

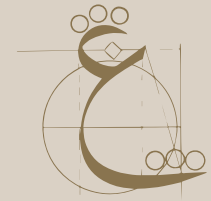
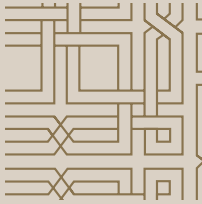


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II



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*“Kadim oldur ki
evvelin kimesne bilmeye”*

Kadim is that no one knows what came before.

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Different Side of the Foreign Policy During the Crimean War: Prince Napoleon's Visit to Istanbul and Crimea (1854-1855)

KIRIM HARBI'NDE DIŐ POLİTİKANIN FARKLI BİR YÖNÜ: PRENS NAPOLYON'UN İSTANBUL VE KIRIM ZİYARETİ (1854-1855)



ANIL GÖÇ*

ABSTRACT

ÖZ

This article focuses on Prince Napoleon's journey to Istanbul as an example of social and diplomatic visibility during the Crimean War. The details of this journey are presented using primary sources, archival documents and newspapers. Despite existing studies in Turkish literature, this article presents a revised approach by incorporating new details derived from English and French periodicals, as well as unused Ottoman archival documents. Prince Napoleon, heir to the throne of France and cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, came to Istanbul in an era when France and England were allied with the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War. The Prince's visit, therefore, served as both a symbol of the alliance and a demonstration of their commitment to the war effort. Prince Napoleon met with key figures in the Ottoman Empire and engaged with the Francophone community in Istanbul. Furthermore, he visited the front lines and participated in the military campaign. In conclusion, Prince Napoleon's journey offers vivid impressions of Istanbul during the Crimean War period. Moreover, this visit provided the Ottomans with an opportunity to display Tanzimat-era modernization practices to Europe, as well as the transformations in social and political life.

Keywords: Prince Napoleon, France, England, Crimean War, Istanbul.



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Bu makale Kırım Harbi döneminde sosyal ve diplomatik görünürlüğün bir örneği olarak Prens Napolyon'un İstanbul seyahatine odaklanmaktadır. Seyahatin detayları, arşiv belgeleri ve gazeteler gibi ana kaynaklar kullanılarak ortaya konulmuştur. Türkçe literatürde bu konuda daha önce birtakım çalışmalar yapıldıysa da bu makalede İngilizce ve Fransızca gazetelerle daha önce kullanılmamış arşiv belgelerinden yararlanılarak yeni bir yaklaşım ve detaylar ortaya konulmaktadır. Fransa Kralı III. Napolyon'un kuzeni ve velihahtı olan Prens Napolyon, Kırım Harbi zamanında İngiltere ve Fransa'nın Osmanlı Devleti'nin müttefiki olduğu bir dönemde İstanbul'u ziyaret etmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Prens'in ziyareti hem ittifakın açık bir sembolü hem de savaşta verilen desteğin bir göstergesi anlamını taşıyordu. Prens Napolyon, Sultan Abdülmecid başta olmak üzere önde gelen Osmanlı devlet adamlarıyla görüşmüş ve İstanbul'un Frankofon cemaatiyle bir araya gelmiştir. Ayrıca Kırım'da cepheye giderek bilfiil askerî harekâtlara katılmıştır. Netice itibarıyla Prens Napolyon'un seyahati Kırım Harbi devrinde İstanbul'a dair canlı izlenimler sunmaktadır. Dahası, bu ziyaret Osmanlılar için Tanzimat dönemiyle beraber içerisine girilen modernleşme pratiklerini, sosyal ve siyasi hayattaki değişimleri Avrupa'ya sergileme fırsatı sunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Prens Napolyon, Fransa, İngiltere, Kırım Harbi, İstanbul.

INTRODUCTION

When a specific date in history is mentioned, a particular scene often comes to mind for those interested in the past. Whenever the year 1854 is mentioned, the Crimean War and the beginning of Ottoman foreign loans likely come to mind for most people. However, besides these chronologically prominent major events, other subjects also deserve historical study. Prince Napoleon's visit to Istanbul is one such example and will be examined in this article.

Prince Napoleon's visit to Istanbul in the spring of 1854, coinciding with the critical early stages of the Crimean War, holds particular significance. This visit offers insights both into the atmosphere of Istanbul at the time and into the broader political relations between the Ottoman and French empires.

The Crimean War essentially began between the Ottoman and Russian Empires over the question of authority over the Ottoman Empire's Orthodox and Catholic subjects in Jerusalem and other holy sites surrounding it. While the French supported the Catholics and the Russians supported the Orthodox, these two states played the leading roles in the dispute. Britain entered this political crisis in a different capacity, as its foreign policy was based on supporting the Ottoman Empire against Russian expansion into Europe. Consequently, after the Sinop incident on November 30, 1853, which resulted in the destruction of the Ottoman navy, Britain and France entered the war as allies of the Ottoman Empire.¹

1. Prince Napoleon Bonaparte

When the year 1854 arrived, the foremost countries of Europe were engaged in a war. At that time, Prince Napoleon, heir to the throne of France and the cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, came to the fore. The English newspaper *The Illustrated London News*, featuring an engraving, provides us with significant information about the Prince. According to his biographical portrait, Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, known simply as Prince Napoleon, was born on September 9, 1822, in Trieste. He was the second son of Jerome Napoleon, the youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte. He spent his early years in Trieste, Vienna, Switzerland, Florence, Rome and the United States. He was also, for a time, a leader of *La Montagne*, a radical republican and social democratic party in France. However, according to the same newspaper, the Prince at the time bore little resemblance to his former self. He had aligned himself with a stance that fully supported his cousin, Emperor Napoleon III, endorsing both his authority and his current policies.

1 For the details of the Crimean War see: Sir Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and Crimean War: A Narrative of Historical Events* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867); Harold Temperley, *England and The Near East: The Crimea* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936); Ali Fuat Türkeldi, *Mesâil-i Mühimme-i Siyasiyye*, vol. 1, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987); Alan Palmer, *The Crimean War* (New York: Dorset Press, 1992); Fuat Andıç, Süphan Andıç, *Kırım Savaşı Ali Paşa ve Paris Antlaşması* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2002); *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kırım Savaşı (1853-1856)* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006); Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Clive Ponting, *Kırım Savaşı*, trans. Hakan Abacı (Istanbul 2015: Alfa Yayınları); Mehmet Çetin, *Kırım Savaşı Emperyal Güçlerin Dünya Savaşı Pratiği* (Almatı: Avrasya Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2016).

It is clearly evident, especially in the engraving, that Prince Napoleon bore a strong physical resemblance to his uncle, Napoleon Bonaparte. Consequently, the Prince had achieved considerable prestige among Bonapartists, both because he reminded them of his uncle and because he was his closest living relative. Thus, it was an extremely natural and understandable situation for Bonapartists, who sought a return to Napoleon's France, to show attention and support for an iconic figure such as Prince Napoleon.

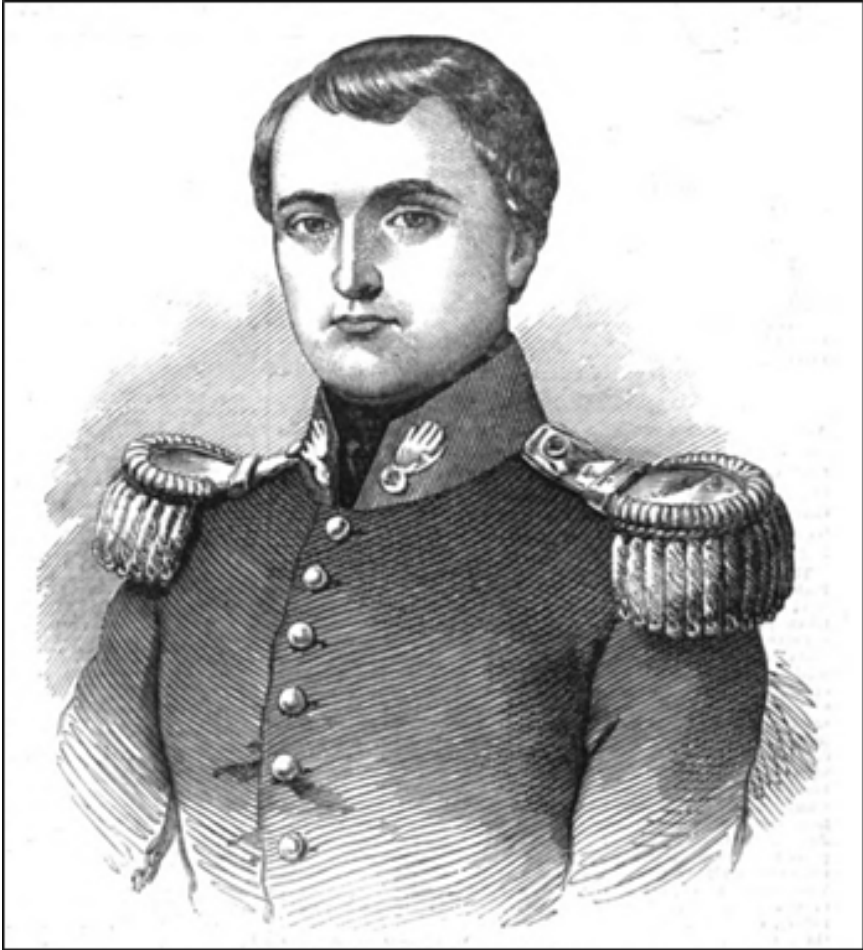


Image 1. Prince Napoleon Bonaparte

Source. *The Illustrated London News*, (4 February 1854), 97.

Nevertheless, the Emperor Napoleon III also harboured potential concerns regarding his cousin's political standing. For this reason, Prince Napoleon's Crimean War mission to the Orient could be interpreted as advantageous for Emperor Napoleon III, as it effectively removed the Prince from France. Despite this political rivalry, a letter written by Prince Napoleon dated February 25, 1854, portrays him as both loyal and fully prepared for his mission:

“Sir, as war is imminent, I am here to request His Majesty’s permission to participate in this campaign. I seek no significant title or command rank that would confer upon me a privileged status. The duty closest to the enemy will be the most honoured duty for me. This uniform, which I feel pride in wearing, assigns me duties I will be happy to accomplish, and I wish to earn the high distinction granted to me by your favour and my status. When the nation takes up arms, I hope His Majesty will find me among the soldiers, and request his permission to join them in support of France’s right and honour.”²

In fact, Prince Napoleon’s sojourn to Istanbul was not a rare event. The Duke of Cambridge also visited Istanbul during the same period as a representative of the British royal family.³ Therefore, it is relevant to view these visits as necessary attempts to solidify the alliance, provide mutual support, and secure a strategic position at the Ottoman Sultan’s court for the future. Consequently, many allied soldiers were sent to Istanbul to be stationed in various barracks across the city. Additionally, volunteers, adventurers, tourists, voyagers, nurses, and officer families were among the capital’s guests. This situation is clearly reflected in a document written to announce Prince Napoleon’s visit and give preparation instructions. This document stated that: “Besides the grand commanders who will be sent by helper states (*düvel-i muavine*), His Majesty Napoleon III’s cousin and a heir to the throne of France, Prince Napoleon, will also come to the capital.”⁴

The Duke of Cambridge was also scheduled to arrive in Istanbul around the same time as Prince Napoleon. The Neşatıbad (*Defterdarburnu*) and Feriye Palaces had been prepared for these high-ranking members of the French and British royal families. However, no decision had been made regarding which palace would be allocated to whom. In the document requesting Sultan Abdülmecid’s decision on this matter, it was stated that there was no difference in quality between the two palaces. Nevertheless, because Feriye Palace was located close to Çırağan Palace, where the Sultan resided, the visitor allocated there would be perceived as more privileged than the other. Due to this diplomatic sensitivity, a formula was suggested: the visitor who arrived first would select this preferred residence. If the visitors arrived simultaneously, they would resolve the matter between themselves. In conclusion, Sultan Abdülmecid accepted this suggestion.⁵

2 *The Illustrated London News*, (4 February 1854), 97-98; *Bonapartistes Blancs et Bonapartistes Rouges* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1885), 28-37; Albert Thomas, “Napoleon III”, *The Encyclopaedia of Britannica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 19/211-216. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “Napoléon-Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte” (Access 1 June 2021). For a detailed biography of Prince Napoleon, see: Michèle Batesti, *Plon-Plon: Le Bonaparte Rouge* (Paris: Perrin, 2010).

3 See for social life in Istanbul during the Crimean War: Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, 329; Ozan Çekmez, *Kırım Savaşı Yıllarında İstanbul’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yaşam (1853-1856)* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiye Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, MA Thesis, 2017), 18.

4 Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives, The Ottoman Archive (BOA), İrade Hariciye (İ.H.R), 107/5266 1 Recep 1270 (30 March 1854); Besim Özcan, “Kırım Harbi Sırasında Bazı Avrupalı Devlet Adamlarının Osmanlı Ülkesini Ziyaretleri” (1854-1855), *OTAM*, 9, (1998), 289; Ayşe Melek Özyetgin et al. (ed.) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Diplomasi ve Ağırhama* (Istanbul: Yıldız Technical University, 2023) 91-96; Adnan Giz, “XIX. Asırda İstanbul’u Ziyaret Eden Batılı Prensesler ve Hükümdarlar”, *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* 1 (1969), 22-23. In this context, the term “helper states (*düvel-i muavine*)” is particularly noteworthy. Another example: “soldiers of helper states (*düvel-i muavine askiri*)” BOA, İ.H.R, 107/5280, 6 Recep 1270 (4 April 1854). It is extremely interesting that the Ottoman Empire used the word “helper states” to define its allies, who were obligated to provide soldiers and equipment according to the nature of the alliance. This definition reflects a specific perception at the time, just before the beginning of the battles and the full establishment of the powerful alliance. On the other hand, this terminology can be interpreted as indicative of the Ottoman Empire’s view of the European states and their political position following the Sinop incidents, which resulted in severe damage to the Ottoman fleet. In the later period, after the alliance fully formalized and engaged in battles against Russia, Ottoman sources more frequently employed the phrase “alliance states (*düvel-i mütefik*)” to define England and France (*Ceride-i Havadis*, (28 Safer 1271). In another document the term “grand allies (*müttefik-i müfehhim*)” was used to define England and France (BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT), 1647/10, no date). The evolution, preferences, and usage of similar phrases and words in Ottoman sources highly deserve dedicated research within the historical context. However, as this constitutes a separate subject from the scope of this article, I simply draw attention to this point.

5 “Because Feriye Palace situated near His Majesty’s Palace, while but other location was more distant, the visitor allocated

One of the palaces mentioned in documents, the Neşatabad (*Defterdarburnu*) Palace, no longer exists today. It once stood on the European side of the Bosphorus, between the Kuruçeşme and Ortaköy districts, and its origins date back to the eighteenth century. This place was frequently mentioned and notably engraved due to the landscaping arrangements commissioned by Hatice Sultan, the sister of Sultan Selim III, and executed by Antoine Ignace Melling.⁶

The other location, Feriye Palace, as described in the archival document, was situated closest to the Çırağan Palace and visually appeared as a continuation of that complex. Today, the remaining buildings of the Feriye Palace are used by Kabataş Boys' High School (*Kabataş Erkek Lisesi*) and Galatasaray University. Furthermore, Feriye Palace is the subject of speculation as it was the location of Sultan Abdülaziz's mysterious death in 1876, the exact circumstances of which -whether suicide or murder- remain controversial.⁷

2. The Prince's Voyage to Istanbul

Prince Napoleon left Paris on April 10, 1854, embarking on his voyage aboard the vessel *Rolland*. The Ottoman Ambassador to France, Veliüddin Pasha, accompanied the Prince to Marseille, and after a dinner, the Prince proceeded to Toulon to begin his journey to Istanbul. Spanish General Juan Prim was also scheduled to accompany the Prince during the journey.⁸ The Baron of Bazancourt describes Prince Napoleon's visit as a "formalisation of a new protective alliance, represented at Constantinople by a member of the imperial family."⁹ It is difficult to dispute Bazancourt's evaluation. However, he focuses primarily on the military side of the Crimean War. Although the Prince's visit was initially based on military considerations, its political meaning and effects cannot be ignored. Consequently, this article aims to reveal the political and social dimensions of this visit by tracing Prince Napoleon's days in the Ottoman Empire.

At the beginning of the Prince's voyage, a document bearing the seal of Ambassador Veliüddin Pasha reveals that Prince Napoleon requested "a person who was familiar with French and the Turkish language" to accompany him to Istanbul. Ambassador Veliüddin Pasha selected Salih Efendi for this mission. He was a member of the embassy's chancellery and knew both languages well.¹⁰

We obtain many details about Prince Napoleon's voyage from a report dated April 27, 1854, which includes the seal of Ismail Pasha, the Governor of Izmir. According to this report, the Prince's journey began with some misfortunes. Their ship had run aground that night in

the Feriye Palace might be perceived as more privileged, potentially leading to jaously with the other guest... (Feriye Daire-i aliyyesinin sahılsaray-ı hümayun-ı hazret-i şahaneye şeref-i kurbiyeti ve diğerinin ona nisbetle baid bulunması cihetiyle orası hangisine tahsis olursa yekdiğerince bir nevi kıskançlığı müstelzim olabilmesi...) BOA, İrade Dahiliye (İ.DH), 5280/107, 6 Recep 1270 (4 April 1854).

- 6 Halük Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, (ed.), *İstanbul Sarayları* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1954), 32; Jacques Perot et al., *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa*, transl., Ela Güntekin (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 12-14.
- 7 Emine Önel, "Fer'iye Dairesi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 3/294; Halük Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Tarihi Odalar* (Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1954), 46-51.
- 8 Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée*, 14-15; *Ceride-i Havadis*, (29 Recep 1270). Prince Napoleon's visit was also announced as the short news on the previous issue. *Ceride-i Havadis*, (17 Recep 1270).
- 9 Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée*, 15.
- 10 BOA, İ.HR, 111/5423, 13 Recep 1270 (11 April 1854), APPENDIX 2.

Kilizman (*Klazomenia*), located two or three hours from the port of Izmir. The Prince and his entourage, numbering nearly 30 people, disembarked with their horses and were temporarily stranded there. Thereupon, the French Consulate of Izmir informed the Ottoman authorities about the situation and requested help. Ismail Pasha noted in his report that the situation was immediately brought under control, the steamer was refloated, the visitors' needs were supplied, and Prince Napoleon and General Prim safely reached Izmir. He even stated that "food for their animals and everything that was needed was supplied carefully." Furthermore, the Estate Record Officer (*Tabrir-i Emlak Memuru*) Ali Nihad Efendi was selected as a guide for Prince Napoleon. Ismail Pasha predicted that: "If they stay in Izmir today and tomorrow, after that they will go to Gallipoli."¹¹

Ismail Pasha's subsequent letter, dated May 2, 1854, reveals the days Prince Napoleon and his entourage spent in Izmir. According to the letter, the visitors went directly to the French Consulate in Izmir, where Ismail Pasha conveyed his greetings by visiting them. Ten guards (*kavas*), two sergeants (*çavuş*), and ten fully equipped horses were presented to the visitors. On the same day, Ismail Pasha appointed Ali Nihad Efendi as a guide, stating that "whatever they need or wherever they want to travel" would be facilitated by him. That same evening, Prince Napoleon paid a return visit to Ismail Pasha and expressed his desire to visit the Izmir barracks. Thereupon, a military ceremony was prepared for the Prince's welcome, after which he proceeded to the barracks. Ismail Pasha reported that the Prince inspected the dormitories, warehouses, and kitchens with "great attention (*kemal-i dikkatle*)" and subsequently dined with the soldiers.¹²

Prince Napoleon was satisfied with his observations at the Izmir barracks and conveyed his respect and compliments to Major Halil Efendi, the commander of the barracks. He then returned to the consulate. He also expressed that if they had sufficient time, he would have remained in the barracks for four or five hours. The next day, Friday, April 28, 1854, the visitors wished to go to a Turkish bath (*hamam*). Consequently, one of the public baths in the bazaar was prepared and other necessary arrangements were made for the guests. After the bath, the visitors returned to their steamer and invited Ismail Pasha to dinner. This banquet was followed by a ball at the French Consulate that evening. During the course of the night, Prince Napoleon frequently mentioned his visit to the barracks, using complimentary language to show his respect for the soldiers. Ismail Pasha reported that the visitors left Izmir for Gallipoli the following day, Saturday, April 29, 1854, and predicted that if they stayed there for two or three days, they would subsequently reach the capital.¹³

We obtain the details of Prince Napoleon's visit to Gallipoli from the report submitted by Kabuî Efendi. As evidenced by his seal on the document, this individual was Mehmed Kabuî Efendi, who would later become a Pasha and was known for his missions in foreign

11 BOA, İ.HR, 109/5336, 29 Recep 1270 (27 April 1854); Özcan, "Avrupalı Devlet Adamlarının Osmanlı Ülkesini Ziyaretleri", 289-290.

12 "Even he ate somewhat the bread and rice of the soldiers... (Hatta asker-i şahanenin ekmeğ ve pilav ve tayınatlarından bile birer miktar tenavül eyleyerek...)" BOA, İ.HR, 109/5347, 4 Şaban 1270 (2 May 1854).

13 BOA, İ.HR, 109/5347, 4 Şaban 1270 (2 May 1854). The reports written by the Governor of Izmir, Ismail Pasha, reached Istanbul only after Prince Napoleon had already arrived and could therefore be seen by the Ottoman authorities and the Sultan only belatedly. This situation is particularly interesting as it demonstrates the potential communication limits and challenges during this period. BOA, Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi (HR.SYS), 1348/54, 14 Şaban 1270 (12 May 1854).

affairs. In those days, he was serving on the Gallipoli Commission, which was responsible for organising the management and administration of the allied soldiers during the Crimean War.¹⁴ Although he was not formally trained as a soldier, he was likely selected for this mission due to his knowledge of foreign languages, which was essential for facilitating communication between the allies and the Ottoman authorities.

According to Kabuî Effendi's report, Prince Napoleon and his entourage arrived in Gallipoli on Saturday night, April 29, 1854. Due to a heavy rainstorm on that day, neither the Ottoman authorities nor French General Canrobert and other officers were able to go to the Prince's steamer for the welcome. Nevertheless, Prince Napoleon was greeted by the Ottoman and French officers at the port and was accompanied to the house where he would be staying. English General Sir George Brown and some other staff members subsequently paid the Prince an official visit. General Canrobert was pleased with the assistance of the Gallipoli Commission and the local populace. When Prince Napoleon learned this, he expressed his satisfaction and extended his special thanks on behalf of France. After spending one or one-and-a-half hours with these officials, the Prince returned to his steamer with Kabuî Efendi for dinner. Although the Prince intended to proceed to Istanbul immediately, upon learning that General Canrobert would conduct military manoeuvres at Çeşmedere, on Sunday, April 30, 1854, he decided to stay and observe them. While explaining all this in his letter, Kabuî Effendi also added that Prince Napoleon would likely arrive in Istanbul on Monday morning.¹⁵

Although Prince Napoleon stayed only a short time in Gallipoli, the lack of certain furnishings in the house became an immediate issue, because he was scheduled to return there later in his mission. This problem arose precisely around the dates when the Prince arrived in Istanbul. Given that Gallipoli was "the place where the centre for the allied soldiers (*asakir-i muavininin merkez-i içtimai*)" and that the Prince would be returning, ensuring the necessary furnishings were provided as an essential matter of protocol. The document explaining this problem framed the issue in a diplomatically interesting way, stating: "As far as you know, Europeans have a habit of sitting in chairs, and the place is a centre for allied soldiers, the Prince will turn back and stay there, so that we request that a couple of chairs be sent here..."¹⁶

The furniture arranged for Gallipoli was described as being "quite expensive and heavy, but tough and suitable: two sofas, four armchairs, and twelve chairs."¹⁷ These furnishings, intended for the house where Prince Napoleon would stay, cost a total of 3729 piastres.¹⁸ Additionally, other arrangements were made at the Neşatabad Palace for the Prince. These materials, described as "summer furnishings", included various types of fabrics and cost a total of 34072,5 piastres.¹⁹

14 Erdoğan Keleş, "Kırım Savaşı'nda (1853-1856) Müttefik Ordularının Barınma ve İlaş Sorunları", XVI. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 20-24 Eylül 2010, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), 264-266; Muhammet Ballı, *Tanzimatçı Bir Devlet Adamı: Mehmed Kabuî Paşa (1812-1877)* (Giresun: Giresun Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, MA Thesis, 2017), 29-31.

15 BOA, HR.SYS, 1348/56, 3 Şaban 1270 (1 May 1854).

16 "Malum-ı samileri buyrulduğu üzere Avrupalıların sandalyede oturmak âdetleri olup mahal-i mezbur dahi asakir-i muavininin merkez-i içtimai bulunmak münasebetiyle Prens müşarünileyh yine Gelibolu'ya avdet ve orada ikamet eyleyeceğine mebni buradan birtakım sandalye gönderilmesi..." BOA, HR.SYS, 1348/32, 7 Şaban 1270 (5 May 1854).

17 BOA, HR.SYS, 1348/32, 7 Şaban 1270 (5 May 1854).

18 BOA, İrade Meclis-i Vala (İ.MVL), 11, 1270/307 Ramazan 7) 1270 June 1854); BOA, Sadaret Nezaret ve Devair Evrakı (A.) MKT.NZD), 113/100, 3 Ramazan 1270 (30 May 1854).

19 BOA, Hazine-i Hassa Defterler (HH.d), 11641, no date, APPENDIX 2; HH.d, 11642, no date; Hazine-i Hassa İradeler (HH.İ),

3. Prince Napoleon in Istanbul

Istanbul's awaited visitor finally arrived in the capital on Monday, May 1, 1854. After settling at the Neşatabad Palace, the Prince met with Sultan Abdülmecid on the same day.²⁰ Prince Napoleon was welcomed with 21 cannon shots and significant diplomatic attention. Foremost among the welcoming ceremony were the French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Monseieur Baraguey d'Hilliers, Monseieur Scheffer, Chief Interpreter of the Embassy, and other officials. The Ottoman Empire appointed Ali Galib Pasha, the son of the well-known Foreign Minister of the time, Mustafa Reşid Pasha, for this mission. However, Ali Galib Pasha's role extended beyond that of regular protocol. He also married Fatma Sultan in February of the same year. This gave him the high status of being the son-in-law of the Sultan (*damad-ı şehriyârî*). Consequently, Ali Galib Pasha was selected as a high representative of the Ottoman government -specifically as Sultan Abdülmecid's son-in-law- to show privileged attention to Prince Napoleon's visit.

When the Prince arrived in Istanbul, he visited Sultan Abdülmecid at Çırağan Palace on the same day. Foreign Minister Mustafa Reşid Pasha and the Master of Ceremonies, Kamil Bey, also participated in this meeting. Following this, the Prince was hosted by Reşid Pasha, where Turkish coffee and chibouks were served to the visitors. The next day, Tuesday, May 2, 1854, high-ranking Ottoman statesmen, including the Grand Vizier, and prominent Francophones in Istanbul paid a visit to the Prince. The Istanbul Francophones were particularly pleased by the visit of the Prince, celebrating it as a bright sign of amity between France and the Ottoman Empire. They even demonstrated their happiness publicly with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" (*Vive l'Empereur*). Also on the same day, French Ambassador General Baraguay d'Hilliers hosted a diplomatic dinner in honour of Prince Napoleon. Attendees included, from the Ottoman government: Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Ali Galib Pasha, Rıza Pasha, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Pasha (*the Cypriot*), Şekib Pasha, and Musa Safvetî Pasha. From the allied side, the commander of British forces, Lord Raglan, and other French representatives were invited. During the dinner, speeches expressing satisfaction with the alliance were delivered by Reşid Pasha and Monsieur d'Hilliers.²¹

13/12, no date.

20 *Ceride-i Havadis*, (6 Şaban 1270). Besim Özcan cited the Prince's arrival date as "May 2, 1854, Monday" (Özcan, "Avrupalı Devlet Adamlarının Osmanlı Ülkesini Ziyaretleri", 290). This date, does not seems possible as May 2, 1854, corresponds to a Tuesday. The correct arrival date must be May 1, 1854, Monday, a fact that can be definitively established based on contemporary newspapers. Furthermore, Bazancourt and Castille confirm this date, stating that the Prince arrived in Istanbul on May 1 (Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée*, 14; Castille, *Le Prince Napoléon*, 26).

21 Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Defterleri (BEO.BEONGG.d), 930, no date. *Journal de Constantinople*, (4 May 1854); *Le Moniteurs Universel*, (18 May 1854); *The Illustrated London News*, (20 May 1854), 454; *L'Illustration*, (27 May 1854), 324-326.

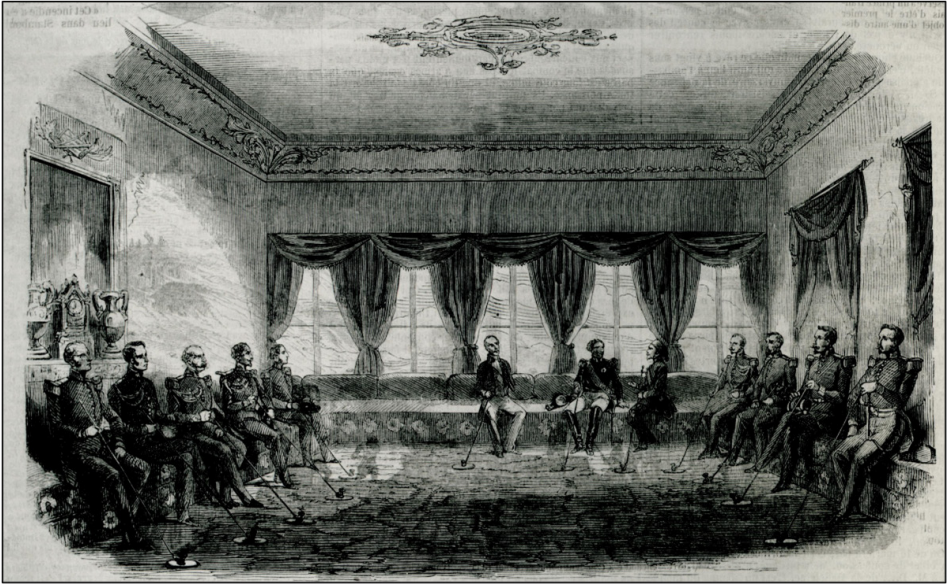


Image 2. Reşid Pasha with Prince Napoleon and his attendants.

Source: *L'Illustration*, (27 May 1854), 324.

Significant depictions of Prince Napoleon's initial contacts in Istanbul were published in *L'Illustration*, based on information and impressions provided by the observer M. A. Dulong. These engravings are valuable sources because they allow us to visualise the Prince's visit. The French press's focus on and effort to depict this important visit were an entirely expected consequence. On the night of Thursday, May 4, 1854, an unfortunate incident occurred in Istanbul.



Image 3. Sultan Abdülmecid's visit to Prince Napoleon.

Source: *L'Illustration*, (27 May 1854), 325.

A fire broke out close to the Office of the Commander-in-Chief (*Serasker Kapısı*), devastating approximately 450 houses. *Rolland's* crew also attempted to assist in controlling the blaze.²² According to *Ceride-i Havadis*, the semi-official Istanbul newspaper, the fire began three hours after the evening prayer in the “Çelebioğlu Alaeddin district, in the environs of Alaca Hamam”, which corresponds to the area behind the present-day Spice Bazaar in Eminönü. The fire started in the house of Zeliha Hanım, a tenant of Hüseyin Bey of Thessaloniki, and rapidly spread throughout the surrounding area. The total damage included 40 houses, 80 stores, one hammam, and one mosque. Notably, Prince Napoleon, along with other French and British soldiers, assisted in extinguishing the fire.²³

4. Prince Napoleon's Further Contacts and Beylerbeyi Palace Banquet

Prince Napoleon's days in the capital were exceedingly busy. On Thursday, May 4, 1854, the Prince visited the Office of the Commander in Chief (*Bâb-ı Seraskerî*) and conducted observations. The next day, he went to Kâğıthane, one of Istanbul's well-known promenades. He rested briefly in the Sultan's mansion, drinking coffee and smoking chibouk. On Saturday, May 6, 1854, after visiting the Grand Vizier, he toured the Sublime Porte (*Babıali*), various surrounding mosques, and Topkapı Palace. The following Sunday, he visited a school in Bebek and was warmly received. That afternoon, the Prince proceeded to Pera, and though he had planned to visit the Davutpasa Barracks, a rainstorm prevented him from doing so. He instead dined with Ambassador Monsieur d'Hilliers. On Monday, May 8, 1854, Prince Napoleon strolled through Eyüp and other environs of Istanbul, including the naval dockyard. That evening, he attended a special banquet at Beylerbeyi Palace, organised by the Sultan in his honour. The distinguished attendees included Sultan Abdülmecid, Mustafa Reşid Pasha, French Ambassador Monsieur d'Hilliers, high-ranking diplomats, and Ottoman ministers. Prince Napoleon arrived at the palace at 6:15 p.m. The banquet was described by the newspapers as a European-style dinner served at “an excellently equipped table with Sevres porcelain dinner sets.” Prince Napoleon toasted Sultan Abdülmecid's honour and delivered a complimentary speech, to which Reşid Pasha responded with remarks emphasising the amity and alliance between the two states. Following the dinner, a musical interlude began, and the visitors enjoyed it while drinking coffee and smoking chibouks. Prince Napoleon eventually departed the palace at 10:15 p.m. and returned to his residence at the Neşatabad (*Defterdarburnu*) Palace.²⁴

Details of the banquet organised for Prince Napoleon can be sourced from archival records. Since a similar dinner was given for the Duke of Cambridge around the same dates, we are afforded an opportunity for comparison. According to these records, the total cost for Prince Napoleon's banquet was 49122 piastres, significantly exceeding the cost of the Duke of Cambridge's dinner, which totaled 38313. These costs covered Turkish and European foods, dinner sets, services, and the payments for the chef and other servants. The menu

22 *L'illustration*, (27 May 1854), 326.

23 *Ceride-i Havadis*, (12 Saban 1270), 3.

24 *Journal de Constantinople*, (9 May 1854); *L'illustration*, (10 June 1854), 356-357.

reveals the diverse and luxurious nature of the dinner, a listing of the items prepared for the banquet allows us to imagine the feast:

“Very fine bread, fine bread, French-style (francala) bread; bread pudding, ghee, tobacco, sugar, Wallachian salt, onion, Amasya’s okra, barley, saffron, clove, cardamom, trach wafers (gullac), starch, fine flour, Russian flour, almond, pine nuts, currant, pistachio, a selection of cheeses, lobster, strawberry, coffee, egg, chicken, young chicken, pigeon, turkey, pheasant, water, caviar.”²⁵

It is striking that the menu does not include any other beverage besides “water (*ma-i leziz*).” It is noteworthy because the newspaper reported that the visitors toasted one another while exchanging various compliments.²⁶ While it is certainly possible to use non-alcoholic beverages – or even an empty glass – for a toast, one naturally presumes the presence of alcoholic drinks at such a banquet. Nonetheless, the complete absence of any other beverage apart from water in the official records is intriguing. Even if alcohol was consumed at the banquet, it was not recorded. Therefore, the omission suggests two possibilities: either the alcohol was supplied separately by the French visitors or the information was deliberately withheld from the official records to align with Ottoman protocol.

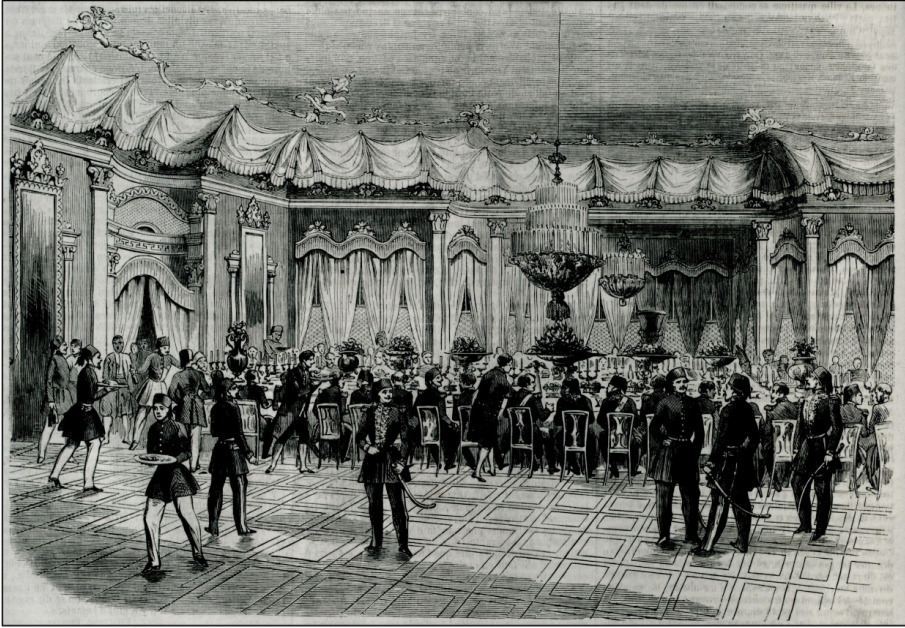


Image 4. A scene from Beylerbeyi Palace banquet.

Source: *L'Illustration*, (10 June 1854), 356.

25 “Nan-ı hassül-has. Nan-ı has. Nan-ı francala. Kadayıf-ı nan (Ekmek kadayıfı). Revgan-ı sade (Sadeyag). Duhan. Şeker. Tuz-ı Eflak. Soğan. Bıyacı Amasya. Arpa. Safran. Karanfil. Kakule. Güllaç. Nişasta. Dakik-i has. Dakik-i Rusya. Badem. Fıstık-ı çam. Kuş üzümü. Fıstık-ı Şam. Peynir-i mütenevvia. İstakoz. Çilek. Kahve. Yumurta. Tavuk. Piliç. Güvercin. Hindi. Sülün. Ma-i leziz. Hayvar.” BOA, HH.d, 11641, no date; BOA, Cevdet Saray (C.SM), 66/3335, 29 Şaban 1270, (27 May 1854).

26 *Journal de Constantinople*, (9 May 1854).

A significant difference of 10000 piastres exists between the cost of the banquet for Prince Napoleon and that for the Duke of Cambridge. A similar disparity is observed in their residential costs. Prince Napoleon's expenses totaled 64172,5 piastres, in contrast to the Duke of Cambridge's, which stood at 27232,5 piastres.²⁷ This sharp difference is evident, despite the cost being based on almost the same supplies. Although a concrete explanation for this financial divergence cannot be definitively established in the records, it can be presumed that the difference arose from the disparity in the size of their entourages and the specific necessities related to their assigned residences.

Although the dinner appeared to pass in a completely positive atmosphere, a certain diplomatic problem emerged. Two days after the banquet, Monsieur Viedenbruigh, the Prussian Plenipotentiary Minister, articulated his discomfort in a letter to the Ottoman Foreign Minister, Mustafa Reşid Pasha, written in French and dated May 10, 1854. According to Viedenbruigh, two officers from the British Embassy had attracted his attention. He questioned why officers of the same rank had not been invited from the Prussian Embassy, stating that this was unacceptable and labelling it a deviation from diplomatic rules and a protocol problem.²⁸ In essence, the Prussian Minister felt that his embassy was being marginalised relative to the British Embassy and used this protocol breach as a way to reassert his mission's importance.

5. Prince Napoleon's Following Days in Istanbul and Crimea

We can follow the Prince's schedule in Istanbul almost day-to-day with the help of news reported in the *Journal de Constantinople*, the Francophone newspaper of the Ottoman capital. According to the newspaper, Prince Napoleon was visited by the Duke of Cambridge on Wednesday, May 10, 1854. On the same day, he visited a group of dervishes and subsequently met with Saint Arnaud, the commander of the French armies. On Thursday, he first toured the navy dockyard with Kıbrıslı (Cypriot) Mehmed Pasha and then visited the Bayezid and Nuruosmaniye Mosques. The following day, the Prince embarked on a journey along the Bosphorus with Tevfik Pasha. On Saturday, May 13, 1854, he travelled to Üsküdar, the Anatolian side of Istanbul, on his ship, the *Rolland*, and subsequently toured the Kadıköy and Fenerbahçe districts. In the afternoon, the Prince visited the Princes' Islands, inspecting both a naval school and a Greek school, before returning to his residence at the Neşatabad (Defterdarburnu) Palace.²⁹

Prince Napoleon spent Monday, May 15, 1854, receiving visitors at the Neşatabad Palace. For the following day, Tuesday, May 16, 1854, a grand ceremony was prepared for the Military School examinations, as both Sultan Abdülmecid and the high-ranking allied guests, Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge, were scheduled to attend. Consequently, the soldiers were positioned under the command of Derviş Pasha in front of the school. Other diplo-

27 BOA, HH.d, 11641, no dates, 2b-3a.

28 BOA, HR.SYS, 907/14, (10 May 1854).

29 *Journal de Constantinople*, (14 May 1854). Prince Napoleon also travelled around the city with the Duke of Cambridge on May 8 (Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée*, 16).

matic visitors and statesmen, dressed in ceremonial uniforms, prepared under the control of Kamil Bey, the Master of Ceremonies. First, Saint Arnaud, followed immediately by Prince Napoleon, arrived at the school. The Duke of Cambridge arrived with Monsieur Etienne Pisani, Chief Interpreter of the British Embassy. Finally, Sultan Abdülmecid arrived and took his place in the hall with his visitors, where the examinations were to be held. The students were examined in technical subjects such as chemistry, physics, the art of war, tactics, strategy, artillery, geometry, trigonometry, and mechanics, alongside language lessons in French, Arabic, and Persian. Sultan Abdülmecid and the visitors closely followed the exams and expressed their satisfaction. The Sultan was particularly pleased by the demonstrations and conveyed his appreciation to Derviş Pasha. After the exams concluded, Prince Napoleon went to the French Embassy. The next day, he spent time on the Bosphorus aboard his ship, the *Rolland*. On Thursday, May 18, 1854, the Prince visited several bazaars, and the following day, he was invited to Kâğıthane by Madame Arnaud for lunch.³⁰

Although the precise date cannot be specified, a record indicates that Prince Napoleon also visited the Beykoz Mansion, which was nearing completion at that time.³¹

Prince Napoleon's almost month-long visit to Istanbul concluded at the end of May. Therefore, the Prince meeting with Sultan Abdülmecid at the Çırağan Palace on Monday, May 22, 1854, served as a formal farewell. The Prince arrived at the palace accompanied by Monsieur Benedetti and the Embassy's Chief Interpreter Scheffer, while Reşid Pasha and Kamil Bey were also present at the meeting. Sultan Abdülmecid conferred the first-degree Mecidiye Order upon the Prince.³² That same night, Prince Napoleon departed the capital aboard his ship, the *Rolland*, bound for Gallipoli. His immediate mission was to coordinate the transportation of the French Army's 3rd Division, which was selected to be stationed in the Davutpaşa and Rami barracks in Istanbul.³³ In this mission, Marshal Saint Arnaud and Prince Napoleon were jointly responsible for deploying the French forces. The first French troops reached the Ottoman capital at the beginning of June.³⁴ Sultan Abdülmecid observed the manoeuvres and exercises of the French forces at Rami Barracks on Saturday, June 17, 1854. He was greatly satisfied by the display and conveyed his appreciation to Marshal Saint Arnaud.³⁵

30 *Journal de Constantinople*, (19 May 1854).

31 BOA, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Evrakı (TSMA.E), 657/28, no date. This document shows a total expenditure of 8582,5 covering costs such as caique transport, carriage and some food supplies. Additionally, the construction of the Beykoz Mansion was completed in the spring of 1855. Güneş Aygül, İstanbul'da Beykoz Kasrı ve Maslak Kasırları (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, MA Thesis, 2018), 45-48.

32 BOA, İ.DH, 301/19086, 1 Ramazan 1270 (28 May 1854); BOA, Mabeyn-i Hümayun İradeleri (MB.İ), 13/2, 1 Ramazan 1270 (28 May 1854); BOA, HR.SYS, 1349/23, 29 Ramazan 1270 (25 June 1854); BOA, Sadaret Mühimme Evrakı (A.)DVN.MHM), Evail Ramazan 1270, (28 May-6 June 1854), 11/55. The Mecidiye Order was not conferred exclusively upon Prince Napoleon. The Duke of Cambridge, Prince George, and the French and British commanders, Saint Arnaud and Lord Raglan, also received this medal. In terms of showing the Ottoman approach to maintaining equitable treatment toward both allies, this simultaneous presentation stands as a significant example.

33 *Journal de Constantinople*, (24 May 1854). Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée*, 65-66. For the history of Rami Barracks during the Crimean War, see: Yüksel Çelik, *Râmi Kışlası II*. Mahmud Devrinde Aydın-Despotik Modernleşmenin Karargâhı (Istanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2022), 183-192.

34 *Journal de Constantinople*, (9 June 1854).

35 *Journal de Constantinople*, (19 June 1854).

Eventually, Prince Napoleon returned from Gallipoli and departed Istanbul on June 23, 1854, bound for Varna.³⁶ Therefore, his diplomatic visit to the capital concluded, and his time on the front line began. The Prince was highly satisfied with the Ottoman government's efforts regarding his comfort and hospitality during his residency.³⁷

Upon the Prince's arrival, Varna was functioning as the centre of the allied armies and the general headquarters for the Crimean campaign. Allied commanders selected Varna because of its strategic position for defending against Russian attacks. Consequently, allied forces were dispatched from Gallipoli to Varna, starting on May 24. The Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, Saint Arnaud, and the British commander, Lord Raglan, also departed for Varna at the end of June. Accordingly, Prince Napoleon followed this military campaign and proceeded to Varna to join the army.³⁸ The allied forces and the Ottoman fleet were planning a blockade of Russia in the Black Sea. Laying siege to Crimea, both by sea and overland, was deemed critical. Consequently, all the highest commander of the allied forces were situated in Varna to manage and deliberate on possible war strategies.³⁹

Prince Napoleon's journey in Istanbul may have appeared purely ceremonial, but those days ultimately served as symbolic touches for the alliance. Prince Napoleon spent several periods on the front line, participating in the Battles of Alma and Inkerman between September and November 1854. Following the Battle of Inkerman, he felt ill. Due to complications arising from exhaustion, French army doctors Monsieur Scrive and Monsieur Perrier advised the Prince to return to Istanbul for a period of rest.⁴⁰ Prince Napoleon accepted this advice and arrived back in Istanbul on Tuesday, November 7, 1854. According to *Ceride-i Havadis*, the Prince returned to the capital because he "felt a little sick." The newspaper further elaborated that he was "commanding till night and forced his body, made himself tired, which led the doctors suggest that he rest until refreshed."⁴¹

Sultan Abdülmecid visited the Prince at the French Embassy on Saturday, November 11, 1854, accompanied by Edhem Pasha. Monsieur Benedetti and Chief Interpreter Scheffer also joined this meeting, during which the Sultan expressed his profound sorrow regarding the Prince's illness and conveyed his sincere best wishes for a swift recovery.⁴² According to Hayreddin Nedim, Prince Napoleon invited Sultan Abdülmecid to visit France. Although the Sultan did not commit immediately, he later remarked to his confidantes that he would consider such a journey once peace was established following the Crimean War.⁴³

36 *Journal de Constantinople*, (24 June 1854).

37 BOA, İ.DH, 110/5410, 25 Ramazan 1270 (21 June 1854); Özcan, "Avrupalı Devlet Adamlarının Osmanlı Ülkesini Ziyaretleri", 292.

38 Erdoğan Keleş, "Kırım Savaşı'nda (1853-1856) Müttefik Orduların Sevki ve İdare Merkezi: Varna", *The Journal of International Social Research*, 9/43, (April 2016), 774-780.

39 Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, 196-201; Midhat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 3044-3045.

40 *Journal de Constantinople*, (9 November 1854).

41 "Bazı merite nâ-mizaç... Akşama kadar bizzat kumanda ederek vücudlarına aşırı taab ve meşekkat vermiş olduklarından biraz vakit istirahatle tashih-i mizaç eylemeleri etibba tarafından tavsiye kılınmış.." *Ceride-i Havadis*, (25 Safer 1271).

42 *Journal de Constantinople*, (14 November 1854).

43 Hayreddin, *Vesâik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye Tettebbuatı*, vol. 1, (Istanbul, 1326), 12-14.

Prince Napoleon's period of rest concluded positively, and his health improved rapidly. Following his recovery, he paid a return visit to Sultan Abdülmecid at the Çırağan Palace.⁴⁴ However, during this convalescence, the Prince's public criticism of the war strategies created considerable inconvenience among the allied commanders. Prince Napoleon's political visibility in Istanbul was disturbing to Emperor Napoleon III. Consequently, after a short period, the Prince was ordered to return to France.⁴⁵ According to France's official newspaper, the Prince began preparations to leave Istanbul at the beginning of 1855. Despite Prince Napoleon's personal desire to return to Crimea and resume fighting, Emperor Napoleon III invoked the doctors' recommendations regarding the Prince's health and treatment and issued a firm order for his return.⁴⁶

Prince Napoleon and his entourage, including Monsieur Benedetti and Chief Interpreter Monsieur Scheffer, intended to make their final visit to Sultan Abdülmecid at the Çırağan Palace on Thursday, January 11, 1855. However, due to adverse weather conditions, they were forced to postpone the visit until Friday.⁴⁷ Prince Napoleon's almost eight-month residency in Ottoman lands came to a close with this final diplomatic encounter. Prince Napoleon was highly satisfied with the attention shown by the Ottoman authorities during his time in the Orient and conveyed his appreciation. Similarly, Sultan Abdülmecid's official compliments to the Prince are evident in the text of the Mecidiye Order, which was conferred upon him:

"The Sultan's order is that the Dignified Highness Prince Napoleon, the well-known relative of His Majesty the Emperor of France, is honourable and respectable in our view. In addition, these distinguished qualifications have been confirmed and strengthened our private respect because of his bravery and sacrifice, which was observed during the Siege of Sevastopol. Thus, as a clear sign of this, the first degree of the Mecidiye Order has been conferred upon him."⁴⁸

Prince Napoleon was very pleased to be given medals for himself and his attendants. As a sign of his satisfaction, he decided to gift a luxury box to the chief of the office, who processed the medal order. He specified the gift was intended for Nazif Bey, the Chamberlain. Sultan Abdülmecid first inspected this box and then ordered it to be given to Nazif Bey.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a tobacco box was given as a gift to Doctor Fauvel, Prince Napoleon's doctor, during his residency in Istanbul.⁵⁰ Thus, the gifts to both Nazif Bey and Doctor Fauvel suggest that Prince Napoleon's gesture was not merely a political calculation aimed at high-ranking Ottoman officials, but also a personal expression of gratitude extended to various individuals in his orbit.

44 *Journal de Constantinople*, (29 November 1854).

45 Hayreddin, *Vesâik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye*, 14.

46 *Le Moniteur Universel*, (6 January 1855), 2.

47 Due to adverse weather conditions, the Prince's boat had to be assisted by a tugboat named *Punch* to reach his ship, the *Rolland*. *Journal de Constantinople*, (15 January 1855).

48 BOA, A.İDVN.MHM, 12/80, Evail Rebiülahir 1271 (21-31 December 1854). In this draft document of the Mecidiye Order, the word "heir" (*veliaht*) is used to describe Prince Napoleon's position. However, it was later replaced with the term "relative" (*akraba*) of Emperor Napoleon III.

49 BOA, İ.HR, 117/5713, 19 Rebiülahir 1271 (9 January 1855). The original document did not name the officer, only designating him by his title: "Mr Chamberlain (*Tesrifati Efendi*)."⁵⁰ However, we can clearly determine that this person was Nazif Bey, based on the Ottoman annual state records for the period of 1854/55. (*Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul: 1270), 58; *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul: 1271), 49).

50 *Journal de Constantinople*, (22 January 1855), 4.

We also learn another interesting detail from the letter of Cemil Bey, Ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Paris and son of Mustafa Reşid Pasha. In the letter, dated 10 November 1855, Cemil Bey mentions that while returning to France, Prince Napoleon took a slave named Salih the Black (*Zenci Salih*). However, after some time had passed, the Prince wanted to send him back to Istanbul. Therefore, Cemil Bey suggested that Salih could return to Istanbul with Hoca Bogos, the Chief Powder-Maker (*Barutçubaşı*), who was in France at the time and preparing to return to the capital.⁵¹

The years following the Crimean War saw a diminution of Prince Napoleon's political importance. His status as heir to the throne of France officially disappeared with the birth of Emperor Napoleon III's son in March 1856.⁵² Despite this loss of direct succession, he continued to serve in various political and diplomatic missions. Notably, he married Maria Clotilde, daughter of Vittorio Emanuele II, King of Piedmont-Sardinia, in 1859. The same year, he commanded French forces during the Second Italian War of Independence. However, when France was defeated by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the subsequent collapse of the Second French Empire profoundly affected the Prince's life. In his final years, Prince Napoleon preferred a quiet life, dedicating himself to intellectual pursuits. He wrote a pamphlet to defend his conduct during the 1870 war and another book focusing on the life of Napoleon Bonaparte.⁵³

The death of Eugene Louis Napoleon, son of Emperor Napoleon III, in 1879 created a succession crisis among the Bonapartists. Prince Napoleon, being the head of the surviving male line, was naturally regarded as the royal leader. However, a significant faction of Bonapartists rejected his leadership due to his liberal and anti-clerical views. This faction instead put forward his eldest son, Napoleon Victor Jerome, who was accepted and presented as the leader of the Napoleonic family by the Bonapartists. On the other hand, Prince Napoleon spent his last years in Italy and passed away in Rome in 1891. Though politically controversial, his intellectual character, marked by a keen interest in literature and art, was also recognised.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

Prince Napoleon, heir to the throne of France and cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, arrived in Istanbul in the spring of 1854 to participate in the Crimean War. After eight months spent in Ottoman lands, such as Izmir, Gallipoli, Varna, Crimea, and Istanbul, the Prince returned to France at the beginning of 1855.

Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge's visits as representatives and military commanders were profoundly significant for England and France. This commitment demonstrated to the Ottoman Empire, in both symbolic and actual terms, the depth of their support

51 BOA, Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî (HR.MKT), 129/16, 29 Safer 1272 (10 November 1855), APPENDIX 2.

52 Özcan, "Avrupalı Devlet Adamlarının Osmanlı Ülkesini Ziyaretleri", 292.

53 Thomas, "Bonaparte", *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (New York, 1911), 4/197-198. For the Prince's books see: Le Prince Napoléon, *La Vérité à Mes Calomnieux* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1871); *Napoléon et ses Détracteurs* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1887).

54 Thomas, "Bonaparte", *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 198; *Encyclopedia Britannica* "Napoléon-Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte" Access: 11 June 2021).

against Russia. Sending these two prominent figures to the Ottoman lands during wartime served as the inaugural manifestation of the European alliance during the Crimean War, an alliance that was formally and legally established by the Treaty of Paris (1856) and reinforced by the concurrent promulgation of the Ottoman Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*) in the same year.

On the other hand, Prince Napoleon's visit holds significant value because he was the first high-ranking foreign visitor to the Ottoman state following the Tanzimat reform era. Although diplomats and voyagers had long set foot in Istanbul, this was the first such visit from a major allied statesman during a period when the Ottoman Empire's institutions and laws were undergoing modernisation. How the Ottoman Empire would receive a European Prince during its nascent westernisation was a subject of immense importance. In this respect, the visit by both Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge can be read as a crucial showcase of the Ottoman Empire's modernisation efforts to these high-profile European representatives. Consequently, both visitors were visibly pleased with their reception and received positive impressions regarding the trajectory of the Ottoman reforms toward a European model.

Furthermore, the joint presence of Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge in Istanbul can be interpreted as a precursor to the intensifying British-French rivalry for influence within the Ottoman Empire after the Crimean War. The writings of Sir Adolphe Slade, who served in the Ottoman Navy at the time, clearly reflect this competition. Slade's account is highly subjective. He predictably praises his own government's representative, the Duke of Cambridge, depicting him as austere and dedicated, preferring to remain with the soldiers and rejecting personal comfort. In contrast, Slade portrays Prince Napoleon as being entirely absorbed in enjoyment and pleasure:

“Two imperial *yalis* on the Bosphorus, stored with luxuries, including the perfumes of the East and wines of the West, with attendants, horses and caiques, were placed at the disposal of the Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge. The Prince went to his epicurean abode and enjoyed his *kief*[pleasure] there. The Duke, declining the *dolce far niente*, left his in a few days and went to Scutari, to live with his soldiers.”⁵⁵

On France's side, the considerable attention and prestige garnered by Prince Napoleon during his visit to the Ottoman lands likely created political discomfort for his cousin, Emperor Napoleon III. Thus, the Emperor's subsequent plan in 1855 to travel to Istanbul and then assume command of the armies in Crimea can be partially interpreted as an attempt to assert his own supremacy and prevent him from eclipsing his own military image. However, the more immediate and visible motivations for the planned journey were the Emperor's dissatisfaction with the slow progress of the battles and his personal impatience to achieve victory. This plan was taken seriously, prompting the dispatch of a palace advisor to Istanbul to determine a suitable residence for the emperor and empress. Crucially, this plan faced significant external and internal resistance. Britain was highly unwilling to accept Emperor Napoleon III's leadership in Crimea, and the emperor's own staff deemed the visit militarily dangerous. Ultimately, while the Sultan's court awaited the arrival of the imperial couple, Emperor Napoleon III cancelled the plan, following an assassination attempt against him.⁵⁶

55 Slade, *Turkey and Crimean War*, 212.

56 Hayreddin, *Vesâik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye*, 14-15; *Journal de Constantinople*, (17 May 1855).

Prince Napoleon's time in the Ottoman lands included a significant point in his career in terms of his personal command during the initial battles of the Crimean War. The publication of a pamphlet in 1859 detailing his role and including a depiction of himself⁵⁷ was a calculated, political move. Thus, it shows how his perceived valour and mission were leveraged to give political propaganda during the Crimean War era.

In conclusion, Prince Napoleon's visit stands as a remarkable event when viewed from both contemporary and historical perspectives. The Prince, acting as Emperor Napoleon III's representative, served as a sign of France's support for the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War. Conversely, it provided a crucial diplomatic occasion for the Ottomans to showcase their modernisation practices –specifically, the new life practices and European conformity achieved through the Tanzimat reforms.

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⁵⁷ Castille, *Le Prince Napoléon*, 1.

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