

## **Ottoman Ambassadorial Accounts on Ukraine in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of the Embassy of Abdülkerim Pasha to Russia (1775-1776)**

### **18. Yüzyılda Ukrayna Hakkındaki Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri: Abdülkerim Paşa'nın Rusya Elçiliği (1775-1776)**

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#### **Abstract:**

After the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 and Passarowitz in 1718, the Ottoman Empire realized that they lost supremacy over the European states. Following the Treaty of Passarowitz, bilateral relations were taken into consideration by the Ottomans and more ambassadors were sent to the European capitals. In parallel with this increase, the number of sefaretnames (ambassadorial account or report), which were written by the ambassadors or their retinues of the embassies also increased. In sefaretnames, the authors described their travels from Istanbul to the capitals to where they were appointed. Though Ukraine was included in the travel route of the ambassadors sent to the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century, the ambassadors wrote in their sefaretnames about Ukraine's cities, towns and villages, fortresses, country's economic and commercial activities, the country's administrative and military situation and social and cultural life. The first of these accounts was the Sefaretname of Nişli Mehmet Aga who was the ambassador to Russia in 1722-1723 and the last account was Turhan Pasha's Sefaretname of Livadia in 1902. Between these two accounts, there are thirteen ambassadorial accounts of Russia. In this study, the ambassadorial account of Abdülkerim Pasha who served in Russia in 1775-1776 and depicted Ukraine in the eighteenth century from the eyes of an Ottoman statesman was evaluated.

**Keywords:** The Ottoman Empire, Ottoman Ambassadorial Account, Ukraine, Sefaretname of Russia, Abdülkerim Pasha

#### **Öz**

Osmanlı Devleti önce 1699 Karlofça ve akabinde de 1718 Pasarofça Antlaşmalarından sonra Avrupa devletlerine karşı olan üstünlüğünü kaybettiğini anlamıştı. Bu yüzden Pasarofça Antlaşmasını takip eden dönemde Osmanlıların ikili ilişkilere daha fazla önem vermiş ve Avrupa devletlerine daha fazla elçi göndermeye başlamıştır. Bu artışa paralel olarak, elçilerin veya maiyetlerinin elçilik hakkında yazdıkları sefaretnamelerde de bir artış görülmüştür. Elçiler sefaretname dediğimiz bu hatıratlarında, genelde İstanbul'dan başlayan yolculuklarından, görevli oldukları ülkeye gidinceye değin yolda gördüklerinden ve gittikleri yerlerde müşahede ettikleri şeylerden bahsetmişlerdir. 18. Yüzyılda Rusya'ya gönderilen Osmanlı elçilerinin güzergâhlarında Ukrayna da olduğu için bu eserlerde Ukrayna'nın şehirleri, kasabaları ve köyleri, kaleleri; ülkedeki iktisadi ve ticari faaliyetler, ülkenin idari ve askeri durumu ile sosyal ve kültürel hayatı hakkında da bilgiler bulunmaktadır. Bu eserlerden ilki sefaretle Rusya'ya elçi olan Nişli Mehmet Ağa'nın 1722-1723 yıllarını ihtiva eden Rusya Sefaretnamesi; sonuncusu da 1902 yılını ihtiva eden Turhan Paşa'nın Livadya Sefaretnamesi'dir. Bu iki eser arasında on üç tanede daha Rusya hakkında sefaretname vardır. Bu çalışmada Abdülkerim Paşa'nın Rusya hakkında yazdığı sefaretnamenin Ukrayna hakkında vermiş oldukları bilgiler değerlendirilecek ve üst düzey Osmanlı devlet adamlarından olan sefirlerin kaleminden dönemin Ukrayna'sına dair bir portre çizilmeye çalışılacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlı Devleti, Ukrayna, Osmanlı Elçileri, Rusya Sefaretnamesi, Abdülkerim Paşa

#### **Brief Information about Ottoman Ambassadorial Accounts on Russia**

After the Treaties of Karlowitz in 1699 and Passarowitz in 1718, the Ottoman Empire lost supremacy over the European states. In the aftermath of the Treaty of Passarowitz, having realized that they had

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to improve their knowledge of the developments in Europe, the Ottomans decided to send envoys and ambassadors to the European capitals in increasing numbers. In parallel with this increase, the number of the ambassadorial accounts or reports (sefaretname) which were written by the ambassador or their retinues of the embassies also increased. In sefaretname, the authors described their travels from Istanbul to the capitals where they were appointed. Ukraine was also included in the travel route of the ambassadors sent to the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century, some ambassadors wrote in their sefaretnames about Ukraine's cities, towns and villages, castles, country's economic and commercial activities, the country's administrative and military situation and social and cultural life.<sup>1</sup>

In the eighteenth and following centuries, many ambassadors were dispatched to the Russian Empire but not all of them wrote travel or ambassadorial accounts. Luckily, fifteen of such ambassadorial accounts on Russia survive today. These accounts mostly reflected the appointment of the ambassadors, the journeys and exchanges of ambassadors on the borderlands, the description of the Russian lands and important buildings. They reflected the social, economic, and cultural life in Russia as well as the Russian administrative, military and political institutions. Through these reports, I could extract some information on Ukraine since Ukraine was located on the main travel route between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. In these accounts, much information was repeated from the earliest ones. Most of them give trivial details on the exchange of ambassadors at the border. Comparing the seven ambassadorial accounts to Russia, only the accounts of Abdülkerim Pasha had elaborate information on Ukraine. The other accounts were also valuable and worth mentioning but the most distinguished one was the account of Abdülkerim Pasha.<sup>2</sup>

Before the accounts of Abdülkerim Pasha, there were six Ottoman ambassadorial accounts and eight accounts after his embassy. These accounts, which were primarily on Russia but also mentioning Ukraine in the eighteenth and the following centuries were as follows:

1. Nişli Mehmed Ağa (1722-1723) - The Ambassadorial Account of Russia<sup>3</sup>
2. Mehmed Emni Efendi (Paşa) (1740-1742) - The Ambassadorial Account of Russia<sup>4</sup>
3. Derviş Mehmed Efendi (1755) - The Ambassadorial Account of Russia<sup>5</sup>
4. Şehdi Osman Efendi (1757-1758) - The Ambassadorial Account of Russia<sup>6</sup>
5. Kesbî Mustafa Efendi (1767-1768) - İbretname-i Devlet
6. Silahdar İbrahim Paşa (1771-1775) - The Ambassadorial Account of Necati<sup>7</sup>
7. Abdülkerim Paşa (1775-1776) - The Ambassadorial Account of Abdülkerim Paşa<sup>8</sup>
8. Mustafa Rasih Paşa (1793-1794) - The Ambassadorial Account of Russia<sup>9</sup>
9. Hüseyin Kâzım Bey (1883)- The Ambassadorial Account of Moscow<sup>10</sup>
10. Edhem Paşa (1886) - The Ambassadorial Account of Livadia<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For bibliographic studies of Ottoman Ambassadors and their accounts see Unat 1987. Süslü 1981-1982, 233-260. Yalçinkaya 1997, 319-338. For a general historical study of the Ottoman Ambassadors and their accounts see and Yalçinkaya 2003, 423-489. Yalçinkaya 2018, 11-37. Korkut 2003, 491-511 and Afyoncu 2007, 108-119.

<sup>2</sup> The most striking information and pioneering work on Abdülkerim Efendi's account was written by Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote. This work is not only ordinary translation but it has also large annotation for the evaluation of Abdülkerim Efendi's embassy to Russia and his account. Itzkowitz and Mote 1970. Also see, Unat 1987, 129-133.

<sup>3</sup> Unat 1987, 62-65 and also there is a MA thesis by Mertayak 2005.

<sup>4</sup> For the evaluation, transcription of this account see, Aktepe 1974.

<sup>5</sup> On him and his account see, Unat 1987, 99-102.

<sup>6</sup> For the evaluation, transcription of this account see, Polatçı 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Afyoncu 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Apart from Itzkowitz-Mote's work there are two studies. Abdülkerim Pasha's Russian embassy and his ambassadorial account studied in detail by Abdullah Bay. See, Bay 2014. Abdullah Bay and also M.A. thesis by İlikmen 2001.

<sup>9</sup> There is a MA. thesis by İyigünler 1995.

<sup>10</sup> Topaktaş 2015, 69-78.

11. Fuad Paşa (1888) - The Ambassadorial Account of Sevastopol<sup>12</sup>
12. Fuad Paşa (1891) - The Ambassadorial Account of Livadia<sup>13</sup>
13. Turhan Paşa (1898) - The Ambassadorial Account of Livadia<sup>14</sup>
14. Turhan Paşa (1900) - The Ambassadorial Account of Livadia<sup>15</sup>
15. Turhan Paşa (1902) - The Ambassadorial Account of Livadia<sup>16</sup>

In this paper, the ambassadorial account of Abdülkerim Pasha will be used within the context of his observations and descriptions of Ukraine. Abdülkerim Pasha was dispatched and charged with the task of conveying the letter ratifying the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (21 July 1774) to Catherine II of Russia. The account of his embassy was the first sefaretnâme written after the bad experience provoked by the defeat at the hands of the Russians.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Appointment of Abdülkerim Pasha as an Ambassador to Russia and His Journey to the Quarantine Station**

Abdülkerim Pasha had been nominated to be as an ambassador on 2 October 1774 by Abdülhamid I and was invested with the Caftan. It was a common procedure for a newly appointed person to be invested with the caftan of high rank in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Mehmet Emin Nahifi Efendi was appointed as secretary to Abdülkerim Pasha. The ambassadorial account of Abdülkerim Pasha was the most part written by Mehmet Emin Nahifi Efendi. Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue departed Istanbul on 2 February 1775 and travelled through Edirne, Shumen, Silistra, Galatti and at the beginning of July 1775 they arrived at Hotin (Khotyn). Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue hosted by Mehmet Pasha the governor of Hotin. Abdülkerim Pasha's account did not give any information about Hotin or its vicinities; he only mentioned some villages that were lodged on their way.<sup>18</sup>

On 13 July 1775 the Ottoman ambassador Abdülkerim Pasha and Russian ambassador Repnin exchanged their credentials on the Dniester River at the border. After the exchange, Abdülkerim Pasha reached the plains of Zhvantes and stayed there one day, his mission was escorted by the Major General.<sup>19</sup> On 15 July he departed Zhvantes and settled in near Dozholk village situated before the fortress of Kamanice (Kamanets-Podolsky). The account described the Kamanice fortress as:<sup>20</sup>

“It is a medium-sized finished off in cut stone. It is in the midst of a plain that extends in all directions. It has no towers, but is encircled by a running thirty *arşin* deep and wide. Facing it on the other side of the moat are a small fort and bastions. They are joined to each other by a masonry bridge as tall as a minaret. The bastions were equipped with long-range cannon placed row after row. In this way the path of easy access was barred to its enemies.”

The account provided further information on the town and its buildings. It denoted that most of the buildings were made of stone, and many of its districts were in ruins, but reconstruction was underway. After the Ottoman conquest, two churches were converted into mosques for the Muslim community. Today the minaret of one of them and *minbar* (pulpit) of the other are still intact.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Aydın 1992, 327-533.

<sup>12</sup> Aydın 1992, 353-357.

<sup>13</sup> Aydın 1992, 333-338.

<sup>14</sup> Üstüner 2016, 241-266.

<sup>15</sup> Aydın 1992, 338-345.

<sup>16</sup> Aydın 1992, 345-353.

<sup>17</sup> The Most recent work on biography of Abdülkerim Paşa, see Yalçınkaya 1999, 59-60.

<sup>18</sup> See his appointment and his Journey from İstanbul to border, see, Bay 2014, 66-81, Unat 1987, 130-131 and Itzkowitz-Mote, *ibid*, pp. 6, 57-68.

<sup>19</sup> For the exchange of the ambassadors see, Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 67-77 and Bay 2014, 82-90.

<sup>20</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 78-79 and Bay 2014, 94-95.

<sup>21</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 79 and Bay 2014, 94-95.

A few days later the Ottoman mission left Dozholk and they arrived at firstly Tynna on 21 July and then a few days later reached Medzhibozhto. They spent a few days there. This account described the town of Medzhibozhto surrounded by swamps full of reeds on the east 15 minutes walk away and travelers could cross over a bridge made of wood. There was rather a smaller fortress, more like a medium-sized mansion, and it had no weapons or ammunition. On the western flank, there was a river that drove a number of mills. There was also a bridge over the river.<sup>22</sup>

Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue departed from Medzhibozhto on 28 July 1775 and arrived at Polonnoye on 30 July. His mission stayed there four days because there was a celebration of a holiday, very popular among the Russians. He noted that on this occasion the Russians all made merry and diverted themselves. The account of Abdülkerim gave further information about the celebrations in detail. The Russian men and women who gathered in the banquet hall amused themselves for a couple of hours with Frankish songs and music, and with songs and dances of their own.<sup>23</sup> His account described Polonnoye fortress as such:<sup>24</sup>

“At present there is in the town a rather tall earthen fortress. In the bastions that go all the way around it there are cannon in position. In a vast, rather dilapidated stone monastery-like boyar’s mansion situated within the fortress there is a good deal of Russian ammunitions, war requisites and material, and other supplies. There are a number of troops and their officers who guard these supplies.”

This account also illustrated the river as “a river that drives several mills flows through the edge of the town”.<sup>25</sup> On 3 August 1775 his mission left there. They arrived at Chudnov on 5 August and stayed the night there. His mission arrived at Berdichev on 8 August. His account described Berdichev in detail as following:<sup>26</sup>

“The town is situated on a height at the edge of a vast lake. In lie of a forth there is a strong and impregnable monastery surrounded by a moat and a stockade. Earlier, some of Poland’s allies entrenched themselves in the monastery. For several days they fought with the Russian troops who attacked them. The effects of two cannon balls that hit the dome of the monastery in the course of the action are still visible.”

### **The Description of the Quarantine Station**

His mission left Berdichev on 10 August and arrived at Pavoloch’ on 12 August and rested there for two days and they left there on 15 August. On 18 August 1775 the Ottoman mission was out of the Polish Ukrainian territories for the quarantine station. They arrived at the quarantine station situated about half an hour’s march from the town of Vasil’kov which is dependent on the province of Kiev, the Russian frontier. The account of Abdülkerim described those territories as the Polish lands. In the account the lands were depicted in detail.<sup>27</sup>

“The villages that are one hour, or at most two hours, apart in the territory of Poland between Zhvantes and the Russian frontier are flourishing and well cultivated. At the edges of each of them there are rather extensive lakes and a considerable number of water-driven mills. On the plains and fields one can see from one village to the next. The villages have many orchards. The land, except for the pathways for people, is plowed and sown entirely with various cereals. On the occasion of our passage it was harvest time. When look about, the fully ripe crops made waves of motion with the incitement of the winds, and each level steppe appeared to be a boundless sea of tumultuous waves.”

<sup>22</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 79 and Bay 2014, 95-96.

<sup>23</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 79-80 and Bay 2014, 96.

<sup>24</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 80 and Bay 2014, 96-97.

<sup>25</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 80 and Bay 2014, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 80 and Bay 2014, 97.

<sup>27</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 81 and Bay 2014, 97.

Abdülkerim Pasha also seemed to be well informed about the quarantine station with its buildings:<sup>28</sup>

“The station is situated on a wide plain and consists of about fifteen or twenty separate sections. Each one of its sections is composed of a garden, entrance hall, and numerous rooms, like a separate house. The walls, roofs, and furnishings made are of pine wood. In every room there is a stove made of porcelain-like baked brick. The surfaces of walls of a number of rooms set aside for more notable guests are embellished with decorated papers, resembling cloth.”

His account also gave information on the protection of the quarantine station. His view on this matter was particularly positive. He described that “a goodly number of soldiers and officers have been detailed to see that arrivals carry out fully the formalities of the quarantine and to superintend the defence of the station. Its four sides were encircled and protected by beams with outwardly protruding spikes, and sentry boxes”.<sup>29</sup> Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue almost for five days stayed in the quarantine station and they left there on 23 August 1775.

### **Description of Kiev and the Ambassador’s Quarters**

The departing from the quarantine station Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue reached Kiev on 24 August 1775. When they arrived at the city of Kiev, the general of Kiev had a twenty-five-gun salute fired from the fortress. They settled in at the quest house the Russians had made ready. The Russians also sent food to the ambassador. The next day Abdülkerim Pasha got together gifts of costly Indian cloths and other expensive goods, and some valuable oils of a value in excess of seven or eight hundred piasters (kuruş), and sent them to the Kiev general through his steward.<sup>30</sup>

The fortress of Kiev and its constructions was described in detail by Abdülkerim Pasha’s account:<sup>31</sup>

“This fortress is the celebrated Russian march contiguous to the Polish frontiers. It is a medium-sized earthen fortress. The fort had been destroyed earlier. Peter the Great constructed a new fort of earth on its western flank in a place about one hour away. Inside it he constructed stone cells for the Christian monks and students and built a rather large atelier and monasteries for the printing of books in their language and regulated its provisions and duties. They have set aside a somber place underground to deposit skeletons of men considered distinguished among them. Today each of the forts has its suburbs surrounding it, each as large as a town. The new part is named Pechersky. It is replete with implements and instruments of war. It itself is more important than its suburb. The old fort, since it has been allowed to go to ruin, has a suburb which is more flourishing and populated. It is now known by the name of Podol. There are many soldiers and officers assigned to its defense.”

Abdülkerim Pasha’s account described the Dnieper River “as the great river and a little bigger than the Dniester, flows before it on its eastern side. At present travellers cross it on a bridge made of pontoons”.<sup>32</sup> Abdülkerim Pasha gave detailed information about the ambassador’s quarters and guesthouse in Kiev. His views were as follows:<sup>33</sup>

“The ambassador’s quarters are situated between the suburbs of the fortresses that were mentioned. It is a palace containing more than fifty rooms, large and small, and possessing a garden in excess of one hundred *dönüms*. Its lower story and foundation are stone, its upper story are decorated with fabric-like wall-paper, and with gilt moulding. Its ceilings are decorated with white-colored cloth used like plaster. The wooden parts of the upholstery are highly polished, and the material resembles Egyptian matting. In every corner there is set up a stove of baked brick that resembles porcelain.”

<sup>28</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 81-82 and Bay 2014, 98.

<sup>29</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 82 and Bay 2014, 99.

<sup>30</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 83 and Bay 2014, 100-101.

<sup>31</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 83-84 and Bay 2014, 101-102.

<sup>32</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 84 and Bay 2014, 102.

<sup>33</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 84 and Bay 2014, 102.

In this account, Abdülkerim Pasha described the trees, lawns, flowers in the garden. He also gave some information on the sections of the garden's cultivations such as orchards, flowers, and vineyards. In this account, there was thorough explanation of how to cultivate and water the garden, and the account also detailed a variety of productions such as fruits, flowers, and grapes.<sup>34</sup> Almost after ten days of stay in Kiev, Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue left there on 3 September 1775, crossing the Dnieper River on a bridge made of pontoons.

### **Descriptions from Kiev to the End of the Ukrainian Lands**

After departing from Kiev, the Ottoman mission passed the town of Brovary, Sempolki, Kozelets, Nosovka and reached Nezhin on 10 September.<sup>35</sup> He described the city of Nezhin as a vast and crowded town with its market and bazaar flourishing, and its homes rather ostentatious. It had numerous wealthy merchants and shopkeepers, and various wares. Abdülkerim Pasha's account also gave information on the fortress of Nezhin. It had a smallish earthen fort, encircled by a moat, which was renowned among the Russians, and a goodly number of soldiers were stationed for its defence. He also noted that at the time of their entrance into the city, Russians shot off a fifteen-gun-salute in honour of the ambassador.<sup>36</sup> He departed from Nezhin on 14 September and arrived at Gluckhov on 22 September 1775 passing through Komarovka, Borzna, Gorodishche, Baturin, Altinovka, Krolvets and Tuligolova. Abdülkerim Pasha also seemed to be well informed about the town of Gluckhov. He described that:<sup>37</sup>

“Town has a medium-sized earthen fortress on a high place. Within the fortress there are several small and large houses, places of worship, and various stores. A rather large lake has been made by means of damming up and blockading the course of the river that flows on the western side of the town. Over it they have built a firm, wide, long bridge of wood. On one side of it a water mill has been erected. On the west side of bridge, in front of the fortress, on the shore of the lake the Russian empress has had constructed a new summer residence that resembles a summer home on the Bosphorus. It is charming in appearance, but worth little, and contains a large garden. In accordance with their accepted practice it also contains several Frankish buildings. It was presented recently to Rumiantsev who is now her field marshal.”

His view of fortress of Gluckhov with its buildings and the latest construction developments were particularly interesting:<sup>38</sup>

“Apart from this, inside the fortress she has had construction started on a large and spacious stone winter house for Rumiantsev. At the time we passed through there it was not completed. They hope that with increased effort to have it finished by wintertime. The designation of the town as a site of buildings for the field marshal, being a sign of favor, stimulates construction everywhere of such things as shops, and the repair and construction of houses.”

In Abdülkerim Pasha's account, this region was called “Little Russia”. He noted that from the Polish frontiers as far as a village named Yesman, which was situated four hours ahead and was one of the dependents of Gluckhov, the term “Little Russia” was used. He also gave information about local people and their customs. All of its people were Cossacks. From there on was Great Russia, and its people were called *muzhiks*. The costumes of the two groups were completely different from each other. Abdülkerim Pasha and his retinue departed from Gluckhov on 24 September 1775 towards the Russian territory. He also described the departure from there as at the time of their crossing the bridge several cannons were fired in their honor from within the fort.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, Abdülkerim Pasha and his

<sup>34</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 84-86 and Bay 2014, 103-104.

<sup>35</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 86 and Bay 2014, 105-106.

<sup>36</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 86 and Bay 2014, 106.

<sup>37</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 86-87 and Bay 2014, 105-106.

<sup>38</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 87 and Bay 2014, 106-107.

<sup>39</sup> Itzkowitz-Mote 1970, 87-88 and Bay 2014, 107-109.

retinue left Ukrainian territories to continue to his mission as an ambassador to Moscow. After the termination of his embassy in Russia, he used almost the same route in Ukraine in the middle of second quarter of 1776, but he did not give any explanation on this journey. He and his retinue arrived at Istanbul 17 August 1796.

**All in all**, Abdülkerim Pasha's ambassadorial accounts on Russia (1775-1776) had valuable information and observations of one of the Ottoman statesmen on Ukraine. His description of Ukrainian geography was very valuable for readers of history to shed light on the last quarter of the eighteenth century from the eyes of the Ottomans because most of this country was lost a few years ago. This account on Ukraine gave some information about and descriptions of villages, towns, cities, and fortress names where he passed throughout his journey at the period of the third quarter of 1775. Abdülkerim Pasha gave detailed information on big towns *en route* from Ukraine to Russia, but he gave brief information on some names of villages. His account also gave detailed information on the quarantine station, buildings and its sections which is not applied by the Ottomans until 1831. This account also described religious buildings such as churches and mosques, as well as important building of the houses and bridges. This account gave information the ambassador's quarters and its palace which had containing more than fifty rooms. When he crossed the country sides he viewed agricultural productions and especially in his account often mentioned water mills. His observations were important in terms of demonstrating the social-cultural life, geographical-administrative units, civil-military constructions as well as cultivations of Ukraine at that time. He also observed the new establishments of the Russian army and the fortifications of the fortress through their borders.

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