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THE TRADE OF WALLACHIA WITH THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BETWEEN 1791 and 1821

The purpose of this study is to analyse the commercial relationships as a whole between Wallachia and the Ottoman Empire during the thirty year period from 1791. The Romanian documents at the State Archives in Bucharest, some of which are still unpublished, and the Turkish documents discovered by specialists in Ottoman studies¹, in addition to a number of general and specialist works, all reveal extensive trade between the two areas.

As it is well known, the Ottoman monopoly inhibited the general development of the Romanian Principalities, limiting their ability to trade their products at market prices. It is also well known that the peace concluded in Adrianople in 1829 resulted in changes in the juridical system and structure, and in the Principalities' foreign commercial relations.

But the documents discovered show that even between 1791 (the year of the Shishtov peace) and 1821 (when the revolutionary movement under the leadership of Tudor Vladimirescu emerged) there were normal trading relations both as regards Wallachian products not under the Ottoman monopoly and Turkish products in demand by both ordinary and privileged consumers. There was also an active transit trade, through Wallachia, between Austria and the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and Russia and the Ottoman Empire on the other.

Before dealing with commercial relations in detail we shall dwell upon certain juridical settlements which preceded the period we are concerned with and which, to some extent, gradually established the quantities of merchandise the Ottoman Porte asked for, the conditions of their forwarding, and the gradual limitation of the abuses they implied.

I. INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND REGULATIONS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES

The Ottoman Empire's exploitation of the two Romanian Principalities

1. Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești* (The Catalogue of the Turkish Documents), Bucharest, Vol. I-II, 1960-1965; Mustafa A. Mehmet, "O condică domnească din a doua jumătate a veacului al XVIII-lea scrisă în limba turcă, privind Țara Românească"

in the 18th Century had an oppressive effect upon Romanian tax payers.

The stipulations of the Ottoman firmans —such as the import of cereals from Banat, claimed by the Porte in 1794— caused great suffering to Romanians, which was aggravated by the abuses committed by people coming from Constantinople to take over the merchandise, and by the problems involved in carrying the cereals up to the Danube without remuneration² a.o.

After the last quarter of the 18th century, the Porte's claims began to be replaced by juridical regulations contained either in the treaties concluded with Russia or Austria, or in the hatt-i sheriffs and conventions concerning the Principalities only.

The first regulation, which was as important as the one from Andrinople, came into effect at Kutchuk-Kainardji, in 1774, at the end of the Russian-Turkish war (July 10).

So far as the stipulations regarding the Principalities were concerned, the Porte was confirming the privileges they enjoyed, while ensuring the Romanian representatives in Constantinople the privilege of the right of nations. On the other hand, the Turks pledged themselves to take account of Russia's observations on behalf of the Principalities.

On December 15/24, 1774, Sultan Abdul-Hamid I promulgated a "hatt-i sheriff", informing Alexander Ipsilantis (the prince of Wallachia) about certain privileges granted to Wallachia and intended to moderate some of its obligations. Thus, the firman providing the annual procuring, by a "kasap-bashi" (the bailiff of butchers in Constantinople) of a certain number of sheep, was annulled, as it had caused the "oppression and persecution of the 'raia'***".

Further on however, it was mentioned; "But it is important and necessary to take sheep from my countries too... for the rations of the 'miriye'**,

(A Princely Register from the Second Half of the 18th Century, written in Turkish and Concerning Wallachia), in *Revista Arhivelor*, 1 (2), 1958, pp. 248-250.

2. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Documents concerning the History of Romanians), Vol. XIX, p. 1, Bucharest, 1922, p. 711.

3. Arhivele Statului București (hereafter referred to as A.S.B.), DLXX/66a, the identification mark of the Library of the Academy (hereafter referred to as B.A.) apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *Documente turcești privind istoria României* (Turkish Documents concerning the History of Romania), Vol. I, Bucharest, 1976, p. 324. (The historical documents from the Library of the Academy were transferred to A.S.B. They retain the identification mark allocated by the Library of the Academy).

* raia = A fortress occupied by the Turks.

** Miriye = taxes and all income of the Ottoman treasury.

and for feeding the inhabitants of the High Porte... That is why the raias of Wallachia should not hide the sheep they intend to sell, but should sell them *at the current price* to the merchants and to the 'geleps'*". These were important stipulations, but later on they were no longer taken into account⁴.

The Prince was responsible for that operation.

A second stipulation, intended to diminish the obligations and vicissitudes of the raia, was the breaking up of the "mukayesel"⁵ (the quantity of food intended for the Porte), which had been applied according to an agreement between the two parties.

But it was also specified that "... the raias should uninterruptedly carry, up to the gangways, all crops and everything obtained from sowing and also their cattle, and to sell them to the ship captains, called "reis", who also took care of the 'kapans' (warehouses)". It was forbidden to sell cereals or any other food to other people; it was also forbidden to hide them and to neglect ploughing and sowing.

As regards timber, both cutting and transport were paid from the tribute⁶.

In addition to the two documents signed in 1774, another convention was concluded, which aimed at some explanation regarding Ainalî-Cava (March 10, 1779), and in which the stipulations concerning the Principalities were emphasized. The Porte pledged itself again (article 7, paragraph 4) "to impose the tribute to be paid by the Principalities with moderation and humanity..."; the tribute was to be brought to Constantinople by the "national deputies" sent by each Principality every second year. Nobody was allowed to ask the Principalities for "any other payment or taxes, irrespective of any reason or pretext..., since they would regularly continue paying the tribute having been mentioned, settled and fixed"⁷.

In a different connection, it should be noted that Russia's right of speaking "in their favour" (the Principalities' — F.M.) "was becoming a right of intercession"⁸ (as it was in fact an opposition when Ottoman acts were pro-

4. Ibidem, pp. 324-325.

5. Ibidem, p. 325.

6. Ibidem, p. 326.

7. D. A. Sturdza, C. Colescu-Vartic, *Acte și documente relative la istoria renașterii României* (Acts and Documents Concerning the History of Romania's Renaissance), Vol. I, Bucharest, 1888, p. 154.

8. Ion Ionașcu, Petre Bărbulescu, Gheorghe Gheorghe, *Relațiile internaționale ale României în documente* (Romania's International Relations in Documents), Bucharest, 1971, p. 228, note no. 1.

* gelep = merchant of cattle and especially of sheep, who used to buy them from the Principalities.

mulgated which were against the interests of the Principalities — F.M.).

In a document called in Turkish a “sened”, published in 1783, the Sultan directed that any cereals should be bought by the so-called “miri” only (who were office-workers at the public treasury) and paid for in cash⁹.

There was a difference between such official buying which observed the Constantinople price and the buying done by merchants, at the current price. This clearly demonstrated that a free trade existed between the two countries¹⁰.

The problem of timber is extensively analysed. Timber, as well as saltpetre, constitutes part of that category of materials which had to be given to the Porte. Some facilitation is however ensured on this point too, by the decision that the cutting and carrying of timber should be paid for “in keeping with the seneds sealed by ‘binaemens’ (bailiffs of constructions), from the impost the prince was clubbing from the population”, and called “capitation”¹¹. So, the system of state supplies was still maintained, on condition that private people should be compensated from the impost that had been clubbed for paying the haraç. With the intention of ensuring good management, the sened provided for princes to be notified in time about the quantity of wood and building materials to be carried to the boundaries, and where the commissary charged to take them over had to pay in cash for the cutting and transport¹².

Saltpetre too was to be paid for from the same tax obtained from tax payers and not by any subtraction from the tribute.

Work caterings were also mentioned. From the Austrian consular reports, which were confirmed by the petition addressed to the Sultan in 1783 (in Turkish, such a petition was called *arzmahzar*) it transpires that the Porte was asking for thousands of people to work —with or without tools— carrying food and cereals in carts, erecting bridges, and repairing the fortresses.

According to V. A. Urechia, in the above —mentioned petition of the Divan, it is also mentioned that “during two months the Prince ordered the allocation of 1.000 day-labourers, 600 carts with oxen, and many other things

9. D. A. Sturdza, C. Colescu-Vartic, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 193-194.

10. “A plus forte raison, dans le cours du commerce, quand les achats seront faits par des négociants, les paiements auront lieu en argent comptant et au prix courant de la province”. D. A. Sturdza, C. Colescu-Vartic, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 194.

11. M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, “Rolul hatişerifurilor de privilegii în limitarea obligațiilor către Poartă 1774-1802” (The Role of the Hatt-i Sheriffs of Privileges, in Limiting the Obligations to the Porte, 1774-1802), in *Studii* no. 6/1958, p. 116.

12. D. A. Sturdza, C. Colescu-Vartic, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 194, point 9.

necessary to repair the fortresses of Ismail, Giurgiu and Ada-Kaleh.

In order to cope with all this work, thousands of poor starving people and their cattle will be employed. Then we have to carry barley for two provinces (in Constantinople, *memlechet*) from another 1.000 poor raias and day labourers and workers and carts with their wretched cattle, as far as the fortress, which is 140 hours' distant from their country"¹³.

In our opinion, this document, as well as the other one called *sened*, is suggestive, as it comprises all the work the Porte ordered to be done.

It is also in the *sened* we read that the transport "ne sera pas à la charge des habitants"¹⁴; but it was never accomplished, because, after Pasvan Oglu's revolt, the peasants of Oltenia fled to the mountains, to avoid drawing by rope the ships carrying merchandise for the Sultan's army of Calafat and Vidin.

One year later, on January 9, 1784, in a *sened* addressed to the Russian agent Stakiev in Constantinople (Halil Hamid Pasha being the intermediary) the former engagements with regard to the Principalities were again mentioned, in connection with the regulation of trade: "when procuring sheep claimed by the chief of the butchers in Constantinople (named *kasapbashi*), by means of the *saidji**, that operation will be done reasonably. Any timber will be obtained by paying a satisfactory price to the raias. The population will not be obliged to send their products beyond the boundaries. No act of vexation will be committed against the raias. Any infringement will be punished"¹⁵.

The next document we shall mention is the one signed in Jassy on *December 29, 1791 - January 9, 1792*, after the Russian-Constantinople war. In the "New Law" (Kanunname) there were specified 28 common conditions regarding both Wallachia and Moldavia, and comprising their obligations to the Porte; the nature, the quantum, and the paying dates were also defined.

In point 16 it is shown that, for timber, food and any other items or work, such as repairing the fortresses and other buildings, reasonable prices would be established, which were different from the "fiyat-i miriye" — that is the Ottoman treasury *fisk*. Categorical advices would be given — as they should be — to such people who were charged by the Supreme Empire to obtain all the above mentioned things from the two Principalities; the drastic threats

13. V. A. Urechia, *Istoria Românilor* (The History of Romanians), Vol. I, Bucharest, 1891, p. 275.

14. D. A. Sturdza, C. Colescu-Vartic, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 193-194.

15. A.S.B.-DLXXXI/92-92a (mark of B.A.) apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 94.

* *saidji* = shepherds who used to count sheep; they were also sheep merchants, helping the "geleps" with their work.

would be clearly exposed in the high orders to be accomplished”¹⁶.

Point 17 specially stipulated that in order to obtain sheep through the agency of the *kasapbashi* (bailiffs of the butchers in Constantinople), the current price will be paid “...and no contribution more and no mite less will be offered”¹⁷.

The Porte had in view the future benefits resulting from exploitation of the Principalities. For instance, at point 24 it was provided “to set up factories called *Kerhane*, where all sorts of cloth (*cuka*) and other fabrics (*akmis*) would be in the course of time produced and bring great advantages to the Empire. The Porte was also concerned with the “improvement of agriculture by increasing the number of animals”; “that is why negligence and indifference in that respect will be regarded as serious offences and people will have to work diligently, so that everything mentioned above could be accomplished efficiently and without delay”¹⁸.

We shall dwell particularly upon one of the most important juridical documents, issued on 17/29 August, 1802 which was in effect another step forward in limiting Turks’ abuses of their obligations to the Empire.

The document is explicit in that respect, making it clear that no high Ottoman official might take from Wallachia anything not mentioned in the hatt-i sheriff. Worth mentioning is the regulation, for the first time in a document issued by the Porte, of the quantity of products Wallachia had to forward. The price was to be paid from the public money in cash, without neglecting the current one. And the crains were to be paid according to the tariff fixed every year at the gangboard of Brăila. The transport of the merchandise was to be paid for.

After establishing the quantity of products —this stipulation was most important— discussions would take place with the boyars in order to clarify whether or not the request for supplies could be wholly honoured, if not, the Porte had to be notified in time.

We shall now quote a few stipulations of the hatt-i sheriff “...and since it is forbidden to enter Wallachia, people going to their high dignitaries, my all-high vizires, if they leave their legal route when going and returning, and if they take from the raias all they need such as post horses and any other

16. Ion Ionașcu, Petre Bărbulescu, Gheorghe Gheorghe, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

17. *Ibidem*.

18. Regarding “Cartea de legi” (The Book of Laws) see Mustafa A. Mehmet, “O nouă reglementare a raporturilor Moldovei și Țării Românești față de Poartă la 1792” (A New Regulation Governing the Relations of Moldavia and Wallachia with the Porte, in 1792), in *Studii* no. 4/1967, pp. 691-709.

things of the kind without payment, it means they have laid waste to the poor raia; that is why, from now on, it is by no means the will of my Empire that the raia of Wallachia should be damaged by the vizires and the *mirimirans**, or by other people accompanying them”¹⁹. The sheep “...with the price they want to sell to merchants and geleps... who will bring them to Tsarigrad and to no other place”²⁰; and food “...to be continually brought down, a good deal, to the gangways of the Danube and to sell them to the captains of ships pertaining to the *kapans* (Turkish warehouses), —at a reasonable price— and nobody else”.

The Lawgivers were concerned with good organization in order to victual the city of Constantinople, providing it with all it needed. The Ottomans did not, even in 1802, admit that “...the raia of the country were used and enjoyed benefits and advantages (by turning their products to better account - F.M.); and that the citizens of their capital city were to some extent short of food”²¹.

As for timber, “...for erecting the fortresses at Rumele, timber should be cut in the mountains of Wallachia... and it will be carried to such places that lacked timber and, by means of some sened sealed by the *'binaementi'* (specialists in house building) the exact price of cutting and carrying will be paid... from the money of the haraç... by no means less²²,... but these raia should not be asked for timber or other products beyond the boundaries of their own country”²³.

Regarded as a whole and compared with previous documents, this hatt-i sheriff seems to embody the most substantial changes in the Porte's policy.

A last juridical regulation of the commercial relations between Wallachia and Turkey was the one concluded on *March 21, 1821*, at Ortachioi. In the protocol of that conference, after emphasizing the principle of good understanding between sellers and buyers at the gangways of Galați and Brăila, it is added that in the event of disagreement between them the parties should be convoked to the capital cities of both countries where, with the participation of the princes and members of the Divan, the price would be fixed to their mutual agreement²⁴.

19. Ion Ionașcu, Petre Bărbulescu, Gheorghe Gheorghe, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

20. *Ibidem*, p. 265.

21. *Ibidem*, pp. 265-266.

22. *Ibidem*, pp. 266-267.

23. *Ibidem*, pp. 268-269.

24. C. C. Giurescu, *Istoricul orașului Brăila. Din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă astăzi* (The

* *mirimirans* = a kind of general governors.

In regard to clothing, we quote a few words from a work by Edgar Patin: "Le 22 mars eut lieu à Péra dans la maison de campagne du Reïs Effendi, une conférence dans laquelle furent établies les conditions dans lesquelles les principautés aurons à prester dorénavant les fournitures obligatoires envers la Sublime Porte. Les délégués roumains prétendirent que la perte que subirent les principautés par la moins valeur obtenue de la part des 'capanlı' ainsi que par les réquisitions, forcées s'élevait pour l'époque 1812-1819 à 33 millions de piastres"²⁵. Due to the pressure exerted by the Russian plenipotentiaries, and yielding to Nesselrode's pretensions, the Porte consented to limit the quantities of cereals from the Principalities to a quantity representing "la moyenne décennale" and comprising everything they had to send to Turkey between 1812 and 1821²⁶.

II. WALLACHIA AND THE PROVISIONING OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the previous part of the paper mention was made of some of the stipulations contained in the Porte's hatt-i sheriffs, showing their special care that some of Wallachia's products should be sent only to the Ottoman Empire, with the aim of provisioning Constantinople, the Turkish army, and the inhabitants of their fortresses. Plenty of merchants and office-workers were concerned with delivering Wallachian merchandise at the Danube, taking it overann and transporting it to its destination.

Among them were Romanians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews²⁷. It was the Romanians who prepared pastrami in the island of Prundu and in the so-called *zalhanàs* — that is, places where cattle were cut. Such places were to be found in Ploiesti²⁸ and in other areas too. People living outside the raia also gathered cattle; there were fishermen too. The cattle merchants were given the generic Turkish name of "geleps". They also had other names, according to their kind of work²⁹. The *kapanlı* were people who provisioned

History of the Town of Brăila, since the Remotest Times until Today), Bucharest, 1968, p. 103.

25. Edgar Patin, *Le commerce des cereales dans le bassin du Bas-Danube*, Paris, 1933, p. 121, note 3.

26. *Ibidem*.

27. C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

28. The one of Ploiesti was placed on the land belonging to the "beizadea" (son of a prince) Costache Caragea, where 3.000-4.000 cattle were cut every year — A.S.B., MCCCXLIV/100 a (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

29. C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

the *Kapan* (i.e. the Empire's warehouses and stores). The *saegies* bought mainly flocks of sheep, rams, lambs, goats and kids. The *sureccies* gathered cattle for the people of Constantinople. In addition to all these, were the people who fattened cattle, and people who prepared pastrami.

Why were the Ottoman authorities so preoccupied with the intense, continuous provisioning of their capital city, and of the whole population living on Turkish territory?

One of the reasons arose from a characteristic feature of the Empire which has been commented upon by historians and economists, as we shall see below.

Gheron Netta wrote that "the Ottomans monopolized certain products and exploited both the producers and the merchants in the consumers' interests. That is why in Constantinople, economic, industrial and commercial life could not develop. The Ottomans' aim was to protect consumers and this had an adverse effect upon trade"³⁰.

These seems to have been two reasons for this attitude. One was the fact that the Turks were no merchants; neither were they intermediaries in commerce, which was practised for them by foreigners. "They had the state power only in order to monopolize... they were not interested in the commercial income some conquered regions enjoyed". The second reason for this Ottoman mentality was their principle that poor people should be taken care of by the charity of the rich. In Netta's opinion, this attitude too was disadvantageous to commerce and production, as people preferred being beggars to working and producing³¹. "Not even the Turkish provinces were interested in provisioning Constantinople, as there was nothing to be drawn upon. Thus the state's authority had to intervene"³².

Along the same lines, we shall quote a few passages from a special study made by M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca of the provisioning of the city of Constantinople with wheat during the 18th century. When characterizing the Porte's policy, the author properly noted: "La raison de cette politique d'exploitation intense, de prohibitions et de monopoles réside dans une grave contradiction qui mine l'empire en déclin. C'est d'une part l'accroissement des charges et, de l'autre, l'abandon de la politique de conquête, sans parvenir toutefois à remplacer le mode de production féodal par un nouveau

30. Gheron Netta, *Curs de istoria comerțului* (A Course of the History of Trade), 1937, p. 469.

31. *Ibidem*.

32. *Ibidem*.

mode adapté aux exigences d'un État moderne"³³.

According to this study, the only remedy would have been the introduction of capitalist methods in agriculture, whose inventory was rudimentary. But the feudal society opposed it. The sultans were unable to perceive the cause of the crisis — i.e. the destruction of the economic basis of the Empire: the petty peasantry's property. They preferred, due to the organizational power they had inherited from the Byzantines, to solve all problems by a rigorous regulation of the trade with cereals, and by a policy of stocking, thus if necessary satisfying the requirements of the Constantinople population. "That population was an actual danger for the sultans, and as the means of living were lacking, their most primitive instincts emerged"³⁴.

And the danger consistently increased, owing to the penetration of numerous peasants from Anatolia and Rumelia. In an attempt to stop their emigration, the sultans imposed new taxes for the "tchift bozan" (i.e. farmers who were leaving their fields), and also organized a certain census³⁵.

The wars and revolutions of the pashas who, for their own advantage, exploited the tendencies of the provinces with the aim driving them apart, also had a disastrous effect on the economy.

In the islands too —Cyprus and Chios³⁶— which were an important market for cereals in Levant, the people were revolting against abuses committed by the fiscal authorities, which profoundly affected their property. Syria had become considerably poorer, while in Egypt the beys were sharing the power between them.

With Egypt falling under the bey of the mamelukes and neglecting its obligation to provision the Ottoman capital city (Egypt, the Principalities and the region of the Marmora Sea provided four months' food for Constantinople³⁷), the burden on the Principalities increased. Hence, a bigger quantity of supplies, an improvement in the provisioning of Constantinople, but also dissatisfaction on the part of the inhabitants and, in due course, introduction of the above-mentioned regulations.

As regards the methods used by the kapanlies to acquire Wallachian

33. M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Contribution à l'étude de l'approvisionnement en blé de Constantinople au XVIIIème siècle", in *Studia et acta orientalia*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 13.

34. *Ibidem*, p. 14.

35. *Ibidem*, p. 16.

36. *Ibidem*, p. 17.

37. Traian Ionescu, "Hatîşeriful din 1802 și începutul luptei pentru aprovizionarea pieței interne a Principatelor dunărene" (The Hatt-i Sheriff of 1802 and the Beginning of the Struggle to Provisioning the Internal Market of the Danubian Principalities), in *Studii și articole de istorie*, Vol. I, Bucharest, 1956, p. 44.

products, Vel Spatharus Ianache Văcărescu wrote on May 18, 1793: “therefore, whereas the *nizam* (in Turkish: order, system) provides that the *kapanlı* merchants who want to take their merchandise from the country should receive a princely order from the treasurer, addressing the subprefects of the country where the merchandise is and, when going over there, to give the sened to the subprefects for the quantity of merchandise they have to take and thus to receive from the subprefects a *yol tezkeresi* (a kind of passport), to be allowed to cross the Danube where they wanted to...”³⁸.

Gheron Netta gives also a complete table about the way the export of products in Wallachia was taking place and directed to the Ottoman Empire. He noted four main stages:

- I. Checking and taking the products;
- II. Gathering of products from all over the country and their carrying to the residence of the *kadi* (a judge), who was regarded as “the eye and arm of the governor”, and also organized the provisioning and financial problems in every province;
- III. Dispatching or forwarding all those products to Constantinople;
- IV. Handing them over in Constantinople.

The *kadi* did not take the products himself. He had providers (the *geleps*) whom he asked to come to his residence. The providers were registered in a book concerning food supplies. Together with the *kadi* they established the merchandise, its quantity and nature. The list, comprising the names of all the providers, was then sent to Constantinople, where it was sanctioned by the competent organs and sent back to the *kadi*. It was a sort of licence. Cattle of good quality were selected and the *geleps* took them over, sometimes at lower prices. The cattle were then gathered at the residence of the *kadi*, who bought them from the *geleps*. Thus the *kadi* always bought merchandise at second hand.

Cattle were subsequently sent to Constantinople by means of some merchant, a contract being concluded between the *kadi* and the merchant. From the country, the herds were escorted by *spahis*, under the leadership of a representative of the *kadi* (called *naipi*, and being a lower judge, who used to replace the *kadi*)³⁹.

38. A.S.B. Register XXIV, p. 150.

39. Gheron Netta, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-471.

III. THE MERCHANDISE WALLACHIA SUPPLIED TO THE OTTOMAN PORTE

In the following pages we shall try to show a most complete and varied table, covering the forwarding of cereals, cattle, wood and other products from Wallachia, necessary for provisioning Constantinople and other regions of the Empire and the Turkish garrisons of Silistra, Rustchuk, Ada-Kaleh etc.

Most of the documents we shall use to illustrate this aspect of Turkish-Wallachian relations are to be found in the catalogue of Turkish Documents, published by Mihail Guboglu; we identified the others in the collections of the Library of the Academy; the criterion we chose was the chronological one; we tried as far as possible to group the respective merchandise within every year. The most documentary evidence is about cereals, cattle and their derivatives. For instance, in 1791, the first year we'll deal with, on October 3, Sultan Selim III ordered the kadi and the other dignitaries of Silistra to deposit in Wallachia, at Călărași, 80.000 "chile" (kilas) of wheat and 150.000 kilas of barley, obtained thanks to Michael Soutsos. From that quantity, 15.000 kilas of wheat and 45.000 kilas of barley were to be distributed to Brăila, 20.000 kilas of wheat and 45.000 kilas barley to Silistra, 13.000 kilas wheat and 20.000 kilas of barley to Rustchuk, Shishtov and Nicopole. One "kila of Constantinople" would equal 20 pence for wheat and 10 pence for barley, the cost to be given to Michael Soutsos entirely⁴⁰.

In a note, Prince Michael Soutsos stated that in 1791-1792 there were brought to the gangway of Brăila⁴¹, from Wallachia, food and cereals in a quantity of: 1.347 "kilas of Constantinople"⁴² wheat, 19.164 barley, 19.991 millet—as a sum total 40.502—being loaded on five sailing vessels belonging to the kapan⁴³.

On December 18, 1791, Sultan Selim III, who was at the camp of Sumla, asked the Turkish dignitaries of Hırsova and of other places to carry to Hırsova 38.822 ocaș flour⁴⁴.

The only mention of the export of cattle in 1791 is that of March 6. That year, the kadi of Istanbul, Abdulah Ali, showed that a high order had been

40. A.S.B. Microfilm 13 (IV-3), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 370.

41. "For grăins Brăila becomes a huge warehouse, from which not only the Turkish fortresses on the Danube are provisioned, but also, —and especially— the capital city of the Empire, Constantinople and its other cities", C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

42. One kila of Constantinople —22 ocaș— 27,402 - 27,720 Kg.

43. A.S.B. An oriental manuscript, no. 231, f. 1. (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *top. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 367.

44. A.S.B. Microfilm 13 (III-26), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 373.

received at the request of the kasapbashî and he asked that a particularly large number of sheep and goats should be sent to the Porte, on the occasion of the Bairam of Ramazan, being necessary as food for the population. The following prices are mentioned: 225, 135, 105, 125 and 165 "akce" (a Turkish silver money), for sheep and goats; it is also mentioned that the saidgies and the geleps were registered in the "defter" (a book of entry) of the district Cetalgea, with 250 *gurushes* (old Turkish silver money) for each sheep, per capita⁴⁵.

The sultan's orders in 1791, as in other years, included falcons too. That year, Michael Soutsos confirmed to the great vizire Kogea Iusuf Pasha, receipt of the firman for forwarding the falcons, in keeping with the annual habit, and he showed he had given the chief of hunters 12 big falcons⁴⁶.

For the following year, 1792, the quantity of food the Porte requested was of 150.000 kilas (about 4.240.5 tons)⁴⁷. That year, Michael Soutsos asked the Porte to issue orders to the *emin* (a confidential person and manager or bailiff) whose job was that of some chief at the barns, and to the nazîr-aga (the commander of the fortress) at Brăila, to take over 40.000 kilas of barley, in order to be kept at Silistra, 40.000 kilas flour at Brăila and 18.000 kilas at Rustchuk. The rest of barley and flour and 3.500 weighing machines of biscuits (one weighing machine equalled 44 *ocas*) for Brăila were being prepared⁴⁸. That same year, the Wallachian prince confirmed to the Porte receipt of the imperial firman for supplying 100.000 kilas wheat and he asked that they should be subtracted from the above-mentioned quantity, as the country was suffering because of the drought, having not even the necessary seeds. People "...associated and ploughed superficially, so agriculture has diminished. Besides, in some good places for cultivating cereals, locusts appeared, and in other places there appeared a kind of insect on the ears of wheat, becoming a real calamity for the beans of cereals. Beside the agricultural crisis, one can foresee a kind of famine too"⁴⁹. It is still Soutsos who let the Porte know that he would load on ships and would carry to the gangway of Brăila another 57.410 kilas wheat, until the beginning of May 1793⁵⁰.

45. A.S.B. Stock Hagi Ianuș, XX/16, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 116.

46. A.S.B. An oriental Manuscript, no. 226, f. 4 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 366.

47. Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), pp. 253-254.

48. A.S.B. Register no. 53/1954, mark 342, suret 7a (mark of B.A.) apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 124-125.

49. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 8 (mark of B.A.), apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), p. 256.

50. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 12 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 125.

In spite of the “crisis in agriculture” he could however announce that he had sent “so far” (in 1792 or so) 266.439 kilas of Constantinople wheat and barley, loated on 57 ships. The document of their forwarding would be presented in Constantinople by the *kapikehaye* (a bailiff of the Ottoman Porte and also a diplomacy agent) of Wallachia⁵¹.

As in the previous year, the export of sheep was now again mentioned in documents. In a *mahzar* (a collective petition), the prince, the boyars, the metropolitan a.o. informed the Porte that they could not send that year more than 70.000 sheep; because of the supplies⁵² exceeding the country’s possibilities, the raia was in danger of remaining without breeding sheep. After receiving the 70.000 animals, all the geleps and saidgies had to leave the country⁵³. (Sheep were “the main chapter of trade and of living for the poor raia”).

As a result, the geleps gave a written agreement that they would observe the “nizam” (order) the Prince of Wallachia had made up⁵⁴. It is still in 1792 that Mustafa the caimacam transmitted to a *vali* (general governor of a province) the contents of a firman stipulating that from Wallachia, from the regions about the Danube, the channels of Dobrudja, Andrinople, Vrața and from the *kazas* (administrative units under the rule of a kadi, as large as some counties) of Salonic and Veria should be brought 80.000 sheep and goats to be paid in cash from the sums the saedjies possessed, at the price the state had fixed; they will then be sent to Constantinople. It was provided that one sheep and one goat from ten should be bought from the sum total the owners had got and that no one should be sold before the state’s necessities were ensured. (It may therefore be supposed that not all the cattle reached Constantinople, as the geleps and the saidgies also practiced a trade of their own - F.M.)⁵⁵.

It is still in 1792 that the merchant Emin sent to Constantinople another 32.000 sheep⁵⁶ and a number of 90.000 were to be forwarded in the two months

51. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 17 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

52. Moreover, “this year, because of a long winter, most of the animals starved, lacking food and because of the frost”, A.S.B. Register no. 53, suret 8, apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), pp. 253-254.

53. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 7 (mark of B.A.), apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), pp. 254-255.

54. Register no. 53... suret 7, apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), pp. 254-255.

55. A.S.B. Turkish document XXXII/2459, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 380.

56. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 3 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 123.

after October 26⁵⁷.

We shall also mention the document of that same year in which Michael Soutsos asked for an order from the Porte designed to provide that merchants should not claim any tallow or suet under the price fixed at Silistra. They buy in Wallachia suet, paying for an oca not 20 pence but 12 only⁵⁸.

That same year, the great vizire Mehmet pasha let Michael Soutsos know that, although in the high firman they provided for construction of 4 big barns for depositing food next to Silistra, Rustchuk, Nicopole and Shishtov the Prince suggested that the first to be built should be those at Silistra and Rustchuk.

The Prince is advised that timber for the buildings should be cut from Romanian forests, at a reasonable price⁵⁹.

In the selling cues of the customs for 1792, can be found within article 15 the following mention: "as wax is also one of the products which are forbidden after the first cue, everybody should know that in foreign countries nobody is allowed to pass wax anywhere else except to the Turkish land..."⁶⁰.

For the year 1793, no mention can be found in documents of the quantity of food or the animals forwarded to the Ottoman Empire. We do however note an order given by Sultan Selim III, on May 18, 1793, to the *muhafiz* (the commander of the fortress) of Vidin and the *miralem* (a colour bearer) Mehmet Pasha, to take care of the sheep necessary to feed the troops; with this end in view, they should pass into Wallachia, in order to obtain them⁶¹.

Apart from the geleps, no merchant (at least theoretically) was allowed to export sheep over the Danube. One June 7, 1793, the prince ordered the arrest of two men of Vlaşca whom the geleo denounced as having secretly sent sheep over the Danube⁶².

The same sultan (Selim III) ordered on June 10 - July 9, 1793, that the *muhafiz* and the kadi of Vidin should procure and carry timber from Wallachia, for the needs of the fortress of Vidin⁶³.

57. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 9 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124.

58. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 9 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 125.

59. A.S.B. Turkish document III/220, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 130.

60. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Bucharest, 1892, p. 641.

61. A.S.B. Microfilm 12 (V-9), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 381.

62. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Bucharest, 1893, p. 641.

63. A.S.B. Turkish document III/1204, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 385-386.

Concerning 1794, we found no notice about quantities of supplies. We only mention that the great vizire Mehmet Izzet Pasha wrote to Michael Soutsos, the prince of Moldavia (as he also wrote to the Wallachian prince) ordering the boyars, the raias and the monasteries not to hide any food in order to secure some income, but to sell it to the kapanlı merchants⁶⁴.

As can be seen, "regulation" de jure by means of treaties or firmans was not enough to stop avoidance of their stipulations. In an unpublished document of 1794, it is emphasized that the Argeş bishopry ordered all priests of the diocese to pass any supplementary wheat to the princely officials who would pay for it on the spot; but if it was found that any wheat had been hidden, it would be taken from them "for it was meant for the necessities of Constantinople"⁶⁵.

Concerning the sending of falcons, Alexander Mourousis told the Porte that he gave 25 of them to the *mubasir* (the delegate) Satiri Mehmet aga... The gathering of falcons for the hunting organized by the Sultan took place in Wallachia, in keeping with the engagement of obedience of every voivode⁶⁶.

On May 17, 1795, Mehmet, the steward of Shishtov, sent a letter to Mourousis asking him what possibilities there were concerning food (probably exceeding the quantity that had already been given - F.M.) because the drought had made him seek for wheat in other countries. He wanted the prince to send 15-20.000 oca flour, 25.000 oca millet, paying 29 gurushes for one hundred oca wheat flour and 8 pence for every kila millet and corn flour⁶⁷.

Wallachia was continuing to send cattle to Constantinople. On June 14, Sultan Selim III, who had asked his dignitaries and the Wallachian prince for help in transporting sheep and goats from Wallachia and from the banks of the Danube up to the straits of Bosphorus in Rumelia... as all these were necessary to provision the imperial capital⁶⁸.

The same year (1795), the great vizire Mehmet in Constantinople asked the Wallachian and Moldavian princes to send a large quantity of long thick poles, in order to repair the fortress of Ismail⁶⁹.

Other information concerning trade are to be found in 1799. On June

64. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 32 (mark of B.A.), apud Mustafa A. Mehmet, *O condică domnească...* (A Princely Register...), pp. 257-258.

65. A.S.B. CMLIV (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

66. A.S.B. Register no. 53... suret 34 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138.

67. A.S.B. A.N., CLXXXI/29, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 140.

68. A.S.B. DLXXXII (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 386.

69. A.S.B. Turkish document III/272, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 386.

18, the merchants of the kapan of Galata addressed a *mahzar* to prince Alexander Mourouzis. 39 merchants were to arrive in order to buy various items in keeping with the firman. Among them was Arabzade Ahmed aga, associated with Topal Husein Aga from Brăila, and Cerasîli-Es-Ahmed, with attendant Kîrîmî Ahmed⁷⁰.

A very interesting document, although concerning Moldavia, is one issued from the imperial capital on 2-11 September. The Sultan asked Constantine Ypsilantis, the voivode of Moldavia, to prohibit the cutting of trees in the Moldavian forests to obtain ashes for the preparation of dyes. He disapproved the fact that a category of merchants had formed a *régime of trade of their own* (our own underlining - F.M.), by opening big workshops and cutting giant trees to paint cotton and flax, having trade relations with Poland and Austria. If this situation is confirmed, both the empire and Moldavia will no longer have timber⁷¹. From this document, it transpires that in spite of the intense exploitation of the principality's resources (and we have no reason to believe that the situation was different in Wallachia) there still remained —and the Porte acknowledge it— some possibility of turning wood into account in other markets, albeit less efficiently⁷². On May 25, 1800, Hadj Ismail, a bailiff of voivode, informed the Austrian consul, J. Merkelius, that a man had arrived at Giurgiu, and a number of carts transported timber from Wallachia to the small fair Philimon, next to Nicopole⁷³.

That same year, it was mentioned that food and cereals had been sent to the Empire. In a tacrir (report), the voivode of Wallachia let the Porte know that he had sent by the two ships belonging to the Kapan merchants, 9.108 kilas wheat and 275 kilas barley, from the gangway of Brăila⁷⁴.

In 1801-1802, Michael Soutsos answered the court marshal Gregory Ventura, —caimacam of Craiova— in an unpublished document, about the

70. A.S.B., A.N., CLXXXI/31, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 150.

71. A.S.B. MCCCLXXXV/19 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 400.

72. Among the essences the Turks asked for, there were those of the fir-tree (required by the navy), lime-tree, oak tree, elm., hornbeam, cornel tree — see G. Bujoreanu "Livrările în natură către Poarta otomană, mijloc de exploatare economică a Moldovei, în perioada 1802-1828" (The deliveries in kind to the Ottoman Porte, a Means of Exploiting Moldavia's Economy, between 1802 and 1828), in *Analele Universității "Al. I. Cuza" din Iași* (new series) secțiunea a III-a (științe sociale) A, Istorie, filologie, IX (1965), p. 184; see also C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii românești*, The History of the Romanian Forest, Bucharest, 1976.

73. A.S.B. Agenția austriacă —The Austrian Agency— 11/19 (mark of B.A.), f. 15, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 154.

74. A.S.B. oriental manuscript no. 190 (mark of B.A.), f. 15, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 405.

quantity of barley that had been bought for the needs of the Ottoman army, at the price of 3 gurushes for one hundred ocaș, and that another quantity was to be bought by the prefects of the countries of Mehedinți and Romanați, for one penny an ocaș; he also mentioned that 75.000 ocaș butter and 25.000 ocaș suet were obtained⁷⁵.

From another unpublished document, issued on August 17, 1802, we can see that the two *kapikēhayas* of the Principalities (Constantine Soutsos and Alexander Hangerli) were sending to Prince A. Ypsilantis two firmans, containing: 1) An order prohibiting any further cutting of cattle in the country, and the selling of cattle anywhere but in Andrinople, and there only to the merchants chosen by the Porte to provision Constantinople; 2) an order prohibiting any further selling by people of Giurgiu to anyone other than merchants sent by the Porte⁷⁶. We can therefore see that the porte intervened again to stop any free trade between the Wallachians and the Turks.

The hatt-i sheriff Sultan Selim III issued in 1802, presented in the previous part, regulates only the quantity of vegetables⁷⁷ to be sent to the Porte. Until 1806, no other information could be found about Wallachia's products sent to the Porte.

In an unpublished document of that year, [Crețulescu, the treasurer] wrote to the Prince about the Sultan's firman in which he ordered that 40.000 kilas barley should be sent to Ada-Kaleh, as well as 10.000 kilas flour and 4.000 kilas pulled bread, which had already been partially delivered to Regep-aga⁷⁸.

Turn now to a document attesting the large quantities of products exported to the Porte.

On November 14, es-Seid Mehmed, the *mola* (judge) of Silistra informed the High Develt (i.e. the Ottoman Empire) about the measures of the Kapanli merchants on the occasion of the *medjilis* (general meeting) of the seriate. They had asked for a quantity of 607.404 ocaș tallow, suet and *tchirvish* (melt tallow of beef, used for cooking), which had resulted from the 98 herds of cattle, consisting of 6.524 oxen and 7.848 cows, that had been obtained thanks to Constantine Ypsilantis of Wallachia⁷⁹. All the food bought for the Ottoman troops was meant either for each garrison separately, or for two or more of them.

75. A.S.B. MCDXXXV/106 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

76. A.S.B. DC/58 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

77. A.S.B. Turkish document VII/1149, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 166.

78. A.S.B. DC/202 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

79. A.S.B. Turkish document 1/2, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 276.

Mentioned in a list of 1806-1807 are bread, meat and barley, to be sent to the army of Giurgiu and of Bucharest⁸⁰.

On October 30, the *emins* (bailiffs) of the barns of Isaccea confirmed receipt of 6.740 ocas flour and 5.622 kilas barley, intended for the imperial army⁸¹.

On November 12, the same year, the emir of Brăila, Ibrahim Chedücklii, confirmed receipt of 45.000 ocas and 330 sacks from Mehmet aga, who was instructed to buy varied merchandise at Tulcea⁸². Four days later, Ibrahim, the emin of Ismail, confirmed that he had received 171.349 ocas pure flour bought at Tulcea by Mehmet aga⁸³. From 1808 we have one of the few indications of the sums paid for provisioning the Ottoman army, which had been established in the Principality. On January 18, Hadj Ebn-Bekir aga confirmed in a sened payment of 27.000 gurushes for supplies received by the imperial army on the banks of the Danube⁸⁴.

On March 31, people sent by Mehmet aga carried flour (1.500 Constanti-nople kilas) and 3.000 kilas barley, from Isaccea to Ismail⁸⁵.

A month later (April 27), the *emin* of Tulcea confirmed that 50 rack waggon loads of lirewood were bought for 134 gurushes and 3 pence and assigned to the "topchies" (gunners) under the rule of Iskender aga⁸⁶; on June 25, receipt of 135 cart loads of firewood was confirmed by Iskender aga for assignment to the gunners and carters of Giurgiu⁸⁷.

Among the places where food and cereals were bought for the army, were Babadag, Hirşova⁸⁸, Mangalia, Constanţa and the Wallachian port of Giurgiu⁸⁹, where the above — mentioned merchandise was delivered, being forwarded as far as Rustchuk.

Among the documents of the time we also find the name of the well-known Armenian merchant Manuc bey⁹⁰. On August 2, 1808, the *aian* (mayor) of Rustchuk, Ahmed effendi, asked Manuc bey for 20.000 ocas honey, 100.000

80. Muzeul de Istorie Bucuresti (History Museum, Bucharest, hereafter referred to as M.I.B.), inv. 26 341, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

81. M.I.B., inv. 26422, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

82. M.I.B., inv. 26452, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 185.

83. M.I.B., inv. 26414, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 185.

84. M.I.B., inv. 26301, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 189.

85. M.I.B., inv. 26336, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 192.

86. M.I.B., inv. 26433, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 195.

87. M.I.B., inv. 26443, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

88. M.I.B., inv. 26499, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

89. M.I.B., inv. 26513, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

90. For more informations about him see Gh. Bezviconlii, *Manuc Bei*, 2nd edition, Chi-

ocas suet and cheese, 5.000 ocas beans and lentil, 2.000 ocas brimstone, 150.000 eggs, 2.000 ocas "iufka" and 5.000 candles⁹¹. This document is interesting, since it throws into bold relief the substantial scale on which this Armenian merchant traded. His name will be mentioned again in this study. Also worth mentioning are his commercial relationships not only with Ottoman high officials, but with private merchants as well. He was therefore concerned with export-import and with financial operation.

Concerning 1810, we deal with two unpublished documents, showing the contribution of ordinary clergymen to Porte obligations. The Argeş diocese ordered that all priests (living in regions where cereals could not be cultivated - F.M.) were to contribute 10 thalers each for food assigned to the Imperial army⁹². The date of the document was January 5; on August 30, Iosif, the bishop of Arges, asked priests and deacons to donate carts of hay to meet the needs of the imperial hosts⁹³.

We do not know whether such supplies were paid for, or whether they were treated as donations which were normal Porte obligations. It is only in 1812 that information on the required food began to appear. On November 14, there were required for "the host and the gunners" of the *beilerbey* (general governor) Sahin Ali pasha, who had been also named vice-governor and *muhafiz* of Silistra, 3.000 kilas barley and 150.000 ocas flour, to be forwarded to Silistra, under the control of the Prince⁹⁴.

Big quantities of cereals were claimed one year later. On March 15, the governor of Silistra asked Ioannis Karatzas, on behalf of the Porte, to send 165.000 kilas wheat to Constantinople and 75.000 kilas barley to the troops on the Danube (the document is not published)⁹⁵.

On January 8, 1813, the *aian* (mayor) of Rustchuk, Abdulah Bosniac, asked Ioannis Karatzas to permit Omer aga to buy 15.000 ocas of goat suet from Wallachia, for the needs of the people of his domain⁹⁶. On March 26, two Turks (perhaps merchants) from Brăila sought the intervention of the "postelnic" (court marshal of Wallachia) to authorise the despatch of 56.000

șinău, 1938. About him and other Armenian merchants see H. Dj. Siruni, *Armenii în viața economică a țărilor românești* (The Armenians in the Economic Life of the Romanian Principalities), Bucharest, 1944.

91. M.I.B., inv. 42381 photocopy, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 198.

92. A.S.B., DCVII/26 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

93. A.S.B., DCVII/27 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

94. A.S.B., Turkish document, I/1, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 221.

95. A.S.B., DCVII/271 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

96. A.S.B., Turkish document I/36, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

ocas of melted suet to the Porte⁹⁷. It was not only the Prince who gave permits for gathering Wallachian products, but the kapikehayes as well.

On April 1, the nnazîr (inspector) of the imperial kapan, el Hadj Hasan aga, informed the *kethuda* (manager of the imperial pantry) that Seemendrelî Abdul-Kerim aga had delivered to the kapan 60 sacks and 6.000 ocas cheese, which had been bought in Wallachia according to the permit of the kapikehaya⁹⁸.

On April 23, the two kapikehayas of Constantinople [Michael Gr. Soutsos and Scarlat N. Rosetti] sent to J. Karatzas 2 firmans: 1) to stop wheat being sold at a price lower than the price fixed by the Porte; 2) to stop more wheat being ground than was needed⁹⁹ (an unpublished document). Both documents were intended to eliminate export to other markets for advantageous prices.

On May 26, 1813, the "molla" of Nicopole asked J. Karatzas to facilitate the obtaining of food and timber at the current price from villages on the banks of the river Olt. It was also mentioned that "they were intended for the raia and not for the merchants"¹⁰⁰. The herds of cattle, sheep or lambs were still paid for at the market price, and the merchants and butchers had to pay when asked to by the "molla" of Silistra¹⁰¹.

The following document was issued on April 23 - May 1, by Sultan Mahmud II, and it repeated the former stipulations regarding the terms on which the kapanlî were allowed to buy merchandise in Wallachia. The following terms were imposed: the merchants having come in the country would receive from the prince the *tezkerè* (passport), specifying the place where they could buy food, be it a fair or a gangway; the sellers had to be paid for the food at the *current price and in eash* (our own underlining - F.M.).

They were not allowed to buy oca from other places, nor to take food or anything else from the inhabitants. They were also forbidden to go beyond the specified area, or to trouble the inhabitants in any way. When leaving, they had to return the *tezkerè* and to render an account of the quantity of food they had bought¹⁰².

Among the documents of 1813, are to be found a few names of kapanlî merchants, such as the ones appertaining to the kapan for tallow (Seid Hadj

97. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/54, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 223.

98. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/53, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 223.

99. A.S.B., DCIII/28 (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

100. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/33, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 224.

101. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/51, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

102. A.S.B., ms. 21, f. 33-34, translated into Greek, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 421.

Ali aga, Hasan aga, Ibrahim zade el Hadj Mehmed aga, Kavasoglu Mustafa aga, Akkermanî el-Hadj Mustafa aga, a.o.; and among the ones pertaining to the kapan of honey are Nazîr Kapanlî el Hadj Masan, el-Hadj Mustafa, el-Hadj Halil Salik aga, Hafiz Mehmed¹⁰³.

It is still in 1813 that J. Karatzas, Prince of Wallachia, rejected the pretensions of the inhabitants of the fortress of Vidin, who were laying claim "by threats" to a much bigger quantity of food, which they maintained was needed by their region. In order to satisfy them, the Prince invited an order for largest quantity of cereals they were able to deliver. They were also told that in 1813 there was a drought and that Istanbul was consuming a great quantity of cereals.

As for suet, the Prince wrote that they could not deliver so much every month, as the five countries of Oltenia produced annually 80.000 ocas of suet¹⁰⁴; this was one of the few indications to be found in certain countries of Wallachia on suet production in the *Zalhanas*.

It goes without saying that the inhabitants and the Ottoman army settled in the fortresses laid claim to considerably more than the Principality could produce, eventually leading to the necessary measures taken by the princes.

Large cattle herds and big quantities of suet or *tchirvish* (melt beef tallow), a.o., were sent to the Empire the following year (1814).

18.385 ocas of suet and tchirvish, yielded by two hers of oxen and one of cows were sent to Silistra by two kapanlii merchants¹⁰⁵. Another 18.000 ocas, were cut from 300 oxen (60 ocas from each ox and were sent by the kapanli Jadj Mustafa)¹⁰⁶.

In 1815, Hadj Mustafa was given 153.000 ocas of tallow, suet, and 127 weighing machines of pastrami, obtained from two herds comprising 227 oxen.

A number of ciphers showing the big quantities of animal products sent are mentioned in the document of September 6; 10 kapanlii merchants, supported by J. Karatzas, bought 15 herds of beef (2.173 head of cattle) and 22 herds cows (3.133 head) which yielded 229.170 ocas of tallows and tchervish and 1.800 weighing machines of pastrami¹⁰⁷.

That same year, eight merchants bought 1.448 oxen and 1.006 cows

103. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/50, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 224.

104. A.S.B., DLXXXVII/101 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 232.

105. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/52, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 240.

106. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/56, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

107. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/18, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 245.

(the ciphers being taken from a register from September 30, 1815)¹⁰⁸. Among the countries throughout which the Turks traveled to take food were also Prahova and Săcuieni; and so did, after 1816, Seid Suleiman aga's people¹⁰⁹. The kapañliof Brăila asked J. Karatzas to urge the gathering of the merchandise as 60 vessels were waiting at the gangway of Brăila to transport it to the Porte¹¹⁰.

Concerning 1817, no documents were found on supplies assigned to the Porte. However, according to a statistical table of the Tsarist consulate in Bucharest, between 1812 and 1817 Wallachia exported 448.750 kilas (of Brăila) with an annual average of 89.750 kilas¹¹¹.

For 1818, we have several documents showing the large volume of exports to Constantinople.

For instance, on October 14, Mahmud II ordered Ibrahim Pasha—the general governor of Silistra—to take over and store in the barns of the fortress all the food he had received from Wallachia. It had already been partially paid for by the Empire's treasury with 94.750 gurushes, representing the price of 25.000 kilas of "reddish" wheat, 15.000 kilas of millet and 10.000 kilas of barley¹¹².

On October 2-11, by a firman, 10.000 more Constantinople kilas of red wheat and 10.000 more kilas of barns barley from the latest harvest were assigned for deposit in the Brăila fortress.

This was added to the quantity already regulated—i.e. 1.000 Constantinople kilas of barley, 2.000 Brăila kilas of millet and 17.000 Constantinople kilas of red wheat¹¹³.

Here is therefore a concomitant use of both measure units, as well as an illustration of the important role the market of Brăila was playing, that role having already been emphasized by C. C. Giurescu.

On October 2-30, another firman asked the prince to supply the Adakaleh fortress, on the tribute's account, with flour, 2.000 kilas of millet from Brăila, and what was left of 100.000 ocas yielded by the harvest of 1815.

They were waiting—before the arrival of winter—for 82.000 ocas of

108. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/3, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 245.

109. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/95, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 248.

110. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/41, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 248.

111. C. C. Giurescu, *Istoricul oraşului Brăila* (The History of the Town of Brăila), p. 101.

112. A.S.B., Microfilm 23 (113 and 114 copies, 115) apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 428.

113. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/31, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 254.

flour and 40.000 kilas millet¹¹⁴; and on 2-31 October another 1870 kilas were requested from Brăila, at the current price. Previously received for Silistra were 25.000 Constantinople kilas of red wheat, 15.000 kilas of millet and as much barley, in cash (94.750 gurushes)¹¹⁵.

An obligation not yet found in documents is the one granting yearly, by imperial firman, 20.000 ocas flour (taken from Wallachia) assigned to the Koshai Cossaks (living in the region of Zaporoje). By sened, on November 20, Andreia Lola, a steward of the Cossaks, confirmed that he had received such a quantity from the steward of the Wallachian Prince¹¹⁶. The quantity of suet obtained from each animal cut was between 40 ocas (according to the Divan boyars of the Porte) and 60 ocas (according to the Ottomans). For the previous years, the quantities had been 52.5 ocas from each ox and 32.5 ocas from each cow¹¹⁷. Tallow was carried by ship.

In the same period of time, the great vizire Dervish Mehmed Pasha reproached the Prince because the timber for the butts needed by the fortresses of Rustchuk, Nicopole, Hîrşova, Silistra and Măcin, had not yet arrived.

As elm wood could not be found, the vizire demanded that 500 pieces of oak should be delivered to the gangway of Brăila, in order to be sent by ship.

On February 26 the following year, 44.000 Constantinople kilas of wheat and 51.000 kilas of barley, still from the harvest of 1816, were sent to Constantinople.

The transport expenses are also mentioned. They attained the cipher of 43.553.28 gurushes on the route between Calarasi and Giurgiu¹¹⁸.

Also mentioned are requests for post horses, which the great merchant Hagi Ianuş was asked to assist in obtaining on February 25, 1818¹¹⁹.

From the harvest of 1819, 44.000 Constantinople kilas of wheat and 51.000 kilas of barley¹²⁰, and 2.000 kilas of millet and 40.000 ocas of flour¹²¹ were sent to the Porte, on July 28, for the barns of Ada-Kaleh.

According to Voivode Al. Soutsos 484.000 kilas millet were also sent

114. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/16, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 254.

115. A.S.B., Turkish document 1320, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

116. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/57, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 257.

117. Biblioteca Centrală de Stat (The State Central Library - hereafter referred to as B.C.S.), stock M. Kogălniceanu, LXXIII/1, nr. 2, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 433.

118. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/14, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 261.

119. A.S.B., stock Hagi Ianuş LXXVII/12, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 261.

120. A.S.B., Turkish document 1/19, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 269.

121. A.S.B., Turkish document, 1/13, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 269.

from Wallachia, but it is not mentioned when¹²².

A number of precise data are comprised in the document Al. Soutsos signed on November 23, in which the quantities of various products obtained by the *kapanlı* are mentioned¹²³.

Certain quantities of tallow, cheese, honey, melt suet and *tchirvish* were sent twice that year (in spring and in autumn).

Spring delivery:

5.692 ocas tallow
30.353 ocas cheese
5.156 ocas honey
681.775 ocas melt suet and *tchervish*

A utumn delivery:

101.934 ocas tallow
149.694 ocas cheese
52.141 ocas honey
100.255 ocas melt suet and *tchirvish*.

It can be seen that the Autumn delivery contained increased quantities of all products except melted suet and *tchervish*, which were nearly 7 times less.

For the following years, we encountered no published documents, nor did we find any unpublished notices concerning food sent to the Porte.

Only on November 24, 1820, the following supplies were sent to Călărași on behalf of Caimacam Constantine Negri for the Ottoman hosts which had made a halt in Bucharest, Brăila and Iași:

415.780 pieces of bread of 750 grams each, 824 ocas of meat for 13 pence one oca and 1.625 kilas barley and cor. The supplies were for 41 days, between May 12, and September 30, 1820¹²⁴.

Before any appreciation, it must be emphasized that the documents mentioned do not purport to present a fully comprehensive picture of the merchandise sent by the Principality to the Porte. This is why we cannot compile a statistical table, based on either exact annual or average figures, illustrating the quantities demanded, with or without insistence and regularity.

We shall simply enumerate the products we met in documents and in published writings:

—Cereals (wheat, barley, millet, soya beans, lentils, corn).

122. A.S.B., Turkish document, 1/13, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 269.

123. A.S.B., Turkish document, IV/314, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 272.

124. A.S.B., DCCCXXX/156 (mark of B.A.), apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 441.

Here we must also mention rice and derivatives (flour, bread, biscuits).

—Animals (sheep, goats, lambs, cows, oxen, horses) and derivatives (eggs, cheese, butter, marrow, pastrami, tchervish).

—Fish

—Wood-timber, firewood

—Various products, such as honey, wax, carts of hay, falcons, salt, oil, saltpetre, potassium nitrate¹²⁵.

If we assume that large quantities of merchandise (cereals and cattle) were taken from Wallachia during the long war periods, the documents show an increase in Wallachian obligations.

The merchandise claimed in large quantities during this period 1791-1821 was provided by the Romanian Principality only with great difficulty.

Nevertheless, as C. C. Giurescu explains, there was some limitation on the low prices paid for requisitioned goods, particularly for cereals, for the simple reason that if prices paid were cut too far producers would cease to produce and market their goods. Furthermore, the prince stood to loss if prices for such products as cereals, fish, honey, wax etc. were fixed at too low a level because this would make it difficult for producers to pay their dues to the Treasury, which would have an adverse effect on his income¹²⁶.

In time, juridical regulations replaced everything arbitrarily imposed and the prices paid for merchandise enabled the Principality to pay the harac and meet its other obligations to the Porte.

IV. THE FREE TRADE BETWEEN WALLACHIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Porte did not retain all the products —whether raw or remade— it received from the Wallachia Principality in its role as a *kiler* (imperial pantry or granary).

In addition to heavy obligations, often the cause of unrest, Wallachia was also engaged, between 1791 and 1821, in normal, free commercial exchanges with other partners of the Ottoman Empire.

Exports, whether the *kapanlis* admitted it or not, increased the country's

125. C. C. Giurescu, "Sur les relations entre le peuple roumain et l'Empire Ottoman à travers les siècles", in *Turh Tarih Kongressi*, Ankara, 1973, p. 594.

126. Ibidem, *Istoria oraşului Brăila* (The History of the Town of Brăila), p. 102. See: C. C. Giurescu's opinions on the Turkish monopoly in his work: *Probleme controversate ale istoriografiei româneşti* (Controversial problems of Romanian's Historiography), Bucharest, 1977, pp. 87-122. The chapter "Caracterul relațiilor dintre români și turci" (The nature of the relations between Romanians and Turks).

income. But at times, instead of going to the treasury the money found its way into the pockets of the prince or those of his dignitaries.

A fairly large number of products penetrated the market of Wallachia, being required by rich and poor alike, in that way competing the image of an active trade between the two countries.

Most of the merchandise freely forwarded or imported is mentioned in the Catalogues of Customs V. A. Urechia published in the "History of the Romanians". We should make it clear that there are to be found not only such products that are typical of every country; there are also identical ones but of various qualities, being commercialized in both directions.

For instance, the catalogue of 1803, features "the *aba* (a kind of cloth of thick wool) which comes here from the Turkish Land", and further on, "the *aba* which goes from here to the Turkish Land"¹²⁷. From all these catalogues for the years 1792¹²⁸, 1803¹²⁹, 1807¹³⁰ and 1822¹³¹, as well as from other testimonies to be found in the XIth volume of the above-mentioned book, from the years 1802 (pp. 305-309), 1803 (pp. 317-321), 1804 (pp. 311-315), 1806 (pp. 322-326), we select products which, are specified "to go to the Turkish Land" or "which are in the Turkish Land".

We mention below the main categories of *exported* merchandise:

- a) *animals*: buffaloes "which leave the Turkish Land, but only if I permit it, by my own writing"¹³², oxen, cows (they too "if allowed to go to the Turkish Land"), horses (exported "by my own written approval"), as well as *animal products*: pressed cheese and ordinary cheese ("which goes to the Turkish Land, but is not intended for the kapan of Tsarigrad but for other places"), and pastrami.
- b) technical *plants* ("country-side" tobacco); cereal derivatives - flour.
- c) remade textiles — of a vegetal nature (rope) and of animal source (*aba*, *passementerie*, cloth).
- d) raw *skins* (oxen) and remade skins.
- e) *wood* - timber.
- f) *fruit* - apples; prepared - wins.
- g) various - honey, tar, pitch.

Nearly all the documents found, whether published or unpublished,

127. V. A. Urechia, *Istoria Românilor*, Vol. XI, Bucharest, 1900, pp. 206-207.

128. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 233-252.

129. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, pp. 206-251.

130. *Ibidem*, pp. 581-683.

131. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, Bucharest, 1901, pp. 203-242.

132. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

deal with problems of salt export to the Empire.

On August 10, 1806, Nehmed Emin, the chief of the customs at the gangways of Hirşova, confirmed receipt from Iancu, the *kethuda* (bailiff or manager of the princely or imperial pantry) of Brăila the quantity of 167.000 ocas of salt¹³³. One year later, on October 30, Mehmed aga confirmed his own debts of 651 guruhes, i.e. the counter-value of the salt he had received from kethuda Anton¹³⁴.

An unpublished document from October 12, 1812 leads us to believe that Regep aga, who has relationships with the great merchant Hagi Moscu, informed the latter, from Ada-Kaleh, that he had intervened with the Turkish caimacan's from Rustchuk and another two ports, with the aim of persuading them to stop taking custom for salt¹³⁵.

Other unpublished documents mention that the quantity of salt had increased so much that it could no longer be stored and Athanasie Emanuel Constantin had asked for a temporary stoppage of transport across the Danube. The only salt delivery in 1812 was to the warehouse of Ruşova (Orşova) where 500.000 ocas were deposited¹³⁶.

Export of salt was in exchange for iron, which was once unloaded at Cerneţi instead of Giurgiu¹³⁷, because they feared the Serbians, and on another occasion because the forwarder refused to take salt and, so, the great dignitary Ioan Hagi Moscu did no longer receive the iron sent to him¹³⁸.

It is still salt (its quantity being imprecise), and 20.000 ocas of tchervish, that Bosniac Abdullah asked Manuc bey to send him, through Karakas Oculari, to Rustchuk (a document dated May 11, 1810).

The kapanlii merchants, beside gathering products to provision the capital city, practised a private trade. In 1793, for instance, they asked C. A. Mourousis for permission to cut the goats they had bought in the Wallachian fairs¹³⁹.

In an unpublished document —in fact a register— diary covering the period 1806 to 1811, and belonging to a trade-house of Smirna and Constantinople, mention is made of a trader of Bucharest, Apostol Oşetaru; he used to send his partners of the Empire tallow and textiles — such as cotton,

133. M. I. B., inv. no. 26489, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175.

134. M.I.B., inv. no. 26467, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 184.

135. A.S.B., DCCCXXVI/58 (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

136. A.S.B., DCCCXXVI/57 (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

137. A.S.B., DCCCXXVI/58 (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

138. A.S.B., DCCCXXVI/128 (mark of B.A.) unpublished document.

139. Georgeta Penelea, *Les foires de Valachie pendant la periode 1774-1848*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 83.

fibres and dyes¹⁴⁰.

Other merchants of Bucharest had business relations, between 1813 and 1816, with the trade house of Ioann/Michael of Constantinople.

They were Michael Hagi Dimu and his company, Ioann. Zakinopol, Stephan Nedelcu and Culoglu Brothers¹⁴¹.

There was a huge export trade, greatly appreciated in Europe, in leeches. In this connection, George Potra wrote: "Ever since the first two decades of the 19th century, a strong demand for leeches has been noted in Central Europe, especially in Austria, the result being that these worms command a high price, not only in Wallachia, but also beyond the Danube, in Turkish territories"¹⁴².

The foregoing information, extracted from documents and other writings, covers the export of Wallachian products to Constantinople in the framework of normal commercial relations. Further investigation will no doubt lead to the discovery of other categories of merchandise sent to the Empire.

We shall now dwell upon the *import* of Turkish products to Wallachia and we shall begin again with the ones mentioned in the catalogues of the above-mentioned customs.

We chose some products either specifying that they "are coming from Tsarigrad, Brusa" etc. or mentioning the Turkish town where they had been produced (but the merchant was not obliged to take products over and forward them beyond the Danube); some described as "from the Turkish Land"; and others which although not specifying their place of origin are traditionally Turkish (particularly clothes). We also chose, eventually—but with some uncertainty—products to which the word "Turkish" was applied. These are doubtful starters since in Wallachia there were people making so-called "Turkish" products¹⁴³.

We shall mention all these items in categories:

1. Textile products:

- a. vegetal raw materials — Tsarigrad cotton and Brusa cotton.
- b. animal products: floss silk from Tsarigrad; prime wool.

140. B.A. Greek Manuscript 1007 unpublished.

141. B.A. Greek Manuscript 1008 unpublished.

142. George Potra, "Practica lipitorilor în terapeutică românească din secolul al XIX-lea și comerțul cu lipitori în Țara Românească" (The use of leeches in the Romanian medicine during the XIX century and the Wallachia's trade in leeches), in *Din istoria medicinei românești* (From the history of Romanian medicine), Bucharest, 1962, p. 285.

143. In 1832, for instance, a man called Nica had a factory for "Turkish" dyed cotton-thread and there were probably also other people like him.

- c. re-made textile fabrics: vegetal — cotton thread or cotton spun in Smirna; cotton mixed with silk, sating mixed with silk, kerchiefs, velvet cushions.
 - d. animal: shawls, thick woolen cloths, golden thread, Brusa silk, Tsarigrad peasant's skirts, muslin, Tunuz fezes, Tsarigrad slippers ("bought on the territory of the Turkish land").
2. Raw skins — fox, marten, wolf, otter, polecat, fitch remade skins — horse tanned skin; saddles, boots (and boot-soles) made in Ederne.
 3. Fish — a sort of greymullet, sturgeon, skipper, salt fish.
 4. Fruit and their derivatives — grapes, wine brandy made in Tsarigrad, raisins from Izmir.
 5. Plants — Turkish tobacco, anise, saffron; we could add here the sugar, the chick pea and the khalva.
 6. Various products: gun powder, paper, vermicelli made in Tsarigrad, green olives from Tsarigrad, soap made in Ismir, white sandal.

To all such merchandise noted in the custom registers, could be added (quoting the above-mentioned study by Georgeta Penelea) the following textile products: cotton of Anatolia, Tocat Otdeiar, Abekir, satin of Constantinople, silk from Constantinople, satin mixed with cotton of Constantinople, as well as belts of Andrinople, skirts of Brusa and skirts of Constantinople¹⁴⁴.

A few documents attest the import of Turkish merchandise. For instance, Ștefan Ioan Moscu asked from Constantinople to be sent 10 big spiny lobsters in brine, and tobacco as well, "because the tobacco of Bucharest is expensive and of bad quality"¹⁴⁵.

The merchant of Craiova Kürkcü Poluzkar (who was probably an Austrian subject since he was denounced to Merkelius, the consul of the Hapsburgh Empire) had imported wool from Hadji Halil Molozade and did not pay him the 1.431 gurushes¹⁴⁶.

Instead, the well-known Armenian merchant Manuc paid to Mustafa pasha 27.898,1/2 gurushes, for the silk he had bought from the latter, as Ghehaiazade Ahmed paid him, also for silk, 20.000 gurushes¹⁴⁷.

144. Georgeta Penelea, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

145. D. Limona, E. Moisuc, "Casa comercială Hagi-Moscu și Ștefan Ioan Moscu din București" (The Trade House Ioan Hagi Moscu and Ștefan Ioan Moscu of Bucharest), in *Revista Arhivelor*, no. 3/1975, p. 259.

146. A.S.B., Agentia Austriaca (Austrian Agency), II/9 (mark of B.A.), unpublished document.

147. M.I.B., inv. no. 35.157, apud M. Guboglu, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 196.

In 1795, Alexander Mourousis requested “for his own needs” two curtains (one curtain = 22 ocaș = 27.962 kg.), also coffee, and 15 sacks and 15 baskets with olive oil, “for his own use”¹⁴⁸.

These documents complete the table of the merchandise imported by: Wallachia from the Ottoman Empire.

In conclusion, from all the above-mentioned data it is clear that, on the one hand, the Porte claimed large quantities of merchandise which Wallachia was obliged to send¹⁴⁹, despite the fact that Wallachians suffered in consequence.

On the other hand, however, Wallachia had free trade relations with partners in the Ottoman Empire. Later, of course, the Treaty of Andrinople gave the Romanian principalities full commercial liberty, and they were no longer obliged to provision the fortresses erected on the Danube and in Constantinople.

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148. W. Eton, *Tableau historique, politique et moderne de l'Empire Ottoman*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, Paris, 1801, p. 17.

149. 57,4% of the total value of Wallachia's exportable products in 1820. See A. Oțetea, “Pătrunderea comerțului românesc în circuitul internațional” (The penetration of Roumanian trade into the international circuit), Bucharest, 1977, p. 72.