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Ottoman View on the Unification of Italy, 1796-1861

İtalyan Birleşimi Üzerine Osmanlı Görüşü 1796-1861

Abstract

While the Kingdom of Italy was officially established after half a century of struggle, the Ottoman Empire was living in its last century. The unification period of Italy was a significant epoch in which these two states coincided with each other in history. This study is the examination of the period of Italian Unification from the Ottoman point of view, which started in the Napoleonic period and continued until 1861 when the Kingdom of Italy was officially declared. During this era in the Italian peninsula, numerous events, relevant or irrelevant to the Ottoman Empire, took place; On the other hand, the Ottoman state followed and examined all these events with great attention and tried to position itself in order to find a place in the changing world order. This article will discuss how and for what purpose the Ottoman Empire observed the events that took place in the Italian peninsula and what actions it took based on these observations.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Italian unification, Nineteenth Century, Foreign Relations

Öz

İtalya Krallığı yaklaşık yarım asırlık bir mücadelenin ardından resmen kurulurken Osmanlı İmparatorluğu son yüzyılını yaşıyordu. İtalyan Birleşmesi ise tarihte bu iki devletin birbiriyle karşılaştığı önemli dönemlerden biriydi. Bu çalışma, Napolyon Bonaparte Döneminde başlayan ve İtalya Krallığı'nın resmi olarak ilan edildiği 1861 yılına kadar süren İtalyan Birleşmesinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu perspektifinden bir incelemesidir. Bu dönemde, İtalyan yarımadasındasın oldukça hareketliydi ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile ilgili ya da tamamen alakasız çok sayıda olay meydana geldi; Osmanlı Devleti tüm bu olayları büyük bir titizlikle takip edip inceledi ve kendisini değişen konjonktürde yer bulabilmek ve Avrupa'nın iç çatışmalarından faydalanabilmek adına konumlandırmaya çalıştı. Bu makale, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İtalyan yarımadasında vuku bulan olayları nasıl ve ne amaçla gözlemlediğini ve bu gözlemlerden hareketle ne gibi eylemlerde bulunduğunu inceleyecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İtalyan birleşimi, On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl, Dış İlişkiler

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Introduction

The question of the beginning of the Italian unification, the Risorgimento, is one of the most critical junctures in the history of Italy, about which an agreement has yet to be reached. While left-wing historians have focused on the significance of the French Revolution, right-wing historians have emphasized the Congress of Vienna. The first one claims that the unification's trigger event occurred on April 12, 1796, when Napoleon Bonaparte crossed the Alps, because with him, not only the French army came but also the French thought. On the other hand, the second line highlighted the Congress of Vienna, which was concluded in 1815. The reason behind this is that the unification of Italy turned into an idea that should never have come true in the eyes of the status quo in 1815. Whenever it began, by 1871, almost the entire peninsula was united under the Kingdom of Italy's flag.

On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire, having critical importance in European politics, followed every part of the Italian unification to relocate itself properly in the changing world order and benefit from political conflicts and contrasts of Europe. However, although many studies examine the Ottoman Empire's foreign, political, and economic relations with states such as Russia, Austria, and the United Kingdom, which had direct interrelation with the Ottoman Empire, fewer studies are examining Ottoman-Italy relations. Moreover, in this field, existing studies generally target two significant periods. One of them is the period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which was the period of Ottoman-Italian trade relations, which were relatively high. This period is significant in understanding both Papal-Ottoman relations and the commercial activities of Italian city-states in Ottoman lands. The second period studied on Ottoman-Italian relations focuses on is between 1870 and 1945. The main aim of the studies that pay attention to this period is to understand how Italian industrialization and colonization affected the Ottoman Empire concerning its territorial integrity in North Africa. However, the insufficiency of studies of Ottoman-Italian relations in the context of the unification period draws attention in terms of quantity. At that point, the first aim of this study is to address this gap. That's why; this study is an account of Ottoman opinion on the period of Italian unification and a clarification of how and why the sick man of Europe was interested in seemingly irrelevant events in Europe. In other words, the focus of this study is to show that the Ottoman state closely followed the political events and changes in Europe, although it seemed to have lost its supremacy in Europe and devoted much of its energy to internal reforms in the nineteenth century.

I. The Age of Napoleon

"Italy is only a geographical expression."¹ The words of Austrian Chancellor Prince Klemens Von Metternich were not a wish but the fact itself at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The peninsula was fragmented, with eleven independent states in the late eighteenth century. However, these states were quite far away from the idea of unification because of their political structures; some of these states were kingdoms (two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; Kingdom of Sardinia), some republics (Venice, Genoa, and Lucca), and some duchies (Milan, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Massa and Carrara).² Moreover, there was the Papal State, which included much of central Italy. On the other hand, all these states were controlled by different dynasties, and half of them

1 Denis Mack Smith, *The Making of Italy 1796-1866* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1988), 123.

2 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 15.

were non-Italian. The two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were ruled by a member of the Spanish royal family; the Dukedom of Milan and Dukedom of Tuscany were led by the members of the Austrian royal House of Habsburg; the Dukedom of Parma and Piacenza were ruled by the Spanish Bourbon family. The rest of them were Italians.³ Moreover, Italy was highly fragmented not only politically but also geographically. “The Italian peninsula was characterized by a large variety of climates, soils, geographical features, and the language spoken by its inhabitants (about twenty different dialects).”⁴ “In addition, there were different currencies, different systems of weights and measures, different legal systems obtaining and customs barriers between the states.”⁵

This was the case in the Italian peninsula when Napoleon entered Milan on May 15, 1796, after the victory of the Battle of Lodi. Napoleon established numerous republics under French authority within three years. The Republic of Cisalpine covered almost all of Lombardy and Northern Italy. The Republic of Liguria was established and replaced by the Republic of Genoa. On the other hand, Piedmont maintained its independence for a while. In February 1798, the French forces also ended the Papal rule in Rome and established the Roman Republic. At the end of 1798, they occupied Piedmont. Finally, Naples and Tuscany were taken by the French Forces in 1799. By the end of 1799, the entire Italian peninsula except Venice was under French control. When the French had taken control of the peninsula, their main claim was that they brought “freedom”.⁶ In this way, they received great support from the urban middle class. However, the lower class and peasants were suffering from French taxes and the annexation of the church’s lands. When the Russian-Austrian coalition regained Northern Italy in 1799, the peasants greeted it with gratefulness.⁷

The Italian invasion of France attracted the attention of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to weaken in the east Mediterranean, and the fact that France would strengthen its activities in the Mediterranean with the occupation of Italy, and threatened the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa, causing unrest in the Empire.⁸ Moreover, as previously mentioned, the Ottoman Empire was closely following the political changes in Europe to be prepared to keep pace with possible balance of power shifts.⁹ In this period, the Ottoman Empire’s primary sources of information were the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia. The first detailed review of the invasion of Italy by France was sent by the voivode of Wallachia, and the focus point of the correspondence was the Battle of Lodi and its aftermath.¹⁰ The correspondence was a short review of the campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte, the battle of Lodi and the defeat of Austria, and an explanation of the aims of France in Italy.¹¹ According to it, France was aiming to establish dominance in central and northern Italy by embarking on an

3 Ibid., 16.

4 Desmond Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy*, (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 2002), 17-18.

5 Ibid.

6 Martin Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento* (London: Routledge, 2013), 12-13.

7 Ibid.

8 Durmuş Akalın and Cemil Çelik, “XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz’de İngiliz-Fransız Rekabeti Ve Osmanlı Devleti”, in *Turkish Studies- international Periodical for The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, (Ankara, 2012), 24.

9 Ibid.

10 BOA, HAT., 230/12839, 29 Zilhicce 1210/July 9, 1796.)

11 Ibid.

expedition over Italy and thus breaking the Austrian power in the peninsula.¹² At the end of the eighteenth century, France was not a foe of the Ottoman Empire. Still, with the French Revolution, the Ottoman Empire was doubtful about the new regime in France. That was why the Empire recognized the Republic of France in early 1795.¹³ However, French expeditions and the personal ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte would break the non-aggression principle between the two old allies.

During 1797, almost all actions of Napoleon, relevant or irrelevant, in Italy were closely followed by the eyes of voivodes, and these were meticulously reported to the Capital. These included the siege of Mantua, the establishment of the Republic of Cisalpine, and some rumors about Napoleon.¹⁴ However, there were essential tidings that were closely related to the Ottoman Empire among the documents in 1797. The correspondence sent by the voivode of Wallachia reached the Capital in August 1797.¹⁵ According to correspondence, France aimed to dominate the entire Italian Mediterranean trade by occupying Northern Italy and its coastal areas.¹⁶ It was also stated that the Austrian state lost wars one after another against France, and that Britain was worried about the defeat of Austria and the strengthening of the French in the Mediterranean.¹⁷ In addition, it was recommended that the Ottoman state had to join the Coalition that was established by Austria, Great Britain, Spain, and Prussia against France in Europe.¹⁸ The final document from 1797 was the translation of the treaty of *Campo Formio*, which ended the war between Austria and France, and Napoleon left Italy for a while.¹⁹

However, the war changed its course, and Napoleon returned to Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This time he would stay much longer and leave a much deeper mark. In 1805, the Kingdom of Italy was established in place of the Cisalpine Republic, and Napoleon was declared its king. On the other hand, all lands in northwest Italy (Piedmont, Liguria, Parma, and the coastal parts of Tuscany and Latium) were directly annexed to France and began to be ruled by French officials. Other duchies and minor kingdoms were handed out to Napoleon's relatives or favorite generals. In the South, the Kingdom of Naples was founded, ruled by Napoleon's brother Joseph, and after 1808 by his brother-in-law Joachim Murat. With the capture of the Papal State in 1809, the entire peninsula came under French control.

Nevertheless, this time the French rule adopted a totalitarian regime instead of a republican one.²⁰ Local police forces were established, education was taken from the church monopoly, and taxes were collected by tax officials directly affiliated with the center. In addition to all these developments, the Italian peninsula provided 50,000 soldiers for Napoleon's army.²¹ This entire structure created a large area of employment for the educated middle class, and thousands of people

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 BOA, HAT., 230/12833, 20 Rebiulevvel 1211/March 20, 1797.

15 BOA, HAT., 234/13045, 9 Rebiülahir 1212/August 19, 1797.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 BOA, HAT., 1667/1, 25 Rebiülahir 1212/ October 17, 1797.

20 Smith, *The Making of Italy 1796-1866*, 16.

21 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 14.

took direct roles in the French troops and local governments.²² Moreover, the French rule had managed to shift wealth (i.e., land) to the middle class from the local landowners with new land codes. With the land reforms, barons retained their private and non-feudal land. Still, the feudal estates were sold off to the new owners, who were generally army officers, local governors, or urban middle class, as were the prominent ecclesiastical properties and much land owned by local councils.²³

Between 1800 and 1810, the Ottoman Empire had two main concerns. The first question was what kind of a republic Italy was, independent or annexed. That was important for the Ottomans because Italian merchant ships were quite active in Ottoman territorial waters. For that reason, in order to get information about the political title of the Republic of Italy, a letter was sent to the *chargé d'affaires*²⁴ of France in Istanbul by the Ottoman Sublime Porte.²⁵ The answer to *chargé d'affaires* was clear. The Italian Republic was an independent state, as reported by Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister himself.²⁶ Nevertheless, not surprisingly, Talleyrand requested that Italian ships be treated like French ships.²⁷

The Ottoman Empire's second concern was keeping the balance between France and allied forces, and it was apparent that the Empire was partially successful. There were two main clear pieces of evidence to support this idea. According to the correspondence of the voivode of Wallachia, Austria rejected Napoleon's proposal, which was offering them Serbia, Oltenia, and Bosnia, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire, in return for recognizing the Kingdom of Italy and Napoleon as the king of the Italian Kingdom.²⁸ The second correspondence reached the capital on August 23, 1806, about the peace between the French and Russia.²⁹ According to this correspondence, France and Russia guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, including Algeria.³⁰ However, peace expectations of Napoleon with Russia never came true because Tsar Alexander I of Russia vetoed the peace treaty because of the fact that he did not want to leave the struggle against the French to the British and Austrians.³¹

In the last five years of Napoleon's rule, a series of events took place that would change the course of European politics. The first of these was in 1812, when Napoleon marched to Russia with 800,000 soldiers.³² Napoleon achieved great success in the Battle of Borodino and took over Moscow.³³ However, it was not possible for such a large army to stay in the city.³⁴ Moreover, the

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Chargé d'affaire is the French name given to diplomats who served as the chief of mission of the embassy in the absence of the ambassador.

25 BOA, HAT., 169/7219, 1 Cemaziyelevvel 1217/May 30, 1802.

26 BOA, HAT., 169/7217, 1 Cemaziyelahir 1217/October 20, 1802.

27 Ibid.

28 BOA, HAT., 170/7241, 4 Zilhicce 1219/March 6, 1805.

29 BOA, HAT., 143/5946, 07 Cemaziyelevvel 1221 /August 23, 1806.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Smith, *The Making of Italy 1796-1866*, 18.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

Russian forces burned the town and made it uninhabitable, and Napoleon had to return.³⁵ However, winter had come, and Napoleon lost three-quarters of his army on the way back. Napoleon had to form a new army, but all costs were imposed on the people as taxes. The second point to be mentioned was the Battle of Leipzig. Losing his internal support, Napoleon was defeated by the coalition forces, including Prussia, Austria, Switzerland, and Russia, in October 1813. Upon the loss, the Coalition forces decided to march on Paris to invade. Upon the battle known as the Battle of Paris in 1814, on March 31, 1814, the key to the city was handed over to the Russian Tsar Alexander I, and Napoleon went into exile to Elba Island according to the Treaty of Fontainebleau of 1814. The third and final point was Napoleon's last war against European powers. A congress is held in Vienna to discuss the reshaping of Europe after the war, the eradication of Napoleon's influence, and the restoration of empires. However, when news came on March 20, 1815, that Napoleon had escaped from the island of Elba and seized power in France with the help of his supporters, Congress mobilized an army to defeat Napoleon.³⁶ On June 16, 1815, two armies fought near the Belgian town of Waterloo, and the battle ended with Napoleon's absolute defeat.³⁷ This was the end of an era for not only Napoleon but for the entire European continent.

During Napoleon's last years, the primary concern of the Ottoman Empire was to maintain neutrality. Thus it located itself on the changing map of Europe. So much so that, in the first quarter of 1813, the Ottoman Empire ordered the Governor of Algeria, Ali Pasha, to behave in the same way and to be neutral in all Algerian ports to the ships of France, England, Spain, and Italy.³⁸ Nevertheless, the Empire followed the developments in France and Italy, and observed them with reports of Iskerlet Pasha, the Voivode of Moldavia, and Yanko Karaca Pasha, the Voivode of Wallachia, and tried to regulate relations with these states.³⁹ In 1814, the Ottoman Empire, intending to establish good relations with the Bourbon Dynasty, which came to power again after Napoleon was sent to the island of Elbe, had a series of meetings with the French ambassador Antoine-François Andr ossy and received assurances that France and Ottoman relations would be preserved.⁴⁰

II. The Age of Restoration

When the final act of the Congress of Vienna was signed on 9 June 1815, the Napoleonic era ended, and the treaty established a status quo again in the Italian peninsula, which would remain for almost 30 years. This period is called the Restoration period. "The Restoration has traditionally been seen as the Dark Ages of modern Italy, a backward-looking era of clerical control and unenlightened authoritarianism."⁴¹ According to the Treaty, Italy was divided into seven states; the Kingdom of Piedmont, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Modena, the Kingdom of Parma-Piacenza, the Papal States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁴² Moreover, the fragmented structure of the peninsula was rearranged. Modena, Tuscany,

35 Ibid.

36 Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870*, 197- 198.

37 Ibid.

38 BOA, AE.SMHD.II., 119/9970, 10 Muharrem 1228/March 13, 1813.

39 BOA, HAT., 1281/49676, 17 Muharrem 1229/January 09, 1814.

40 Ibid.

41 David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 196.

42 Bahar G rsel, "Friendship, Crisis, and Estrangement: U.S.- Italian Relations, 1871-1920," (PhD diss.,

and Parma were now ruled by Austrian archdukes.⁴³ The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was under the control of King Ferdinand IV, a member of the Spanish Bourbon Royal Family. On the other hand, the Kingdom of Piedmont, which consists of the Piedmont region in northern Italy and the island of Sardinia, was re-established with the addition of territories of the former Republic of Genoa to its territory. The new Italy was designed exactly the way Metternich desired. Small and disconnected states guided by Austria would survive in the old world, far from the nationalist spirit.⁴⁴ However, the unification flame that would remain for years had already been ignited.

Regardless of their origins, Italy's rulers had much in common. "All were absolutists in nature, and they all had to do something about what to keep and what to reject in Napoleon's 'administrative monarchy' system."⁴⁵ Napoleon had great success in Italy in many ways, and these dynasties had many reasons to emulate Napoleon's real success. Almost all of them decided to keep the fiscal structures of Napoleon. However, their decisions about other issues varied. The most reactionary rulers of the peninsula were Francesco IV of Modena (1815-1846) and Victor Emanuel I of Sardinia-Piedmont (1802-1821).⁴⁶ Their ultimate desire was to return to the pre-Napoleon era because the laws that Napoleon introduced were quite libertarian and egalitarian.⁴⁷ However, the only thing that would contradict the feudal structure was equality. So, the first thing Victor Emmanuel I did was to abolish all freedom and the principle of equality provided by the Napoleonic Codes. Despite all pressure, he refused to pass a liberal constitution and took an oppressive stance. Education was once again in the hands of the church. Justice was no longer provided by an egalitarian approach, but through a segregationist approach.⁴⁸

The Congress of Vienna was supposed to re-establish the *status quo*, but it also initiated the beginning of the revolts and upheavals. There were varying reasons for that, though there was a common factor behind most of the reforms or revolutionary movements. First of all, the effects of the wind which came with Napoleon did not leave the peninsula. There were many former civil servants and army officers of the North Italian Kingdom who developed a new kind of patriotism. These began to create a social network that would begin to switch to underground societies. "Everywhere, the ideas of the French revolution had permeated urban artisan culture, as would become evident in due course."⁴⁹ Secondly, the oppression of the ruling class, which was trying to clear off all the effects of the French revolution, increased the tension among the literate people, who desired to resume fundamental liberties, and ancient regime rulers.⁵⁰

From the 1820s until the unification, secret societies were essential elements of Italian social and political life. The most prominent of these secret organizations was the *Carbonari*⁵¹. The

Bilkent University, 2007), 18.

43 Ibid.

44 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 20.

45 David Laven, "The Age of Restoration," in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John A. Davis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 58.

46 Ibid., 59.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 36.

50 Ibid.

51 Italian for charcoal makers.

organization's political agenda was completely unclear and was an umbrella for many different ideas. Some of its followers joined the organization for the constitutional government, some to protest taxes, and others to obtain their rights and freedoms. With the joining of Giuseppe Mazzini, it gained a nationalist and anti-monarchical structure.⁵²

III. The Age of Revolution

a) Revolutions of 1820-1821

The first attempt broke out in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against King Ferdinand I in 1820. He was forced to make concessions by a military group in Naples and promise a constitutional monarchy. At that point, Sicily took the chance to rebel for a constitution of its own, the government at Naples refused to recognize it, and an army was sent to Sicily to protect its hegemony on Sicily. However, these developments created discontent in central Europe because just five years later, from the Congress of Vienna, libertarians gained advance. For that reason, Austria sent troops to Naples and maintained the position of the monarch.⁵³ This was the first of the attempts at constitutional regimes in nineteenth-century Italy, but not the last one. This partial success inspired northern Italian societies.⁵⁴

In this period, the revolts in the Southern part of the peninsula were closely followed by the Ottoman Empire. However, during these events, the eyes of the Ottoman Empire facing Europe were not limited to the voivode of Wallachia and Moldavia. As of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state assigned permanent ambassadors to Europe's essential capitals to closely observe the internal politics of the European States, follow developments, and carry out intelligence activities.⁵⁵ The Ottoman Empire received the first information about the uprisings in Naples from the voivode of Moldavia. According to this correspondence, the European powers were anxious about constitutional revolts in Naples and Portugal.⁵⁶ Moreover, the Empire was informed about the Congress of Troppau, which was a conference of the European powers to discuss ways of suppressing the revolution in Naples, and the voivode reported the participants of the Congress, their titles, and possible topics to be addressed.⁵⁷ The Ottoman Empire was not invited to the Congress. However, although some of the decisions were kept secret, the Ottoman ambassador to London informed the Capital about the results of the Congress. According to that correspondence, while Britain argued that constitutional revolts were the internal problems of the states and that they should not be intervened by other states, Austria feared that revolts would spread to central Europe and thus supported intervention.⁵⁸ However, the ambassador indicated Britain would support Austria to protect Europe from possible Russian attempts.⁵⁹ Finally, when Austrian intervention

52 Smith, *The Making of Italy 1796-1866*, 36.

53 Ibid., 38.

54 Ibid.

55 Cafer Çiftçi, The Sublime Porte's Two Eyes Fixed over Europe: Phanariote Voivodes (Principalities) in Wallachia and Moldavia (1711-1821) in *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, (2010), s.17-48.

56 BOA, HAT., 1281/49680, 25 Muharrem 1236 /November 02, 1820.

57 BOA, HAT., 1280/49634, 29 Zilhicce 1236 /August 28, 1821.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

occurred, it was reported by Metternich himself to the Austrian ambassador in Istanbul.⁶⁰ The detailed account of the revolutions was sent to the Capital by the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna on August 29, 1821.⁶¹ According to the assessment of the ambassador, the main reason for the upheavals was some dissidents who were opposed to the existing order in the Kingdom. Their desire was not to overthrow the king but to force him to declare a constitution.⁶² Moreover, the ambassador emphasized that the European states were afraid of the revolutionaries who made libertarian and constitutional demands and that they did not hesitate to intervene in situations that would threaten Austria's domination in northern Italy.⁶³

According to the documents mentioned above, the Ottoman Empire traced not only the events which occurred in Europe with the embassies in the capitals of Europe but also the events that would not directly affect its foreign policy. In this respect, the informing and espionage activities carried out by the embassies had been successful. On the other hand, the Empire had the opportunity to closely examine the actions of other European states in Italy and their thoughts on Italian revolutions and aimed to use these pieces of information in their favor in possible situations.

There were numerous actors in the northern part of the 1820-21 revolts, especially in 1821. On the one side, the rebellions consisted of different secret societies, and these were *Carbonari*, *Fedarati*, and *Adelfi*.⁶⁴ On the other side, King Victor Emanuel I of Piedmont, who was seen as the most oppressive king in the peninsula, was in control. Initially, the rebels had two goals; The annexation of the Lombardy region and a libertarian constitution.⁶⁵ Secret organizations were still strong in the army and had been planning the revolt for some time. Moreover, they were encouraged by Charles Albert, a member of the House and the future king of the Kingdom, to revolt. Revolts broke out in March 1821. The revolutionary army was controlled by Santorre di Santarosa. The army initially took over Alessandria and marched on Turin.⁶⁶ Thereupon, Victor Emmanuel abdicated, and Charles Albert was appointed temporary regent.⁶⁷ In the following days, Charles Albert introduced a constitution like the Spanish one, but it was ineffective without the new king's approval. Albert saw what was going on and chose to change sides.⁶⁸ He sent a letter to Charles Felix to take the throne, and Charles Felix, at that point, followed the path of King Ferdinand I of Naples. He requested Austrian troops to enter Piedmont to take control. Santarosa battled valiantly at Novara, but the royalists and Austrians became successful.⁶⁹

After the revolutions of 1820-21, the Ottoman Empire focused on establishing good relationships with the House of Savoy.⁷⁰ In this context, the British Empire became a mediator between the two states, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Sardinia, with the British

60 BOA, HAT., 739/35028, 29 Zilhicce 1236 /August 28, 1821.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Smith, *The Making of Italy 1796-1866*, 38.

65 Christopher Duggan, *The Force of Destiny* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 122.

66 Smith, *The Making of Italy*, 38.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.,39.

69 Ibid.

70 BOA, HAT., 1210/47397, 06 Şaban 1235 /May 19, 1820.

ambassador's hands to the Ottomans, Sir Robert Liston.⁷¹ He made a great effort to develop peaceful relationships between the two states, and Britain took on this task voluntarily.⁷² The reason behind this was, in my opinion, to increase Sardinia's share in Mediterranean trade and decrease the French's share. According to the relevant archival sources, Liston met with the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II personally and requested him to make a trade agreement with Sardinia in 1820.⁷³ In return, the Sultan declared that the Ottoman Empire was not against reaching an agreement with Sardinia, and negotiations started.⁷⁴ During the negotiations, the term of office of Liston as ambassador expired. However, Britain cared for the agreement, and the new ambassador was appointed as an official negotiator.⁷⁵ Finally, at the end of 1823, the agreement was approved. On the one hand, this agreement can be regarded as part of Britain's free trade agreements policy in this period. On the other hand, it is clear that the Ottoman Empire was not against the agreement and was willing to develop good relations with the Northern Italian states. Not only the Ottomans but also Britain aimed to decrease the share of France in Mediterranean trade and tried to use Sardinian merchants against France.⁷⁶

b) Revolutions of 1830-1831

After the revolts of 1820-21, the next ten years would be relatively quiet. However, by 1830, the barricades closed the streets again. On July 27, 1830, a revolution broke out in Paris. After three days of fighting, the conservative King Charles X was forced to abdicate in favor of Louis-Philippe, who, in a good liberal fashion, took the title "King of the French" rather than King of France.⁷⁷ He granted a more liberal constitution, which immediately became a model for the Italian reformers.⁷⁸ With these developments in France, there was now a possibility of French support for the Italian revolutions. Parma, Modena, and, importantly, the Papal State, where Bologna and the Legations were the centers of the constitutional uprisings. The death of Pope Pius VIII at the end of November 1830 and a subsequent two-month period set the stage for the rebellion, and in early February, riots broke out in Modena, Parma, and Bologna and quickly spread to Romagna and Marche. The Austrians were summoned and put down the revolts within two months after the breakout. After the end of the uprising in Modena, unrest was continuing in the Papal States. The conference of powers now presented a memorandum demanding reforms in the administration of the Papal State to Pope Gregorius XVI. Austrian troops withdrew in July, but a new revolt broke out. At first, the Pope tried to restore order with his forces but eventually recalled the Austrians in January 1832. After 1832, Austria remained in Bologna until 1838, and France defended its interests by garrisoning Ancona during the same period.⁷⁹

Unlike the 1820-21 rebellions, the 1830-31 rebellions did not attract the attention of the Ottoman Empire. The possible reason for this was geographical differences. Although the Ottoman

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 BOA, HAT., 1210/47397, 29 Ramazan 1235 /July 06, 1820.

74 Ibid.

75 BOA, HAT., 1210/47401, 29 Zilhicce 1236 /October 27, 1821.

76 Akalın and Çelik, *XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de İngiliz-Fransız Rekabeti ve Osmanlı Devleti*, 27.

77 Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 170.

78 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 43.

79 Ibid., 44.

State was at an equal distance to all kingdoms and duchies in the peninsula, the developments in the kingdoms, which had political and commercial relations with the Ottomans, were much more important for the Empire. During this period, the Kingdom of the two Sicilies in Southern Italy was a Kingdom closely followed by the Ottoman Empire due to its commercial activities in the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the Kingdom of Sardinia in Northern Italy indirectly participated in European politics due to its close relations with Austria, France, and Britain. Moreover, it was trying to establish ties with the Ottoman State by making direct trade agreements. However, Central Italy was ignored by the Ottoman Empire. The possible reason for that was the lack of active trading cities, being a land directly dependent on the Papacy, and not as active as Northern Italy in terms of political relations with political partners of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, these revolts, originating in central Italy, were not reported to the Ottoman government, or considered worthy of discussion.

At that point, it should be emphasized that neither the revolts of 1820-21 nor 1830-31 had a nationalist and patriotic spirit or the idea of unification.⁸⁰ Although the rebellions had multiple characteristics, which included constitutionalism, liberalism, and maybe republicanism, the most common element of the rebellions of 1820 and 1830 was that the middle class sought their rights within the monarchy.⁸¹ Moreover, those uprisings showed that not only the rebellions needed the outsiders' support but also the Restoration rulers. The Kings, Dukes, and Princes of the peninsula were weak in the 1830s. However, these attempts were also quite far away from revolutionary praxis.⁸² The reason for this deficiency hides behind the participants of the revolts. On the one hand, in 1821, the main actors of the revolutions were former army officers of Napoleon's regimes and Carbonari members. On the other hand, in 1831, the rebellions were triggered by merchants and landowners who were discontent because of inequality of tax, tariffs, and other impediments to trade. However, in both cases, the revolutionaries did not encourage widespread participation, or the masses had not supported them.⁸³ The most featured reason was illiteracy and lack of nationalist spirit. It was argued that Italy was not in a position to create a mass movement. After all, even in the most developed parts of the peninsula (Tuscany and the Austrian provinces), the educated classes were small, and illiteracy was common. As late as 1871, only 16 percent of those older than six were literate in the south, only 25 percent in the center, and less than half in the north.⁸⁴ However, according to Derek Beales and Eugenio F. Biagini, "in Italy, the problem was not illiteracy, but the narrow class nature of the patriotic cause, and the fact that the Democrats, who were present and had been active since the 1790s had been neither able nor willing to articulate their programs in ways which would appeal equally to the city artisans and the country freeholder."⁸⁵ The willingness would decline with new actors of Italian political thoughts after the 1830s.

80 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 45.

81 Ibid., 46.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 46.

IV. Reign of Charles Albert and Pope Pius IX: Road to Revolutions of 1848

Meanwhile, the throne was changing hands in Piedmont. Charles Felix, who succeeded Victor Emmanuel I, was quite ill and had summoned Charles Albert to the capital city to take over the throne three days before his death. Charles Albert took over the throne of Piedmont on April 27, 1831. However, the new king was disturbed by the revolutionary and libertarian developments in France and did not trust Louis Philippe I, who succeeded after the overthrow of Charles X. Therefore, he turned his face to Austria and signed an alliance with Austria that same year. Although Charles Albert was very conservative in domestic politics, he made significant progress on many issues. He regulated taxes, took steps to liberalize exports, and supported industrial enterprises in the country. The riots that erupted in a row and the provocations of secret societies persuaded Charles Albert to meet the needs of society. In 1831, a few months after ascending to the throne, he formed a council to establish new civil, criminal, commercial, and procedural laws. The law book, which appeared in 1837, was very similar to the Napoleonic laws and was a very libertarian criminal law that restricted the death penalty as much as possible. Shortly, Charles Albert had unique characteristics; while he was conservative in many aspects and showed this tendency when he supported old monarchs in Spain and Portugal, he was also quite liberal and progressive in issues like commerce, taxation, making laws, and fiscal policies. Charles Albert's libertarian trade policies also affected his relations with the Ottoman Empire. When the trade agreement was renewed in 1837 with Ottoman Empire, Sardinian merchants, just like French merchants, were given some privileges, customs duties were lowered, and their free movement in Ottoman territorial waters was guaranteed. With this agreement, the Ottoman State wished for "the continuation of good relations."⁸⁶

By 1845, Charles Albert's relations with Austria declined considerably. Charles Albert was used to the idea of Italy being ruled by the Italians, although one of the apparent reasons for this was commercial disputes. Meanwhile, unusual developments were taking place in the peninsula. On June 16, 1846, Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti was elected as Pope Pius IX. "After his election, various reforms were introduced, including an amnesty for political prisoners, the relaxation of censorship, public works schemes, and proposals to introduce a new legal code and permit the construction of railways. Papal subjects were even permitted to attend scientific congresses for the first time."⁸⁷ Pius IX was a Pope, just as the moderates desired. After Pius IX protested Austria's troops in Ferrara, a Papal territory, Charles Albert decided to write him a letter of support. This attempt declared the end of the alliance between Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia.

The reforms of Pius IX did not cause the impending revolutions, but they played an important reason in the politicization of society. The 1848 revolutions didn't break out suddenly; it was apparent from the year 1845 that something was wrong. The second half of the 1840s was marked by bad harvests in grain crops and potatoes.⁸⁸ The inefficiency of the harvest season was not unique to Italy; it was experienced all over Europe. In this case, Italian traders found it more profitable to take the products to Europe, where prices were higher, rather than selling them on the peninsula. That decision increased grain prices, especially in Northern Italy, creating a gap between moral and

86 BOA, A.}DVN.NMH., 3/13, 29 Cemaziyelevvel 1255, August 10, 1839.

87 Laven, "The age of Restoration," 63.

88 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 63.

market prices. The fact that the landowners and the Austrian-based dukes, in particular, were free traders and encouraged exports was enough to bring the peasant farmers and the urban working class on one front. In addition, the libertarian and reformist approaches of Pius IX triggered anti-Austrian opposition among the people. After 1845, governments in Italy took a much more moderate attitude toward political events, and public unrest caused fear in general. However, their efforts to resolve the unrest were insufficient to prevent the riots.⁸⁹ By 1848, rebellions did not just demand bread; they wanted freedom and reform. Moreover, the insurgents were the working class, university students, and artisans.⁹⁰

V. The Revolutions of 1848 and the First Italian War of Independence

The first actual revolution of 1848 occurred in Palermo on January 12, 1848. “The 1848 Palermo rising was as broad a protest against the Neapolitan government as that of 1820, with perhaps a larger admixture of Italian nationalism.”⁹¹ King Ferdinand of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies asked Metternich to support him against rebellions. Still, Metternich stated that he could not help because of the internal upheavals in Vienna.⁹² Finally, the king granted a constitution later in January.

The first news of the rebellions arrived in the Ottoman Empire at the end of March. A copy of the full text of the announced constitution was delivered to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was translated by the translation chamber, and evaluated by the government.⁹³ Also, with the announcement of the Sicilian Parliament and the start of its activities,⁹⁴ the news of the end of the rule of King Ferdinand of Naples in Sicily was conveyed by the Maltese ambassador.⁹⁵

As a cosmopolitan empire, the Ottoman Empire watched the revolutions of 1848 with fear and attention. First of all, it should be emphasized that by 1848, the information sources of the Ottoman Empire were much improved compared to the 1820s.⁹⁶ The permanent ambassadors, who lived in Europe for a long time and were able not only to report political developments but also to interpret and convey them to the capital, had closely examined the 1848 revolutions.⁹⁷

As soon as the revolution news reached the capital, the Ottoman State demanded detailed reports and examinations from various embassies such as London, Berlin, Paris, and Genoa to analyze the source, reasons, and the idea they wanted to spread.⁹⁸ The ambassador in Genoa reported that the Austrian king was on his way to Genoa with his army, and he thought the Genovese were inclined to the idea of the Republic and was worried about it.⁹⁹ Another report came from the Paris

89 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 64.

90 Ibid., 83.

91 Ibid., 85.

92 Ibid.

93 BOA, HR.TO., 304/18, 16 Rebiülahir 1264 /March 22, 1848.

94 BOA, İ.HR., 304/18, 13 Cemaziyelahir 1264 /May 17, 1848.

95 BOA, HR.TO., 304/19, 14 Cemaziyelahir 1264 /April 18, 1848.

96 Levent Düzcü, *Watching a Revolution with Precaution and Fear: 1848 Revolution and the Ottoman State*, in *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, (2016), 51-78.

97 Ibid., 54.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

charge d'affaires, Mehmed Hilmi. In his statement, Mehmed Hilmi reported that a group of pro-republican supporters in Paris opposed the state with the slogans of “equality and freedom” and that the state was trying to suppress this rebellion with an army of “nationalist” soldiers.¹⁰⁰ The London ambassador Kalimaki Bey prepared a report on why all these disturbances were observed in various parts of Europe since revolts were not seen in England and the Ottoman Empire. According to Kalimaki Bey, this revolt was reasonable and legitimate since the European rulers were not merciful towards their people and were harming them.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, England would not be affected by these riots because they were neutral to all these rebellions. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire would not be involved because it was compassionate to its people and pleased them.¹⁰² Nevertheless, Kalimaki Bey warned the government to remain neutral in these rebellions and to take the necessary measures in the Balkans.¹⁰³

In Piedmont, Charles Albert decided to declare a constitution, and Leopold of Tuscany made the same introduction on February 11, 1848. Even Pius IX established a commission to prepare reforms. However, the revolution spread to the entire European continent. At the end of February, King Louis-Phillippe abdicated in France. However, the most significant improvement occurred in March, when Metternich had to flee from Vienna. On 18 March, uprisings were initiated at the North, in Milan. The Milanese took the streets, began fighting against Austrian forces, and drove out them the following five days.¹⁰⁴ The developments in Milan attracted the attention of the Piedmontese. Anti-Austrian demonstrations started in the region, and many encouraged the king to act against Austria. Charles Albert announced his intention to intervene on 24 March. The Piedmont army was unprepared, and Charles Albert decided to command the army. Piedmont marched on Lombardy, and Austria managed to retreat safely to the *Quadrilateral*¹⁰⁵ due to strategic mistakes of Albert. Charles Albert expected to be greeted as a savior when he reached Milan.

Charles Albert’s declaration of war against Austria had a significant impact on the entire peninsula. Many groups, including the exiled democrats, agreed to support him. Even in other parts of the peninsula, social pressure and excitement were so great that even Leopold of Tuscany and Ferdinand of Naples had to keep this war.¹⁰⁶ Even the Papal States participated in this war. The Pope, who initially intended to form a union responsible for defending the Papal State’s northern borders against possible Austrian attack, had to face a Catholic state because of Giovanni Durando and d’Azeglio. However, three weeks later, Pius IX issued a notification declaring that it represented not only Italy, but the whole Christian world and withdrew its support for the war. The Pope’s backward step not only extinguished the fire of the revolutions; it also ended the idea of an Italy uniting around the Papacy. The princes withdrew their support for the war, and the revolutionary situation again became interested in local politics. d’Azeglio and moderates were disappointed. He

100 BOA, İ.HR., 46/2200, 22 Şaban 1264/ 24 July 1848.

101 Ibid.

102 BOA, İ.HR., 47/2229, 17 Şevval 1264/September 16, 1848.

103 Ibid.

104 Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*, 227

105 Quadrilateral is the traditional name of a defensive system of the Austrian Empire in the Lombardy-Venetia region of Italy, which connected the fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago and Verona between the Mincio, the Po and Adige Rivers.

106 Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*, 228

said, “God save Italy, not from foreigners but from Italians.”¹⁰⁷

However, Charles Albert was determined to move forward. Local governments were established in May and June in Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and Venice, hoping to gain military support from Piedmont. However, Austria decided to attack again at the beginning of July and defeated Albert’s army near Custoza. Albert was forced to retreat to Milan. The Piedmont army was suffering from demoralization. First of all, the adverse effects of the defeat of Custoza were continuing. Moreover, treating them as invaders in Lombardy negatively affected the soldiers, and the commander of the army, Wojciech Chrzanowski, was a Polish officer who was not so brilliant.¹⁰⁸ All this almost drove the army into a depression. Not surprisingly, the Piedmont army was defeated by Austria in the battle of Novara, which would technically end the war on March 23, 1849. On the same day, Charles Albert abdicated and was replaced by his eldest son, Victor Emmanuel II. After a few months, he died in Portugal, where he was in exile. On March 24, 1849, an armistice agreement was signed with Austria.

The war between Piedmont and Austria drew the attention of the Ottoman Empire. There were three significant informers about the war. First of all, the Ottoman ambassador to Tuscany began to inform the capital about the war on May 13, 1848.¹⁰⁹ The ambassador reported the upheavals in North Italy as a “civil war.”¹¹⁰ Moreover, the correspondence included the movements of Charles Albert, the current locations of the army, and what territories had been taken by them.¹¹¹ The second source of information about the Ottoman Empire was the Ottoman ambassador to Genoa. According to the correspondence which had been sent by him, during the first phase of the war, Charles Albert defeated the Austrian army, and settled in Milano. Moreover, he added, France might have also joined the war against Austria.¹¹² However, according to the Ottoman *chargé d’affaire* in Livorno, not only France but also England stayed neutral, and England was trying to convince Charles Albert to give up the war.¹¹³ Nevertheless, after Charles Albert decided to continue the war, his defeat near Custoza was also reported to the capital by the Ottoman *chargé d’affaire* in Livorno.¹¹⁴ He reported that Charles Albert and his army’s withdrawn to Milan, while he also reported that the Sardinian army had suffered many casualties, had a shortage of supplies while retreating, and had many similar problems.¹¹⁵ In this correspondence, he also emphasized that after the withdrawal of the Sardinian army, the Italian rebels were in a difficult situation and vulnerable.¹¹⁶

As the Ottoman Empire closely followed the war, it also prepared a brief on Charles Albert’s war strategy and the movements of the armies by drawing a detailed map of Northern Italy.¹¹⁷

107 Massimo d’Azeglio, *Lettere di Massimo d’Azeglio a Giuseppe Torelli*, ed. C. Paoli (Milan: Carrara, 1870), 327.

108 Christopher Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 233

109 BOA, HR.TO.,630/22, 9 Cemaziyelahir 1264/ May 13, 1848.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 BOA, HR.TO.,568/59, 8 Ramazan 1264/ August 8, 1848.

113 BOA, HR.TO.,568/60, 9 Ramazan 1264/ August 9, 1848.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 BOA, HR.TO.,569/1, 10 Ramazan 1264/ August 10, 1848.

117 BOA, İ. MSM., 68/1969, 29 1264/ June 2, 1848.

Although the Ottoman Empire maintained neutrality in the war between Sardinia and Austria, the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna congratulated Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, who returned to Vienna after the Battle of Custoza and expressed good intentions.¹¹⁸

The revolution was over. It was neither the Italians nor the people, nor the Democrats, nor the Moderates who won. Leopold of Tuscany returned at the call of the moderates. On the other hand, Ferdinand of two Sicilies suppressed the rebellion in Sicily and consolidated his authority. The only place where the flame of the revolution was continuing in Rome. It was the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi that started the revolution on November 15, 1848. Rossi, as an Italian, and was appointed by the French as an ambassador of Rome in 1845.¹¹⁹ However, when the cabinet of François Pierre Guillaume Guizot resigned in France at the beginning of 1848, he had stuck in Rome. The same year, Pope Pius IX appointed him as the Prime Minister.¹²⁰ However, the Pope's rejection to fight against Austria caused great anger among all segments, especially the Mazzinians.¹²¹ Finally, on November 15, 1848, Pellegrino Rossi was assassinated by an unknown assassin. The death of Rossi created great anxiety in the Palace, and the Pope left Rome and fled to Gaeta, which was 120 kilometers away from Rome and 80 kilometers from Naples.¹²² After three months, the Italian democrats flocked to Mazzini, and the city was declared the Roman Republic on February 9. The republic was ruled by a triumvirate headed by Mazzini. Mazzini had realized a dream, and the laws passed by the parliament were the most democratic and libertarian ever. So much so that he even abolished the death penalty. Still, all this did not stop the French army from mobilizing at the Pope's call.

Meanwhile, the Revolutions and uprisings in the Italian peninsula also caught the attention of Italian patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi. Garibaldi was born in Nice in 1807. His family was sailors and grew up with the sea. In his mid-twenties, he became the captain of a ship and began to travel the world by sea. In 1828, he settled in Istanbul and stayed there until 1831.¹²³ He joined the *Carbonari* in the 1830s and played an active role in Mazzini's planned revolts in Piedmont in 1834.¹²⁴ However, when the rebellions failed, he fled from Italy to France.¹²⁵ He sailed to the Empire of Brazil in 1835 and participated in republican revolts against the empire. In 1841, Garibaldi and his wife went to Uruguay, and after one year, Garibaldi became the commander of the Uruguayan fleet and fought in the Uruguayan Civil War.¹²⁶ In this war, Garibaldi established an Italian Legion, which consisted of Italian men in South America. "This Italian Legion of Monte Video was the origin of the Garibaldians proper. It was the first considerable body of his countrymen he ever commanded

118 BOA, A.} AMD.,5/65, 27 Ramazan 1264/ August 27, 1848.

119 Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy: 1815-1870*, 79.

120 Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, *Italian Characters in the Epoch of Unification*, (New York: Cornell University Library, 2009), 283.

121 Ibid.

122 Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy: 1815-1870*, 128.

123 George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of The Roman Republic, 1848-49*, (London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1919), 24.

124 Ibid., 25.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid., 41.

on land; most of the men were political exiles; they first wore a famous red shirt.”¹²⁷

After the Uruguayan Civil War, Garibaldi honorably refused the reward offer, which was made by the Governor of Monte Video. Meanwhile, the news was coming from the peninsula, and he expected that the Pope or the Grand Duke of Tuscany would employ him to expel the foreigner from the Lombardy plain.¹²⁸ Finally, in May 1848, Garibaldi and his followers, somewhere between sixty and a hundred in number, decided to return to the motherland. Firstly, he went to Charles Albert and offered the King his sword against Austria, but Albert rejected him.¹²⁹ Then he and his followers went to Milan and fought against Austria in Milano. After the defeat of Novara, he decided to pass to Rome and became the commander of the Republican army.

Garibaldi and his followers fought in a heroic but futile war against 40,000 French soldiers. While the French were preparing to enter the city on July 2, 1849, Garibaldi said the following words, which would become famous later; “I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor food; I offer only hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, and death. Let him who loves his country with his heart and not merely with his lips follow me.”¹³⁰ About 4000 people left Rome just before the arrival of the French, and they were led by Garibaldi. However, many of them would disintegrate and be defeated at the end of a month.

When the revolutions ended, and the forces of order in Europe came to power again, the Ottoman Empire was also relieved. Although there was no trace of the 1848 Revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, the government made great efforts to prevent Ottoman borders from rebellions.¹³¹ The government followed what was happening in Europe from the beginning with great seriousness and took several measures. When the voices of the uprising in Sicily reached Istanbul, the government aimed primarily to reorganize the land and sea army, and therefore, while the budget of the Shipyard treasury increased, it established order by appointing officers waiting for an appointment in the army.¹³² The Ottoman State deemed that the most significant impact of the revolutionary movements would be on the Christian population.¹³³ Although the 1848 revolutions were not revolutions that took place for religious reasons, the government was worried that the idea of nationalism spread by the French Revolution could come with the idea of republicanism.¹³⁴ It might have been dangerous because the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire belonged to different ethnic cultures. Therefore, several measures were taken in the Balkans as well. In the Balkans, Marshal of Rumelia Armies, Emin Pasha, was appointed as the Governor-General of all the Ottoman lands around Greece, and local governors had made sure that they were subordinate to Emin Pasha.¹³⁵ On the other hand, while the Bosnian Governor was reinforcing a regiment of

127 Ibid., 43.

128 Ibid., 47.

129 Ibid., 55.

130 Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*, 237

131 For detailed account of measures taken by the Ottoman Empire, see, Levent Düzcü, *Watching a Revolution with Precaution and Fear: 1848 Revolution and the Ottoman State*, in SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences, (2016), 51-78.

132 BOA, İ.MSM., 67/1995, 4 Rebiülevvel 1264/ February 9, 1848.

133 Düzcü, *Watching a Revolution with Precaution and Fear: 1848 Revolution and the Ottoman State*, 62.

134 Ibid.

135 BOA, İ.MSM., 67/1995, 25 Rebiülevvel 1264/ April 29, 1848.

military force and ammunition, the Governor was instructed to maintain order in the army and keep the irregular soldiers in charge.¹³⁶

As the war in Northern Italy was about to end, the Ottoman State's agenda was not who would win the war but the possibility of the losing side migrating to Ottoman lands. Most of the migrations might have come from the Balkans. For this reason, the government issued a declaration in March 1849 entitled "The treatment of persons likely to take refuge from the party that would be defeated in the battle in the revolution in Italy," ordering them to be arrested rather than sent back.¹³⁷ They would not be admitted to the Ottoman territory, especially if the revolutionaries lost.¹³⁸ Moreover, when the revolutionaries lost, they tried to enter the Ottoman lands via Greece, and the governor of Trikala, Abdurrahman Sami, was tasked with capturing these people.¹³⁹ At the same time, when the Italian revolutionaries wanted to enter the Ottoman lands officially, the government issued a declaration stating that they would not be granted visas and that they would not be accepted as refugees or in any other title.¹⁴⁰

The revolutions of 1848 were not an event that the Ottoman state could learn from. However, the revolutions of 1848 were one of the most important examples showing why the Ottoman Empire observed Europe, how it observed, and how it took precautions in dangerous situations. In the 19th century, when communication was much more limited compared to the 20th century, the Ottoman state, as a large empire, tried to protect its borders. The Empire tried to prevent "dangerous" ideas and dangerous revolutionaries from interfering with the people, and while the balances changed, it tried to find the best position in European politics. In light of all these, the Ottoman Empire determined its position by observing the revolutionary situations and wars taking place in the Italian peninsula, where its direct relations were very limited. However, by observing events in Italy, the Empire also understood other great powers' thoughts on events.

VI. Victor Emanuel II and Cavour: Leadership of Piedmont

After August 1849, the former rulers were back in control. There were three exceptions: Ferdinand of Austria, Charles Albert of Piedmont, and Charles II of Parma. The period between 1849 and 1859 was called a second Restoration period because of its similar characteristics to the first one. First of all, most of Italy was still ruled by foreigners; the French troops were in Rome, and Austrians still had garrisons in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Lombardy-Venetia. Moreover, except for Piedmont, all the constitutions which were granted in 1848 were revoked. In almost all of Italy, the censorship of the press increased, and democratic revolutionaries were exiled. The Pope returned under the protection of the French army. Obviously, Italy seemed not very different from the period before 1848.

Although the absolute loser of 1849 seemed to be Piedmont, the real losers were the federalists and revolutionists. Despite all the efforts of Mazzini and the revolutionists, the revolution had failed. The Papacy, on the one hand, had neither the power nor the will to lead the Italian people

136 BOA, İ.MSM., 67/1947, 29 Recep 1264/ July 1, 1848.

137 BOA, A.} MKT.MHM.,12/47, 2 Cemaziyelevvel 1265/ March 26, 1849.

138 Ibid.

139 BOA, A.} MKT.MHM., 218/1, 20 Ramazan 1265/ August 9, 1849.

140 BOA, HR.MKT., 28/82, 11 Muharrem 1266/ 27 Kasım 1849.

who aspired to unite.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, the House of Savoy came into prominence as the most significant figure which would save Italy from Austrian tyranny. According to Cardoza, there were three circumstances that distinguished the Piedmontese situation from that of other states on the peninsula.¹⁴² First of all, the House of Savoy was the only dynasty in Italy that was not under Austrian influence. Moreover, the existence of Piedmont was supported by the Great Powers of Europe, especially France and Britain, because of its geographical situation and since both France and Austria were satisfied that there was a buffer zone between them. Secondly, as highlighted above, Piedmont was the only post-1848 Italian State to retain a constitution, the *Statuto Albertino*.¹⁴³ Finally, with Count Camillo Benso di Cavour's entrance into political life after the 1848 revolutions, Piedmont gained an extraordinarily talented leader who distinguished himself as a dynamic reformer and an elite statesman in the peninsula in the 1850s.¹⁴⁴

The period between 1849-1859 was indeed a honeymoon period in terms of Ottoman-Italian relations. During the first half of the decade, a lot of personal correspondence was made between the rulers of the two countries, and they wished each other goodwill. The Ottoman Empire noticed the rise of the Kingdom of Sardinia. One of the first indications of this was addressing the King of Sardinia, Victor Emanuel, as "sultan" and celebrating his ascension to the throne.¹⁴⁵ The Ottoman Empire abandoned its policy of keeping an equal distance from all rulers in the Italian peninsula and accepted the leadership of the Kingdom of Sardinia.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, after the 1848 revolutions, the Ottoman Empire admitted a group of Italian refugees, deployed them in Edirne, and made efforts to meet their needs.¹⁴⁷ All this pleased Victor Emanuel, and he honored the Ottoman government by sending gifts and medals to Istanbul.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire presented 3rd-degree "Mecidiye"¹⁴⁹ medals to the Sardinian government¹⁵⁰ and bought and presented quality horses for Victor Emanuel.¹⁵¹ Good relations were consolidated through the renewal and expansion of the trade agreement concluded under the former King Charles Albert.¹⁵² The most crucial problem between the two states in this period was that the Ottoman Empire did not have a permanent embassy in Turin. Often the ambassadors to Venice, Paris, Genoa, and Vienna were interested in Italian affairs. In order to solve this problem, the Ottoman State appointed Rüstem Bey as the Torino ambassador. Rüstem Bey would not only be a bridge between Sardinia and the Ottoman Empire but also would closely observe the Kingdom of Sardinia and report it to the capital.¹⁵³

141 Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy: 1815-1870*, 82.

142 Anthony Cardoza, "Cavour and Piedmont," in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John A. Davis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 108-109.

143 Ibid., 109.

144 Ibid.

145 BOA, İ. HR., 65/3199, 14 Recep 1266, May 26, 1850.

146 Ibid.

147 BOA, A.}AMD., 18/83, 14 Recep 1266, May 26, 1850.

148 Ibid.

149 Mecidiye medal is a military and bravery medal given between 1852 and 1922 in Ottoman Empire. It was designed during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid.

150 BOA, İ.HR., 68/3291, 12 Şevval 1266, August 21, 1850.

151 BOA, HR.MKT., 46/69, 14 Ramazan 1268, July 2, 1852.

152 BOA, A.{DVNSNMH.d., 12/114, 29 Muharrem 1271, October 22, 1854.

153 BOA, İ.HR., 304/18, 13 Cemaziyelahir 1271 /May 17, 1854.

However, although Piedmont turned into a featured figure in the history of Italy in 1849, there was a fact that Piedmont was defeated and would need the process of rehabilitation. The prominent statesman of the rehabilitation period was Massimo d'Azeglio. D'Azeglio was chosen as prime minister of Piedmont in May 1849 and made great efforts to ensure the continuity of the new constitution and government. First of all, D'Azeglio had a large share in the proclamation of the new constitution and had masterfully guided King Victor Emmanuel II to protect the constitution.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, he had taken a modest attitude towards peace with Austria and ended the agreement.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, his government was the initiator of anti-cleric laws and practices. Yet by 1852, he was not disappointed that he had left the prime minister.¹⁵⁶ He gave way to a tougher statesman to serve as prime minister of Victor Emanuel II and fight opponents in parliament, Count Camillo Benso di Cavour.

Cavour's political life began towards the end of 1847. Together with Cesare Balbo, he published and edited a periodical, *Il Risorgimento*. After the constitution was declared, he took various positions in the government established under the leadership of Balbo. Subsequently, in October 1850, he was appointed to the ministry of agriculture and trade in the d'Azeglio cabinet and soon became the most effective and influential member of the government. Cavour played quite active role in the D'Azeglio cabinet. Throughout his ministry, he signed trade agreements with Britain, France, and other European states, pursued a free trade policy, taking progressive steps in railway construction, banking, and taxation.¹⁵⁷

Cavour was on a different line from previous political figures in Italy. First of all, he was a true liberal in economics. He had traveled to the capitals of Europe and knew the nature of the European economy and politics.¹⁵⁸ He was sociable, self-confident, and amusing; he was a shrewd judge of character and distinctly flexible in his political maneuvers, not to say, opportunist.¹⁵⁹ He knew the European capitals but had not been to the South of Pisa his entire life. Still, he believed that the unification of Italy could be achieved not by a popular movement but by top-down revolutions and politics.¹⁶⁰ In 1852, Cavour agreed with Urbano Rattazzi, leader of the left-liberals in parliament, to seize power. This deal would later be called *connubio*¹⁶¹.¹⁶² In this way, he managed to gain a majority in the parliament and severely restricted the clergy and Mazzinists.

"The basis of the *connubio* was anticlericalism."¹⁶³ The d'Azeglio government had already passed laws to keep the power of the Church away from the social sphere. However, the Cavour government went further. He passed laws to break the power of the Church in the judiciary and education and the law allowing the appointment of judges by the government and tried to control the civil officers. In short, Cavour had very centralist thinking in his internal affairs. On the other

154 Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy*, 247.

155 Ibid., 248.

156 Ibid.

157 Charles L. Killinger, *History of Italy* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 112.

158 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 67.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid.

161 Italian, marriage.

162 John Gooch, *The Unification of Italy* (London: Routledge, 1989), 24.

163 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 71.

hand, he adopted a liberal policy in his foreign affairs. Cavour was quite successful in foreign affairs that he often overshadowed his success in domestic affairs. First of all, Cavour was aware that Italy could not unite without foreign support. In his opinion, Italy could not even be united, but perhaps Piedmont could annex northern Italy once again and establish a Northern Italian kingdom.¹⁶⁴ However, even for this, Piedmont needed support, and the best candidate for this support was France, ruled by Napoleon III. Cavour saw the common interest of these two states as France aimed to weaken Austria in northern Italy. Therefore, Cavour had to ally with France for Italy's future. However, he had never thought that Southern Italy would join the unification. Moreover, Northern Italy was unwilling to accept a confederation with the Papacy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Cavour realized that getting the support of France alone would not be enough. There was a balance between the great powers in Europe, and Piedmont had to take its place without disturbing the balance. Britain was content with Cavour's liberal economic stance and would have leaned on Austria's withdrawal from Northern Italy but did not want a strong France in the Mediterranean.¹⁶⁵ In the spring of 1854, the Crimean War provided Cavour an opportunity to expand Piedmont's influence.¹⁶⁶ The French and British became involved in the Crimean War against Russia. However, they needed allies because of cholera, which had broken out. Initially, Cavour was reluctant because the war had no apparent benefit. Nevertheless, Victor Emanuel II was overly keen on war and put pressure on Cavour. On the other hand, when it was spoken that Austria would join the war, Cavour decided to join the war for the sake of standing with France. Cavour forced his cabinet to accept it, and in March 1855, Piedmont declared war on Russia. Sent 18,000 soldiers to Crimea; About 2000 of them died from cholera. Even so, the war was surprisingly successful.¹⁶⁷

The news that the State of Sardinia would join the war reached the capital in January 1855.¹⁶⁸ The Kingdom of Sardinia would support the war with a small number of soldiers, but Sardinia's participation in the war with the Ottoman Empire, albeit for a different purpose, would play a significant role in developing relations between the two states.¹⁶⁹ The Sardinian army, which joined the war in accordance with the alliance made between the Kingdom of Sardinia, Britain, and France, was welcomed in the capital. Firstly, a four-point agreement was drafted under the leadership of Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşit Pasha for the Sardinian soldiers to enter the Ottoman lands and the Sardinian warships to enter the Ottoman territorial waters. Therefore, Sardinia and the Ottoman Empire officially became allies.¹⁷⁰ Victor Emanuel was thanked personally by the Ottoman sultan for his decision to join the war.¹⁷¹ In the next period, preparations were made for the Sardinian army to come to Istanbul. A mansion was rented for the Sardinian officers to stay,¹⁷² ships from the Ottoman Navy were placed under the command of the Sardinian navy for the medical needs of

164 Ibid.

165 Ibid.

166 Killinger, *History of Italy*, 112.

167 Ibid.

168 BOA, HR.SYS., 1351/31, 2 Cemaziyelevvel 1271, January 21, 1855.

169 Ibid.

170 BOA, A.{DVNSNMH.d, 12/126, 26 Cemaziyelahir 1271, March 16, 1855.

171 BOA, A.{DVNSNMH.d, 12/126, 03 Recep 1271, March 22, 1855.

172 BOA, HR.SYS., 1352/14, 17 Recep 1271, April 05, 1855.

the Sardinian soldiers,¹⁷³ and some shops around Galata were rented by the Ottoman state to serve the Sardinian soldiers.¹⁷⁴ According to a letter that arrived in Istanbul on April 20, 1855, Victor Emanuel was condemning Russia's hostile attitude and stated that the Kingdom of Sardinia was a friend of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the king reported that he sent the army of Sardinia to Sultan's order.¹⁷⁶ When the war ended, both sides seemed quite satisfied with the outcome. While the Ottoman State gave more than 500 medals to the Sardinian officers for their superior efforts in the war, Sardinia sent 400 medals to the Ottoman Empire and asked them to be distributed to the Ottoman officers and celebrated.¹⁷⁷

In December, the Austrians finally threatened to enter the war, and the Russians were forced to surrender. Cavour attended the subsequent Paris Peace Conference as a victor, but the Austrians counted as victors too, and the British and French were unwilling to alienate her. During the conference, Cavour did not demand anything for Piedmont. However, he advised other Italian states on the path to liberalization for the integrity and continuity of Europe.¹⁷⁸ This attitude, of course, had a positive impact on England. At the end of the conference, Cavour returned to Piedmont without any material gain. However, Cavour had achieved a lot. First of all, Piedmont was among the Great Powers at an international congress for the first time. Moreover, Cavour also played a significant role in accepting and discussing the "Italian question." By emphasizing Piedmont's progressive reforms, he influenced the Europeans and emphasized that Piedmont differed from other Italian states. Most importantly, the Crimean War shattered the Vienna settlement in 1815.¹⁷⁹ The European balance of power had long been based on Russian-Austrian friendship. However, Austria would be more alone in Europe after the Crimean War than ever before.¹⁸⁰

By 1858, Cavour had much of what he wanted in return for six years of efforts. However, a triggering development was needed to take action. It occurred on 14 January 1858. An attempt by an Italian Carbonaro, Felice Orsini, to assassinate the French emperor provided the impetus to bring Paris to support Turin. At his trial Orsini made an impassioned plea to the French emperor to make Italy independent, saying that there would be no peace in Europe until he did so.¹⁸¹ Napoleon was impressed and, in May 1858, made secret overtures to Cavour at *Plombières* in the Vosges. According to the agreement, France and Piedmont would fight against Austria "if a suitable pretext could be found."¹⁸² In order to create a *casus belli*, Austria would have to be provoked. At the end of the war, Austria would be expelled from Northern Italy; Piedmont would take Modena, Parma, and Emilia-Romagna in addition to Lombardy and Venetia, becoming a kind of Northern Italian Kingdom. Yet even at this point, the idea of uniting the entire peninsula was not on the agenda. According to the agreement, Tuscany would remain independent, and there would be a Kingdom of

173 BOA, HR.SYS., 1352/12, 17 Recep 1271, April 05, 1855.

174 BOA, HR.MKT., 105/61, 22 Recep 1271, April 10, 1855.

175 BOA, HR.SYS., 907/23, 2 Şaban 1271, April 20, 1855.

176 Ibid.

177 BOA, A.}MKT.MHM., 107/95, 6 Recep 1273, April 1, 1857.

178 Gooch, *The Unification of Italy*, 24

179 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 72.

180 Ibid.

181 Gooch, *The Unification of Italy*, 26.

182 Ibid. 27.

Central Italy in Central Italy. In the south, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies would survive. France would take Savoy for her efforts.

VII. Second Italian War of Independence

Following this agreement, Piedmont began preparations to provoke Austria and bring it into a war. The army was mobilized on March 9, 1859, and the National Society was encouraged to recruit volunteers.¹⁸³ About 20,000 volunteers came to Turin from Europe and Central Italy. Moreover, Garibaldi was appointed commander of the Alpine Hunters' regiment. However, Austria refrained from the war. After several unsuccessful provocation attempts, Austria finally gave a note to Piedmont to stop mobilization on April 23. Piedmont did not care, however, and Austria declared war on April 26, 1859.

The Italians joined the war with 93,000 soldiers, while the French had 200,000 soldiers.¹⁸⁴ The army began marching on Milan and defeated Austria at Magenta on June 4. Austria then had to retreat to the east. Meanwhile, Garibaldi and the Partisans captured Brescia and Solo in the north. The battles that brought the war to an end took place on June 24, 1859. The French had defeated Austria at Solferino and the Piedmontese at San Martino.

From the beginning of March, the Ottoman Empire followed the mobilizations of the Piedmont government and analyzed these movements as preparations for the road to war. The first news came from Ottoman *Chargé d'affaires* to Brussels, Diran Bey.¹⁸⁵ While Diran Bey clearly stated that the Piedmont government was preparing for war, recruiting volunteers from various regions of Italy and making anti-Austrian propaganda, the Ottoman *charge d'affaires* to Paris emphasized that it was not known whether the conflict would turn into a war.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire began to find a way to obtain detailed information about the conflict and ask the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Malmesbury, whether a congress would be convened to resolve the conflict or not.¹⁸⁷ However, when the news that Austria had given an ultimatum to Piedmont reached Istanbul, it was understood that the war was inevitable.¹⁸⁸

When the war was declared, the Ottoman Empire had two significant concerns; what the Ottoman position would be on war and how the Empire could prevent the Ottoman territories in the Balkans from the spread of the war. First of all, the Ottoman Empire tried to receive information about the British opinion on the war, and on May 5, 1859, Britain declared that the British Empire would be neutral on the Piedmont-Austria war.¹⁸⁹ After two weeks, the Ottoman Empire also proclaimed its neutrality.¹⁹⁰ It again adopted the balance policy, as in the rest of the 19th century. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire saw no interest in participating in a war between France and Austria or in supporting one side. In order to maintain balance, the Empire issued a series of declarations

183 Gooch, *The Unification of Italy*, 31.

184 Ibid., 32..

185 BOA, HR.TO., 37/51, 3 Şaban 1275/ March 8, 1859.

186 BOA, HR.TO., 72/25, 6 Şaban 1275/ March 11, 1859.

187 BOA, HR.TO., 43/23, 11 Şaban 1275/ March 16, 1859.

188 BOA, HR.SYS., 782/10, 8 Şevval 1275/ May 11, 1859.

189 BOA, HR.SFR.3., 44/20, 11 Şevval 1275/ May 14, 1859.

190 BOA, HR.SFR.3., 45/3, 29 Şevval 1275/ June 1, 1859.

to be sent to local governments and governorships.¹⁹¹ In this period, the empire was quite sensitive to maintain its neutrality. There was a particular example of these efforts. In those days, a circus show about the war between Italy and Austria was performed in Beyoğlu, Istanbul.¹⁹² However, when the Italians were depicted as winning the war in the game, the Austrian embassy became very uncomfortable with this situation. Upon this, the government completely banned the staging of the play and increased pressure on theater actors.¹⁹³ The Ottoman Empire, while following the battles in Italy,¹⁹⁴ feared that this war reached a level that could threaten the territorial integrity of the empire. For this reason, an army had gathered in the Balkans, but as it lacked the cash to cover its expenses, the army remained in existence at the cost of borrowing from next year's taxes.¹⁹⁵

However, the situation went differently than expected. During the war, a revolt broke out in Tuscany and made Victor Emmanuel's protector throughout the war.¹⁹⁶ In Parma and Modena, the dukes had fled after the war, and these dukedoms wanted to be annexed by Turin. At the same time, the Austrian troops were recalled from Bologna, and the people offered Victor Emmanuel "dictatorship."¹⁹⁷ By the way, Napoleon III decided to offer an armistice to Austria, and Franz Ferdinand accepted it three days later. Neither Napoleon, and Piedmont, nor Austria was willing to go further. The French emperor and Emperor Francis Joseph I of Austria met in Villafranca¹⁹⁸ and signed a peace treaty that would end the Franco-Piedmontese war against Austria on June 11, 1859.¹⁹⁹ However, the peace terms were not acceptable to Piedmont, especially to Cavour, because Veneto was still in the hands of Austria. Still, Victor Emmanuel was inclined to accept, and Cavour had to resign. The Austrian Empire, French Empire, and the Kingdom of Sardinia signed the final treaty at Zurich on November 10, 1859. The agreement was a reaffirmation of the peace of Villafranca. With the Treaty of Zurich, the annexation of Lombardy by Sardinia was officially accepted. Moreover, in northern and central Italy, the people were ready to accept Piedmont's rule. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Papal Legations issued a declaration claiming the end of the duchy rule and demanded annexation by Piedmont. However, France had to be persuaded. Cavour was re-elected as prime minister in January 1860, promising to meet the treaty's terms at Plombières, to which Napoleon III agreed. On March 22, 1860, Sardinia declared that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Parma, the Duchy of Modena and Reggio, and the Papal Legations were annexed by The Kingdom of Sardinia. On the other hand, the Treaty of Turin, which decided to make a plebiscite in Savoy and Nice, was signed by France and Sardinia on March 24, 1860. As a result of the popular vote, Nice and Savoy joined France, just as it was decided in Plombières.

When rumors of a congress on the Italy-Austria issue reached the capital, the Ottoman empire's ultimate concern was the possibility of Russia's participation in the congress.²⁰⁰ According to the

191 BOA, A.}MKT.UM., 353/79, 14 Zikade 1275/ June 15, 1859.

192 BOA, A.}MKT.NZD., 283/70, 15 Zikade 1275/ June 16, 1859

193 Ibid.

194 BOA, HR.SYS., 782/11, 11 Muharrem 1276/ August 10, 1859.

195 BOA, A.}MKT.UM., 355/93, 1 Zilhicce 1275/ July 2, 1859.

196 Gooch, *The Unification of Italy*, 28.

197 Ibid., 29.

198 Ten miles southwest of Verona in northeastern Italy.

199 Killinger, *History of Italy*, 115.

200 BOA, HR.SFR.1., 2/48, 11 Cemaziyülevvel 1276, December 6, 1859.

correspondence sent by the St. Petersburg ambassador, Russia wanted to attend the conference that would convene in Europe and benefit from the conflicts in Europe.²⁰¹ Accordingly, while Russia wanted to demand concessions for the Christians in the Ottoman lands, it also intended to claim rights in the Ottoman lands and the Balkans, hoping that the relations between France and Britain would be damaged.²⁰² Upon this, the Ottoman Empire contacted the British foreign ministry through Muzurus Bey, the Ottoman ambassador in London, and received assurances that no other subject would be discussed at the congress except for the Italian issue.²⁰³

On the other hand, unexpected developments occurred in Southern Italy. In April 1860, a minor revolt broke out in Palermo.²⁰⁴ The Bourbon troops quickly suppressed the rebellion, but after the leaders of the revolt were killed, riots broke out in other parts of the island, and armed gangs held the countryside. The revolts had no leaders and were scattered. However, Francesco Crispi, one of Sicily's leading Republicans, managed to persuade Garibaldi to come to Sicily and lead the uprisings. Garibaldi landed at Marsala on May 10, 1860, accompanied by his famous *Mille* (the thousand). The islanders were long dissatisfied with the Bourbon rule, and Garibaldi's arrival significantly contributed to their organization.²⁰⁵ Three days after his arrival, Garibaldi announced that he was taking over the island for King Victor Emmanuel.²⁰⁶ Cavour, on the other hand, was very uncomfortable with the developments in the South. Garibaldi's action could trigger great powers to intervene on the island and even break their agreement with France. At this point, he preferred to remain silent. Garibaldi had taken the entire island under his control in as little as a month. On June 6, the Bourbon commander was forced to surrender.

Garibaldi was determined to march to the mainland, but Cavour thought it would entail more significant dangers. Garibaldi might not have given the captured areas to the king; worse, France could decide to intervene in the region. However, none of this happened. On August 19, Garibaldi crossed the Strait of Messina and captured Naples on September 7. Fearing that Garibaldi would attack Rome under the protection of France, Cavour decided to position the Piedmont army on the northern border of the kingdom of Naples. On October 1, 1860, Garibaldi achieved his most significant victory and defeated 30,000 Bourbon soldiers in the Battle of Volturno.²⁰⁷ The next day, Cavour passed a law in parliament that the Bourbon Kingdom would be annexed after a referendum. The referendum held on October 21 was overwhelmingly in favor of unification. Garibaldi met Emmanuel II at Teano on October 26, 1860 and ceded the Bourbon kingdom. The last Bourbon troops in Sicily surrendered on March 13, 1861, when the Messina fortress fell. The kingdom of Italy formally came into existence on March 17, 1861, when Victor Emmanuel II adopted the new title.

When news of the official proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy reached the Ottoman Empire, the Empire hesitated to recognize the Kingdom of Italy formally.²⁰⁸ For this reason, the

201 Ibid.

202 Ibid.

203 BOA, İ.HR., 172/9407, 22 Cemaziyülevvel 1276, December 16, 1859.

204 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 121.

205 Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 81.

206 Killinger, *History of Italy*, 116.

207 Beales and Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, 122.

208 BOA, HR.TO., 100/22, 17 Şaban 1277, February 28, 1861

government requested that the Ottoman ambassador in London, Muzurus Bey, examine and report in detail the attitude of Britain and other states towards the Kingdom of Italy and whether they would recognize it. According to the reports of Muzurus Bey, England did not see any problem recognizing the Kingdom of Italy.²⁰⁹ Another correspondence regarding the official recognition of the Kingdom of Italy came from the *charge d'affaires* in Turin, Rüstem Bey. Rüstem Bey also emphasized that Victor Emanuel, who received the title of the King of Italy, could be recognized as king.²¹⁰ Thereupon, with the edict published on July 30, 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was officially recognized by the Ottoman Empire.²¹¹ However, the Ottoman Empire was still cautious. So much so that the government issued a decree stating that the banquet given by the Italians living in Istanbul in honor of the Kingdom of Italy would take place “in a garden surrounded by walls, quietly and without noise.”²¹² In my view, The Ottoman Empire did not want any problems with Austria and continued to remain neutral.

VIII. Aftermath

The declaration of the Italian kingdom was a turning point in Italy's history and a significant point in terms of Italian-Ottoman relations. When the Kingdom of Italy reached the power to change the balance of power in the Mediterranean and the Balkans and to compete with the states that were instrumental in its establishment, the Ottoman State would no longer be its friend but foe. However, the Kingdom of Italy would have to complete the unification. During this period, while the two states strived to improve their relations, they would maintain neutrality. The Risorgimento ended on September 20, 1870, with the capture of Rome. However, it would be a turning point for Italian foreign relations. Having industrialized in the 1870s, Italy began actively participating in European politics in the 1880s and cooperated with the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires with the agreement signed in Vienna on May 20, 1882, and increased its colonial activities in Africa. Although France and England dominated North Africa, Italy reached an agreement with England on February 12, 1887, and gained support. After 1887, Italy secured its existence and colonial activities by establishing a balance between Russia, England, France, Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empires, and the Ottoman Empire turned into the battlefield of these states.

Conclusion

This study examines the unification epoch, one of the most critical periods in Italian history, through the Ottoman Empire's eyes. Accordingly, the primary source of the study was the Ottoman Archive Documents. Thus, it aspires to explain why and how the Ottoman Empire followed a series of events, from Napoleon's invasion of Italy to the officially declared Kingdom of Italy in 1861. In light of the findings, there were essentially three reasons for the Ottoman Empire to follow the events in Italy. The first of these was undoubtedly to relocate itself in the changing European politics. The Italian peninsula was a vital region in which European superpowers had interests. Firstly, it was in a unique position where France could test its strength, spread its ideas, strengthen its dominance in the Mediterranean, and use it as a buffer zone with Austria. On the other hand, northern Italy, which Austria directly ruled, was a significant source of income. Nevertheless,

209 BOA, HR.SFR.3... 55/9, 7 Cemaziyülevvel 1277, November 21, 1860.

210 BOA, HR.TO., 100/22, 17 Şaban 1277, February 28, 1861.

211 BOA, A. {DVNSNMH.d., 12/245, 23 Muharrem 1278, July 31, 1861.

212 BOA, HR.MKT., 397/76, 22 Zilkade 1277, June 1, 1861.

in Italy, Austria was also able to suppress anti-*ancien regime* movements and consolidate its authority through the independent but Austrian dukes and princes. The Italian peninsula was vital in the foreign relations of France and Austria. On the other hand, Britain had to closely follow Italy and maintain the balance between France and Austria to prevent the colonial movements in the Mediterranean from shifting to French domination and the spread of Australian hegemony in Central Europe. In addition to all this, it was inevitable that these states, which were both Catholic, wanted to put pressure on the Papacy. In light of all this, it is not surprising that the Ottoman Empire was also closely interested in Italy, where three of its four significant political partners were directly interested.

With the geographical discoveries, the Ottoman Empire and the Italian city-states suffered considerably and gradually lost their Mediterranean superiority. However, even in the nineteenth century, both Italy and the Ottoman Empire continued to have interests in Mediterranean trade. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire cooperated with Italy and signed a series of trade agreements with both southern and northern Italian city-states and kingdoms to protect its interests in the Mediterranean, enjoy the balance between other states, and secure its interests. For this reason, every political and military development in the Italian peninsula was closely related to the Ottoman Empire.

The third and final reason is that the Ottoman Empire was afraid of Italian revolutionaries and Italians' revolutionary ideas and wanted to keep them from its borders. While the Ottoman Empire, like all other empires in the nineteenth century, stood on the verge of collapse, the biggest problem threatening the integrity of the Empire was the revolutionary, libertarian, and egalitarian ideas. On the other hand, the Italian peninsula was a region that became the cradle of all these ideas with the significant influence of France. At this point, two dangers were awaiting the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, revolutionary ideas could cross the borders of the Empire and encourage minorities, especially in the Balkans, to revolt. Secondly, the revolutionaries themselves could cross the Ottoman borders and organize in the Empire, fight for the minorities against the Ottoman Empire, and cause disorder or even loss of control. For all these reasons, the Ottoman Empire closely observed the Italian peninsula's revolutionary movements to protect its border security and ensure that the revolutionaries were outside its borders. The Empire increased border security in every extreme situation and took measures against possible insurrections.

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