

BEYLERBEY OF BOSNIA AND SANCAKBEG OF HERZEGOVINA IN THE DIPLOMACY OF THE DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT: The Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys were high officials of the Ottoman state posted in the immediate vicinity of Dubrovnik. These Turkish administrators played a most significant and complex role in the Ragusan diplomatic affairs with the Porte. However, an elaborate hierarchy of the Ottoman administration allowed these provincial governors to act rather independently, which may or may not have proved satisfactory to the Ragusans. Dubrovnik's relations with the Ottoman representatives in Bosnia relied largely on gifts, money and favours, but primarily on the ability to find a personal approach in each matter.

Within the entangled Turco-Ragusan relations in the fifteenth century, the Ragusans were granted privileges in the form of bilateral agreements (Turk. *ahdname*) and additional written decrees (Turk. *firman*). The Sultan and the Porte guaranteed freedom, peace and protection throughout the territory under Ottoman control. Among the privileges pertaining to trade, prominence was given to the protection of the Ragusan monopoly in salt trade with the Ottoman subjects, regular supply of the Republic with food (grain and meat) from the Empire, and the right to trade freely by land and sea.

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Though, the sixteenth century soon gave way to an increasing discrepancy between the written agreement and the practice. The implementation of the granted privileges tended to rest upon the whims of certain officials, irrespective of their position in the government hierarchy, rather than the Sultan's authority. This was something the Ragusans had to deal with daily, in the remote trade colonies and customs houses from Sofia, Edirne, Budim, Belgrade, North Africa, Albania, but most of all, in the nearby Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Disorder in the Ottoman government hierarchy placed the Ragusans in an almost absurd position. They paid an annual tribute (Turk. *haraç*) to the Sultan and bore costly gifts to his ministers. In spite of this, favourable terms drawn in the Sultan's firmans were hardly to reach the fringes of the administrative and judicial institutions of the Bosnian *eyalet* (province). In addition to winning the favour of the mighty Porte, the Ragusans waged daily diplomatic battles on the Bosnian front, negotiating with an army of Turkish officials, from beylerbey to captains, *dizdar* (castellan), kadis, pashas of Trebinje and local agas in the neighbourhood. It would be erroneous to assert that the Sultan's authority failed to extend as far as Bosnia and Herzegovina, but its effectiveness was hardly felt and required considerable efforts from the Ragusan party.

Two Ottoman officials remained the principal focus of the Ragusan diplomatic attention in Bosnia: beylerbey of Bosnia (governor of the Bosnian *eyalet* established in 1580), and sancakbey of Herzegovina (governor of the Herzegovinian *sancak* (district) established in 1470, formerly part of the Rumelian *eyalet* and from 1580 of the Bosnian *eyalet*), and for the following reasons:

1. A decree of the Porte was ineffective in the Bosnian *eyalet* unless the above-mentioned administrators confirmed it by issuing an additional order to the subordinate authorities (Turk. *buyruldu*). As there was little automatism in this procedure, the Ragusans had to pay a double price for obtaining one and the same decree.

2. The Bosnian beylerbey was given a major role in the pivotal events of Dubrovnik's history as, for example, in the diminution of *haraç*, the Sultan's decision being brought upon his expert opinion on the Ragusan conditions.

3. On the lower level of the Dubrovnik-Bosnia relations, a series of daily issues had to be dealt with: free trade along the border, loans, the lease of arable Hercegovinian plots of land and pastures to the Ragusans, refugees and migrations in pursuit of work, regulation of the border regime in time of plague

epidemics, friction caused by the occupation of Dubrovnik's border areas, plunder, raids, and murders. With the assistance of the Ottoman authorities in Bosnia, beylerbey of Bosnia in particular, Ragusan government attended to the current issues concerning the Bishopric of Trebinje and Mrkan (suffragan of the archbishop of Dubrovnik), acting as protector of bishops, parish priests and Catholic population of the bishopric.

4. Additionally, insubordination of the regional and local officials within the Bosnian *eyalet* was more than apparent in the arbitrary imposition of extra taxes and customs dues, bans on grain and meat trade, and blockade of the Ragusan borders.

All the mentioned issues could be resolved at the court of beylerbey or sancakbey, but in case of failure the matter could go as far as the Sultan and the Porte itself. If it agreed to protect the Ragusans, the Porte would issue a written order to its provincial and local authorities, which means that the whole affair was back to where it had started.

Regardless of the privileges granted by the Porte, peace, freedom and prosperity of Dubrovnik largely depended on the whims and disposition of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian officials. A number of series kept at the State Archives of Dubrovnik (for example the letters and instructions of the Senate despatched to the envoys in Bosnia, the Senate minutes, Turkish letters, etc.) testify to the background, methods and virtuosity with which the Ragusan authorities tried to establish and maintain good relations with a succession of local Ottoman officials in their neighbourhood over the centuries.

From their first contacts, the Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys were offered ordinary (It. *ordinario, solito*) gifts within a formally established ceremony involving Ragusan envoys or ambassadors (*poklisari*). In numerous other situations they offered extraordinary (It. *estradinario*) gifts, including money. The Osmanlis themselves made regular demands for various commodities, food or services, which, as a rule, they received as an expression of token.¹

¹ On gifts and services offered to Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys, see: Josip Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan paša Predojević«, in: idem, *Dubrovačko povijesno iverje*. Dubrovnik: Matica Hrvatska, 1997: pp. 91-108; Zdravko Šundrica, »O darovima u dubrovačkoj diplomaciji«. *Naše more* 1 (1959): pp. 53-57; Toma Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka u XVI veku«. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 12-13 (1965): pp. 75-120; Ivan Božić, »Hercegovački sandžakbeg Ajaz«. *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu* 1 (1948): pp. 64-84; Vuk Vinaver, »Bosna i Dubrovnik«. *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH* 13 (1963): pp. 199-232.

The practice of presenting the newly appointed Bosnian beylerbey and Herzegovinian sancakbey with gifts was part of the Ragusan diplomatic protocol. According to the evidence provided by the Ragusan archival sources, it was to take place once in the period from eighteen to twenty-four months.

Upon installation, the sancakbey would inform the Ragusans of his mandate in writing.² During formal audience, sancakbey's envoy and the Rector exchanged gifts.³

To the new sancakbey the Ragusans then despatched two patrician envoys (*poklisari*),⁴ who, during the first or the so-called public audience, delivered the letter of credence and a persuasive speech which concentrated mostly on the official's personality. The speech retained the same form over the centuries and was traditionally used to welcome each newly appointed sancakbey or beylerbey. The envoys stressed that the Ragusan government praised the Lord for having installed such a righteous, humane and above all virtuous Ottoman representative to govern in their neighbourhood. The Republic saluted his arrival because they were certain he had always been and would be a most loyal of all the Ragusan friends and protectors. They sincerely hoped him to be a good-willed and friendly neighbour for what they would be ever grateful

² In 1501 sancakbey's envoy delivered 2 rugs, 2 bed coverings, 4 shirts and 2 pieces of cloth (Toma Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI. veku*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1973: p. 53). Announcements of the installation of Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys: State Archives of Dubrovnik (hereafter cited as: SAD), *Acta Turcarum* (hereafter: *AT*), series 75, vol. B 10, no. 10; vol. B 11, no. 19, 49; vol. B 12, no. 68; vol. B 26, no. 84, 114. Early contacts involved higher officials of sancakbey's court, such as *kethüda* (assistant, delegate), *kapıcıbaşı* (commander of the court guards, wardens), *çeşnigir* (official caterer). The Rector played host to them during their short stay in Dubrovnik at the government's expense (I. Božić, »Hercegovački sandžakbeg Ajaz«: p. 70; T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: pp. 90-91). Later the so-called *mataracı* (court attendants responsible for water supplies) were despatched to Dubrovnik. The Ragusans would offer them 10 ducats and meals (*Lettere di Levante* (hereafter: *LL*), series 27.1 (SAD), vol. 47, f. 276; vol. 63, ff. 98v-100v; vol. 64, ff. 67v-68v; vol. 67, ff. 161v-166; vol. 69, ff. 61v-64, 193-197v; vol. 76, ff. 190-193v; *Detta*, series 6 (SAD), vol. 17, f. 44).

³ Apart from the stated, there was an additional gift for which sancakbey expected something in return. It could rather be described as a specific form of trade in which sancakbey delivered cattle to the Ragusans. The latter assessed it and sent him the money, less often fabrics. This form of exchange was also practised by *kethüdas*, agas and kadis, local dukes and other unnamed Osmanlis (*Dona Turcarum*, series 41a (SAD), vol. 1-2; Z. Šundrica, »O darovima u dubrovačkoj diplomaciji«: p. 56).

⁴ In the aftermath of the 1667 Great Earthquake and of the wars in the Republic's neighbourhood, the Ragusans decided to cut down their costs for the gifts to the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina as evidenced at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. In conformity with the new provisions, a newly appointed sancakbey was to be honoured by a single envoy only.

and willing to accommodate in any way possible. Then, in their grovelling demeanour they offered him the gift as a token of special affection, in exchange for the protection of Ragusans, their merchants and trade. In the beginning sancakbey received a gift in cash, 300 gold coins.⁵ Benefiting from favourable exchange rates in the Ottoman Empire, the Ragusans tended to devalue the gift over the centuries. By the dawn of the nineteenth century, it decreased as many as 8 times from the original value.⁶ Besides money, sancakbey was also offered 2 pieces of cloth,⁷ and from the turn of the seventeenth century instead of cloth he received 2 pieces of atlas (silk cloth), candles, sugar, spices and sweets, particularly a Ragusan delicacy known as *zahare* (sweetmeats).⁸ On every occasion the envoys stressed that their offerings were but a ‘green leaf’,⁹ a synonym for a modest gift, for they themselves were wretched and poor. Such expressions counted among the etiquette of the time but were also employed to neutralise the eventual speculations about Dubrovnik’s wealth.

This concluded public audience, which, as such, may have been attended by any party, including Osmanlis who wished to file a complaint against Ragusan

⁵ *LL*, vol. 17, f. 20v; vol. 44, f. 177v-178v; vol. 45, ff. 20v-22.

⁶ *LL*, vol. 43, ff. 210v-211v; vol. 44, ff. 177v-178v; vol. 45, ff. 20v-22; vol. 64, f. 301rv; vol. 66, ff. 131-134; vol. 85, f. 177v. Vuk Vinaver, *Pregled istorije novca u jugoslovenskim zemljama (XVI-XVIII vek)*. Beograd: Istorijiski institut, 1970: pp. 163, 359.

⁷ *Kavetac* as an undetermined measure of length or piece of cloth may be traced throughout the Dubrovnik archive sources. The term ‘*kavetac* of cloth’ is often additionally expressed in *libras*, the weight measure (On Ragusan *libras* see: Milan Vlajinac, *Rečnik naših starih mera u toku vekova*, vol. III. Beograd: SAN, 1968: p. 528). Thus, newly appointed sancakbey was to receive purple and scarlet cloth in the *kaveci* of 100 *libras*, equivalent to 3.6- 3.7 kg (e.g.: *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 87-88; vol. 56, ff. 75-76). In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century instead of cloth the Ragusans started offering 2 pieces of atlas, but the sources provide no evidence on the colour or quantity (*LL*, vol. 66, f. 134). Yet the newly appointed beylerbey in 1636 received a *kavetac* of atlas 12 ells long (6.6 meters; Ragusan ell = 0.55 meter; *LL*, vol. 47, f. 14). The same length was also offered as an extraordinary gift to sancakbey in 1566 (*LL*, vol. 30, f. 143v), leading us to assume that this was the standard length of a *kavetac* of atlas customarily awarded to each new sancakbey.

⁸ Plain *zahare* (It. *confetti comuni*) or sweetmeats were made of sugar and were a regular item among the ordinary gifts. A newly appointed sancakbey received 8-12 boxes of sweetmeats. Candles were offered in bundles (It. *mazzo*) consisting of 4 pieces each (*AT*, vol. B 12, no. 72; *LL*, vol. 57, f. 244). On this occasion, sancakbey was offered 2 bundles of candles, 6-8 loaves of sugar (It. *panetto*) and 8-12 packets of spices.

⁹ An expression ‘green leaf’ or ‘*foglio verde*’ was used to describe in Turkish a gift from a man so wretched that a freshly plucked leaf was the best he could offer. The Ragusans were also familiar with this expression, its use being widespread. It often features in the drafts of the Ragusan letters to the Ottoman officials awaiting to be translated by the Republic’s dragoman, as well as in the Senate’s instructions to the Ragusan envoys.

subjects. The envoys, however, usually replied that the purpose of their visit was to honour the sancakbey and if anyone wished to make a claim against the Ragusans, he could do so but in Dubrovnik. After the audience, the Ragusans visited the *kethüda* and honoured him with a gift as well.¹⁰ *Kethüda* was sancakbey's closest associate and assistant. Upon arrival in Herzegovina, *kethüda* was the first person the envoys made contact with in order to be received by the sancakbey. *Kethüda* was authorised to mediate and may have had considerable influence upon the decisions of his lord. The Ragusans described him as “*il canale per le grazie del passa*”,¹¹ a reason more to win his favour through gifts and lively correspondence. In practice, sancakbey was assisted by one *kethüda*, but in the sixteenth century he had two.¹² Apart from the officials mentioned, the Ragusans also rewarded some of the more distinguished members of the court.¹³

It was during the envoys' second audience, the so-called secret or private audience, which, with some luck, could only be attended by a Ragusan *dragoman* (interpreter for Turkish), that current issues found their place on the agenda.

On this occasion, sancakbey was often given an extraordinary gift as well, to suit the weight of the matters discussed. The Ragusan envoys were customarily careful when awarding the extraordinary gifts during the secret audience with no witnesses present, in order to eliminate the eventual risk that, once given, these gifts would change their nature and be considered ordinary.

If necessary, several private audiences could be arranged.

According to the protocol, the ambassadors stayed with the sancakbey for at least 3 or 4 days, during which they flattered him so as to win his amity.

The last, farewell audience also took place according to the protocol. Should a claim be made against a Ragusan subject, the envoys asked the sancakbey to inform them in writing first, instead of despatching his envoy. They would

¹⁰ *Kethüda* was offered 10 gold pieces, later 15 thalers, together with sweetmeats, sugar and spices.

¹¹ *LL*, vol. 72, ff. 1-6.

¹² *Kethüda* in question is the *kethüda* general (*chiecaia grande, chiechaia generale, chiechaia principale*) and the second *kethüda* is the *kethüda* of the house (*chechaia secondo, chechaia di casa*). According to the evidence available, two *kethüdas* were to hold office in the years 1570, 1582, 1592-96 (*Dona Turcarum*, vol. 1, f. 9; *LL*, vol. 38, ff. 14v-17v, 98; T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 102).

¹³ Sancakbey's *kapıcıbaşı* received 9 gold pieces (or 13.5 thalers), and *divan-yazıcı* (council secretary) 8 gold pieces (or 12 thalers).

also ask him to write out *buyruldu* to his inferiors instructing them not to hinder Ragusan merchants or anyone else from supplying Dubrovnik with livestock and food.¹⁴ At the end of the farewell audience sancakbey handed the letter of credence to be delivered to the Rector and the Ragusan government.¹⁵

Until 1580 the Ragusans also bestowed gifts upon each newly appointed sancakbey to Bosnia despite seldom contacts. Upon the establishment of the Bosnian *eyalet* in 1580,¹⁶ each newly appointed beylerbey of Bosnia, similar to the former sancakbeys, was presented with a formal gift consisting of 4 pieces of fabrics, candles, sweetmeats, sugar and spices. The list of the officials was extended with beylerbey's *kethüda*, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century with the Bosnian *defterdar* (finance administrator), and in the course of the eighteenth century *mula* of Sarajevo (a highly ranked judge).¹⁷

Judging by the frequency of the contacts and the tributes bestowed, the Ragusans tended to focus their attention on the sancakbey of Herzegovina rather than the beylerbey of Bosnia, despite the latter's superiority in rank. The underlying reasons were quite pragmatic: sancakbey was the Republic's only neighbour at land and the maintenance of friendly relations with him was of vital importance to the state. Hence, two envoys bearing costly gifts were regularly despatched to salute a newly appointed sancakbey, and only one envoy to greet the beylerbey and offer him a less valuable gift, which, as a rule, never consisted of cash. The protocol at the beylerbey's court mainly resembled that at the court of the sancakbey of Herzegovina.

By the early 1720s, Bosnian beylerbeys were often granted appanage of the sancak of Herzegovina as an extra source of income, under the condition that a beylerbey performed the duties of the sancakbey of Herzegovina, too.¹⁸ By doing so, the central Ottoman government tried to enlarge the beylerbeys'

¹⁴ Immediately upon setting out to Dubrovnik, the envoys would announce the contents of *buyruldu* (*LL*, vol. 30, f. 185; vol. 40, ff. 154-156).

¹⁵ *AT*, vol. B 9, no. 46; vol. B 12, no. 33, 56, 63; vol. B IV, no. 77.

¹⁶ The Bosnian *eyalet* then consisted of the sancak of Klis, Pakrac, Zvornik, Požega and Herzegovina, as well as of that of the central Bosnia.

¹⁷ From the latter half of the sixteenth century it was customary to award the Bosnian sancakbey with 2 pieces of cloth and 2 pieces of damask, 18 boxes of sweetmeats, 8 loaves of sugar, 6 bundles of candles and 6 packets of spices (*LL*, vol. 25, ff. 28v-29; vol. 28, ff. 254-255; vol. 29, f. 11v; vol. 30, ff. 154-155, 278v-280). In the earlier periods, the gift was less modest (*LL*, vol. 20, f. 258v; vol. 21, ff. 54v-55; vol. 22, f. 258; vol. 23, ff. 217-218; vol. 24, ff. 90-91).

¹⁸ The practice of joined functions was of earlier date: *LL*, vol. 42, f. 37 (year 1609); vol. 49, f. 253 (year 1648); vol. 58, ff. 29v-36v (year 1661).

incomes in Bosnia which was exhausted after three successive wars (War of Candia 1645-1669, War of Morea 1684-1699 and Turco-Venetian War 1714-1718).¹⁹

In dealing with the newly appointed beylerbeys, a single Ragusan envoy was entrusted with the task, or, to lower the costs even further, the *haraç* envoys were to pay a visit to the new beylerbey prior or after their mission to Istanbul. According to the established procedure, beylerbey was honoured and presented with the letter of credence and carefully selected gifts. He heard out the Ragusan demands during two almost identical audiences. During the first visit, the Ragusans addressed him as beylerbey of Bosnia, while in the second as sancakbey of Herzegovina. *Kethüda* was paid two separate visits as well: during the first, he received the Ragusans as beylerbey's *kethüda* and during the second, as that of sancakbey. In the days to follow, the earlier described ritual of the secret and farewell audience took place.

In the course of the eighteenth century, a practice of bearing extra gifts to beylerbeys was established, and thus they were accommodated with the finest fabrics of atlas and brocade, velvet, watches, citrus fruit, candles, sugar, scents and cash.²⁰ By the 1760s, the nature of the gift was established: 6 pieces of atlas, 3 pieces of cloth known as *maut londrina* or *saia veneziana*, and 60 loaves of sugar. Although they never intended it to become an ordinary gift, as it was to be offered only to the friendliest beylerbeys and in secrecy, it soon acquired all the qualities of an ordinary gift. Each new beylerbey was entitled to it and expected to receive it together with the ordinary gift generally bestowed on the occasion of the first public audience. Beylerbey's *kethüda* and several close associates were also accommodated in an 'ordinary' manner.²¹ A similar case took place in the seventeenth century, but then the Ragusans managed to resist the pressure. In the 1650s the Ragusans took on a practice of awarding the beylerbey with 300 thalers during secret audience.²² The sum was probably

¹⁹ *LL*, vol. 71, ff. 42-45.

²⁰ *LL*, vol. 75, f. 174v; vol. 76, ff. 76v, 148, 201v-214; vol. 77a, ff. 85v-98, 152v; vol. 78, ff. 67v-68; vol. 80, f. 146; vol. 81, ff. 161-167, vol. 84, ff. 52-61v.

²¹ *Kethüda* received 2 pieces of cloth and 20 loaves of sugar, Janissary-aga (Janissary commander) 2 pieces of atlas and 10 loaves of sugar, *divan-efendi* (secretary to beylerbey), *çavuşlar kethüdası* and *haznadar* (treasurer to beylerbey) a piece of atlas each. (*LL*, vol. 84, ff. 52-61v; vol. 85, ff. 114-130; vol. 95, ff. 43v, 54-59v; vol. 96, ff. 11-24, 216-224v; vol. 97, ff. 82-90v; vol. 98, ff. 9-20; vol. 99, ff. 62-78v; vol. 102, ff. 162-176v; vol. 103, ff. 68-82v; vol. 104, ff. 47-53v, 157-167v; vol. 105, ff. 45-59v, 135-147v; vol. 106, ff. 147-169v; vol. 108, ff. 119-130; vol. 110, ff. 197-205v).

²² *Diplomata et acta saec. XVII* (hereafter: *DA 17*), series 76 (SAD), vol. 1863, no. 7, 18; vol. 1869, no. 2; *LL*, vol. 56, ff. 65-70, 140v; vol. 58, ff. 29v-36v; vol. 59, ff. 191-193.

intended to neutralise constant Ottoman allegations concerning Ragusan passive role in the matter of *hajduks* (the brigands)—it was midst the War of Candia 1645-1669—who plundered Herzegovina by freely crossing the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic. In the 1670s Dubrovnik decided to renounce this practice and expectedly met with great dissatisfaction on behalf of the future beylerbeys. The Ragusans tried to persuade them that their predecessors had received no gifts apart from the ordinary ones.²³

The protocol of the first audience with the sancakbay or beylerbey was drawn out to the last detail: the envoys and the dragoman were given precise instructions when to bow and how many times, to kiss the hand or cloak of the sancakbey or beylerbey, where to sit and how to address him. Coffee and sherbet were served during the audience. The occasion was usually concluded when the official presented the Ragusan envoy, and sometimes dragoman, with a *kaftan* (a long overall cloak).²⁴ In addition, the envoys also received the so-called *tain* or allowance which was to cover their daily expenses while visiting the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁵ The gifts received by the members of the Ragusan embassy became the property of the Dubrovnik state. The envoy was also honoured with an official entourage which was to accompany him to his quarters after the first audience. The envoy then enjoyed the entertainment of the beylerbey's court musicians and the company of the local notables.²⁶ Ragusan envoys honoured the new Ottoman officials in the sancakbey seats of Pljevlja and Foča, beylerbey seats in Travnik, Sarajevo and Banja Luka, or wherever they happened to be at the moment—on the road or in a camp.

Shortly upon arrival in his seat, the sancakbey of Herzegovina set out to inspect the district. The Ragusans honoured him during his visit to Gabela (near today's Metković, Croatia) and Herceg-Novi (in today's Montenegro).

In Gabela the sancakbey was visited by one Ragusan envoy, who bestowed him with 2 pieces of fabric, atlas usually, candles, sweetmeats, sugar and

²³ *DA 17*, vol. 1869, no. 4, 5, 7; *LL*, vol. 64, ff. 103v-106, 206v-209v.

²⁴ *Dona Turcarum*, vol. 1, ff. 4, 46; *DA 17*, vol. 1868, no. 1, 2; vol. 1869, no. 4; *Regolamenti dell'Ambasciata di Bossina che deve osservare il Dragomano*, series 21.1 (SAD), vol. 39 (of 1805). Instead of kaftan, Ragusan envoys were offered alternative gifts. In 1590, the Bosnian beylerbey gave the envoy two white carpets (*Dona Turcarum*, vol. 1, f. 146), while in 1668, a kerchief (*DA 17*, vol. 1869, no. 1, 2).

²⁵ *DA 17*, vol. 1869, no. 7.

²⁶ *Regolamenti dell'Ambasciata di Bossina che deve osservare il Dragomano*; *DA 17*, vol. 1869, no. 1 (in 1668 the envoy was escorted to the lodgings by about 30 men); *Diplomata et acta saec. XVIII* (hereafter: *DA 18*), series 76 (SAD), vol. 3396, no. 5.

spices.²⁷ Fresh vegetables and flowers were occasionally added, purchased on the way through the western Ragusan territory.²⁸ Apparently, the Ragusan fishermen in the Neretva Valley were instructed to catch fish in order to honour the sancakbey with a rich netful of fresh fish.²⁹ The envoy bore something for *kethüda* as well, several members of the entourage and the local notables.³⁰

On his way to Herceg-Novi, sancakbey usually travelled through Konavle, the eastern local unit of Dubrovnik. The practice prevailed from the end of the fifteenth century to the Venetian seizure of Herceg-Novi in 1687. This official occasion filled the Ragusans with anxiety, as it threatened the Republic's sovereignty formally and virtually, while the population of Konavle was being menaced by raids, plunder and open hostilities with sancakbey's soldiers. It was on these occasions that some of the most fierce raids of Konavle took place, as will be described later in the article, or, for example, an incident in 1571, when sancakbey simply wandered off from the usual route and came to the monastery of St Jacob in the City's vicinity, where he and his entourage stayed overnight.³¹

The visit to Herceg-Novi was to be carried out according to a special protocol, but the Ragusans tended to alter it over the years in order to belittle the importance of the occasion and hasten sancakbey's passage through Konavle with as few men as possible.

Therefore, upon the news of his departure from Trebinje or some other place in the neighbourhood, two patrician envoys would set out to meet him.³² They saluted him on behalf of Dubrovnik's government, expressed their joy at his arrival and flattered him saying that they, the envoys, were despatched

²⁷ The fabric was scarlet and purple, while by the end of the 1620s it was replaced by atlas of unknown colour (*LL*, vol. 44, ff. 262v-263). In addition, he received 4-10 boxes of sweetmeats, 2-4 bundles of candles, 8-10 loaves of sugar, 10-12 packets of spices.

²⁸ In April 1560, the Ragusan envoy was instructed to pluck some lettuce and flowers on his way from Ston to Gabela (*LL*, vol. 28, ff. 26-27v).

²⁹ *LL*, vol. 44, ff. 187v-188.

³⁰ Sweetmeats, spices and sugar were also offered to *kethüda*, *divan-yazıcı*, *kapıcıbaşı* and *emin* based in Gabela. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ragusans also bore gifts to the captain of Gabela, and until the 1590s to the *çeşnigir*.

³¹ Sancakbey was to turn up in St Jacob in 1577 as well (T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: pp. 284, 320).

³² Sancakbey would formally inform on his plans to visit Herceg-Novi. In case he failed to specify the time of his arrival at the Republic border, the government despatched a spy to Herzegovina (*LL*, vol. 41, ff. 115-119; vol. 476, f. 263rv).

to honour him and keep company, for he, a unique friend and protector of the Republic, occupied a special place in their hearts. Thus accompanied by the envoys, sancakbey and his impressive entourage of about one to two hundred people³³ made way towards the Ragusan border where they were joined by the local count of Konavle. Together, they proceeded to the place where the count organised refreshment and where sancakbey was to receive the ordinary gift.³⁴ Scarce evidence reveals that this reception commonly took place in the monastery of St Blaise in Pridvorje or in a home of a wealthier local, possibly patrician,³⁵ on the route Brotnice (Lastva) - Gabriele - Pridvorje, until the start of the seventeenth century a most frequently employed route on his way to Herceg-Novı. Having reached the destination, the count presented the sancakbey with 100 gold coins (i.e.150 thalers), 2 pieces of cloth (atlas),³⁶ candles, sugar, sweetmeats and spices,³⁷ sometimes fresh fruit from Konavle.³⁸ At first, *kethüda's* gift consisted of sweetmeats, spices and sugar. The stronger the Ragusan pressure against the Ottoman passage through Konavle, the higher the value of the gift awarded to *kethüda* as a person of direct influence over his lord. From the beginning of the seventeenth century his gift was extended with a piece of atlas and from the 1640s, an extra amount of 20 thalers.³⁹

³³ *LL*, vol. 48, f. 41.

³⁴ If sancakbey was to pass through Konavle twice—to and from Herceg Novi—the local count entertained and rewarded him on his way back (*LL*, vol. 34, ff. 267v-270v). There were times when sancakbey set out to Herceg-Novı but not through Konavle. The envoys would then meet him duly in Herceg-Novı, and if they scented his return through Konavle, they offered him sweetmeats, spices and candles, making it clear that the gift would be made complete by two other envoys in Konavle. On his way back, at the Republic border he was met by the local count and the new envoys. A customary reception was proceeded by the distribution of the remaining gifts: 100 gold pieces and 2 pieces of cloth (*LL*, vol. 23, ff. 213-215; vol. 24, ff. 102v-103v; vol. 30, ff. 197-199v, 272-274). If sancakbey happened to be in the vicinity of the border with no intention of travelling to Herceg Novi, the envoys also honoured him with a gift and kept him company for about 3-4 days (*LL*, vol. 21, f. 113-114v, vol. 23, ff. 3-4v; vol. 26, ff. 178-181v).

³⁵ *LL*, vol. 44, ff. 59-60; vol. 47, f. 184; vol. 48, f. 50v; *Detta*, vol. 9, f. 6; T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: p. 421.

³⁶ As on similar occasions, the cloth was scarlet or purple, *kavetac* equalled 100 libras, or 60 libras in the 1620s (*LL*, vol. 44, ff. 28v-30v). An apparent deficiency of cloth in the period induced the Ragusans to replace it with grey or peach-coloured atlas (*LL*, vol. 44, ff. 70v-71).

³⁷ In the course of the sixteenth century, the quantity of candles, sweetmeats, sugar and spices varied. In the seventeenth century sancakbey received 2-4 bundles of candles, 8-10 boxes of sweetmeats, 8 loaves of sugar and 12 packets of spices.

³⁸ *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 197-199v.

³⁹ *LL*, vol. 49, ff. 20-21 (year 1645). In addition to atlas and thalers, *kethüda* customarily received 2 boxes of sweetmeats, 2 loaves of sugar and 2 packets of spices.

Judging by the available evidence, the refreshment served in Konavle consisted of chicken, lamb, castrates, barley, bread, butter, wine and fruit.⁴⁰ The hosts were particularly instructed to make certain that the guests be suitably entertained during the meal.⁴¹

The envoys then escorted the sancakbey to Herceg-Novi where they stayed eight days, during which they applied all their persuasive energies to put in a good word for the Ragusan merchants, other Republic subjects and Ragusan matters in general. Having completed their mission, they sought permission to leave and return to Dubrovnik.

While the envoys followed the mounted Turkish procession on land, the Ragusan fishermen sailed south to Herceg-Novi to provide the Ottoman officials with fish.⁴²

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ragusan government sought ways to persuade the sancakbey to shift his route via Mrcine (today's Dubravka), a small border village, instead of penetrating deeper into Konavle. The envoys claimed that the food supplies of Konavle were exhausted and for this reason could not host him and his entourage accordingly. Also, with epidemics raging, their passage increased the risk of contagion, since the Ragusans were very strict in the observance of quarantine regulations. They were ready to oil their demands with an additional tribute of 100 Ragusan ducats to be delivered in secrecy and thus avoid its becoming a custom.⁴³ The most stubborn sancakbeys who refused to give up on this route were pleaded, however, to make their passage with a somewhat less impressive entourage by sending the rest of men to Herceg-Novi along a different route. The most persistent sancakbeys were reminded of the firman forbidding beylerbeys and sancakbeys to set foot in Konavle. Despite the decree, the Ragusans continued to tolerate sancakbey's passage through Mrcine, always prepared to soften the most reluctant Turkish officials with an extraordinary gift in cash.⁴⁴ Should violent behaviour be suspected, the Ragusans ordered

⁴⁰ *LL*, vol. 23, f. 163; *Detta*, vol. 12, f. 84; vol. 13, ff. 27, 40v; vol. 14, ff.60v, 86.

⁴¹ *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 197-199v.

⁴² *LL*, vol. 1, f. 38v.

⁴³ *LL*, vol. 44, ff. 58-60, 187v-188v; vol. 46, ff. 230-232; vol. 47, ff. 181v-183, 263rv.

⁴⁴ *LL*, vol. 50, f. 51v; vol. 55, ff. 60v-63, 117-118; vol. 56, ff. 40-43; vol. 57, ff. 57-60v; vol. 64, ff. 28v-29.

the local count of Konavle to gather as many armed men as possible, presenting these measures as regular escort or protection against the brigands.⁴⁵

The first mention of a firman pertaining to the passage to Herceg-Novi dates from the 1630s, and was prompted by an event which Dubrovnik had long dreaded. In 1631 Bosnia was governed by a notorious beylerbey Abaza Mehmed-pasha. Having seized the islet of Lokrum, in the close proximity to the town of Dubrovnik, Venice was determined to prevent Abaza-pasha from intervening on the Ragusan behalf by offering him a substantial bribe. Abaza-pasha easily provoked a conflict with the Ragusans, for it was revealed that they had secretly executed an Ottoman subject who, together with his brothers, had slain three Ragusans in 1629. As an act of retribution, Abaza-pasha ordered the arrest of the Ragusan salt officer in Gabela, a nobleman. On his way to Herceg-Novi, he also arrested two envoys sent with an instruction to deny him passage through Konavle and to ask him to inform the Porte of the Venetian seizure of Lokrum. Despite an attractive offer of 1,000 ducats, Abaza-pasha made his way through Konavle and was even offered fairly valuable gifts, although his soldiers ravaged the villages, robbed and terrorised the local population. The total value of the gifts was 3,000 ducats, plus 2,700 thalers for the liberation of the imprisoned envoys. As long as Abaza-pasha stayed in Herceg-Novi, the Ragusans feared new intrusions, particularly during his return through Konavle. A plan for the evacuation of the population was made, while 400 soldiers were stationed at the most vulnerable locations.⁴⁶

As mentioned earlier, this event spurred the Ragusans to demand a firman from the Porte which would prohibit the Bosnian beylerbey from passing or staying in Konavle on his way to Herceg-Novi.⁴⁷ Shortly afterwards, they sought a similar demand concerning the passage of sancakbey of Herzegovina. Despite Ragusan efforts, Konavle was ravaged again in 1641. Sancakbey of Herzegovina, Shahin-pasha, stirred up trouble by digging out a case of an executed Ottoman subject, the same thorny issue which Abaza-pasha had used against the Ragusans ten years before. Shahin-pasha undertook the same steps as Abaza-pasha, and

⁴⁵ *LL*, vol. 56, ff. 40-43; vol. 64, ff. 27-28v.

⁴⁶ *LL*, vol. 45, ff. 173-176, 177v-185v, 187-192, 199-200, 203, 210-211; Radovan Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1983: pp. 86-91; V. Vinaver, »Bosna i Dubrovnik«: pp. 206-210.

⁴⁷ *LL*, vol. 45, f. 218.

had the Ragusan salt dealer in Neretva apprehended. He threatened to have him impaled for the sake of being remembered as an official who dared sentence a Ragusan nobleman in such a ruthless manner. He then proceeded to Herceg-Novi with intent to make his way through Konavle with a sizable company of horsemen and footmen. This called for the government's immediate action. Several hundred men, local people as well as soldiers from the City were placed on full alert. They were positioned around the most vulnerable villages, while some were stationed in the residence of the local count and the Monastery of St Blaise in Pridvorje, as these places were most likely to be visited by sancakbey. Open hostilities did not take place, although the soldiers of Shahin-pasha ravaged the villages and killed some of the inhabitants who failed to seek refuge. The Osmanlis then proceeded to Herceg-Novi. It was not until Shahin-pasha finally left Herceg-Novi, most probably via Mrcine, that a one-month state of emergency came to an end.⁴⁸

Thanks to the Ragusan diplomatic endeavours at the Porte, both Abazapasha and Shahin-pasha were dismissed.

Once the firman was granted, the entire procedure was simplified. The envoys no longer accompanied sancakbey to Herceg-Novi. Had any of them insisted, the Ragusans refused on the excuse that the Senate would have them beheaded in case they left the Republic territory. Or better still, the envoys would present them the firman which prohibited the Turkish officials from capturing or detaining the Ragusan envoys.⁴⁹ Sancakbeys were known to be welcomed by a single party of nonnoble birth. Ivo Capizzi was often chosen for the task, mainly on account of his ability to harness their ambitions and aspirations.⁵⁰ Sancakbeys were to arrive in Mrcine accompanied by a few of their men. Despite Ragusan explicit instructions, they sometimes stayed overnight. In order to spur their prompt departure, the food was served immediately upon arrival.⁵¹

The sancakbey of Herzegovina also received an ordinary gift from the envoys of *haraç*. They would stop in his seat to salute him and deliver the letter of credence, drawing attention to their mission to the Porte. They demanded that

⁴⁸ *LL*, vol. 48, ff. 23-24, 26rv, 28rv, 38v-41, 45v-47, 50v-52v, 54v-65, 66v-80v, 83-84v; V. Vinaver, »Bosna i Dubrovnik«: pp. 218-220.

⁴⁹ *LL*, vol. 56, ff. 40-43; vol. 64, ff. 107-109.

⁵⁰ *LL*, vol. 48, f. 184v; vol. 49, ff. 20-21; vol. 57, ff. 142v-143. Ivo Capizzi was despatched to meet the sancakbey in 1649, 1653, and in 1654 (*LL*, vol. 50, f. 51v; vol. 55, ff. 60v-63, 117-118).

⁵¹ *LL*, vol. 45, ff. 187-188v; vol. 62, f. 55rv; *DA 17*, vol. 1805a, no. 11.

none of his inferiors interfere with the ventures of the Ragusan merchants, for it was the will of the Sultan whom they were about to visit. At first, sancakbey was offered 100 gold coins (or 150 thalers), and from the eighteenth century, instead of money he was awarded 2 pieces of atlas and 12 loaves of sugar. The gifts were at times also given to his *kapıcıbaşı* and *çavuş* (messenger and the court warden at the same time) who accompanied the envoys of *haraç*.⁵² In the course of the seventeenth century, they started to visit the beylerbey of Bosnia as well, his gift being predetermined as 2 pieces of atlas.⁵³

The fifth and the last ordinary gift to sancakbey was the one offered at Christmas. Unlike all the rest, the nature of this gift was not precisely determined. It usually consisted of aspic, dried figs, oranges and malvasia, occasionally lemons, limes, oil, sugar, brandy, mead, and soap. Beylerbey's gift consisted of the same items.⁵⁴

In addition, it was customary to tip the court officials, usually in cash, between 200 and 800 aspers.

Sancakbey's family and relatives—parents, wives, sons, daughters, nephews—as well as those of beylerbey, were also offered gifts.⁵⁵ Influential officials or those well disposed towards the Ragusans, such as Ahmed Dugali⁵⁶ or the dragoman of the sancakbey of Herzegovina in 1605, were also given presents.⁵⁷ The list should be extended with Mehmed, sancakbey's tutor (Turk. *lala*), who

⁵² For example: *LL*, vol. 32, f. 179; vol. 46, ff. 271v-274v; vol. 67, ff. 69-79. A silver plate was offered to sancakbey's *kapıcıbaşı* until the second decade of the seventeenth century (*LL*, vol. 17, f. 27v; vol. 43, f. 271). Until the beginning of the same century, *çavuş* appointed as escort was bestowed with 16 gold coins plus 4 for his travel expenses (*LL*, vol. 30, f. 217; vol. 41, f. 38v).

⁵³ *LL*, vol. 64, ff. 90-96v; vol. 74, f. 1v.

⁵⁴ *LL*, vol. 25, ff. 254v-255; vol. 41, ff. 121-123v; vol. 42, ff. 37, 182; vol. 43, ff. 219-222; vol. 45, ff. 246v-248; vol. 63, ff. 246v-247v; *AT*, vol. B 11, no. 67; vol. B 12, no. 34; vol. B 23, no. 104.

⁵⁵ *LL*, vol. 20, ff. 203-204; vol. 23, ff. 3-4v, 158, 240v-243; vol. 24, ff. 16v-17v, 50-52, 105v-106; vol. 28, ff. 254v-255; vol. 41, ff. 99-104v, 115-119; vol. 44, ff. 150-151; vol. 67, ff. 2-4v.

⁵⁶ Ahmed Dugali, great friend of the Republic, received an extra two gifts of atlas in 1593 while holding *kethüda*'s office at the court of the Bosnian beylerbey (*LL*, vol. 38, ff. 35-42, 50v-54). He was also rewarded in 1602 (*LL*, vol. 40, f. 49v-51). In 1604, installed as beylerbey of Bosnia, he was offered 200 *ungari* in addition to the ordinary gift (*LL*, vol. 40, ff. 176v-177). Later, although no longer on the position, the Ragusans would offer him 2 pieces of atlas, 2 boxes of sweetmeats and 4 packets of spices. Whenever the envoys called on the new beylerbey in Banja Luka, they paid tribute to Ahmed Dugali as well (*LL*, vol. 41, ff. 128v-130v, 172rv; vol. 42, ff. 33-35, 107rv, 192v-196).

⁵⁷ The envoys who visited the new sancakbey offered 4 loaves of sugar and 4 boxes of sweetmeats to his dragoman, a friend of Ragusa (*LL*, vol. 41, ff. 99-104v).

was born in Dubrovnik and had great influence upon his governor (1582/3).⁵⁸ Whenever formally invited to the officials' homes to occasion a wedding, birth, circumcision or return from war, the Ragusans always bore suitable gifts.⁵⁹

Ragusan envoys, at the time not necessarily nobles but dragomans or other Ragusan subjects familiar with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, visited the beylerbeys and sancakbeys irrespective of the established protocol, but never empty handed. The purpose of their irregular visits usually lay in thornier diplomatic questions which had to be resolved without delay. Generally, the envoys, noblemen in particular, were reluctant to go to Bosnia in terror of the plague, brigand bands and ill-disposed Ottoman dignitaries. As these reasons directly undermined the missions and their success, the Senate tried to make certain alterations in the traditionally fixed itinerary. The envoys were instructed to take alternative routes, and were thus allowed to hire one or two guides. They carried sufficient food provisions to avoid frequent stopovers and contacts with the Osmanlis. If they were to arrive in a place affected by the plague, they were instructed to proceed to the first safe destination. Their delay was usually accounted by false excuses. In 1742 Travnik was ravaged by an outbreak of plague and the Ragusan envoy decided to find shelter in an unnamed place off Travnik, fabricating an excuse that he had suddenly fallen ill.⁶⁰ The Ragusan government proved considerate towards its noblemen and often spared them from the hazardous journeys by sending dragomans or other subjects instead.⁶¹

Hindrance, imprisonment and maltreatment of the *poklisari* were the most common displays of Ottoman hostility. In 1633 a Ragusan envoy was seized under an accusation that his gift to sancakbey was inappropriate. A similar case took place in 1639, when an envoy was thrown into prison and maltreated.⁶² An episode from 1775 proved to be the last straw. Kliment Menze was despatched to beylerbey on account of an incident concerning the emins, Ottoman 'consuls'

⁵⁸ In September 1582 the envoys visited the new sancakbey of Herzegovina. Special tribute was paid to *lala* Mehmed in the form of 2 pieces of silk, 4 boxes of sweetmeats and 4 loaves of sugar as an expression of deep affection for him as their compatriot (T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 96; *LL*, vol. 34, ff. 184-187v). *Lala* Mehmed was rewarded on several occasions that and the following year (*LL*, vol. 34, ff. 231v-234, 267v-270v).

⁵⁹ *AT*, vol. B 23, no. 5; vol. B 24, no. 10; vol. B 25, no. 67; *LL*, vol. 34, ff. 102v-105, 129; vol. 38, ff. 14v-17v; vol. 46, ff. 246v-248.

⁶⁰ *LL*, vol. 75, ff. 170v-171; vol. 86, ff. 110-120v; vol. 102, ff. 28-31v; *DA* 17, vol. 1868, no. 6.

⁶¹ *LL*, vol. 70, ff. 92-93v, 141-142v; vol. 73, ff. 33v-36v.

⁶² V. Vinaver, »Bosna i Dubrovnik«: pp. 213, 215 and 229.

and tax officers based at Ploče, in the proximity of the City and its harbour. Having recently arrived from the plague stricken Alexandria, several Mecca pilgrims (Turk. *haci*) were encouraged by the emins to disregard the quarantine regulations of the Lazaretto, in which one of the pilgrims had died of the disease, and run away. The emins soon spread the rumour of his murder by a Ragusan. Unfortunately, the entire staff of beylerbey's court was extremely hostile towards the Republic, especially his *kethüda*, who found a way to imprison the envoy. The Ragusans offered 1,000 thalers to beylerbey and 100 to *kethüda* for the punishment of emin. Their offers were turned down, and the proof of guilt rejected. The envoy was threatened and maltreated, his ransom being set at 3,500 thalers. The 'negotiations' took a drastic course when the Turks began to torture dragoman Fabri. He was chained by the feet, arms and neck and thrown into a ditch. Menze and Fabri were released immediately after the ransom payment, but the Senate was determined to see such ill treatment sanctioned for the sake of the envoys' security in future. A special envoy was despatched to the Porte demanding punishment for *kethüda* lain and the emins, with 2,000 thalers at his disposal. It was not until 1777 that beylerbey received a firman instructing him to punish his *kethüda* and disburse the money extorted from Menze. Still, the provisions of the firman remained a dead letter.⁶³

No wonder the Ragusan noblemen preferred to pay a fine for office refusal than put their lives at stake in such dangerous diplomatic missions. For example, in 1778 Frano Ghetaldi was appointed *poklisar* to Bosnia. Although excused for reason of poor health, he still had to pay a fine of 150 ducats. Instead, Mato Pozza was chosen but refused office for reasons unknown, and readily paid the fine. On that very day, the Senate decided to raise the salary of the envoys to Bosnia from 150 to 250 ducats. The next candidate accepted the mission. Another raise in salary took place in 1791, amounting to 450 ducats. It was decided that the envoy to Bosnia would not be elected to this office in the next eight years.⁶⁴ Besides, the Senate tried to stimulate the envoys financially through an extra salary, should the mission prove an unusually risky one.⁶⁵

According to eighteenth-century evidence, *poklisari* travelled with four to five servants, soldiers and messenger. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century

⁶³ *LL*, vol. 95, ff. 54-69v, 142rv, 148, 156-162; vol. 96, ff. 53-60, 75v, 96v-98v, 138-140v.

⁶⁴ *Acta Consilii Rogatorum* (hereafter: *CR*), series 3 (*SAD*), vol. 187, ff. 132-134; vol. 198, f. 131. The fine was also paid when the envoy was not ready to set out accordingly, and in 1722 it was 100 Ragusan ducats (*LL*, vol. 71, ff. 45v-54v).

⁶⁵ *LL*, vol. 85, ff. 170-181; vol. 86, ff. 110-120v.

a dragoman and his servant or soldier almost always travelled in their company, and they could also be joined by a barber-surgeon and a chaplain; from the end of the eighteenth century the embassy was escorted by an Ottoman Janissary.⁶⁶

Among the gifts most commonly offered to the Ottoman officials were cloths, sugar, sweetmeats, candles and spices, but also oranges, lemons and the best Ragusan wine - malvasia. There were food products and other commodities the Ottoman officials were deficient in and which they themselves demanded. Sometimes they offered to pay for the goods, but the Ragusans usually refused, as they hoped to benefit more from gifts. One should never doubt the Ragusans' realistic estimate of this kind of diplomatic investment since, apart from leisure items and luxuries, the selection focused mainly on objects for everyday use. The actual value of these gifts may be speculated on, but it is certain that the Ragusans took a lot of time and effort to procure and pack them, often importing them from abroad.

Sugar, sweetmeats, candles and spices tended to be offered on other occasions as well, when a whole variety of these items may be traced mainly in the sixteenth century. There is also mention of caster sugar which was distributed in loaves (It. *panetto*).⁶⁷

Sweetmeats (*zahare*) were packed in large, medium size or small boxes. Apart from the 'ordinary' *zahare* (It. *confetti comuni*), there is evidence on sweetmeats flavoured with almonds and coffee, pine nuts (It. *pinocchiato*), cinnamon, sweetmeats with eggs (*pasta reale*), marzipan (*pasta reale di marzipano*), fine sweetmeats with muscat and with other spices called '*mostacioni*'.⁶⁸

Further, there were white-wax candles, gilded, English and table candles. Seal wax and red wax were also on the list.⁶⁹

The spices were not specified by name, with the exception of the sixteenth century when cinnamon, anise and pepper may be traced in the documents.

⁶⁶ *LL*, vol. 69, ff. 94v-99; vol. 75, f. 79; vol. 88, f. 128; vol. 97, f. 89; vol. 105, ff. 135-147v; vol. 110, f. 243.

⁶⁷ *LL*, vol. 23, f. 163, 258; vol. 24, ff. 90v-91; vol. 29, ff. 95v-96.

⁶⁸ *Detta*, vol. 9, f. 5v; *LL*, vol. 21, ff. 16-17; vol. 23, ff. 158, 178v-179, 217v-218; vol. 24, ff. 105v-106; vol. 30, ff. 241v-243; vol. 33, ff. 271v-273; vol. 34, ff. 157v-159v; vol. 36, f. 119; vol. 38, f. 91; vol. 41, f. 138v; vol. 46, f. 99v; vol. 66, f. 182v; vol. 67, f. 14rv; *Copia Lettere Diverse Turcarum* (hereafter: *CLDT*), series 27.2 (SAD), vol. 2, f. 209rv.

⁶⁹ *LL*, vol. 20, ff. 68v, 203-204, 258v; vol. 23, ff. 3-7, 163, 187-188v; vol. 24, ff. 88v-90v, 148-149; vol. 25, ff. 34v-35; vol. 29, ff. 95v-96; vol. 30, 57v-58v; vol. 33, ff. 112-114v; *AT*, vol. B 28, no. 19; *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 209rv.

Melon seeds and pine nuts are the items mentioned in the same period.⁷⁰

As a rule, the Ragusans offered citrus fruit, lemons and sweet oranges and less frequently sour oranges and limes. The fruit basket also contained pomegranates, dried figs, sometimes peaches, grapes, quinces and melons.⁷¹

The Ottoman officials had a special liking for lemons which they used in the treatment of malaric fever (It. *febbre terzana*).⁷² If the lemon supplies in the Republic were insufficient due to severe winter, the Ragusans obtained them from Apulia.⁷³ Equally popular were citrus juices.⁷⁴

Alcohol was also given though with more caution. Judging by some of the Senate's official instructions, the envoys first had to make sure that the Ottoman official enjoyed alcohol, and if so, it was to be delivered most discreetly.⁷⁵ The Turks themselves were known to demand alcohol, most often malvasia, rose-petal liqueur (*rozolin*), brandy, boiled wine and *vin terbiano*.⁷⁶

In addition to the already mentioned items, the Ragusans accommodated the Ottoman tastes for coffee, chocolate, marzipan, quince cheese, olives, oil, vinegar, candied fruit, herbs, rose and violet petals.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ *LL*, vol. 20, f. 68v; vol. 21, ff. 54v-55; vol. 23, ff. 52v, 163, 213-215, 240v-243, 258, 266; vol. 24, ff. 15rv, 23rv, 50-52, 111-114, 212v-213v; vol. 25, f. 17v; vol. 27, ff. 15v-18; vol. 29, ff. 120-121v; vol. 30, ff. 241v-243; vol. 33, ff. 271v-273; vol. 34, ff. 120-122, 267v-270.

⁷¹ *LL*, vol. 22, ff. 92, 258-259v; vol. 23, f. 148; vol. 28, f. 225v; vol. 30, ff. 197-199v, 241v-243; vol. 35, f. 54; vol. 36, ff. 153-155; vol. 41, ff. 121-123v; vol. 42, ff. 33-35, 37, 182; vol. 66, ff. 156v-159, 182v; vol. 67, f. 14rv; vol. 75, ff. 129v, 170v-179; vol. 76, f. 210v; vol. 98, ff. 139-141; vol. 102, f. 173v.

⁷² *AT*, vol. B 24, no. 82.

⁷³ *LL*, vol. 74, ff. 38-39; vol. 75, ff. 127rv, 129v; vol. 79, f. 5.

⁷⁴ There is mention of lemon juice (*lemoni in sugo*; *sugo di limone*; *LL*, vol. 38, f. 91; vol. 44, ff. 70-71; vol. 45, ff. 175-176). Further, '*acqua naranciata*' or '*acqua d'aranci*' (*Detta*, vol. 13, f. 118, 119; *LL*, vol. 66, f. 182v), as well as '*acqua di tutto cedro*' (*LL*, vol. 66, f. 182v). These may have been orange or lime juices, but also medicinal drinks prepared from the flowers of citrus fruit.

⁷⁵ In 1777, an envoy was despatched to secretly deliver rose-petal liqueur to beylerbey's *kethüda* (*LL*, vol. 96, f. 35), and a year later to the beglerbey himself (*LL*, vol. 97, f. 38).

⁷⁶ *LL*, vol. 22, f. 258; vol. 23, f. 163; vol. 24, ff. 111-114; vol. 30, ff. 241v-243; vol. 35, ff. 27-31v; vol. 36, f. 119; vol. 37, f. 252v; vol. 38, ff. 14v-17v, 91; vol. 42, ff. 33-35, 37, 182; vol. 43, ff. 20, 70v-72, 156v-157, 210-211; vol. 44, ff. 28v-30, 67rv, 70v-71, 123, 176rv; vol. 45, ff. 23rv, 173v-176; vol. 49, ff. 46v, 47; vol. 55, ff. 188rv, 229v; vol. 56, ff. 108-110; vol. 73, ff. 16, 176v-183.

⁷⁷ *LL*, vol. 23, f. 163; vol. 24, ff. 105v-106; vol. 28, 225v; vol. 44, ff. 28v-30v; vol. 66, ff. 182v, 197, 246; vol. 67, ff. 14rv, 60v-62v; vol. 72, ff. 1-6, 240v-249; vol. 102, ff. 28-31v; *Detta*, vol. 9, f. 6; *DA 18*; vol. 3396, no. 7; *AT*, vol. B 24, no. 83; J. Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan paša Predojević«: p. 107.

The Ottoman officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina ordered and were ready to pay for the extra supplies of food, especially rice, and less often coffee and sugar.⁷⁸

The Bosnian court demanded writing paper, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ They ordered the so-called quinternet, joined paper leaves of different size and quality (*carta reale*, *carta imperiale*, *carta sotto reale* and *carta sottile*).⁸⁰

The Ottoman court received soap, fragrant essential oils and ointments,⁸¹ plain mirrors, mirror with gilded frame, mirror in an ivory box with a lid,⁸² silver tobacco boxes, and snuff.⁸³ In 1590 the Ragusans offered a fan decorated with small pearls, which they claimed to have practically extorted from a noblewoman who owned it only to pander to sancakbey's wishes.⁸⁴ The Ragusans furnished the Ottoman palaces with windowpanes, lanterns. In 1751 the Bosnian *defterdar* demanded the finest tobacco, and judging by the same letter beylerbey's *kethüda* had been previously awarded with jasmine flavoured tobacco and locks.⁸⁵

Animals for sport and leisure were also sent: gun dogs and those especially trained to catch the prey in water (It. *cane da caccia d'acqua*), falcons, hawks, parrots, even monkeys.⁸⁶ Pet accessories and food were also provided, such as birdcages, canary food which was ordered from Barletta, small bells for hawks and falcons, dog collars and coral decorations for horse harness.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 40; vol. B IV 1, no. 97, 115, 140, 199; *CLDT*, vol. 2, ff. 248rv, 254v-255; vol. 4, f. 88.

⁷⁹ J. Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan-paša Predojević«: p. 108.

⁸⁰ *LL*, vol. 69, ff. 205v-212v; vol. 70, f. 35v; vol. 74, ff. 169v, 183v-184v; vol. 75, f. 122; vol. 79, ff. 206-207; *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 38, 51-53; *CLDT*, vol. 2, ff. 134rv, 140v, 144v, 156v, 162, 173; vol. 3, ff. 69v, 242-243.

⁸¹ *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 201-202; vol. 66, ff. 144v-149, 156v; vol. 72, ff. 240v-249; vol. 72, ff. 86v, 122v-127, 176v-183; vol. 74, ff. 135v-138; vol. 76, ff. 222-223v.

⁸² *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 201-202; vol. 69, ff. 209-212v; vol. 71, f. 72v.

⁸³ *CLDT*, vol. 3, f. 122rv. In 1751 the Bosnian *defterdar* demanded the finest tobacco, and judging by the same letter beylerbey's *kethüda* had been previously awarded with jasmine flavoured tobacco (*AT*, vol. B 22, no. 76).

⁸⁴ *LL*, vol. 30, f. 61rv.

⁸⁵ *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 60; *LL*, vol. 75, ff. 64-66; *CLDT*, vol. 3, ff. 47, 69v.

⁸⁶ *AT*, vol. B 21, no. 33; vol. B 23, no. 96; vol. B 26, no. 14; vol. E 23, no. 4-5; *LL*, vol. 28, ff. 26-27v; vol. 34, ff. 267v-270v; vol. 39, ff. 13v-17; vol. 44, ff. 28v-30v; vol. 55, f. 89; *Detta*, vol. 13, f. 27; I. Božić, »Hercegovački sandžakbeg Ajaz«: p. 75.

⁸⁷ *LL*, vol. 36, f. 157v; vol. 74, ff. 34-37v; *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 118; vol. B 26, no. 14.

The Ottomans liked corals and coral prayer beads (Turk. *tespih*) were an extremely popular gift and a much-desired item. In the eighteenth century it valued slightly less than 2 sequins.⁸⁸

The Ottoman notables also desired silver and gold watches from England and France, the ones that ‘strike hard’,⁸⁹ watchmakers’ services,⁹⁰ pistols and rifles, the so-called carbine rifles,⁹¹ compasses and geographic charts,⁹² binoculars and spectacles.⁹³

Lastly, they demanded flowers—jasmin and carnations, bulbs and rose sprouts, but artificial flowers as well.⁹⁴

Gifts in pieces of atlas, silk, damask, but also velvet, brocade and a silk fabric known as *tabino* were much appreciated at the Bosnian courts.⁹⁵ In the sixteenth century, the Senate despatched men to Venice to purchase the fabrics for the Osmanlis, “for it happens that we need them as often as every day”.⁹⁶ In addition, the Osmanlis sent fabrics to be dyed in Dubrovnik.⁹⁷ Several flag orders have been traced, with accurate description of the fabric quality and patterns.⁹⁸

⁸⁸ *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 201-202; vol. 38, f. 91; vol. 41, ff. 99-104v; vol. 66, f. 108; vol. 77b, ff. 242v-254v; vol. 78, f. 174; vol. 82, ff. 109-115; vol. 85, ff. 57-62; vol. 95, f. 22; *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 25, 124; *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 209rv; vol. 3, ff. 62v, 219-220.

⁸⁹ *AT*, vol. B 12, no. 63; vol. B 23, no. 30, 114; vol. B 28, no. 35; *LL*, vol. 41, ff. 99-104v; vol. 70, f. 229; vol. 76, ff. 222-223v; *CLDT*, vol. 3, f. 117rv.

⁹⁰ *AT*, vol. B 21, no. 19.

⁹¹ *AT*, vol. 22, no. 33, 76; vol. B 28, no. 5; *LL*, vol. 77b, ff. 13-16; vol. 78, ff. 67v-68; vol. 85, ff. 57-62; *CLDT*, vol. 3, ff. 165-166.

⁹² *LL*, vol. 95, ff. 72-73; Vuk Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*. Beograd: SAN, 1960: p. 25.

⁹³ *AT*, vol. 22, no. 33; vol. B 22, no. 176; vol. B 28, no. 19; *LL*, vol. 37, ff. 76v-80; vol. 66, ff. 182v-246; vol. 69, ff. 155-156v, 215-218.

⁹⁴ *LL*, vol. 66, ff. 102-104, 156v-159, 182; vol. 67, f. 2-4v, 100-104v; vol. 77b, ff. 229-236v; J. Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan-paša Predojević«: p. 107.

⁹⁵ *LL*, vol. 20, f. 258v; vol. 21, ff. 54v-55, 83-84v; vol. 23, ff. 5-7, 52v, 217v-218; vol. 25, ff. 28v-29; vol. 28, ff. 254-255; vo. 29, ff. 122v-123v; vol. 32, ff. 24v-26, 61-62v; vol. 33, ff. 112-114v; vol. 34, ff. 45v-46v, 48, 129, 153-155, 178-180v; 184-187v; vol. 35, ff. 27-31v, 54, 76v-77v, 81-82v, 145-148; vol. 36, ff. 61-64, 112v-113v, 119, 122, 143v-144, 145v-146, 161rv; vol. 37, ff. 30-32v, 60v, 76v-80, 208v, 223, 357v; vol. 38, ff. 14v-17v, 35-42; vol. 80, f. 133-146; vol. 81, f. 113v; vol. 99, ff. 131-135v; *AT*, vol. B 12, no. 63.

⁹⁶ Z. Šundrica, »O darovima u dubrovačkoj diplomaciji«: p. 56; *LL*, vol. 28, f. 37.

⁹⁷ *LL*, vol. 37, f. 251.

⁹⁸ *AT*, vol. B 21, no. 29; vol. B 22, no. 280.

The Ottomans would make larger orders of fabric and paid for them. In such cases, the envoy was joined by a merchant or middleman as a guarantee to see the transaction completed.⁹⁹ Apparently, beylerbey Hasan-pasha Predojević was a great fashion lover. He could not resist ordering fabrics and thus accumulated a considerable debt. In 1591 he ordered 60 ells of Venetian velvet, worth 3,307 thalers. A year later, he ordered another 1,000 ells of atlas and damask, plus 10 pieces of velvet. The Ragusans managed to obtain half of the order at a value of 986 thalers, but probably refused to deliver it to him on account of his mounting debt of 2,245 thalers for the previous orders. In 1593 his order of 1,468 thalers was delivered to him, despite the debt, because the Ragusans feared that the 'sancak of Konavle' would be created out of their territory. The Ragusans needed his protection against brigands and robbers and at the same time tried to raise the price of salt at the market in Gabela. In order to achieve their goal, the envoy carried fabrics but also 105 ells of the finest Florentine atlas should the need for 'buying' benefits arise. Furthermore, beylerbey tried to extort another 3,000 sequins, which he expected to receive upon the accomplishment of the mediatory task. Despite all, the Ragusans envisaged Hasan-pasha Predojević as a benevolent figure.¹⁰⁰

In making the most of their neighbourly relationship, the Ragusans attended to various kinds of construction and engineering projects by providing skilled craftsmen from Dubrovnik (builders, stonemasons, limeburners, miners) for the reconstruction of the harbour in Gabela, construction of fortification walls, towers and forts, building bridges, wells, public buildings in Nadin, Skadar, Herceg-Novi, Foča, Pljevlja, Mostar, Klobuk, Onogošt, Trebinje, Ljubinje, and Slano in Popovo polje.¹⁰¹ Ragusan ship builders and constructors built boats in Gabela.¹⁰²

Upon the officials' demand and recommendation, the Ragusans organised charter voyages across the Adriatic,¹⁰³ once even for a harem of beylerbey's *silahdar* (armourer). Until the ship's departure, appropriate lodgings in Dubrovnik were strictly required for this female party.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ *LL*, vol. 30, ff. 143v, 201-202.

¹⁰⁰ J. Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan-paša Predojević«: p. 108; *LL*, vol. 37, ff. 76v-80, 82-84v.

¹⁰¹ *AT*, vol. B 9, no. 36, 61; vol. B 10, no. 37; vol. B 11, no. 43, 78; vol. B 22, no. 102; vol. B 24, n. 68; vol. B 25, no. 50; vol. B 26, no. 34, 58, 88; vol. B 131, no. 126, 200, 205; *LL*, vol. 21, ff. 240v-243; vol. 67, ff. 133-135; vol. 70, f. 41rv; *DA 18*, vol. 3278, no. 35-36; T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: p. 276; V. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*: p. 28.

¹⁰² *LL*, vol. 21, f. 158; vol. 32, ff. 41v-42v; *AT*, vol. B 10, no. 20.

¹⁰³ *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 260v; vol. 3, f. 62; *AT*, vol. B 10, no. 15.

¹⁰⁴ *AT*, vol. B 1, no. 198; vol. B 11, no. 62.

The Ragusan physicians were also required to treat the Ottoman officials, their attendants and courtiers. They often asked for a specific doctor whom they trusted. Such a person, however, proved to be a perfect diplomatic agent.¹⁰⁵

In Dubrovnik itself, upon the written reference of sancakbey and beylerbey, medical treatment was also given to their attendants, assistants, friends and family. For example, the son of sancakbey suffering from syphilis arrived in Dubrovnik in 1509.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, upon the reference of sancakbey and beylerbey, Ragusan noblemen in need of treatment could enjoy the healing effects of the mineral spas of Bosnia.¹⁰⁷

The Ottomans asked for medicines, such as the syrup prepared from the peach seed, a cure for stomach disorder or lady fern syrup for lung diseases, *turjak* (venom antidote), tamarind (East-Indian sour date) used as purgative and for slimming diet, mandragora, herb potions prepared from cinnamon (It. *aqua di cannella*) against stomach disorder, citrus flowers as a purgative, muscat (It. *aqua moscata*), the root of black rhubarb (Lat. *zulapium*). Equally healing was a cocktail of malvasia, brandy, lemon juice and pepper ordered by the sancakbey of Herzegovina in 1723. On several occasions, the Ottoman officials and their physicians demanded venomous snakes for the preparation of certain drugs.¹⁰⁸

The services the Ottomans demanded at the time of war usually concerned the storage of food and other merchandise shipped into the Dubrovnik harbour

¹⁰⁵ *LL*, vol. 40, ff. 152-154; vol. 55, f. 242v; vol. 70, ff. 159-161; vol. 73, ff. 234v-236; vol. 87, ff. 118-120v; vol. 88, ff. 7-27v; *AT*, vol. B VI, no. 153; vol. B 11, no. 3; vol. B 12, no. 55; vol. B 15, no. 99; vol. B 22, no. 29, 111, 225, 250, 280; vol. VI, no. 95; *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 64; T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 94; V. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*: p. 26; J. Lučić, »Dubrovčani i Hasan-paša Predojević«: pp. 95-98; Mirko Dražen Grmek, »Izvještaji triju liječnika o putovanjima po Bosni u XVIII. stoljeću«. *Analni Hlstorijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 6-7 (1959): pp. 97-115.

¹⁰⁶ *LL*, vol. 21, ff. 18v-21; *AT*, vol. B 26, no. 136; T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 256; vol. 3, f. 208v; *Miscellanea saec. XVIII*, F XII/1, no. 74; *AT*, vol. B IV 1, no. 206.

¹⁰⁸ *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 57, 130, 132; *CLDT*, vol. 2, ff. 108v-109, 201v-202; *LL*, vol. 20, ff. 203-204; vol. 23, ff. 5-7, 52v, 187-188v, 258; vol. 30, ff. 231v-232v; vol. 33, ff. 112-114v; vol. 42, f. 182; vol. 44, ff. 28v-30v; vol. 66, ff. 182, 197; vol. 73, f. 66v; vol. 74, ff. 34-37v; vol. 82, ff. 109-115; vol. 95, ff. 72-73.

and awaiting transport to Bosnia, as well as the exchange of intelligence.¹⁰⁹ An update from the Christendom had always been expected from the Ragusans at the time of the anti-Ottoman campaigns, wars waged between Christian states, and in peacetime.¹¹⁰ It is common knowledge that the Ragusans also kept the Christian lords informed of the situation in the Ottoman Empire, as best evidenced by an example from the archive series *Lettere di Levante*, whose volume of the year 1559 contains record on the movements of the Turkish fleet towards Naples and vice versa, the advancement of the Christian fleet towards the Osmanlis.¹¹¹

Highlighting each and every rewarded Turkish official, the gifts he received and for what reason is a challenge this paper does not intend to undertake. Thus, I shall draw attention to but a few cases.

Yasak—permanent or temporary ban on the export of raw materials, food and other goods from the Sultan's dominions into Christian states—was generally imposed by the Porte, and at the time of the anti-Ottoman wars. Although officially protecting the Ragusan commercial interests even at the time of war, 'Christian state' from the earlier Ottoman definition would most certainly apply to the Republic of Dubrovnik either by imprudent automatism, extortion, or (un)reasonable doubt that the Ragusans would resell the goods purchased on the territory under the rule of the Osmanlis to the Ottoman enemies. Upon its imposition, the Ragusan envoys would soon turn up at the Porte, demanding a firman which was to exempt them from it.

Yasak was imposed in peacetime as well, triggered mostly by the actions of the Ragusans themselves. Ragusan merchants traded extensively with other foreigners on the territory of the Ottoman Empire by allowing them to use the concessions granted to the Republic. The Ottoman authorities constantly complained of the Ragusan merchants who cheated the customs by declaring foreign merchandise as their own. The imposition of *yasak* was then inevitable.

However, well aware of the repercussions the trade ban would have upon Dubrovnik's commercial development and its vital interests, the Osmanlis often resorted to *yasak* as a means of blackmail. It was equally imposed by

¹⁰⁹ *AT*, vol. B 9, no. 58; vol. B 12, no. 42; vol. B 15, no. 79, vol. B VI, no. 39; *CLDT*, vol. 2, f. 153.

¹¹⁰ *AT*, vol. B 10, no. 10; vol. B 15, no. 97; vol. B IV, no. 168, 178, 181, 185; *LL*, vol. 69, ff. 156v-159, 193-197v; vol. 70, ff. 135v-140v; vol. 75, ff. 122-124; *CLDT*, vol. 2, ff. 53, 56v-59, 71rv, 109-110, 112rv, 113v, 115v-116, 118v-119, 122v, 128rv, 135v-136, 139-140, 142v-143, 145v-146v, 158rv, 161-162, 259-260v; vol. 3, ff. 47, 56.

¹¹¹ *LL*, vol. 27, ff. 184v, 228.

beylerbeys and sancakbeys, even by the local officials at will or by the order of the Porte. For instance, *yasak* was imposed during a serious Ragusan conflict with the Grand Vizier Kara-Mustafa 1677-1682, but the reason underlying this measure was the discontent of the beylerbey and sancakbey caused by the delay of the regular gift. In 1757 *yasak* was imposed by the local authorities of Trebinje, because a Ragusan had allegedly murdered a Vlach.¹¹² The rich archive materials of Dubrovnik contain numerous records of the imposition and revocation of *yasak*. It is difficult to establish the exact number and their underlying reasons in the period from the sixteenth century to the fall of the Republic, but we can sporadically follow the Ragusan efforts at the Porte and in Bosnia to revoke them.

During the long War of Candia (1645-1669), *yasak* was imposed and revoked intermittently, and each time the Ragusans had to intervene in order to win exemption. It took nine months (from October 1650 to July 1651) and 3,680 thalers for a specially appointed Ragusan envoy to the Porte to succeed in revoking but one *yasak* in a row. Ragusan complaints concerning the violation of the firman in Bosnia were soon to follow, and in May 1652 the Porte re-imposed the ban. The Ragusans complained that the customs dues levied between two blockades were smaller than the cost of their lifting. But the only solution was to despatch new envoys carrying 2,000 thalers for the revocation of the newly imposed *yasak*.¹¹³

In dealings with the Ottoman officials in Bosnia, it was of crucial importance to help create a positive attitude towards Dubrovnik. In 1538 the sancakbey received 200 golden pieces from the Ragusans in order to issue a firman on *yasak's* revocation. In 1548 he was given 30 pieces of fine cloth and 400 pieces of gold. In 1571 the ill-disposed sancakbey was to receive 5,300 thalers in instalments and 100,000 aspers. His greed could not be satisfied even though a substantial amount of provisions had been sent to his military camp, along with the physicians to treat his wounded soldiers. However, the Ragusans refused to provide him with a cannon but sent him 800 thalers as compensation, this being regular procedure.¹¹⁴ In 1572, a new and equally stubborn sancakbey was awarded 2,000 ducats for the revocation of *yasak*. Once he received the money, he demanded just as much and the Ragusans yielded. A year later, with

¹¹² Vesna Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1997: pp. 51-52.

¹¹³ *LL*, vol. 54, ff. 130v, 141v, 238-240; vol. 55, ff. 10v, 35v.

¹¹⁴ *AT*, vol. B 9, no. 58.

yasak re-imposed, he was offered 1,000 ducats for the permission of the import of wool. In 1608 they offered 100 ducats, 150 golden pieces in 1649, as many as 1,000 ducats in 1757, and so forth.¹¹⁵

Similar to *yasak*, various trade taxes multiplied and affected Ragusan merchants just as seriously. Moreover, Dubrovnik's role as a monopolistic dealer of salt to the Ottoman subjects was put at risk. The Ottoman-controlled Herceg-Novı and Gabela were supplied by the Ragusan salt until the end of the seventeenth century and represented a constant source of friction. The development of new Venetian *scalas* (emporiums) in Gabela, Risan, Herceg-Novı, Makarska, and Omiš in the eighteenth century violated two provisions: protection of Dubrovnik's salt monopoly and the overly emphasised decision by which of all the entrepôts between Split and Durrës the Ottoman subjects could trade only in Dubrovnik and Ston. It was only in the first half of the eighteenth century that these violations were resolved in Istanbul and in Bosnia.¹¹⁶ In 1741, however, the Ragusans adopted a stratagem aimed at winning a solid, well-argued and precisely termed firman which would regulate the afore-mentioned monopoly right. Their decision was probably triggered by the Venetian claim that the markets in Herceg-Novı and Risan had always been open and that there was no reason not to continue so. The poorly informed Sultan's ministers launched an inquiry but failed to consult the proof at hand—the registers containing meticulous records of all the privileges and firmans ever granted to the Ragusans. The inquiry was conducted by the Bosnian beylerbey and his son, *kapıcıbaşı* in Istanbul, who acted as the Porte envoy. Although having the truth on their side, in the late August of 1741, the Ragusans hurriedly despatched Savin Ragnina to Bosnia to oil the wheels of justice with 6 *burse* of golden pieces (1 *bursa* equalled 133 and 1/3 of ducats) as a counter-balance to the possible Venetian bribe of the beylerbey. The amount was soon raised to 12.5 *burse*. Ragnina remained in Bosnia for almost half a year. First, he offered the beylerbey the ordinary gift, the official being recently appointed. His son received a gift of 4 pieces of the finest atlas.¹¹⁷ During Ragnina's stay in Bosnia,

¹¹⁵ T. Popović, »Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 81; T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: pp. 195, 214, 259, 272, 296, 298; *LL*, vol. 50, f. 22; vol. 81, ff. 109-115v; *CR*, vol. 81, f. 254.

¹¹⁶ *LL*, vol. 67, f. 59rv, 152v-155v, 161v-166, 193-206, 299-233; vol. 68, ff. 42-43v, 105-106, 126rv; vol. 70, ff. 226, 236v-240; sv. 71, ff. 29v-36v; sv. 72, ff. 1-6, 56-59v, 80, 143v-144v, 177-183v, 198-206; vol. 73, ff. 116v-118; vol. 74, ff. 22v-30v, 189; vol. 75, ff. 54v-58v; vol. 76, ff. 149-150.

¹¹⁷ The Ragusans persisted in their refusal to offer an ordinary gift to the governing beylerbeys and sancakbeys whose offices had been confirmed for another mandate.

the Ragusans also supplied the beylerbey's court with larger quantities of writing paper, 700 lemons twice ordered in Italy, and an update on the latest events in the Christendom. Beylerbey's *muhurdar* (seal keeper) received 2 pieces of atlas, while the *mula* of Sarajevo and *defterdar* 1 piece each. During Ragnina's stay in Sarajevo, the Porte was reconsidering the potential candidates for the position of the Bosnian beylerbey, but eventually confirmed the current one. In the name of his re-election, the beylerbey was awarded 4 pieces of atlas. As the situation in Sarajevo developed favourably, the Ragusan government decided to economise and revoked the decree by which the *poklisari* delivering *haraç* to the Porte were to lower their expenses to 3,000 reals. They allowed the amount of 500 reals to be distributed between *reis-efendi* and the *kethüda* of the Grand Vizier, as they could have some influence in the drawing of the firman benefiting the Republic rather than Venice. The firman was finally issued on 6 January 1742 with a conclusion that the matter had been thoroughly investigated, and on the basis of which all routes leading to Makarska, Gabela, Herceg-Novi and Risan had to be closed for the traffic of all goods. Along the borders of the Bosnian *eyalet* and the sancak of Herzegovina, between Split and Durrës, only the emporiums of Dubrovnik and Ston were allowed access. Ragnina disbursed the cash. Beylerbey himself had no particular demands, but was given 10 *burse* for his son. A *bursa* and a half was distributed at beylerbey's court, while one was given to *kapıcıbaşı*, messenger who delivered the firman.¹¹⁸ Dubrovnik was delighted by these developments, but not for long. Less than four years later, the routes to Makarska were re-opened.¹¹⁹ As in this case, it was often that the Porte placed its absolute or partial trust into the arbitrary decisions and judgements of the beylerbey.

In 1703 the Ragusans managed to extend the *haraç* term from one to three years. This was preceded by considerable diplomatic efforts at the Porte but also at the court of the Bosnian beylerbey, who was officially required to assess the financial potentials of the Dubrovnik Republic. After a long mission to Istanbul, Ragusan *poklisar* Vladislav Buća was despatched to Sarajevo in order to seek beylerbey's favourable report on Dubrovnik's economic impotence. His mission lasted a year and a half, during which the Ragusans pandered to beylerbey's whims and wishes, as well as to those of his assistants and family members. Beylerbey, his son, *kethüda*, *defterdar*, *mula* of Sarajevo and *muselim*

¹¹⁸ *LL*, vol. 75, ff. 34v-42v, 66v-80v, 110, 118, 122-124, 127rv, 129v, 151v-155, 157v; vol. 77a, f. 225v.

¹¹⁹ *LL*, vol. 76, ff. 149-150.

were most generously rewarded with 14 pieces of atlas, 3 of cloth, 2 barrels of marinated fish, 3 barrels of olives, 8 barrels of lemons, 650 oranges, 2 demijohns of orange juice, 1 smaller demijohn of lime juice, 4 demijohns of cinnamon herbal drink, 6 bowls of candied lime, 3 bowls of candied rose petals, 1 box of candied peaches (It. *persicata*), 2 boxes of *mostacioni* biscuits, 8 boxes of quinces, 20 loaves of sugar, 5 pairs of spectacles in cases, 6 pairs of spectacles, 2 coral *tespihs*, geographical charts, 2 silver jugs with artificial flowers, 8 sprouts of unnamed flowers, malvasia, plus the ordinary gift offered to beylerbey, newly appointed midst Buća's mission. Lastly, *kapıcıbaşı*, who carried the firman on the diminution of *haraç* from the Porte to Sarajevo, was rewarded with the promised 400 ungars and 700 Ragusan ducats, a mug and a washing basin, while beylerbey received the promised 3,000 reals (about 5,030 Ragusan ducats), *kethüda* received 500 reals, while *divan-efendi* and a certain Mehmed-*efendi* 20 ducats each.¹²⁰

No doubt impressive in size and value, the gifts served the purpose. Beylerbey wrote a favourable report, the effects of which greatly exceeded the gift total. A similar situation took place during the Veneto-Ragusan conflict (1751-1754). Tripoli corsairs seized a Venetian ship and then took refuge in Dubrovnik's harbour. In revenge, Venice terrorised Ragusan subjects on land and at sea, fell Dubrovnik's timber on the islands, interfered with Ragusan fishing and coral collection. The Venetians stationed themselves on the Island of Lokrum and levied transit tax on all the Ragusan vessels sailing in Dubrovnik's territorial waters. They continued so well after the corsairs had sailed out of the Dubrovnik harbour. The Ragusans decided to benefit from the situation by seeking the lifting of the transit tax in the Adriatic. Although the Venetians were on friendly, if fragile, terms with the Ottomans, the Ragusans demanded the intervention of the Porte, counting on a better negotiation position, since the Republic was under the Sultan's protection and the conflict involved corsairs from Tripoli, Ottoman subjects. The Porte entrusted the matter to the Bosnian beylerbey.

Poklisar Mato Sorgo arrived in Sarajevo in the late April of 1754. With unselfish help from the Ragusan doctor Pagani and dragoman Miho Zarini he negotiated to the best of his abilities with the Venetian representative and beylerbey, the latter being more than impatient to see the conflict resolved as soon as possible. Sorgo had to accompany the beylerbey in his visit to Foča,

¹²⁰ *LL*, vol. 66, ff. 182v, 197, 238v-239v, 241-243v, 246; vol. 67, ff. 14rv, 60v-62v.

Gacko, Nevesinje, Prozor, Skopje and lastly Travnik, where in July the agreement had finally been reached. During the three months, Sorgo was subject to threats, humiliation, extortion and demands of different nature. In sum, beylerbey and his assistants were rewarded with 10 coral *tespihs*, half a load of almonds, half a load of lemons (about 400), 3 bowls of candied limes, 2 bowls of candied rose petals and 2 of violet petals, 2 bowls of conserved or perhaps also candied herb called *krastavica* (It. *conserva di borraggine*), sour cherries and artichokes. With the conflict over, beylerbey received his 1,000 gold pieces.¹²¹ Despite the inconveniences, extorted presents and money, the Ragusans took advantage of the Ottomans and won an important victory over Venice. In future, the Venetian commander of the Adriatic was offered a gift, through which, instead of the lifted transit tax, Dubrovnik symbolically recognised Venetian rule in the Adriatic.

On several other occasions the Ragusans, through money offers, asked the Bosnian and Herzegovinian officials to inform the Porte of the Venetians violations. For example, in 1618 they offered 100 thalers for beylerbey's report on the disturbances of the Venetian fleet, and 200 ducats in 1631 for a report on the Venetian seizure of Lokrum. In exchange, beylerbey demanded 2 barrels of gunpowder, 2 barrels of lead, a chest of soap, 2 barrels of lemons and oranges, 2 barrels of malvasia, 6 bundles of candles, 10 quinternets of paper and a large bottle of lemon juice.¹²²

An array of services was paid in cash. Thus in 1659 sancakbey received 200 thalers for a report on the Ragusan non-collaboration with the *hajduks*.¹²³ In 1707 beylerbey was promised 1,000 Ragusan ducats and his *kethüda* 100 to prevent the illegal sale of salt in Sutorina, a place on the southern border of the Republic.¹²⁴ In 1649 sancakbey was offered 200-300 thalers, and as many as 1,000 thalers in 1685 if he restored the Ragusan goods stolen by brigands.¹²⁵

Cash proved a good means of maintaining order along the Ragusan border which was often raided by the bands of brigands. In the seventeenth century their offers for the head of a notorious brigand varied between 200 and 2,000

¹²¹ Vesna Miović-Perić, »Spor između Dubrovnika i Venecije 1751.-1754.«. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU* 29 (1991): pp. 99-116; *DA* 18, vol. 3253, no. 18.

¹²² *LL*, vol. 43, ff. 133v-134; vol. 45, ff. 175-176.

¹²³ *LL*, vol. 57, ff. 142v-143.

¹²⁴ *LL*, vol. 67, ff. 229-233.

¹²⁵ *LL*, vol. 55, f. 237v; vol. 64, ff. 206v-209v.

thalers.¹²⁶ As evidence of cash being a common way of resolving problems is yet another case from 1643. By the sancakbey's oral order, his envoy hanged a Montenegrin brigand Omer Palikuća at the Ragusan suburb of Ploče. In fear of repercussions and the eventual misinterpretation of the incident, the Ragusans sought a written confirmation from the sancakbey on the reasons and justification of such a sentence, for which they offered him 200 thalers and 2 pieces of atlas. Sancakbey was happy to accept the gift, but failed to keep his promise.¹²⁷

Dubrovnik's diplomacy struggled to have incompetent and arrogant Ottoman notables dismissed. But with the exception of the earlier-mentioned Abaza-pasha and Shahin-pasha, their struggle was in vain, even with most serious consequences as in the 1570s, one of the rare failures of the Ragusan diplomacy. In 1720 they were ready to pay 1,000 gold coins at the beylerbey's court for a cloak-and-dagger disappearance of Osman, captain of Trebinje, a most annoying Turkish official.¹²⁸ In 1638 the envoys of *haraç* persisted in their offer of 1,000 ducats to the Grand Vizier to have the notorious sancakbey Bali-bey murdered, and a somewhat smaller amount to have him transferred to Rhodes or Anadolia. The envoys engaged all their diplomatic influence with the Porte against Hasan-pasha Prodović, sancakbey from April 1572 to April 1574, blackmailer and dangerous enemy. In 1573 they launched a stratagem at the Porte in an attempt to discredit Hasan-pasha as a politician and governor in the ongoing War of Cyprus (1569-1573). Not only did Hasan-pasha remain on his post, but also learnt of the Ragusan schemes. In revenge, he re-imposed *yasak* from July 1573 to April 1574, refusing to revoke it until he had received an official firman from the Sultan or considerable sums of money.¹²⁹

Dubrovnik's relationship with the Ottoman officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their attitude towards the Ragusans ranged between sincere friendship, financial benefit, extortion and deep-seated enmity. In actual fact, in the eroding Ottoman hierarchy the officials could act on the basis of their whims and temper. The truth is that the Ragusan gifts not only represented token of honour and esteem but, no doubt, a most welcome source of extra income to the court's limited budget.¹³⁰ The best illustration to this is the earlier mentioned

¹²⁶ T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: p. 219; *LL*, vol. 41, ff. 115-119; vol. 56, ff. 65-70, 135; vol. 60, ff. 49-51.

¹²⁷ *LL*, vol. 48, ff. 176v-180v.

¹²⁸ *LL*, vol. 70, f. 247.

¹²⁹ T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*: pp. 193, 295-298.

¹³⁰ T. Popović, »Upravna podjela hercegovačkog sandžaka«: p. 99.

beylerbey who, in 1703, was to provide an expertise on the Ragusan financial potentials. In order to do so, he first demanded and received a generous sum of money, but took advantage of the situation and made additional demands for candied fruit, medicine, fish, spectacles, geographical charts, etc.

The highest officials in the Ottoman Empire were allocated a so-called *hass*, land holdings from which they collected rent during their term of office. *Hass* of the Bosnian beylerbey was one of the least profitable of all the Empire's eyalets with an earning of 650,000 aspers. For the reasons stated, Bosnian beylerbeys enjoyed the rent from certain sancaks of their *eyalet*, most often that of Herzegovina, Požega, Lika and Bihać.¹³¹

In order to highlight the importance of Ragusan gifts in the overall financial status of the Ottoman officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina, let us consider the case of sancakbey of Herzegovina with his *hass* of 410,515 aspers. This, by no means, was his only source of livelihood. According to the exchange rate from the 1620s,¹³² he earned about 3,400 gold pieces. Only four of the Ragusan ordinary gifts in 1621, not taking into consideration the extraordinary ones, amounted to 680 gold pieces¹³³ or one-fifth of his regular annual income as a state official.

Well-acquainted with the Ragusan generous practice, newly appointed Turkish notables were known to demand their gifts even before they actually set foot in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reason for this lay in the fact that at the moment of the nomination the officials had to distribute considerable sums of money to the ministers of the Porte, without which they could not take up office.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Hazim Šabanović, »Vojno uređenje Bosne od 1463. g. do kraja XVI stoljeća«. *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 11 (1961): pp. 176-177.

¹³² V. Vinaver, *Pregled istorije novca*: p. 148.

¹³³ *LL*, vol. 43, ff. 219-222, 223v-224, 226v, 234v-236. The total failed to take into account the fifth, usual gift for Christmas, its value being hard to determine.

¹³⁴ For example, in 1647 the Ragusan envoys of *haraç* informed the government of the inability of the newly appointed sancakbey to take up office due to his debt of 8,000 thalers to the Grand Vizier, who had him posted (H. Šabanović, »Vojno uređenje Bosne«: p. 177). In 1605, a cousin of the newly appointed sancakbey arrived in Dubrovnik carrying his letter from Istanbul. The sancakbey demanded 300 gold pieces to be sent by his cousin although he had not yet arrived in Herzegovina. It was clear that he needed the money to pay his position. The exception in this case may easily have become a rule and that was something the Ragusans tried to avoid. Thus they decided on a compromise solution which in no way interfered with the established procedure of the ordinary gift. Sancakbey was sent 300 thalers with an explanation that the gift was an extraordinary one, offered to him as an expression of their good will (*LL*, vol. 41, f. 99-104v).

Beylerbeys, sancakbeys and their immediate associates kept strictly to the adopted protocol. For example, in 1595 the new beylerbey refused to accept the fabrics on the excuse that they were not from Venice but from Florence.¹³⁵ In such instances it was customary to offer compensation in cash, which met with utmost approval.¹³⁶ A delay in the delivery of gifts could also complicate the relations. This was often the case with the envoys of *haraç* who had trouble in locating sancakbey if he was out of his seat.¹³⁷ The delay was immediately punished with a *démarche*¹³⁸ or even the imposition of *yasak*, which remained in effect until the envoys bearing gifts turned up.¹³⁹

Other deviations from the established ritual, such as formal displays of disrespect, affected the flow of the Turco-Ragusan relations. A letter bearing an inappropriate signature ('sincere friends' instead of 'Ragusan servants to the beylerbey') sufficed to irritate beylerbey.¹⁴⁰

Being part of a loose hierarchy, fairly independent in their jurisdiction, underpaid but representing a state of the greatest importance to Dubrovnik, Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys were among the most significant and most demanding officials in the Ragusan diplomacy with the East. Their attributes may be compared with the two sides of the coin. The officials accommodated themselves with modest tributes, but such an attitude could easily and unexpectedly be changed. Practically independent, with little accountability and no fear of the consequences, they could at any moment become bad-tempered blackmailers seeking presents, money or favours. Once they had achieved an insight into the mind and tastes of the newly appointed official, the Ragusans set their diplomatic wheels in motion. Even before he set his foot in Bosnia, the Ragusans knew perfectly well what to expect from an Ottoman official. The diplomatic preparations continued in the Senate Hall

¹³⁵ *LL*, vol. 39, f. 17 (luckily, the *poklisar* managed to procure them in Banja Luka).

¹³⁶ According to the data pertaining to the period from late 1610 to late 1630, a piece of cloth (*kavetac*) was an estimate equivalent to 28 to 32 Ragusan ducats of 40 grossi (*LL*, vol. 43, ff. 144-145; 267v, 234v-236, 263rv; vol. 44, ff. 48v-49).

¹³⁷ *LL*, vol. 40, ff. 28v-29v; vol. 44, f. 152rv; vol. 4, ff. 246v-248; vol. 47, f. 266; *AT*, vol. B 25, no. 68. Similar cases have been noted, although the envoys of *haraç* were authorised to meet sancakbey out of his official seat at a half-a-day's, day's or three days' travel (*LL*, vol. 23, ff. 20v-21; vol. 46, f. 274v; vol. 48, ff. 21v-31) from it. This provision was subject to alteration in conformity with the security and health conditions on the road.

¹³⁸ *AT*, vol. B 9, no. 44; vol. B 12, no. 21, 26; vol. B 23, no. 18; vol. B 26, no. 13.

¹³⁹ *LL*, vol. 23, ff. 5-7; vol. 30, ff. 68v-70; vol. 42, ff. 33-35; vol. 69, ff. 121v-126.

¹⁴⁰ *AT*, vol. B 22, no. 85.

where each gift was carefully valued to suit the weight of the issue on the agenda, and pander to the whims and wishes of the Ottoman official involved. Although this impressive volume of gifts and favours may lead to the conclusion that the Ragusans assented to the demands unconditionally, it was not so. True, they were prepared to invest considerably in order to win favour of the Ottoman officials and avail of the situation.¹⁴¹ However, they drew a clear line beyond which they were not ready to go, and often resorted to bargain at the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁴² Some thorny questions could not be negotiated, such as the provisional imposition of *yasak*, the most effective means of Ottoman control. Strictly regarded, the Ragusans were here at a loss, for the very fact that they were paying for something they had already paid in Istanbul. Expenses aside, the success of Dubrovnik's diplomacy in the diminution of the *haraç* in 1702/1703 or in the conflict with Venice 1751-1754 is inestimable.

Bribe and gifts of various kinds have oiled the wheels of many a diplomatic relation, and making the best of corruption was generally considered legal.¹⁴³ Presents, cash and favours represented the core of the Ragusan diplomacy in dealing with the Ottoman courts as required by the circumstances, based on the ability to find a personal approach and estimate the social value of the gift. Irrespective of the strain it placed on the Ragusan treasury and its diplomatic agents, Dubrovnik's diplomacy in Bosnia may generally be described as successful. The state treasury operated without loss, and the Republic's trade survived under virtually impossible conditions marked by hindrance, bans and heavy tax dues. Dubrovnik managed to retain its salt monopoly until the end of the seventeenth century despite frequent violations, and together with Ston enjoyed the status of the only open entrepôt between Split and Durrës. With a substantial amount of cash and gifts, the Bosnian officials protected the Republic from Venice and from the hostile winds of the Porte itself.

¹⁴¹ In support of this practice are the four ordinary gifts offered to each of the newly appointed officials, additional gifts, which were, over a period of time, offered to the friendly beylerbeys, the regular tribute to Ahmed Dugali, or to Sinan, a sancakbey most favourably disposed towards the Ragusans, whom they lavishly rewarded (T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI. veku*: pp. 241-242).

¹⁴² For example, in 1747 Dubrovnik's envoy to beylerbey's court struggled for a favourable exchange rate of the Ragusan thaler in Bosnia. The beylerbey's first offer was 3,000, but later settled at 1,000 gold pieces. The Senate instructed the envoy to bargain and further lower the amount, for if the beylerbey accepted 1,000 he may have settled for even less (LL, vol. 76, ff. 225-226v; see also LL, vol. 36, ff. 80v-81, 95, 119, 122, 145v-146, 147-148, 153-158).

¹⁴³ Z. Šundrica, »O darovima u dubrovačkoj diplomaciji«: p. 53.