (1993): 49–58.

⁸³⁵ *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 126, cat. no. 9.

⁸³⁶ Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, 110.

⁸³⁷ Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, doc. 51, 497 (Ottoman version), 499 (English translation).

⁸³⁸ See my review of: Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania* in: *sehepunkte*, 13 (2013), No. 9, fn. 5.

Diplomatic gifts were deeply embedded in the system of reciprocal giving and receiving. In the Persianate world to which the Ottomans belonged, gifts resulted from notions of largesse, reciprocity, and power.⁸³⁹ In Ottoman and European contexts, gifts were often re-gifted and after they fulfilled their ceremonial duty, cashed in. Hedda Reindl-Kiel has suggested that gifts brought by European diplomats were often described in Ottoman registers as barbaric and were treated with reserve.⁸⁴⁰ Silver tableware or Augsburg table clocks were often stored by Ottomans and melted down when in need of silver. However, this was not much different than in the European context. If an ambassador in the sixteenth century was departing from Rome and received a large golden chain as a gift, it was so because this gold piece was easily converted to ready cash.⁸⁴¹ Of course, as Peter Burschel demonstrated, the Ottoman custom of cashing in gifts provoked the Habsburg envoys to discourses of Ottoman barbarity.⁸⁴² These kinds of discourses, however, were instrumental and were called in or forgotten depending on the momentary need, like in the case of European discourses of Russian or Polish barbarism.⁸⁴³ For the Ottoman elites, gifts were a means of wealth circulation, but in both European and Ottoman courtly culture, after the official offering, gifts were an asset.⁸⁴⁴

As in Europe, at the Ottoman court, gifts were crucial for diplomatic negotiations. Receiving an audience with the sultan depended on the amount and quality of the gifts provided. Diplomats that arrived without gifts or, like Benoe, were unwilling to give a gift to the sultan were allowed to proceed to the audience only with the sultan's personal permission.⁸⁴⁵ Polish envoys not only presented gifts but also received them.⁸⁴⁶ The most common gifts were ceremonial robes of honor (caftan or *bil'at*), horse tack, and horses from the sultan's stables. In 1699, Jan Małachowski, Polish envoy to the Karlowitz Peace Congress received a beautiful saddle delivered most likely with a horse from Mustafa II's stables.⁸⁴⁷ Małachowski also received from the sultan a jasper bowl, plate, and spoon which certainly came from

⁸³⁹ Rudi Matthee, "Gift Giving in the Safavid Period," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. 10, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 2001), 609.

⁸⁴⁰ Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Der Duft der Macht: Osmanen, islamische Tradition, muslimische Mächte und der Westen im Spiegel diplomatischer Geschenke," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005): 230–31.

⁸⁴¹ Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 153–54.

⁸⁴² Burschel, "A Clock for the Sultan," 557–58.

⁸⁴³ Hennings, *Russia and Courty Europe*, 35; Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1994), 100.

⁸⁴⁴ Tom Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," in *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, ed. Linda Komaroff, First edition. (Yale University Press, 2011), 149–66; see also the interesting term "pişkeşization" coined by Wasiucionek to describe flows of resources within the Ottoman Empire Wasiucionek, "Politics and Watermelons," 152–62. See also below for more Ottoman and European examples.

⁸⁴⁵ Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, 28.

⁸⁴⁶ Pathbreaking in this respect recently, see Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Diplomatic Gifts to the Christian West"; Ayşen Müderrisoğlu, "Ottoman Gifts in the 18th Century through the East-West Perspective," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi / The Journal of International Social Research* 7, no. 34 (2014): 269–76.

⁸⁴⁷ Zdzisław Żygulski, *Swiatła Stambułu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1999), 182.

the imperial workshops of Istanbul.⁸⁴⁸ Thirty years later, Józef Sierakowski received a ‘brave horse with full horse tack’ from Mahmud I and a silver casket studded with corals and pearls.⁸⁴⁹ It can be safely assumed that most diplomats received a caparisoned horse and a small by-gift if they obeyed the rules of gift-giving.

The essential Ottoman gifts to European envoys were robes of honor which had a strong influence on the Polish-style of noble dress. There is a clear distinction between the Orientalized dress of East Central European nobilities and French or British turquerie in the eighteenth century.⁸⁵⁰ Turquerie was a fashion, a ‘pan-European interest in and emulation of Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750.’⁸⁵¹ In East Central Europe, Ottoman caftans were a crucial element of the male dress style and were not a part of the progressing of turquerie but rather were evidence of the centuries-long Ottomanizing style of the Polish dress.⁸⁵² Polish nobles accommodated Ottoman style caftans, pants, shoes, and sashes in the sixteenth century and transculturally accepted them as a part of their noble and knightly identity. Wearing this Ottomanized Polish dress long into the nineteenth century became a part of the Polish noble identity.⁸⁵³ It is in this context that we can best see the Ottoman caftans gifted to Polish diplomats as coveted objects which were worn at home with pride. In 1700, Grand Ambassador Rafał Leszczyński had to constrain his pages and noble servants as they pushed each other out of the way to get to Ottoman caftans.⁸⁵⁴ Only some Polish diplomats, aware of the Ottoman meaning of caftans as a sign of submission, took them off shortly after exiting Topkapı Palace.⁸⁵⁵ For others, Ottoman caftans were just coveted objects like those they wore at home (see illustration 34 and 35).

⁸⁴⁸ Magdalena Adamska, “Przedmioty ze zbiorów wawelskich w „Album zamoyskim”: przyczynek do XIX-wiecznej ikonografii zabytków sztuki w Polsce,” *Studia Waweliana* 4 (1995): 139-140 (jaspis objects), 137-138 (conserved stirrup from Malachowski's saddle). The saddle is on the permanent exhibition in the Wawel Castle Museum (Kraków).

⁸⁴⁹ Dariusz Sierakowski, 10 II 1733; Rodziewicz, *Katalog zbioru obrazów oraz innych przedmiotów sztuki znajdujących się w posiadaniu rodziny Hrabionów Sierakowskich w Waplenie (Prusy Zachodnie)*, cat. no. 250.

⁸⁵⁰ The literature on turquerie is enormous, most recently see Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, “Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650-1750,” *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (November 1, 2013): 75–118, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtt019>; Nebahat Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014).

⁸⁵¹ Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, “Turquerie,” 75.

⁸⁵² Jasiński, “A Savage Magnificence,” 176. The premises for a comparison between the Polish and Hungarian nobilities are promising and were only touched upon by Jasiński.

⁸⁵³ Borkopp-Restle, “Persian Art and Polish Sashes: Symbols of National Identity and Luxury Textiles in an International Market.”

⁸⁵⁴ Czamańska, *Poselstwo Rafała Leszczyńskiego do Turcji w 1700 roku*, 77.

⁸⁵⁵ Miaskowski, *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, 139; on the Ottoman meaning of caftans provided to converts see Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 113.



Illustration 34: Family portrait of Grand Crown hetman Adam Mikolaj Sieniawski (died 1726) with his son-in-law Stanislaw Denhoff (died 1728), Field Lithuanian hetman. Both, Sieniawski (sited) and Denhoff (standing) are dressed in the Polish dress with a *żupan* (a long, tight-fitting shirt used as inner garment) and *kontusz* (outer garment with long, broad slashed sleeves), highlighted and bound together by a golden sash. The Orientalized fashion of the Polish-Lithuanian nobles never had a strong influence on female fashion. Both Elzbieta Sieniawska (wife of Adam, sited) and her daughter Maria Zofia (standing) are dressed in French-style dresses. Unknown Polish painter, ca. 1724. Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, cat. 1264.

In the Ottoman-Polish gift-giving, there was indeed a cultural commensurability in courtly encounters in the borderland and in Istanbul about the basic how, when, and what.⁸⁵⁶ This emerged from long-established diplomatic contacts reaching back to the fifteenth century. If Polish nobles sought to present golden clocks, silver tableware, and porcelain to the Tatar Khan or Ottoman sultan, it was so because the Muslim counterpart communicated their wishes and awaited such gifts.⁸⁵⁷ Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles who had been in contact with each other for a long time possessed the knowledge necessary to give appropriate gifts to each other. This resulted from everyday gifting practices in the borderland where the contacts and exchanges were far more intensive than in Istanbul. The gift-giving was also reciprocal as Ottoman envoys brought gifts to Poland, too.

Ottoman diplomats also brought gifts for the Polish king and Polish-Lithuanian officials on their visits to Warsaw. The luxurious objects that Ottoman diplomats presented in Poland-Lithuania

⁸⁵⁶ Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia*, 30.

⁸⁵⁷ See my review of: Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania in: sehepunkte*, 13 (2013), No. 9, fn. 5.

strengthened the already strong Ottomanizing style of the Polish noble costume and stimulated trade. To give an example, the Ottoman envoy Mustafa Efendi dispatched to Augustus III in 1737, brought as gifts horses, saddles, weapons, and textiles for the Polish king, queen, and the king's favorite.⁸⁵⁸ The exchange was, however, unbalanced, as the example of another Ottoman envoy Mehmed Efendi indicates. Mehmed Efendi, envoy to Warsaw in 1731, brought only one caparisoned horse for the king, but received in return a new travel carriage with eight horses.⁸⁵⁹ The sultan, as the world ruler, gifted less to the Polish king.

Ottomans gave gifts to not only the Polish court, but also to other European and Muslim courts. In 1741, for instance, the Ottoman envoy Hacı Hüseyin Efendi brought textiles, horse tack, and horses as gifts to Naples for the King of Both Sicilies, Charles VII.⁸⁶⁰ The gifts sent to European rulers differed considerably from those sent to Muslim rulers which also involved weapons and books. The Ottoman delegation to Mughal India in 1744 brought among their many gifts a copy of the Quran and a considerable collection of watches and pistols.⁸⁶¹ The tradition of gifting splendid copies of the Quran between Muslim rulers reaches back to at least the sixteenth century when Safavids gifted Ottomans illuminated copies of the Quran on a regular basis.⁸⁶² Weapons as gifts appear in the Ottoman-Polish borderland too, but seldom in Istanbul where religious control was stricter and did not allow the gifting of weapons to infidels. Due to the changing political landscape and weakening Ottoman military power in Europe, by the late eighteenth century, Ottoman gifts for European rulers became a rule and were more precious than ever before. For instance, in 1777, Numan Bey, the last Ottoman envoy sent to Poland-Lithuania, brought large amounts of textiles, horses, horse tack, and other gold and silver objects for the king and his officials.⁸⁶³ Hence, in the eighteenth century, Ottomans, contrary to the precedent of the previous centuries, started exchanging gifts with European rulers.

It is essential to see the Ottoman-Polish exchange of gifts within the holistic image of expenses that Ottoman embassies caused in Poland and Polish embassies incurred in Istanbul. The research tends

⁸⁵⁸ HStA Dresden, Oberhofmarschallamt, E, No. 4, f. 202r. Cf. BOA MAD 9054.

⁸⁵⁹ HStA Dresden, Oberhofmarschallamt, E, No. 16, f. 89r.

⁸⁶⁰ BOA MAD 9054, f. 673v-676v. Cf. "Li regali, che il Gran Signore ha fatto presentare dal suddetto suo Inviato Straordinario" in Francesco Ricciardo, ed., *Relazione della venuta di Hagi Hussein Effendi inviato straordinario della Porta Ottomana, e della pubblica Udienza, che ha avuto dal Re nostro signore il giorno 18 Settembre 1741* (Napoli, 1741), no page numbers; the gifts are today conserved in Palazzo Reale di Napoli, see Silvana Musella Guida, "Relazioni politiche e commerciali tra il Regno di Napoli e la Porta Ottomana nei primi anni del regno di Carlo di Borbone. I doni per e da Mahmud I," in *Dalle collezioni di Palazzo reale a mondi lontani: memorie e immagini*, ed. Annalisa Porzio, Quaderni di Palazzo reale 11 (Napoli: Associazione amici dei musei di Napoli, 2014), 9–28.

⁸⁶¹ Müderrisoğlu, "Ottoman Gifts in the 18th," 272.

⁸⁶² But Ottomans did not gift Safavids back, see Arcak, "Gifts in Motion," 3, fn. 4, 63, 149.

⁸⁶³ "Spis darów Sultana dla JKMości Króla polskiego" in Antoni Crutta, *Dziennik przyjęcia i pobytu nadzwyczajnego posła Porty Otomańskiej do Stanisława Augusta, króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego i do Rzeczypospolitej polskiej 1777 r.* (Warszawa: S. Olgebrand, 1860), 29–30; Cf. the published Ottoman list of gifts brought by Abdülkerim Pasha to Moscow in 1774, Lajos Fekete, "Podarki Sultana Abdulhamida I Imperatrice Ekaterine II," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2, no. 1 (1952): 1–21 Abdülkerim Pasha's gifts are on display in the Kremlin Museum.

to treat the upkeep paid reciprocally for every Ottoman envoy in Poland and Polish envoy in Istanbul separately. The king and nobility provided Ottoman envoys with transportation to and from Warsaw. Lodging, foodstuffs, and cash depended on the size of the Ottoman embassies. Ottomans, too, offered every Polish envoy transportation, lodging, foodstuffs, and upkeep (*ta'yın*). The burden of maintaining foreign envoys was considerable and is visible in the cost of foodstuffs. In 1758, Mehmed Pasha's Ottoman embassy consumed two hundred eighty-one kilograms of meat and two hundred eighty eggs per day while in Poland.⁸⁶⁴ The overall cost of Mehmed Pasha's stay in Poland amounted to an astronomical sum of fifty-one thousand florins, the price of six hundred oxen at that time. In 1742, the Ottomans provided Paweł Benoe, the Polish envoy, with a similar amount of meat, two hundred eggs per day, and forty-three and a half kilograms of salted fish. The overall cost of Benoe's stay in Istanbul amounted to over twenty-one thousand *akçe* per day.⁸⁶⁵ The mutual upkeep and gift-giving considered together created a heavy financial burden for both Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. In 1733, for instance, Fabian Giedymin, a provincial Polish officer complained that ambassador to Sweden Yirmisekizade Mehmed Said Pasha's passing through Poland caused him to go into debt.⁸⁶⁶

This is why, as times passed, both the Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles tried to limit the size of diplomatic missions and the cost of the upkeep and tried to expedite negotiations. Much of the Polish dragoman's work focused on drafting petitions (*'arzuhals*) to keep allowances from the Ottoman treasury. The Polish dragomanate's archive, which is conserved in Kraków today, is almost exclusively filled with petitions. To give an example, in 1756, the Polish envoy Mniszech petitioned to increase his daily cash payments from one hundred twenty to two hundred *akçe*. As an argument, Mniszech mentioned the precedent of the previous envoy (Benoe), whose allowance amounted to two hundred *akçe* per day.⁸⁶⁷ On this occasion, Polish officials strongly insisted that the Polish envoy should receive the same cash payments as the previous envoy.

Additionally, the Ottoman envoy that arrived in Poland that same year received precisely the same amount of cash for his upkeep as Benoe.⁸⁶⁸ Thus, the emphasis was on reciprocity, as well as on the continuation of former practices. To illustrate the Ottoman and Polish notions of gift-giving, the next part of this chapter focuses on a microhistorical perspective on Paweł Benoe's gift-giving from 1742 to 1743. The next section suggests the complexity of gift-giving in the interplay between private agency and state interests visible in Benoe's double standing as king's envoy and private person. With Benoe's

⁸⁶⁴ Elżbieta Kowecka, "Ekspensa hetmańskie na poselstwa tureckie w Polsce w latach 1755 i 1758," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 41, no. 1 (1993): 107–18.

⁸⁶⁵ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 6v-r and BOA, C.HR 3841 in Yekeler et al., *Yoldaki elçi*, 228.

⁸⁶⁶ Letter of Fabian Giedymin to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, no place, 20 II 1733, COIM, ms. 333, f. 256v.

⁸⁶⁷ Şaşmaz, *XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan İlişkileri*, 403–404 (doc. 240, 11 V 1756).

⁸⁶⁸ Letter of Stanisław Poniatowski to Heinrich Brühl, Minister of Saxony, Warsaw, 1 III 1755, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, loc. 2955/11, f. 10v-r, and other letters in this volume.

case study, I argue for the interconnectedness of the Ottoman-Polish cultural zone and the belonging of the southern Polish-Lithuanian borderlands to the cultural Mediterranean. While being transported in Benoe's bags, the objects that Benoe gifted or received underwent a process of transculturation and adaptation to their new owners and usage. Adapted back in Poland, Ottoman caftans lost their meaning as a sign of submission and became a coveted textile. Similarly, porcelain brought by Benoe was kept in Ottoman palaces as a resource and reused in case of need in an Ottoman manner.



Illustration 35: The piece on the left is an Ottoman caftan purchased in 1730 in the Ottoman Empire by king's Augustus II Turkish valet. This caftan's sleeves are rather unusually close-fitting to the body of the fabric, which is rather plain and was probably worn as undergarment. The piece on the right bares more similarities with Ottoman caftans worn as outer clothing. It was probably produced in Poland-Lithuania around 1703. Holger Schuckelt and Martin Steinbrück, *The Turkish Chamber: Oriental Splendour in the Dresden Armoury* (Berlin; Dresden: Deutscher Kunstverlag; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2010), 114–115 ('Ottoman' caftan); Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden and Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, eds., *Im Lichte des Halbmonds: das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Dresden : Leipzig: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden ; Bonn : Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ; Ed. Leipzig, 1995), 262, no. 353 ('Polish' caftan).

A Greedy Diplomat and his Gifts: Paweł Benoe and his Gift-Giving of 1742-1743 (gifts between courts)

Diplomatic gift-giving in the early modern period depended heavily on the individual agency of diplomats selected for a particular mission and their financial capabilities. In Poland, diplomats went on a mission to Istanbul usually only once and before embarking on their mission had to make decisions about gift-giving. The acquisition of gifts for the Ottomans rested entirely on the diplomats and central institutions provided diplomats with at most advice and the promise of reimbursement in cash and honors after a successful mission.⁸⁶⁹ Benoe seemed a perfect candidate for a diplomat to Istanbul not only because of his Turkish-speaking wife and early experiences in the Ottoman Empire but also due to his treasury based in Lwów and filled with ready cash. Benoe belonged not only to the group of early modern information masters, but also to a group of financial entrepreneurs skilled at multiplying their possessions and revenues.

Once selected, however, Benoe had to navigate his way through the labyrinth of gift-giving customs at the Ottoman court. In Renaissance Rome, the papal master of ceremonies, Paride Grassi, prepared a handbook on ambassadors and ‘included a chapter headed: ‘How much ambassadors should give to papal officials, and who these officials are.’⁸⁷⁰ In the 1580s, the Venetian bailo in Istanbul, Giovanni Moro, drew up a similar handbook for future baili with ample advice on how to gift the Ottomans.⁸⁷¹ In Poland, too, gifting practices were based on precedence, and Benoe had access to the Crown archives and, above all, documentation provided by the former envoy Józef Sierakowski. Before his mission, Benoe closely studied Sierakowski’s diplomatic diary and his list of gifts headed imaginatively ‘Connotation of all the presents that I was forced to give on the way to Istanbul.’⁸⁷² Benoe made extensive notes from Sierakowski’s list, summed up all the expenses amounting to almost eight thousand Dutch lion thalers and decided to save on gifts whenever possible.

Benoe’s primary strategy, borrowed from Sierakowski, involved obtaining gifts before leaving Poland, and in a later dispatch from Istanbul, he advised future diplomats to do the same:

‘If it comes to gifts, every envoy should take such a subsidy from Wrocław [Breslau – M. K.] where all such gallantries like crystals, silvers, combs, beads, ambers, porcelains, sashes refined with precious stones, furs, khanjars, studded rifles, large mirrors, all well-made are easy to get. (...)

⁸⁶⁹ Wójcik, Labuda, and Gierowski, *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, 2:294, 456; Józef Gierowski and Józef Leszczyński, “Dyplomacja polska za Sasów,” in *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI - XVIII wieku: Studia*, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 415.

⁸⁷⁰ Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 145.

⁸⁷¹ Luca Molà, “Material Diplomacy: Venetian Luxury Gifts for the Ottoman Empire in the Late Renaissance,” in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritson, and Giorgio Riello (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 63.

⁸⁷² ‘Connotatio prezentów, które się w drodze stambulskiej dawać musiały, 1733 Anno,’ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 1v.

That would be sufficient and would save a large sum from the diplomat's pocket. They [Ottomans – M. K.] do not demand expensive objects, but they expect to receive splendid ones.⁸⁷³

Benoe had experience with Ottoman material culture, filled his house with Ottoman pillows, paintings, and porcelain, and shopped in Istanbul's markets in his early life. In 1710 in Istanbul, Benoe encountered the Ottoman Grand Vizier Baltacı Mehmed Pasha and other officials. He had good knowledge of what the Ottomans considered to be a suitable gift and decided to buy a massive number of gifts in Wrocław, an important shopping destination for Polish nobility, where Benoe had easy access to credit, Italian stores, and merchant networks.⁸⁷⁴ The three-page-long list of objects obtained by Benoe in Wrocław from Italian and German merchants, as well as preserved single bills, gives a detailed account of what objects were obtained and for what purpose. Benoe purchased, above all, textiles, orange, golden, grey, and 'blue mourant' (light blue) cloths made of velvet, satin, and silk in large amounts and intended for gifts. Benoe also acquired English-made golden, silver, and porcelain watches in advance, as well as rifles, pistols, and broadswords.

Benoe, however, did not only trust the sources provided by Sierakowski but in Istanbul searched for additional sources of information, especially before the entry audiences. On 6 January 1743, Benoe inquired about introductory gifts to his primary dragoman, Francesco Giuliani, who provided him with a detailed list including the amounts of cash due to various Ottoman officials.⁸⁷⁵ As he mistrusted Giuliani throughout his mission, Benoe asked for the same information from his second dragoman, Marino Vucino, and then, confronted both lists and made excerpts.⁸⁷⁶ Finally, on 20 January 1743, Benoe visited the Sicilian ambassador, Niccolò de Maio, in Istanbul, talked with him about gift customs at the Ottoman court and received a copy of a list of all the expenses incurred by Polish envoys in Istanbul.⁸⁷⁷ Benoe also visited other ambassadors and compared their lists of gifts, noting that de Maio's list 'does not agree with the lists of other ministers [European diplomats – M. K.], either due to a scribe's mistake or due to

⁸⁷³ „Každy poseł powinien takie *subsidiūm* z Wrocławia zaciągnąć, gdzie różne galanterie od kryształów, sreberek, grzebyków, paciorków, bursztynów, farfurek *etc.* pokupiwszy, szkatułę piękną aksamitem *intus et ab extra* z galonkami upstrzywszy i to ułożywszy, a na to ledwie kilkadziesiąt czerwonych wyłożywszy mógłby znaleźć akceptacyę za pięćset czerwonych, passy składane, kamykami ozdobione, futra piękne choć niedrogie, handźary, strzelby nabijane, polerowane, zwierciadła wielkie *ex qui* siłę robione byleby na niczym osób nie było, uszłyby i ochroniłyby znaczną sumę, bo kiedy bardzo bogatych rzeczy nie biorą, przynajmniej bardzo ozdobnych pretendują.” Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, Crown chancellor, Pera, 22 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, No. 1333.

⁸⁷⁴ On noble shopping in Wrocław, see Józef Andrzej Gierowski, “Wrocławskie interesy hetmanowej Elżbiety Sieniawskiej,” in *Studia i szkice z dziejów Śląska*, ed. Jerzy Maroń, Prace historyczne / Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 41 (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2009), 91–113.

⁸⁷⁵ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, p. 10v-r.

⁸⁷⁶ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, p. 9v-r.

⁸⁷⁷ ‘Expensa pro officialibus ac comitatie circa receptionem et introductionem legati Sacrae Regiae Majestatis et Reipublica Poloniarum,’ 20 I 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, p. 2v-4r, with Benoe's corroborating note.

prerogatives of one diplomat over the other.⁸⁷⁸ Benoe was aware of the importance of gifts, their amounts, and expected quality, but decided not to gift the Ottomans.

Benoe's refusal to exchange gifts with the Ottomans could have drastic consequences for his mission. On 24 January 1743, Benoe visited the Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha and did not bring any gifts at all. Four days after the audience, he reported to the court that he still had not collected or sent gifts to Ali Pasha and 'wants either to renounce or prolong' this issue. Benoe also added that his friends and advisors instructed him to obey the rules of gift-giving and to prepare the gifts. Finally, Benoe decided to gift Ali Pasha a fur worth hundred thirty florins, a Neapolitan casket, and other gifts for the Grand Vizier's servants.⁸⁷⁹ Benoe, however, still insisted on not gifting anything to the sultan and added that 'it is not the custom [to gift the sultan], and it is only executed by the Grand Ambassador, I am sure, however, that a part of my gifts will be distributed in the palace.'⁸⁸⁰ Benoe was sure, and rightly so that even without the gifts he would be granted an audience with Mahmud II and was aware of the practice of redistributing gifts between Topkapı Palace and the Ottoman elites.

A regular appearance in Benoe's gifting, as Garret Mattingly nicknamed it, was his 'pecuniary embarrassment.'⁸⁸¹ The recurrent theme of high gifting costs appeared in Benoe's every dispatch and to explain it he applied the widespread topos of the Ottoman's avarice and greed. Ottoman officials stretched their hands out for cash, and towards the end of his mission, Benoe was not sure 'if they will [literally] not skin me off.'⁸⁸² By this, Benoe meant, above all, not luxury gifts, but the cash required at every audience or conference. Towards the end of his mission, Benoe minimized payments in cash and at the conference with Ali Pasha on 21 March 1743, for instance, paid less than Ali Pasha expected. This prompted the Grand Dragoman Ioannis Kallimaki to send Benoe a note listing exactly how much he 'forgot' to pay.⁸⁸³ Benoe complied and dispatched the missing cash. Within the context of European diplomacy, there was nothing peculiar about cash payments upon audiences and conferences. Diplomats in Rome paid the Curia officials in cash and gold, and if they did not pay enough, officials reminded them of how much was expected. There also were clear expectations about what and who should be given compensation.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁸ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Jan Malachowski, Deputy Chancellor, Pera, 22 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, Folder 711, No. 1333.

⁸⁷⁹ Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, Grand Chancellor, Pera, 26 I 1743, AGAD, AKW Turkish Section, Folder 711, No. 1334 and Pera, 30 I 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 3, f. 6r-9r (unsent extended version).

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁸¹ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 111.

⁸⁸² Letter of Pawel Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, Grand Chancellor, Pera, 26 V 1743, AGAD, AKW Turkish Section, Folder 720, No. 1364.

⁸⁸³ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 42v-r.

⁸⁸⁴ Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 157.

Benoe's example suggests that diplomats had ample opportunities to amend, test, and purposefully ignore the rules of ceremonial gift-giving and did not mindlessly obey the rules of gifting and the involved symbolic communication expressed in gifts. Benoe confronted several sources in Poland and Istanbul and made his own choices on the quality and number of gifts in order to save money. This strategy becomes even more visible in his actual practices of gifting Ottomans with luxury gifts in Istanbul.

Benoe quickly realized that his diplomatic mission would not go without the vast amounts of gifts in Istanbul that could be categorized –to use Catharine Fletcher's category– as gifts between the courts. During his entry to Istanbul, Ottoman officials gave him direct suggestions by stating that previous diplomats had brought splendid silverware.⁸⁸⁵ Benoe downplayed his diplomatic status by saying that he was merely an envoy extraordinary and not a grand ambassador obliged to gift Ottomans with rich luxury objects. In the end, Benoe's gifts are representative of other eighteenth century diplomats, who compared with grand ambassadors in the seventeenth century, did not bring as luxurious and expensive gifts as before. Exemplary of this is, for instance, a total lack of hunting dogs and lavish objects such as golden or silver fountains or bathtubs. The absence of animals, commonly gifted to the sultan by Christian rulers, is quite surprising. In 1622, for instance, the Polish envoy, Krzysztof Zbaraski, presented the sultan gyrfalcons, pointing breeds, and mastiffs, all covered with gold jewelry.⁸⁸⁶ Benoe did not bring any animals and did not present anything to Mahmud II. Additionally, he limited his gifts in gold and silver and focused on affordable and splendid looking objects.⁸⁸⁷

Benoe's example also suggests that diplomats could select between different forms of giving and objects for gifts from within a selected and customarily approved number of luxury gifts. Benoe insisted on saving and presented Ottomans with three categories of affordable gifts: watches (and clocks), textiles and porcelain. From those, timepieces constitute the most significant gift presented to the Ottomans in large quantities by all European diplomats. In the second half of the eighteenth-century, timepieces became a substantial part of gift-giving procedures in Istanbul. Polish and European diplomats regularly offered timepieces to the Ottomans as gifts, not only in Istanbul but also in the borderland. As Michael Talbot recently demonstrated, British diplomats in Istanbul frequently presented copious amounts of watches to troublesome Ottoman officials to gain their services and ease conflicts.⁸⁸⁸ These watches were

⁸⁸⁵ Letter of Paweł Benoe to Andrzej Żaluski, Crown Chancellor, Pera, 22 I 1743, AGAD, AKW, Turkish Section, No. 1333.

⁸⁸⁶ Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, eds., *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach: relacje staropolskie z XVI-XVIII w.* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959), 205; Reindl-Kiel, "Dogs, Elephants, Lions and a Rhino on Diplomatic Mission: Animals as Gifts to the Ottoman Court," 275–78.

⁸⁸⁷ An exception to the rule is Józef Sierakowski, who gifted the Sultan and Grand Vizier with bandogs, Dariusz Sierakowski, 22 I 1733. I was unable to find any other diplomat in the eighteenth century who gifted in Istanbul animals.

⁸⁸⁸ Michael Talbot, "Gifts of Time: Watches and Clocks in Ottoman-British Diplomacy, 1693–1803," in *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century*, ed. Harriet Rudolph (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 73.

made for the Ottoman market, carried floral ornaments, and used Arabic numerals. This is probably why these timepieces were actually in use and why Ottomans did not melt them down as they did so many Augsburg-made clocks that the Ottomans described as being made ‘in the style of unbelievers.’⁸⁸⁹

First, Benoe presented Ottomans with the nine watches of low quality (three covered with gold, three studded with precious stones, and three silver ones) that he obtained in Wrocław before leaving Poland.⁸⁹⁰ These were, however, not sufficient, and he quickly ran out of all the watches that he had bought in advance. To that end, Benoe bought in Istanbul golden English pocket watches with golden chains as gifts for important Ottoman officials (see illustration 36) from Friedrich Hübsch, a Saxon merchant and the Polish king’s personal resident.⁸⁹¹ With financial guarantees from the court, Hübsch provided Benoe with everything he needed, and his dragomans delivered the gifts. The tendency to give watches to Ottomans is affirmed in Mniszech’s and Podoski’s gift-giving strategies as they followed Benoe’s example. Podoski would donate golden and silver watches on every possible occasion. Podoski’s secretary later noted with dismay that Podoski ‘received various gifts during the reception [with the Grand Vizier – M. K.], which were, however, not any better than two copper tea-pots, fruits, and flowers, whereas the envoy [...] gifted them with gold.’⁸⁹² These kinds of misunderstanding were common in Christian-Muslim gift-giving. Christian Windler, for instance, expressed almost the same frustrations with the French consuls in Tunis.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁹ Reindl-Kiel, “Der Duft der Macht,” 230; Burschel, “A Clock for the Sultan.”

⁸⁹⁰ ‘Regestr ekspensy na sprawunek różnych rzeczy na potrzebę JWJMci Dobrodzieja uczynionej przez JMci Pana lowczego żytomierskiego [Józefa Słoneckiego] we Wrocławiu 1742 Anno’, SL, fond 145, ms. 71, part 2, p. 2r.

⁸⁹¹ Letters of Friedrich Hübsch to Pawel Benoe, SL, fond 145, ms. 3, part 5, 59 letters from 1743-1749 and bills in SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5. Hübsch was from Leipzig in Saxony but served initially Habsburg Oriental Company’, see: letter of Jan Stadnicki, Polish-Saxon resident to Heinrich von Brühl, Polish-Saxon first minister, Pera, 2 IV 1737, HStA Dresden, loc. 3553/7, f. 179v-180v. On Habsburg economic presence in the Middle East: Robert-Tarek Fischer, *Österreich im Nahen Osten: die Großmachtspolitik der Habsburgermonarchie im Arabischen Orient 1633 - 1918* (Wien: Böhlau, 2006), 31–37.

⁸⁹² Diary of Podoski, BO, ms. 614, f. 21v (30 IX 1760): „Różne przy tym od różnych Turków odbierał przy powitaniu prezenta, które jednak nad jeden i drugi imbryczek miedziany, frukta i kwiatki większe nie były, gdy tymczasem JW poseł, podług wrodzonego Jego humoru złotem i różnemi byli obdarowywani galanteryami.”

⁸⁹³ Windler, *La diplomatie comme expérience de l'autre*, 60:493.

#1 Montre d'or angloise garnie des Diamants	180 pour kibaya a	20 60
#1 d. d. plus richem. garnie	260 pour defterdar	175 —
#1 chaine d'or Angloise		250 —
#1 d. dorée		78 —
#1 le Confidurier de l'ambassadeur d'Hollande	à son compte	8 —
35 d. d. d'ingerti		22 —
#1 Montre d'or pour le nouveau Chiaux Bassa		135 —
#1 d. d. pour kolchak pasha		150 —

Illustration 36: A page from Benoe's book of accounts, listing a golden watch with diamonds given to *kibaya* (*kethüda*, here deputy of the Grand Vizier) and another one 'adorned in a rich manner' for *defterdar* (chief financial officer of the empire) – both with golden chains. At the bottom, also visible is the note for two other watches given to the chief sergeants-at-arms (*çavuşbaşı*) and to Kolchak Pasha, probably son of the provincial governor of Hotin before 1739. The filigree hand-writing adding Ottoman titles to the gifts is in Benoe's own hand. SL, ms. 21, part 5, f. 11v, Pera, 11 II 1743.

As these examples illustrate, misunderstandings in gift-giving were present on both sides. The most notable example of this is likely how Frederick the Great treated gifts brought to Berlin by the Ottoman ambassador, Ahmed Resmi Efendi. The Prussian king let all of the gifts (apart from the horses) be discreetly sold on the markets of Amsterdam and elsewhere.⁸⁹⁴ Similarly, in Poland in 1737, Ottoman envoy Mustafa Efendi sold part of the Polish gifts that he received before even leaving Poland-Lithuania.⁸⁹⁵ As indicated before, Christians and Muslims treated gifts as an asset, hence the tendency to liquify them. Analogous situations did not materialize when Ottomans gifted to Polish envoys due to the Polish taste for Ottomanizing material culture, especially textiles.

The second most important category of gifts between the courts was textiles. In the Ottoman context, textiles and their colors played an important role in distinguishing different social groups, and among the Ottoman elites, textiles were in use as a currency.⁸⁹⁶ In the Polish context, the *żupan* (a long, tight-fitting shirt used as an inner garment) and *kontusz* (an outer garment with long, broad slashed sleeves) with yellow leader boots imported from the Ottoman Empire constituted the core of the Ottomanized Polish-style costume.⁸⁹⁷ Polish nobles participated –to use a term coined by Hedda Reindl-Kiel– in the Ottoman 'textilomania.' The Eastern textiles were so popular in Poland that by the eighteenth century local manufactures wove similar textiles used for costumes, tents, or carpets. In much the same style as Ottomans, Polish nobles consumed European and Eastern textiles that were often used together

⁸⁹⁴ Reindl-Kiel, "Der Duft der Macht," 231–32.

⁸⁹⁵ HStA Dresden, Oberhofmarschallamt, E, No. 4, f. 179v.

⁸⁹⁶ Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes."

⁸⁹⁷ Paulina Banas, "Persian Art and the Crafting of Polish Identity," in *The Fascination of Persia*, ed. Axel Langer (Zürich: Museum Rietberg Scheidegger & Spiess, 2013), 129–30.

to craft Polish-style costumes.⁸⁹⁸ From this perspective, it does not come as a surprise that the Ottomans gifted Polish envoys with caftans and that Poles reciprocated with European textiles.

Benoe filled his closet with lavish Polish style costumes made of the best brocades, velvets, and silks. Benoe came to Istanbul prepared and acquired large amounts of Florentine satins, and Venetian damasks in Wroclaw. In May 1743, he ran out of prepared cloth and acquired new French and English textiles in Istanbul.⁸⁹⁹ Approximately one-third of Benoe's gifts presented to the Ottomans consisted exactly of textiles, and in gifting massive amounts of cloths, he followed the pattern established by Sierakowski in 1733. A new element in Benoe's gift-giving was a gift to the Ottoman foreign minister (*reis-ül küttab*) consisting of locally made Saxon textiles, woven in the city of Leipzig. Benoe gifted local Polish and Saxon made objects exactly to Ottoman official most concerned with the foreign affairs.

The third and new group among Benoe's gifts in the category of gifts between the courts was porcelain. Porcelain can also be placed within Catharine Fletcher's original category of gifts between princes, sent through ambassador's hands as the king's personal gift. Porcelain belonged to the gifts which brought Benoe's public persona as the envoy of Augustus III of Poland-Saxony to the foreground. Benoe brought a trunk filled with golden-inlaid Saxon porcelain to Istanbul which he gifted (precisely like the Saxon textile) to the Ottoman foreign minister.⁹⁰⁰ This gift, unlike all the others, was provided by the court and not paid for by Benoe out of his pocket. By the time of his mission, Saxon porcelain belonged to the new and standard gift that every Polish envoy brought to Istanbul.

The secret of porcelain crafting discovered in Saxony in 1710 allowed Augustus II of Poland-Saxony to include porcelain among his diplomatic gifts. As early as 1714, Augustus II planned a porcelain gift to the French court that he abandoned as the quality of early Saxon products was not up to par.⁹⁰¹ Soon, however, porcelain assumed one of the most critical places in inter-state gift exchanges. Porcelain as a moldable and changeable object is by far a perfect object for a gift. Expensive in its nature, but inexpensive to the rulers who owned their manufacturing centers, porcelain is easily personalizable with coats-of-arms, emblems, medallion portraits, or –in case of Ottoman sultans– with *tuğras* (the calligraphic personalized monogram). The Frankfurt-based state theoretician Friedrich Carl Moser saw in 1751 no

⁸⁹⁸ Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego, LXIV, No. 3 (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1935), 32–46, passim.

⁸⁹⁹ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, p. 12v.

⁹⁰⁰ 'Cost for the audiences, conferences with the Sultan, Grand Vizier and other gifts, 1743', SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 44v.

⁹⁰¹ Julia Weber, "'...daß andere Nationen darüber erstaunen müssen...': Sächsisches Porzellan in der europäischen Diplomatie," in *Triumph der blauen Schwerter: Meißener Porzellan für Adel und Bürgertum 1710 - 1815*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Banz (Leipzig: Seemann, 2010), 155.

better object for a gift than naturalia (for instance animals) or pieces of art crafted in the ruler's country.⁹⁰² With porcelain, Polish-Saxon kings showcased the products of their lands and boosted their standing within the princely society.

Similarly, in 1784, the Spanish embassy brought products from the Spanish royal manufacturers, as well as raw materials from Spanish colonies for Selim III and Ottoman officials.⁹⁰³ Cacao, chocolate, and vicuna wool from the Andes displayed the extent of the Spanish Empire and the exclusiveness of these gifts aimed at drawing Ottoman attention towards Spanish products. The British and the Dutch employed similar strategies in Istanbul. As Michael Talbot demonstrated, British diplomats gifted Ottomans with British-made clocks and watches on a regular basis, and strengthened the presence of British-made timepieces on the Ottoman market.⁹⁰⁴ Claudia Swan analyzed how the Dutch presented Ahmed I with a vast array of products that were intended to 'represent the reach of Dutch trade.'⁹⁰⁵ The same strategies were in use by European powers in North Africa. In his extensive analysis of European gift-giving in the Maghreb, Christian Windler went so far as to argue that European gifting aimed at demonstrating technological progress and European superiority.⁹⁰⁶ Many of these gifts were also transculturated and adjusted to the Ottoman market, precisely as porcelain was.

Porcelain inspired generations of historians working on diplomatic gifts, but the to-date research has focused on gifts from Augustus II and his son to other European rulers.⁹⁰⁷ Interest in the porcelain gifted to the Ottoman sultans is scant. This is due to the immense problems in accessing the collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum, where many of the porcelain gifts for the sultans are still conserved. In 1961, as an exception to the rule, Rainer Rückert, a German historian of art, was able to see the porcelain storage rooms of the Topkapı Museum, but he published only one article on his findings focusing on early Vienna-made porcelain.⁹⁰⁸ Other German scholars focused on traditional lines of investigation into trade with porcelain and the eighteenth-century turquerie fashion that transpired in the designs.⁹⁰⁹ The strong relations between porcelain, trade, and diplomacy are obvious as David Do Paço suggested

⁹⁰² Nadir Weber, "Lebende Geschenke: Tiere als Medien der frühneuzeitlichen Außenbeziehungen," in *Medien der Aussenbeziehungen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Hoeres and Anuschka Tischer (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 160; Weber, "Sächsisches Porzellan in der europäischen Diplomatie," 157.

⁹⁰³ Hernández Sau, "Gifts across the Mediterranean Sea."

⁹⁰⁴ Talbot, "Gifts of Time," 56.

⁹⁰⁵ Swan, "Birds of Paradise," 51.

⁹⁰⁶ Windler, *La diplomatie comme expérience de l'autre*, 60:524.

⁹⁰⁷ For best overview see: Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ed., *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710-63* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Weber, "Sächsisches Porzellan in der europäischen Diplomatie." I would like to thank Julia Weber for providing me with valuable advice and literature.

⁹⁰⁸ Rainer Rückert, "Wiener und Meißener Porzellan des 18. Jh. 'Alla Turca,'" *Keramos : Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Keramikfreunde e.V. Düsseldorf* (1995), no. 147 (1995): 3-94.

⁹⁰⁹ See for instance Martin Krieger, "Türcken-Kopgen und türkische Figuren," *Keramos: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Keramikfreunde e.V. Düsseldorf* 32 (1966): 3-14; Weber, "Von Moskau bis Lissabon, von Dublin bis Konstantinopel."

recently on the Habsburg-Ottoman example.⁹¹⁰ In the Turkish historiography, however, the interest in European-made porcelains is lacking which leads to an imbalance of available and disconnected literatures in European languages and in Turkish.⁹¹¹

The Ottoman interest in European porcelain was immense and resulted in the creation of the first porcelain workshop in Beykoz in 1718.⁹¹² On 4 July 1746, the Ottoman envoy in Vienna, Mustafa Hattı Efendi visited the Habsburg porcelain manufacture and observed all the stages of porcelain production.⁹¹³ While in Poland in the 1730s, İbrahim Mütefferika and Mustafa Efendi dined from Saxon-made porcelain and also received it as gifts.⁹¹⁴ This gifting strategy aimed at stimulating Ottoman consumption of porcelain and there was no better way to do so than by offering the white gold to the sultan and his servants. The Saxon porcelain in the Ottoman Empire came in a twofold incarnation: as a cheap product used by masses and visible in dowries of young woman and as expensive ware, transculturated, adjusted to the Ottoman taste and gifted to the elites.⁹¹⁵

Giving the sultan a personalized gift was the best method to market a commodity and attract the attention of Ottoman society. In Istanbul and beyond, Ottoman grandees modeled their households after the sultan's household and therefore, households of provincial pashas and Ottoman officials in the capital followed the consumption patterns of the sultanic court.⁹¹⁶ Gifting porcelain to the sultans and his servants attracted the Ottoman pashas' attention to the Saxon-Polish product and stimulated trade.

The Ottoman sultans were among the first to receive porcelain as a diplomatic gift. In October 1732, envoy extraordinary Józef Sierakowski brought for Mahmud I 'one black trunk containing gold-inlaid porcelain pieces and two medium-size mirrors.'⁹¹⁷ The costly porcelain brought by Sierakowski probably belonged to the Chinese-style golden-inlaid porcelain from the early 1730s and possibly carried the *tuğra* of the Ottoman sultan, Mahmud I (see illustration 37). It is also highly probable that Sierakowski

⁹¹⁰ David Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 2015:05, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), 238–39.

⁹¹¹ Turkish research focuses on Chinese products, see Ayşe Üçok, *İstanbul'daki Çin hazinesi* (İstanbul: T. C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2001); The only author publishing on European porcelain in Turkish collections is Ömür Tufan, "Osmanlı sarayının porselenleri ve Avrupa'da imalathaneler," in *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri: Sabancı Üniversitesi, Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 24 Mayıs - 28 Ağustos 2005*, ed. Ersu Pekin (İstanbul, 2005), 21–29; Ömür Tufan, "Sultanların Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki kahve fincanları," in *Tüm zamanların batırına sarayda bir fincan kahve*, Yayın / TBMM Milli Saraylar Başkanlığı 65 (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 91–101. I would like to thank Surayya Faroqhi and Tülay Artan for their advice.

⁹¹² Vedî İnal, "The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ottoman Attempts to Catch Up with Europe," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47, no. 5 (2011): 734–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2011.590061>.

⁹¹³ Hakan Karagöz, *Habsburg Gözleriyle Bir Osmanlı Elçisi: Mustafa Hattı Efendi'nin Viyana Günleri, 1748* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2014), 52.

⁹¹⁴ Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile Diplomacy*, 338; Afyoncu and Önal, "İbrahim Mütefferika'nın Lehistan Elçiliği ve Bilinmeyen Sefaretnâmesi," 112.

⁹¹⁵ Telste, "A Wedding Gift and Transculturation."

⁹¹⁶ Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaglis* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

⁹¹⁷ Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya)*, 26 (doc. 43: 'Siyah sandık içinde altun yıldızlı porselenler ve orta boyda iki ayna.').

brought an entire service of porcelain to Istanbul which Ottomans later re-distributed among the sultanic palaces and officials, so that only part of it reached the sultan's chambers.⁹¹⁸



Illustration 37: Pieces of golden-inlaid porcelain service for tea, coffee and chocolate with the coat-of-arms of Elisabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain, 1737, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. The set of porcelain brought to Istanbul by Sierakowski might have looked similar. Weber, „Sächsisches Porzellan in der europäischen Diplomatie“, 155–57.

Other examples confirm the practice of redistributing diplomatic gifts at the Ottoman court and between Ottoman officials. In 1743, Benoe brought another ‘trunk filled with Saxon porcelain’ to Istanbul, of which a part –as Benoe assumed – was redistributed by the Ottomans to Mahmud I’s palace. The redistribution of gifts in the Ottoman context was a common practice as gifts were not treated as personal objects but as assets. The most illuminating example of the redistribution of gifts comes from Mniszech’s mission to Istanbul, for which we have both European and Turkish sources. An Ottoman register of Mniszech’s gifts from May 1756 lists ‘one silver tray, one ebony chair, one porcelain clock, three porcelain kettles, twelve porcelain cups, one porcelain bowl, two porcelain medicine boxes, and one porcelain plate.’⁹¹⁹ The conserved French list, however, lists ‘one table of pure silver, one porcelain clock decorated with flower motifs [and] an entire service of porcelain that the envoy brought with him to Istanbul.’⁹²⁰ The French list indicated that Mniszech gave twelve porcelain cups with saucers to the Grand Vizier, the deputy of the Grand Vizier, and the Ottoman foreign minister. One of them probably re-gifted his share of the twelve porcelain cups to the sultan’s palace, while the entire service of porcelain that had been intended for Osman III might have been sold or transferred to another place.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁸ This assumption is plausible as usual sets of porcelain for crowned heads were enormous, for examples see Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile Diplomacy*, 327.

⁹¹⁹ Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya)*, 34-35 (doc. 73 [excerpt]: ‘Bir gümüş tepsi, bir abanos iskemle, porselen saat, üç porsele ibrik, oniki porselen fincan, porselen kase, iki porselen ilaç kutusu, bir porselen tabak’).

⁹²⁰ ‘Présens donnes au Grand Seigneur et aux Ministres de la Cour Ottomane’, HStA Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinet, loc. 2956/9, f. 205v: ‘une table d’argent massiv, une pendule de porcellaine en fleurs, une garniture de porcellaine, que Mr. l’Envoié avoit apporté avec lui.’

⁹²¹ Ömür Tufan, “The Meissen Porcelain Collection of the Ottoman Sultans,” in *Königstraum und Massenware. 300 Jahre europäisches Porzellan: eine Ausstellung des Porzellanikons Selb und Hohenberg a.d. Eger, 24. April-2. November 2010*, ed. Wilhelm



Illustration 38: Coffee cup (ca. 1760-1780) from the collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum (cat. 26/5064). This cup might have been brought to Istanbul by one of Polish diplomats. Ömür Tufan, „Sultanların Meissen damgalı porselen koleksiyonu”, *Antik Dekor Dergisi sayı 115* (2009): 72.

As illustrated in the list of Mniszech’s gifts, large services of porcelain were among the gifts distributed to the Ottomans, along with laborious porcelain table clocks with flower motifs and valuable porcelain pocket watches. Starting from Sierakowski and Benoe, every Polish diplomat in Istanbul gifted porcelain to the sultan and his officials. In 1772, the last Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski established a small porcelain manufacture in his Warsaw Belvedere Palace with the purpose of producing porcelain services for the king’s consumption and diplomatic gifts. In 1777, Poniatowski sent back to Istanbul with the Ottoman envoy Numan Bey and the Polish envoy Karol Lasopolski a hundred and sixty pieces of Polish-made dining service with a mark ‘Varsovie,’ for the sultan Abdülhamid I, as well as lavish porcelain objects (clocks and others) bought from the Meissen manufacture.⁹²² It is no wonder that today the porcelain collections of Topkapı Sarayı Museum are filled with Meissen and Warsaw-made Turkish coffee sets, lavabos, bowls, vases, plates of all sizes, and –above all– coffee cups.⁹²³

Through the gifts of porcelain, the Polish court integrated the Ottoman court into the European circles of courtly consumption, but it also stimulated consumption of cheap, white porcelain throughout the Ottoman Empire. This successful strategy influenced consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire and the switch from Chinese to European-made porcelains. The Saxon ‘couple coffee set’ became common in the dowries of young Ottoman brides, and coffee cups crafted in the Polish-Saxon manufacture were in use throughout the Ottoman Empire, leaving archaeological traces in Egypt and elsewhere. Today in Turkey, elderly people over sixty still call porcelain originating from Europe ‘Saksonya’ (Saxony).⁹²⁴ The above-discussed gifts between courts, however, constitute only a part of the gifting where the agency of Benoe as a private and public person comes to the foreground. Another and

Siemen, *Schriften und Kataloge des Deutschen Porzellanmuseums (DPM) 104* (Wunsiedel: Zweckverb. Dt. Porzellanmuseum, 2010), 35.

⁹²² Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya)*, 82-83 (doc. 207 and 209).

⁹²³ Ömür Tufan, “Sultanların Meissen damgalı porselen koleksiyonu,” *Antik Dekor Dergisi sayı 115* (2009): 71.

⁹²⁴ Tufan, “The Meissen Porcelain Collection of the Ottoman Sultans,” 36.

much less researched element in gifting practices were the gifts on the road that display plausibly Benoe's agency in the gift-giving and his saving practices.

Benoe's Gifts on the Road

Presents on the road had a less ceremonial nature, were more informal, and diplomats exchanged them in the capability of their private persona.⁹²⁵ European diplomatic gifts on the road, noted by Catharine Fletcher, with highly ritualized ceremonies of gift transmission are rather characteristic of intra-European diplomacy. The category of gifts on the road itself, however, distinguished from gifts presented in diplomatic centers makes much sense considering that Benoe and other diplomats distinguished these expenses in their notes as a separate category. In the Ottoman-Polish encounters, diplomats on the road tried first and foremost to build a personal bond with their officially appointed escort (*mihmandar*) who brought them to Istanbul and back. This relation was crucial for the provisions in kind that every diplomat received, but was paid with excessive amounts of gifts, far exceeding those gifted in Istanbul. Benoe was well-aware of that.

In 1742, Benoe took to quill and ink, studied Sierakowski's gift lists, made notes and excerpts, and summed up the amounts of money intended for gifts, with one purpose: to save money. Benoe quickly realized that a considerable portion of the financial effort on the diplomatic mission goes to the gifts on the road, provided to the Ottoman escort, his officials, and others. Everyone on the way had to be gifted, including the official Ottoman escort, Ottoman, Moldavian and Wallachian provincial governors, messengers, military guards, musicians, guides and inn-hosts. In order to save, Benoe followed almost one-by-one Sierakowski's gifting practices on the way to Istanbul, but gifted cheaper, used, or refurbished objects. In his final list of gift expenses, Benoe noted an expense of eight thousand Dutch lion thalers for presents on the road, compared to Sierakowski's over forty thousand.⁹²⁶

Sierakowski's list of gifts on the road from 1733 mentions the most often his Ottoman escort, Ali Ağa who received gifts on every occasion. During the first meeting at the Ottoman-Polish border, Sierakowski showered him with gifts consisting of a golden watch, an expensive pair of handguns, a rifle, and a golden snuffbox.⁹²⁷ On the road, Sierakowski also paid five hundred Dutch lion thalers in cash

⁹²⁵ Cf. Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 151.

⁹²⁶ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 44r.

⁹²⁷ SL, fond 145, ms. 21, part 5, f. 1v. For snuffboxes as diplomatic gifts see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Gold Boxes as Diplomatic Gifts: Archival Resources in Dresden," *Silver Studies: The Journal of the Silver Society*, no. 31 (January 1, 2014): 48–62; Robert Ralph Davis, "Diplomatic Gifts and Emoluments: The Early National Experience," *The Historian* 32, no. 3 (May 1, 1970): 276.

monthly to Ali Ağa for over five months. Upon their arrival in Istanbul, Ali Ağa was a recurrent guest in Sierakowski's embassy building and took part in his audiences. For this and other services, Ali Ağa received textiles, a golden studded comb, and cash. This was, however, just a prelude to the gift Ali Ağa collected at the farewell. Sierakowski gifted his escort at the Polish border with a new, six-horse carriage worth two thousand five hundred florins, but also fifteenth *zupans* and fifteen *kontusz* worn by Polish nobility, and a silver coffee-pot with a tray.

In 1743, Benoe closely followed Sierakowski's expenses but gifted silver rather than gold and used objects. In correspondence with his wife Marianne, he discussed the gifts and proposed to offer fifteenth *kontusz*, but only three *zupans* and used rifles.⁹²⁸ Instead of presenting Ottomans with ready pieces of the Polish-style dress, Benoe rather gifted them with textiles. That was, however, not the end of his savings. Benoe also offered his escort Ebu Bekir Ağa, exactly like Sierakowski, a coach with seven horses. The coach was Benoe's, however, was not new, and Benoe ordered it to be refurbished and repainted. He added to the coach an additional horse, but a blind one and other horses, from Benoe's large Podolian stables, were of a third category and cheap. Most of the gifts that Benoe offered to Ebu Bekir Ağa were not expensive but were splendid looking. In the gifts on the road, Benoe followed his advice given after the mission to future diplomats, and thanks to that, he minimized his expenses fourfold.

The gifts on the road did not vary considerably from gifts offered in Istanbul, except for weapons gifted on a regular basis to Ottomans in the borderland and on the road, but not in Istanbul. The rules for gifting rifles and pistols were more relaxed in the borderland than in Istanbul. In 1760, Jan Podoski successfully mediated an amnesty for Hacı Sultan Giray, a Tatar prince, who escaped to Poland and lived in the estates of the Grand Crown hetman Jan Branicki. On Podoski's way back to Poland, the same prince gifted Podoski with a silver Ottoman-made riffle as a gratification for his successful mediation.⁹²⁹ During his stay in Bender with Benoe, the Palatine of Kiev Józef Potocki, acquired, probably as a gift, a large snaplock rifle almost two meters in length that he re-gifted to Augustus II of Poland-Saxony after coming back to Poland.⁹³⁰ Lastly, in the borderland, rifles, and handguns appear on a regular basis on the pages of Ottoman-Polish correspondence. In 1733, for instance, Lastek Cieński dispatched a shopping list to the Ottoman fortress of Hotin accompanied by two Paris-made pistols intended as a gift.⁹³¹

⁹²⁸ Letter of Marianne Benoe to Pawel Benoe, no place, 14 VIII 1743, SL, fond 145, ms. 1, part 8, p. 223r.

⁹²⁹ Journal Podoski, 16 VII 1760.

⁹³⁰ Holger Schuckelt and Martin Steinbrück, *The Turkish Chamber: Oriental Splendour in the Dresden Armoury* (Berlin; Dresden: Deutscher Kunstverlag; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2010), 104.

⁹³¹ Letter of Lastek Cieński to Piotr Pawłowski, from Solec, 15 III 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 122v.

Overall, the gifts on the road connected the diplomatic gift-giving practices in Istanbul with the material culture and diplomacy of the borderland. In the borderland, senders accompanied their letters with valuable ‘trifles’ as is ‘practiced between friends’ – to use the words of the French envoy in Poland, marquis de Monti to describe his gift of a golden snuffbox to Ilyash Pasha Kolchak of Hotin.⁹³² These gifts strengthened the border friendships, and often implicitly required the receiver to offer his services or to help in acquiring other material goods. Monti awaited Kolchak Pasha to forward his letters to Istanbul, while Cieński intended to get access to products from the same pasha’s kitchens. Diplomatic gifting strengthened the material exchanges between the Mediterranean in the North and the core Mediterranean. In this sense, there were no farewell gifts, as suggested by Catharine Fletcher, but the gifting continued in the borderland. The material exchanges in the borderland extended beyond gifting and included practices of borrowing objects from across the border. The best example of this are various Polish nobles who asked Ilyash Kolchak Pasha to lend them tents for their travels to Warsaw.⁹³³

Benoe’s gift-giving in Istanbul and on the road is symptomatic of the enormous material exchanges between the Ottoman and Polish elites. The Ottomans gifted Polish nobles with caftans, horses, and horse tack that certainly affected the consumption of Eastern textiles in Polish-style costumes. The Polish nobles gifted Ottomans with European made products and local Saxon textiles, and porcelain – in this way influencing the consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire. Tastes for material culture mixed the most in the Ottoman-Polish borderland. After Benoe’s death, his wife Marianne withdrew to a manor in Sarnki, where she sat on ‘three Turkish pillows,’ and drank coffee from a ‘faience set from Istanbul.’ In her gray room just next to the chapel, ‘two Turkish paintings with fishes’ hang on the walls next to paintings of the Virgin Mary.⁹³⁴ Finally, Benoe in Istanbul gifted Ottomans with Saxon golden-inlaid porcelain but drank coffee at home from Turkish-made Kütahya porcelain.⁹³⁵ In transregional lives such as Benoe’s and his wife’s, European and Ottoman material culture intermixed to become fully converted into a new cultural mix where both elements peacefully coexisted. Actors independently tapped into the materiality of both worlds and it is in this materiality that we can search for the most striking resemblance between the Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles.

⁹³² Letter of marquis de Monti to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Warsaw, June 1733, COIM, ms. 333, f. 309v.

⁹³³ Letter of Adam Tarło to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in the Piekoszew Castle, 3 VII 1733, COIM, ms. 333, f. 46r.

⁹³⁴ BJ, ms. 7925 IV, pp. 45-48. A plan of the manor in Sarnki is preserved in: SL, fond 145, ms. 71, part 6, f. 9r.

⁹³⁵ ‘Register of all the belongings of my beloved husband’ [composed by Marianne after Benoe’s death], Lwów, 20 VIII 1755, SL, fond 145, ms. 101, part 14, f. 6r.

Chapter 9: A Shared World: Instead of Conclusion

Representations of Ottoman-Polish encounters in popular memories are fraught. While drafting the last chapters of this book, I would cycle every day to the nineteenth century Shooter Park (*Park Strzeliński*) in Tarnów, a provincial city in Lesser Poland. At the edge of the park sits the Mausoleum of Józef Bem (1794-1850), a Polish engineer and general. The inscriptions at the top of the mausoleum are in two languages: Polish and Hungarian. The Polish inscription is the largest and the most visible one. In order to read the Hungarian inscription (Bem Apó), visitors must walk around the Mausoleum even though Bem fought in the Revolution of 1848-1849 in Hungary as a general and volunteer. New information boards around the Mausoleum inform visitors in both Hungarian and Polish of who Bem was and what he achieved. Visitors can also read that János Áder, the Hungarian president, and Bronisław Komorowski, the Polish president, celebrated Bem as a common national hero. On the smaller side of the Mausoleum, however, there is another inscription—this time in a splendid vocalized Ottoman Turkish script. The inscription reads ‘Ferik Murad Pasha,’ as Bem converted at the end of his life to Islam and died an Ottoman general in Aleppo.⁹³⁶ Despite this, there is no information board in Turkish around the mausoleum, nor is there any special information about Bem’s time in the Ottoman Empire. All that is presented regarding this part of Bem’s personal history is a short description on the board in Polish that Bem converted to Islam which created problems when his remains were transferred to Poland in 1926 as his remains were not allowed to be buried in a Catholic cemetery.

Ottoman-Polish encounters did not cease with the Partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. The Ottoman Empire belonged to the list of imperial Russia’s permanent enemies, and although it did not get involved militarily in the region, it supported and sheltered Polish revolutionaries and independence fighters. This was a continuation of Ottoman policy from the eighteenth century when Benoe and other Polish nobles sought shelter on Ottoman soil during the 1709-1714 civil war in Poland-Lithuania. Józef Bem aka Ferik Murad Pasha belonged to a larger group of Polish emigres who helped modernize the Ottoman military, joined the ranks of the Young Turks, and reached considerable standing within the Ottoman elites.⁹³⁷ In this respect, there is a clear distinction

⁹³⁶ Jerzy S. Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 46; Bayram Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyalı mültecilere: Osmanlı’ya sığınanlar*, *İnceleme-araştırma dizisi* 31 (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006), 57–60, 373–76.

⁹³⁷ Adam Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji, 1831-1878* (Warszawa: Nakładem Instytutu Wschodniego; Gebethner & Wolff, 1935); Kazimierz Dopierala, *Emigracja polska w Turcji w XIX i XX wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1988); Jan Reychman, “Polacy w Turcji,” *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej* 6 (1971): 97–132; Musa Gümüş, “Mehmed Sadık Paşa (Michał Czajkowski) ve Osmanlı devleti’nde kazak süvari alayı,” *Turkish Studies* 5, no. 3 (2010): 1362–1375; Paulina D. Dominik, “A Young Turk from Lehistan: Tadeusz Gasztowtt Aka Seyfeddin Bey (1881-1936) and His Activities During the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918),” *Occasional Papers in Ottoman Biographies* 2 (2014): 1–20. Paulina Dominik is preparing a dissertation on the 19th century Polish exiles in the Ottoman Empire.

between popular memory which often conveniently forgets Polish-Lithuanian subjects who converted to Islam and intensive historical research in which these characters are impossible to ignore.

This book began with the provocative idea that southern Polish-Lithuanian provinces were within the cultural Mediterranean and the claim that the Ottoman and Polish realms to a certain extent created a common social and cultural space. The goal of this bold assertion was to make the reader think outside of the box of neatly established historical boundaries. Historians are used to thinking in dichotomies that make it easier to understand the past and place people, objects, events, and their stories into categories. Larry Wolff claimed that in the late eighteenth century, the category ‘Eastern Europe’ was invented by Enlightenment writers; consequently, it took a firm hold and entered the history books.⁹³⁸ From then on, Eastern Europe became a scrutinized subject of study, with chairs at universities, specialized institutes, and libraries dedicated to the study of this area, particularly in Germany.⁹³⁹ This research focused on historical, cultural, and social connections, on the East-West axis, and largely ignored the North-South connections. The German ‘Osteuropaforschung’ and Eastern Europe area studies in the US ‘Orientalized’ Eastern Europe as an exotic, underdeveloped, and incomparable object of study.⁹⁴⁰ A closer look at the sources reveals, however, that there was no Eastern Europe to eighteenth century enlightened French or Italian savants, and the division between Western and Eastern Europe results from Cold War divisions and is not rooted in historical realities.⁹⁴¹ Eastern Europe does not exist; it is an invention strengthened by historiography produced in the West.

In the end, a historian working on Ottoman-Polish encounters has to deal with a double Orientalism: one directed toward the Ottoman Empire and replete with influence from Bernard Lewis’ oeuvre and yet another directed towards Poland-Lithuania which finds its origins in Leopold von Ranke’s works and Prussian historiography. Beyond erratic notions of a clash of irreconcilable civilizations, Ottoman historians have been quite successful at integrating Ottoman history into broader European history.⁹⁴² In his influential 2004 book, Daniel Goffman argued that the Ottoman Empire belonged to Europe.⁹⁴³ Ten years later, a collected volume edited by Pascal Firges and Tobias P. Graf asserted the

⁹³⁸ Bernhard Struck, “Terra Incognita, European Civilisation and Colonised Land: Poland in Mid-Eighteenth to Mid-Nineteenth Century German Travel Accounts,” in *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing / Hagen Schulz-Forberg (Ed.)*, ed. Hagen Schulz-Forberg (Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2005), 171.

⁹³⁹ See the criticism of the “East Central Europe” concept within the German tradition Markus Krzoska, Kolja Lichy, and Konstantin Rometsch, “Jenseits von Ostmitteleuropa? Zur Aporie einer deutschen Nischenforschung,” *Journal of Modern European History* 16, no. 1 (2018): 40–63, <https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2018-1-40>.

⁹⁴⁰ Guido Franzinetti, “The Idea and the Reality of Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth-Century,” *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (December 2008): 364, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2008.07.006> with strong criticism of Larry Wolff’s approach and his projection of Cold War divisions into the past.

⁹⁴¹ Michael Confino, “Re-Inventing the Enlightenment: Western Images of Eastern Realities in the Eighteenth Century,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 36, no. 3–4 (1994): 514–16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00085006.1994.11092071>.

⁹⁴² Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire and Europe: The Ottoman Empire and Its Place in European History* (İstanbul: Kronik, 2017).

⁹⁴³ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, vol. 24, *New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004).

same claim – that the sultan’s ‘well-protected domains had been a part of Europe.’⁹⁴⁴ Finally, a new transdisciplinary research group called ‘Transottomanica’ aims at reseaching and reinterpreting the ‘social and transcultural entanglements between the Muscovite Empire (...), Poland-Lithuania, the Ottoman Empire and Persia.’⁹⁴⁵

It is in this historiographical landscape that we can situate Michał Wasiucionek’s yet-to-be-published book. Wasiucionek argues that Ottoman-Polish transregional factionalism was a social mechanism that transcended inter-state boundaries and created alternative political geographies in the region.⁹⁴⁶ By doing so, Wasiucionek integrates the cross-border Ottoman-Polish networks into a larger discussion on patronage in the early modern world. In a manner similar to Wasiucionek’s, I argued in chapter three that the entire Ottoman-Polish borderland was crisscrossed with competing Ottoman-Polish and Ottoman-Moldavian networks. Possessing friends on the other side of the Ottoman-Polish border belonged to *bon ton*. These inter-state networks created a landscape of competing cross-border friendships. Friendship was the crucial category used in networking; it had to be maintained in regular correspondence, as well as through gifts and services. This networking effort was supported by the persistent peace between the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania and a peaceful coexistence in the borderland.

Research on Ottoman borderlands has been unbalanced. Most of the scholarship focuses on the Ottoman borders in Europe, and we know surprisingly little about the Ottoman borderlands in the Middle East.⁹⁴⁷ Rifaat Abou-El-Haj famously announced the formal closure of Ottoman borders in Europe between 1699 and 1703.⁹⁴⁸ In the eighteenth century, Ottoman expansionism changed its direction from active expansion into Europe to new expansion into the Middle East. This meant that Ottomans searched for a peaceful coexistence with their neighbors in Europe. Ottoman borders in Europe, however, were not fixed and linear by 1703. In chapter four, I revisited this claim to show that back in Europe, Ottoman borders were far from fixed in space, let alone closed. Benoe’s work in the

⁹⁴⁴ Pascal Firges and Tobias P. Graf, “Introduction,” in *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal Firges et al., Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1.

⁹⁴⁵ Stephan Conermann, Albrecht Fuess, and Stefan Rohdewald, eds., *Transottomanica. Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken: Perspektiven und Forschungsstand*, Vestigia Prussica 1 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2018), 7.

⁹⁴⁶ Michał Wasiucionek, *Ottomans and Eastern Europe: Borders and Political Patronage in the Early Modern World* (London: Tauris, 2019) to be published in June 2019.

⁹⁴⁷ Peacock, “Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and Its Frontiers”; On Ottoman-Habsburg border, see Norbert Spannenberger and Szabolcs Varga, eds., *Ein Raum im Wandel: Die osmanisch-habsburgische Grenzregion vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 44 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014); on Ottoman-Iranian borderland, see Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands*; on Ottoman borders in Eastern Europe see Kołodziejczyk, “Ottoman Borders in Eastern Europe”; On Ottoman-Venetian border, see Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine* and the recent translation of this book into English; Maria Pia Pedani, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border (15th-18th Centuries)*, *Hilâl. Studi Turchi e Ottomani* 5 (Venezia: Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 2017).

⁹⁴⁸ Rifa’at A. Abou-El-Haj, “The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, no. 3 (1969): 467–475.

Ottoman-Polish-Russian border commission of the 1740s is evidence of how flexible and unsteady Ottoman borders were in Europe at that time. This is also an illustration of a wider phenomenon in the early modern world where borders were not linear but still zonal as late as the eighteenth century. Quite like in the Spanish and Portuguese empires, linear borders had to be forged in a long process of negotiation and possession claiming.⁹⁴⁹

The long and convoluted process of border setting coincided with the establishment of institutions that regulated minor cross-border conflicts. As in the case of the *chambre mi-partie* which negotiated conflicts at the border between the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Habsburgs, the Ottoman-Polish cross-border courts of justice functioned as the highest authority for conflict resolution and was trusted by both Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles.⁹⁵⁰ Actors created these courts, unlike *chambre mi-partie*, in a bottom-up and not top-down process. Nobles in the borderland cooperated with Ottoman border officials and through petitions, letters, and oral communications influenced the central court. Influenced by borderland actors, the king's chancellors and trusted men started drafting ordonnances that, finally, established cross-border courts of justice.⁹⁵¹ By looking from the perspective of narratives created in the periphery rather than narratives created in the central courts – as Evelyn S. Rawski did for Chinese history – one can give voice and agency to forgotten actors such as Jan Świrski, a chief justice for the Ottoman-Polish borderland and a crucial mediator and go-between in conflict situations.⁹⁵²

Looking from the periphery decentralizes our understanding of the seemingly robust imperial structures of the Ottoman Empire, a process advanced in historiography by Ali Yaycıoğlu.⁹⁵³ Yaycıoğlu rightly suggested that the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century underwent a process of power structure decentralization between the imperial center in Istanbul and the provinces. Provincial powerholders in the provinces, like Abdi Pasha and Ilyash Colceag Pasha in Hotin, managed to secure provincial offices and influenced central authorities who relied on their knowledge and networks north of the Ottoman borders. On the other side of the border, Polish nobles had a good understanding of the power struggles in the Ottoman provinces and in Istanbul. In the case of conflicts in provincial offices bordering Poland-Lithuania, nobles often patiently waited for a winner to be decided, so that they could

⁹⁴⁹ Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession*.

⁹⁵⁰ Bram De Ridder, "Sustaining the Munster Peace: The *Chambre Mi-Partie* as an Experiment in Transnational Border Arbitration (1648–1675)," *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 1 (2016): 35–53, <https://doi.org/10.17104/1611-8944-2016-1-35>.

⁹⁵¹ See LMAVB, fond 148, ms. 82 (Antoni Dembowski's manuscript with drafts of ordonnances establishing border courts, with blank dates and changes in content).

⁹⁵² There is a certain boom in new studies that aim at decentralizing imperial histories in Asia, see Evelyn S. Rawski, *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-Border Perspectives*, Asian Connections (Series) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Kathlene Baldanza, *Ming China and Vietnam: Negotiating Borders in Early Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Joshua Herr, "Fraught Collaboration: Diplomacy, Intermediaries, and Governance at the China-Vietnam Border, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D., University of California, LA, 2017); see also Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, N. J. and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁹⁵³ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire*.

greet the new Ottoman borderland governor with letters of friendship. Those nobles, like Benoe, active in the borderland and well-connected in the Ottoman Empire, created a closely-knit social fabric that tied together the center and periphery. Studied in a microhistorical and transregional perspective, the Ottoman-Polish borderland does not seem to have been a periphery at all but a center of its own, connected through travel to Warsaw and Istanbul.⁹⁵⁴

Research on early modern travel narratives usually distinguishes between Islamic and Persianate traditions of travel writing and European traditions.⁹⁵⁵ This is strikingly visible in literature on the Grand Tour that focuses on nobles' travels to Rome or Paris, but neglects travel to the Eastern Mediterranean. Istanbul in the eighteenth century was a global center of trade, commerce, and diplomacy; it was one of the ten largest cities in Europe which predestined it as a travel destination for nobles on their Grand Tour.⁹⁵⁶ Young Polish nobles, such as Benoe's secretary and nephew, Paweł Starzyński, traveled to Istanbul to see the city, to learn languages, and to begin their Grand Tour of the Mediterranean. Certainly, in the eighteenth century thanks to *pax Polono-Ottomanica*, travel to Istanbul was easier than ever before. In the eighteenth century, the curiosity over the 'other' grew among Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles. This is visible in the increased production of Ottoman travelogues or *sefaretnames* about Poland and Polish travelogues about the Ottoman Empire. However, travel to the Ottoman Empire was not limited to noblemen. As Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had earlier, Regina Rusiecka, a Polish ophthalmologist, traveled within the Ottoman Empire, mingled with and befriended elite Ottoman women, and left behind an ego-document which Paulina Dominik recently translated into English.⁹⁵⁷

In Istanbul, Montagu and Rusiecka socialized with Ottoman women, and in recent research, the topic of sociability experiences an unprecedented surge fueled on by Antoine Liti's book.⁹⁵⁸ John-Paul Ghobrial's and Fariba Zarinebaf's research demonstrates that the borders between religious groups in early modern Istanbul were more relaxed than previously assumed.⁹⁵⁹ If Montagu and Rusiecka socialized

⁹⁵⁴ For a recent attempt at rethinking center-periphery in Ottoman history see Michael Nizri, "Rethinking Center-Periphery Communication in the Ottoman Empire: The Kapı-Kethüdası," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 3 (2016): 473–498, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685209-12341405>.

⁹⁵⁵ For an exception to the rule, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); for European travel, see Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Phillips (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995).

⁹⁵⁶ Ethem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Ethem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 135–206; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Publications on the Near East, University of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

⁹⁵⁷ Pilsztynowa, *Proceder podróży*; for a selection in English see Pilsztynowa, *The Istanbul Memories in Salomea Pilsztynowa's Diary "Echo of the Journey and Adventures of My Life" (1760)*; Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*.

⁹⁵⁸ Liti, *Le monde des salons*; From newest works, see Valérie Capdeville and Alain Kerhervé, eds., *British Sociability in the Long Eighteenth Century: Challenging the Anglo-French Connection*, Studies in the Eighteenth Century (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019) forthcoming with Boydell Press in June 2019. A research group based in France called 'GISociabilités' is organizing a comparative conference entitled "Les espaces de sociabilité," May 23-24, 2019 at the Université de Bretagne Occidentale.

⁹⁵⁹ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*; Zarinebaf, *Mediterranean Encounters*; Christine Vogel argued against this interpretation Vogel, "Der Sonnekönig an der Hohen Pforte."

on a regular basis with Ottoman women, then so did European diplomats with Ottoman officials in Istanbul. However, as I argued in chapter six, sociability between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles in Istanbul had clear limits. European sociability in Istanbul evolved around sumptuous meals accompanied by alcohol. Alcohol was the limiting aspect, as many Ottomans, even those with knowledge of European courtly culture, avoided alcohol-accompanied events. On the other hand, diplomats and their retinues shopped in Istanbul's bazars, bought luxury wares, provisions, souvenirs, horses, and while doing so, certainly interacted with common Ottoman subjects. Dragomans and other linguistic go-betweens facilitated this contact.

Dragomans, their multilingualism and the languages they spoke in the Mediterranean, have interested generations of scholars. Eric Dursteler suggested that the pre-modern Mediterranean had a 'multilingual character' and the linguistic nationalism of one-nation, one-language first originated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' philosophical discourses produced in Germany.⁹⁶⁰ Natalie Rothman emphasized the role played by dynasties of dragomans who occupied the official post of Public Dragoman in Venice.⁹⁶¹ The business of diplomacy in Istanbul relied heavily on dragomans who crossed the Golden Horn daily, visited Ottoman officials, delivered petitions, picked up answers, and in one word conducted diplomacy. As I suggested in chapter seven, based upon Benoe's example, however, diplomats working for the Polish Crown often mastered Turkish and communicated with Ottomans outside the ceremonial framework and without a dragoman's intermediation. The wonderful example of Marianne, Benoe's wife, and her multilingualism suggests that actors often playfully engaged with Turkish language and used it in the remote Ottoman-Polish borderland as a language of emotions. Benoe and his wife Marianne were fluent in Turkish language, but also in Ottoman material culture.

Recent scholarship has experienced an increased interest in turquerie and the eighteenth century European fascination with the Ottoman Empire and its material culture.⁹⁶² During court celebrations in Dresden, Augustus II of Poland-Saxony dressed as an Ottoman sultan and surrounded himself with a janissary military unit and African slaves purchased in Lisbon and Istanbul.⁹⁶³ At the royal wedding in Dresden in 1719, 'the entire king's court that is room service, page boys, African black men, cup-bearers, trumpeters, music band and all servants – were dressed in Turkish manner.'⁹⁶⁴ This turquerie, however,

⁹⁶⁰ Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean," 48; see also Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans"; Jocelyne Dakhlia, *Lingua franca: histoire d'une langue métisse en Méditerranée*, Bleu (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008).

⁹⁶¹ Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, 179–82.

⁹⁶² Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, "Turquerie"; Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876*; Williams, *Turquerie*; Larry Wolff, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016); see also Julia Landweber, "French Delight in Turkey: The Impact of Turkey on the Construction of French Identity, 1660–1789" (Ph.D., Rutgers University, 2001).

⁹⁶³ Williams, *Turquerie*, 67–69.

⁹⁶⁴ Katarzyna Kuras, ed., *Ostatnie wielkie widowisko barokowej Europy: polskie relacje z uroczystości weselnych Fryderyka Augusta i Marii Józefy w Wiedniu i Dreźnie w 1719 r.* (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2015), 92.

does not have much in common with the centuries old exchanges of material culture between Ottoman pashas and Polish nobles in the borderlands and in Istanbul. After winning the Polish crown, Augustus II tapped into the longstanding tradition in Poland-Lithuania of a taste for cultural Ottomanica expressed in dress, carpets, or horse tack. In chapter eight, I argued that Polish nobles gifted Ottomans with Polish or Saxon-made objects and in this way influenced consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire; whereas the Ottomans gifted nobles with caftans, horses, and horse tack and influenced the Ottomanizing style of the Polish noble costume. The gift exchanges between the Ottomans and Polish nobles in the eighteenth century were not unilateral –as often expressed in historiography– but reciprocal.

It is in their common borderland with its shared institutions, in the networking strategies, in the diplomatic travel, through sociability in Istanbul, multilingualism, and particularly material culture that the cultural and social interconnectedness of the Ottoman and Polish realms is best exemplified. The spatial triangle between the core Mediterranean, the Mediterranean of the North (Baltic Sea), and the second Mediterranean (Black Sea) created a shared early modern Islamic-Christian world which was similar as a conceptual unit to the Eastern Mediterranean or the Atlantic World.⁹⁶⁵ A sea of grasslands connected the Polish lands in the North with the Ottoman realm in the South by way of underexplored trade routes that invite comparative research based on Ottoman and Polish archival materials.⁹⁶⁶

Starting from the premises of Paweł Benoe's archive, I have analyzed and interpreted Ottoman-Polish encounters in the eighteenth century in a non-state, actor-based, and microhistorical perspective. Rich, multilingual private archives that display the agenda of individuals in the past allow a historian to write a multifaceted and transregional historical narrative. Benoe's life, with his French origin, numerous experiences in the Ottoman Empire, Greek Istanbulite wife, and Polish backbone, was a truly global life that connected the Catholic and Islamic worlds.⁹⁶⁷ A man of several worlds, Benoe, like Samuel Pallache, dressed cross-culturally and used Polish or French costumes according to the circumstances, occasion, and place.⁹⁶⁸ Benoe also consumed Ottoman material culture which he mixed in his castle in Bursztyn with Polish and European elements. Polish nobles, as Suraiya Faroqhi recently pointed out, 'wanted to project an identity separate from that of the core lands of Latinate Europe; and Ottoman

⁹⁶⁵ Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4; Adnan Ahmed Husain and K. E. Fleming, eds., *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200 - 1700* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 4–5; Thomas Benjamin, *The Atlantic World: European, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge, England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), XXIII.

⁹⁶⁶ On the Ottoman-Polish trade, see Dziubiński, *Na szlakach orientu*; Thomas, "Handel żydowski w połowie XVIII wieku w świetle rejestru celnego z Żwańca."

⁹⁶⁷ Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 8.

⁹⁶⁸ Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wieggers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 13; Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 3–13; on the peculiarities of the Polish dress see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 97–99.

imports were a means of making that assertion believable.⁹⁶⁹ Benoe's cultural identity was a complex one, expressed not only in dress, but also in a keen interest in languages, dictionaries, and knowledge production. Benoe's command of Turkish and connections to the Greek world of Istanbul through his wife afforded him a better understanding of the Ottoman culture. More research is needed to fill the gap in the agency-oriented cultural history of exchanges and encounters between European nobilities and Ottoman elites. Benoe's story is 'exceptional as it reflects a normality, so normal that it often remains unknown' or untold.⁹⁷⁰ 'There are [more] similar stories out there waiting to be told, traces in the archives that can provide individual perspectives on the great historiographical issues that are at the core of our discipline.'⁹⁷¹ Our goal as historians is to tell them.

⁹⁶⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *A Cultural History of the Ottomans: The Imperial Elite and Its Artefacts* (London New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 224.

⁹⁷⁰ Grendi, "Ripensare la microstoria?," 232.

⁹⁷¹ Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer," 591.

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Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie (**AKW**, Warsaw Crown Archive), Dział Tureckie (Turkish Section), ms. 70/677, folder 685, ms. 1279, folder 707, ms. 1324, folder 708, ms. 1328, folder 790, ms. 1306, folder 720, ms. 1351, 1348, 1349, 1351, 1354, 1360, 1362, 1364, folder 701, ms. 1316, ms. 1324, folder 711, ms. 1333-1334, folder 717, ms. 1324, Dział Moldawski i Wołoski (Moldavian and Walachian Section), ms. 43/83

Archiwum Publiczne Potockich (**APP**, Potocki Family Public Archive), ms. 168, ms. 79 ('Journal du voyage du comte Michel Mniszech à Constantinople l'année 1755 contenant différentes observations faites par lui-même')

Archiwum Radziwiłłów (**AR**, Radziwiłł Family Archive), part 5, ms. 536

Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (**ASK**, Archive of the Crown Treasury), Part V, ms. 12

Metryka Koronna (**MK**, Crown Register), Księgi Kanclerskie (**KK**, Books of Chancellors), ms. 3, Libri Legationum (**LL**), ms. 37

Zbiór Czolowskiego (Czolowski Collection), ms. 390

Zbiór Dokumentów Papierowych (Collection of Paper Documents), ms. 1876

3. Narodowe Archiwum w Krakowie (**ANK**, National Archive in Kraków, Poland)

Zbiór Dzieduszyckich (**ADzied**, Dzieduszycki Collection), ms. 26/32

Archiwum Tarnowskich z Dzikowa (**ADzT**, Archive of the Tarnowski from Dzików), ms. 282

Archiwum Podhoreckie (**Podh**, Podhorce Archive), ms. 13, 4/2; 11, 1/34

Archiwum Sanguszków (**ASang**, Sanguszko Archive), ms. Koresp. 21

4. Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk, (**APAN**, Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, Poland)

Legacy of Jan Reychman, ms. 168 III

5. Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (**APwP**, State Archive in Poznań, Poland)

Akta Braci Czeskich (Acts of the Czech Brothers), ms. 2191

6. Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii (**AVPRI**, Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire in Moscow, Russia)

fond 26, Archive of Kolchak Pasha, ms. 2 (Ilyash Kolchak Pasha's Polish correspondence)

7. Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie (**BC**, Czartoryski Library in Kraków, Poland)

ms. 457, 476, 494 III, 495, 591 IV, 618-626 IV (archive of the Polish dragomanate in Istanbul), 2700, 2747 IV, 2728 IV, 2881 IV, 2900, 5777, 5834, 5855, 5865, 5874, 5898, 5920, 5929, 5956, 5971

8. Biblioteka Jagiellońska (**BJ**, Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, Poland)

ms. 7925 IV, Przyb. 84/52 (Marieanne Paleologus' inventory)

9. Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk (**BK**, Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kórnik, Poland)

ms. 142

10. Bibliothèque nationale de France (**BnF**, Paris)

Département des Manuscrits, Français, ms. 7162-7175, 7177, 7196

Département Cartes et Plans, GD DD-2987, GE C-1430

Département Estampes et Photographie, FT 4-HA-18

11. Bibliothèque municipale, Versailles, (**BMV**)

fonds Lebaudy, ms. 139, 'Journal du voyage de Constantinople fait l'année 1755 et 1756 par M. L. C. M. M.' by Wojciech Jakubowski

12. Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (**BO**, Library of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, Poland)

ms. 270, 614 (Jan Podoski's diplomatic diary written by Adam Gotartowski cited as 'Diariusz Podoski'), 1615 III (diary of Tomasz Alexandrowicz)

13. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Aşivi (**BOA**, Istanbul)

MAD 9054

14. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (**BUB**, University Library in Bologna)

fondo Marsigli, ms. 1044

15. Centralnyi Dierzavnyi Istorichnii Arkhiv Ukrainii m. Kyiev (**CDIAUK**, Central State Historical Archive in Kiev, Ukraine)

fond 49 (Potocki family archive), opis 1, ms. 2908

fond 254 (Tarlo family archive), opis 1, ms. 559, 597

16. Chernihovski Oblatnoi Istoricheskii Muzei im. W. W. Tarnovskogo (**COIM**, Chernihiv Regional Historical Museum in Ukraine)

ms. 333 (Ilyash Kolchak's Pasha's Polish correspondence)

17. Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (**HStA Dresden**, Main State Archive in Dresden, Germany)

Geheimes Kabinet (Secret Office), loc. 2955/7, 2956/5-7, 2956/9 ('Journal du voyage pour Constantinople de S. E. Mr. Le Comte Mniszech, Grand Chambellan de Lithuanie et envoyé extraordinaire du Roi et de la République de Pologne faite l'année 1755' by Schwartz cited as 'Journal Mniszech'), 2955/11, 2956/11 ('Journal de l'ambassade faite à Constantinople par S. Ex. Mr. le Comte Podoski Grand Maître d'Hôtel de Lithuanie lieutenant général de l'armée de Pologne, chavalier de l'ordre de l'Aigle blanc le 28 août 1759 jusqu'à 3 septembre 1760' written by Charles Laffon cited as 'Journal Podoski'), 3553/6-7, 3685/2, 3584/1

12881 Genealogica, ms. 1539 (Giuliani)

Oberhofmarschallamt (the Office of Court Marshal), E, ms. 4, 16

18. Family History Library (**FHL**, Salt Lake City, USA)

Santa Maria Draperis, Baptizatorum Liber Primus, mf. 1037132

19. Krigsarkivet (**KA**, The Military Archives of Sweden, Stockholm, Sweden)

Map division, Sveriges Krig, ms. 12:125, 12: 114

20. Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (**LMAVB**, The Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, Lithuania)

Fond 148, ms. 82

21. Natsionalna Bibliotheka Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodii (**NBKM**, SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria)

Orientaliski otdel, D. 485

22. Riksarkivet (**RA**, The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm, Sweden)

Polonica 328

23. Lvivska Nacionalna Navkova Biblioteka NAN Ukrainii im. Vasiliya Stefanyka (**SL**, Stefanyk Library in L'viv, Ukraine)

Fond 145, ms. 1-16, 21, 22, 25, 60, 65, 71, 84, 101, 107 (Benoe's archive)

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