

From the Polish Times of Pera

Late Ottoman Istanbul through the Lens of Polish emigration

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Introduction

In the aftermath of the final partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1795) by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the Ottoman Empire became one of the chief destinations for Polish political émigrés.¹ Poles fled to Istanbul in the hope of securing Ottoman support in their efforts to regain national independence. The importance that the Ottoman Empire held for the Polish national activities of the nineteenth century was stressed by such emblematic events as the foundation of the Agency of the Polish Eastern Mission (Agencja Główna Misji Wschodniej) in Istanbul in 1841, the establishment in 1842 of the Polish village called Adampol/Polonezköy, (today part of the Beykoz district in Istanbul), as well as the organization of the Sultanic Cossacks' Division, commanded by Polish officers during the Crimean War (1853–56). The Polish presence in the Ottoman Empire, however, was not limited to activities aimed at the restoration of an independent Poland; rather, Polish émigrés also played an active role in various enterprises connected to the reforms of the Ottoman state.

The Polish presence in nineteenth-century Istanbul is even reflected in the names of some Beyoğlu streets. Until the mid-twentieth century today's Nur-i Ziya Street—one of the side streets of İstiklâl Caddesi—was called Leh Sokağı (Polish Street). One of the streets in Tarlabası, where Poland's chief Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) spent the last days of his life, used to be called until recently, Adam Mickiewicz's Street.² In his article on the Polish times of Pera, the German Orientalist Friedrich Schrader (1864–1922) mentions the presence of as many as 7,000 Poles in Istanbul in the eighteen-fifties.³ When the chief organizer of the Polish political activities on the Bosphorus, Michał Czaykowski aka Mehmed Sadık Pasha (1804–1886), tried to demonstrate in his memoirs how numerous Poles were in Istanbul during the Crimean War, he referred to Mickiewicz's famous "Lady Twardowska" ballad: "Streets and cafés are filled with Poles. They eat, drink and play cards, just like in the ballad on Twardowska. They almost destroy Pera."⁴

Although Polish-Ottoman relations following the partitions of Poland were characterized by remarkable cooperation, not much space has been devoted to this subject in modern historiography. Existing works present a wholly incomplete image of the Polish presence in the Ottoman Empire. Historians of the Late Ottoman Empire in Turkey tend to overlook the presence of the Polish émigrés in their discussions on the multicultural and multiethnic nature of the Ottoman Empire. An event that had some resonance was the influx of a large number of Polish and Hungarian refugees following the failure of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, and a diplomatic crisis referred to as "the Refugee Issue" (*Mülteciler Meselesi*) between the Ottoman state on the one side, and Russia and Austria on the other. However, the main scholarly focus has been on the diplomacy behind the event. The fates of these refugees after they settled in the Ottoman Empire remain highly understudied. Within the Polish historiography of this period, the main focus has been on the political aspect of the Polish émigrés' activities in the Ottoman Empire—their efforts to gain Ottoman support in their struggle against Russia, preparations for the national uprisings, and attempts to organize Polish legions in the Ottoman army. However, by putting stress on the émigrés' activities aimed at Polish national independence, existing literature to a large extent failed to recognize that Poles were also part of Istanbul's cosmopolitan society.

This paper is an attempt to situate the Polish community within the multiethnic and multiconfessional society of mid-nineteenth-century Istanbul. While Adampol/Polonezköy—the Polish village on the Bosphorus that has preserved its distinctly Polish character—has received considerable scholarly attention, the

Polish historiography has largely overlooked the fact that the cosmopolitan Pera was for decades the main center of the social and political life of the Polish community. This paper locates the main loci of the Polish émigrés' everyday life. It explores their contacts with their Muslim hosts, as well as their relations with Istanbul's Christian minorities and other émigré communities. In this paper, I also focus on the émigrés' moral worlds by looking at such vital topics as their conversion to Islam, the Turkification of Polish names, intermarriages, and the increasing Levantinization and Ottomanization of the émigrés and their families. The aim of this paper is to problematize the Polish presence in Istanbul in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to introduce a more inclusive approach for the study of the Polish community in the late Ottoman Empire.

Where is the deputy of Lehistan? Polish-Ottoman Cooperation after Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

In Polish collective memory, Ottoman Turkey is remembered as the only state that did not recognize the partitions of Poland by the neighboring states. There is even an anecdote recounting the exchange between the *chef de protocol* and his aide, which is still often repeated in Poland. According to the tale, whenever the diplomatic corps was received by the Ottoman Sultan, on the sight of the empty chair of the Polish deputy, the Ottoman chef de protocol would ostentatiously ask: "Where is the deputy from Lehistan?" At each occasion, he would receive the same reply from his aide—"Your Excellency, the deputy of Lehistan could not make it because of vital impediments"—to the annoyance of the diplomats from the partitioning states. The first written record of this story comes from Michał Sokolnicki (1880–1967), the Polish ambassador to Turkey during the period 1936–45. He heard it from a Turkish officer and statesman, Ali Fuat Cebesoy (1880–1968), who was acquainted with the Istanbul Polish community. Cebesoy claimed that this symbolic exchange continued until the end of sultanate and he witnessed it in person as a young officer during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909).⁵ The accuracy of this account is widely questioned by the historians of the subject, as no record of such a habit from the early nineteenth century has been found. Nevertheless, it has played and continues to play a significant role in Polish collective memory and as a tool of statecraft. In a similar vein, it can be discussed whether or not the Ottoman Empire recognized the partitions of Poland-Lithuania; or more precisely, whether the Ottomans were asked at all for any kind of approval of the status quo. One of the

main resolutions of the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) was a final partition of the Duchy of Warsaw (Księstwo Warszawskie) between Russia and Prussia. The Duchy of Warsaw was an independent Polish state established by Napoleon I in 1807 from the Polish lands ceded by Prussia and was allied to France. Although it was created as a satellite state, it was commonly hoped and believed that through it Poles would be able to regain their former status as a fully sovereign state. These hopes were shattered due to Napoleon's failure in the campaign against Russia (1812) and the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, which redrew the map of Europe after Napoleon's defeat. However, the Ottoman Empire was not invited to the Congress. Consequently, it is debatable to what extent the Ottoman state was active in their supposed protest against the partitioning of Poland-Lithuania.

The foundations for Polish-Ottoman cooperation were laid in Paris and London in the eighteen-thirties by representatives of the leading political faction in exile, Hôtel Lambert. They involved numerous meetings with Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861) and General Władysław Zamoyski (1803–1868), and the Ottoman diplomats Mehmed Namık Pasha (1804–1892) and Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800–1858). In light of the difficulties in winning the definite support of either France or Britain for the Polish cause on the one hand, and the enthusiasm of the Ottoman statesmen on the other, increasing importance was attached to cooperating with the Ottomans. Given Istanbul's favorable location as a base to fight against Russia from the early eighteen-forties onwards, the Ottoman Empire became a key center of Polish emigration.

Remarkably, the number of Polish émigrés in the Ottoman Empire tended to increase in the periods of armed conflicts against Russia, whether fought by the Poles or the Ottomans.⁶ Accordingly, the waves of Polish immigration to the Ottoman Empire were during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the Crimean War, the January Uprising of 1863, and finally during the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878). The Ottoman failure in the latter conflict caused disillusion within the émigré community. The Treaty of Berlin, which concluded the conflict in 1878, thus represented a symbolic end to activities organized on the Bosphorus that were aimed at Polish independence.

Mapping "Polish Istanbul"

The Crimean War and the prospect of organization of the Polish Legion by the Ottoman Army acted as an incentive to a number of émigrés to arrive on the Bosphorus. Impressions of "Polish Istanbul" figure prominently in their memoirs. One of the émigrés commented on the atmosphere in Pera during the

Crimean War as follows: “There are more Poles than Turks here. They are everywhere and continuously talk about politics. This is even worse than Paris.”⁷The main destinations of the émigrés in Istanbul were the cosmopolitan Pera and quarters inhabited mainly by the non-Muslim population. Many of the émigrés settled down in the quarters of Tatavla and Yeni Şehir (today’s Kurtuluş), where they built small wooden houses. Bebek, which was one of their favorite locations on the Bosphorus, is frequently described in the memoirs as a “small Polish colony.”⁸

A few Polish centers arose in Pera where Poles gathered and discussed current events. Their favorite venues were cafés and shops run by fellow Poles. These were places where, for instance, ethnographer and historian, Franciszek Duchiniński (1816–1893), propagated his controversial theories on the non-Slavic provenance of Russians. There also existed a Polish club run by a writer and politician, Zygmunt Miłkowski (aka Teodor Tomasz Jez, 1824–1915), where lectures on Polish literature were given and Polish poetry was read.⁹ Moreover, memoirs mention that one of the guesthouses was known among Turks in the eighteen-sixties as the “Polish caravanserai.”¹⁰ In 1861, the Polish community also contributed to the opening of the Catholic Church of St Mary of Lourdes in Şişli, today known as the Georgian Catholic Church. The altar in this church—which depicts St Mary of Częstochowa (one of the most important sanctuaries in Poland)—was financed by the head of the Agency of the Polish Eastern Mission, Władysław Jordan (1819–1891) and was carved in wood by the local carpenter, Józef Ratyński (1820–1885).¹¹ Ateliers and shops of the Polish émigrés were scattered across the quarters of Pera and Galata. Various memoirs recount that in the aftermath of the Crimean War, Poles were the most numerous represented group of Europeans in Istanbul—after the French and the Italians—and that Polish could be heard at every step in Pera.¹²

Two family houses in Istanbul became important emigration centers. One of them was the house of Michał Czaykowski aka Mehmed Sadık Pasha and of his life partner Ludwika Śniadecka (1802–1866) located in Cihangir near the Cihangir Mosque. Émigrés recounted that one had to ask for the Polish Embassy to find it. Remarkably, most of the issues concerning the future of emigration were decided at Czaykowski’s place before being officially addressed at the Sublime Porte.¹³ Another Polish center was the Groppler family’s house in Bebek. Henryk Groppler (1822–1887) was a Polish jeweler and watchmaker, who became co-owner of the marble mine in Bandırma. The house was known among the émigrés as a “museum of Polishness,” where shelves were filled with Polish books, Polish poetry was recited, and Polish national songs were sung. Groppler’s house

was, as we learn, “the only Polish house in Constantinople, hospitable in the truly Polish way.”¹⁴

One of the places in today’s Beyoğlu, which for decades evoked the Polish presence in the Ottoman Empire, is a side street running from the main avenue Grande Rue de Pera (today’s İstiklâl Caddesi) to the pier in Tophane, where the building of the last Polish legation to the Sublime Porte before the partitions was located. To commemorate this place, the street—which today bears the name Nur-i Ziya Sokağı—was called Leh Sokağı (Rue de Pologne, Polish Street) throughout the nineteenth century until the nineteen-fifties. Given the symbolic meaning of this street for the Istanbul’s Polish community, Poles were keen to settle down in its vicinity and thus, bore the unofficial name of *leh mahallesi* (Polish neighborhood). In this context, the story of Kajetan Aksak (d. 1824), the last Polish deputy to the Sublime Porte before the partitions, certainly deserves a closer look. Aksak never came to terms with the partitions of Poland-Lithuania. According to Ignacy Pietraszewski (1796–1869), a Polish Orientalist, not only did the last deputy never leave the Ottoman Empire, but also did his best for years to make the Ottoman statesmen aware of the great injustice that had been done to Poland-Lithuania by its neighbors.¹⁵ Since Aksak was convinced that only the monarch who had appointed him to his function could call him back, he continued his service as an envoy of Poland-Lithuania until the end of his life in 1824. What is more, he observed the routine of Polish deputies from earlier times. Aksak would regularly attend the daily meetings of the Ottoman Divan, and as in the pre-partition period, he would take a seat in a room for the *dragomans* (translators). Ottoman dignitaries, who felt sorry for him, continued to pay him the same honors they paid to the dragomans of other states. Although the embassy building went up in flames in 1822, Polish travelers recall that in the late nineteenth century, a small chapel commemorating the former embassy could be found next to the building no 8 at Leh Sokağı.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that the street experienced a short renaissance during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. Polish émigrés set up a recruitment bureau there for soldiers who volunteered to join a Polish legion that was going to fight in the war on the Ottoman side.

Another important site indicative of the Polish presence in the Late Ottoman Istanbul is the house of Poland’s chief Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz, in Tarlabası. Mickiewicz arrived in Istanbul in the summer of 1855 to end the disagreements among the émigrés, who were attempting to organize Polish legions in the Ottoman army during the Crimean War. Istanbul was the last address of Mickiewicz, who died on November 26, 1855. The house where the poet spent the last days of his life perished in the great fire of Pera in 1870, and the present

building was erected shortly thereafter by Istanbul's Polish community. In 1955, this modest building was converted into the poet's museum. The street where the building is located was for decades known as Adam Sokağı (Adam's street), and it immediately became a place of pilgrimage for both the local Polish community and Polish travelers in Istanbul.

The Polish Community and Cosmopolitan Society of Late Ottoman Istanbul

Memoirs abound in the expression of gratitude for the Ottoman hospitality. Émigrés repeatedly stressed that Ottomans were their only allies in their independence struggle. In a letter from 1866 to his friend in London, the émigré General Marian Langiewicz (1827–1887) stated clearly: “Here in Turkey we enjoy the greatest freedom that a political emigrant can have and at the same time we have access to everything. We are valued here as useful and superior beings.”¹⁷ The chief figures of the Tanzimat welcomed the services of the Polish political émigrés in various spheres. A number of them worked at Sultan Abdülaziz's (r. 1861–1876) court.¹⁸ In addition to support from the members of the political establishment, Polish émigrés belonged to the political opposition of the time, the Young Ottomans. For decades, hundreds of Polish political émigrés pursued occupations in the Ottoman army, administration, diplomacy, intelligence, press, road and telegraph construction, health services, as well as industry and agriculture.

Although Poles in the Ottoman Empire tended to stay close to their fellow countrymen, it does not mean that they were isolated from Istanbul's other, non-Muslim minorities. Due to the shared Roman Catholicism, Levantines were the group with whom Poles felt familiar. It was a common practice for Polish émigrés to marry Levantine women. According to memoirs, Levantines not only learned Polish easily, but also immediately shared their husbands' love for Poland and hatred for Russians.¹⁹ Mixed marriages certainly contributed to the émigrés' integration into Ottoman society. This practice stresses the cosmopolitan character of Pera. It also demonstrates that Polish émigrés became part of and contributed to its multicultural panorama. Nevertheless, the process of Levantinization of émigrés and their families was regarded by some émigrés as a considerable threat to the distinctive Polish national identity on the Bosphorus. Consequently, as soon as Poland regained independence in 1918, it became popular to send children to Warsaw and Cracow to study and become acquainted with Polish culture. The most illustrative example is the family of Mickiewicz's cook, Antoni Łepkowski. Jan Łepkowski (1876–1956), who worked in the Ottoman Bank and

was known as “the faithful guardian of Polish traditions on the Bosphorus,” sent his son to study in Poland to “prevent his total Levantinization.”²⁰

Fellow Slav minorities, especially Bulgarians, figure most prominently in the memoirs. Émigrés state openly that they felt the greatest affinity with them. Remarkably, the main political aim of the Agency of the Polish Eastern Mission and later on of the Correspondence Bureau (Korespondencyjne Biuro Prasowe) was to impede Russian influence—both among Slavs in the Balkans and among Ottoman statesmen in the Sublime Porte. One of the most outstanding manifestations of what one may call the “Slav solidarity” took place in 1855 during the transportation of Adam Mickiewicz’s coffin to a France-bound ship. Memoirs describe hundreds of representatives of all the Balkan Slavs, who accompanied the poet from his last address in Tarlabaşı to the Galata pier.²¹ Polish émigrés also point out in their memoirs that they tended to stay close with other émigré communities. Miłkowski mentions his frequent contacts with Hungarians, Italians, and Romanians, with whom the first significant wave of Polish émigrés arrived in the Ottoman Empire following failure of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. Poles and Hungarians were often treated as one group by Ottomans and on some occasions were collectively called *Macar* (Hungarian).²² A clear indication of the long-term Polish-Hungarian cooperation in the Ottoman Empire was the fact that when Poles were trying to organize their legion in the Ottoman army during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877–78, a Hungarian called Titfalusy hosted meetings of the Polish chief political leaders at his hotel, de Pest, located next to the present Swedish Consulate at Istiklâl Avenue.²³

While Miłkowski admits in his memoirs that he did not have close relations with the Muslim population of Istanbul, except for his contacts with some of the Ottoman statesmen, it does not mean that Poles were not curious about their ways of life. He describes in detail how in his free time he used a spyglass to watch his Muslim neighbors’ daily life. Like most Europeans, he was particularly interested in the harem section of their houses.²⁴ Another émigré’s curiosity about Istanbulites’ daily life went even further. Ignacy Pietraszewski would dress like a local and go and watch the shadow theatre *karagöz* shows or spend his time in the coffeehouses listening to the storytellers known as *meddas*.²⁵

Controversies

The massive influx of Polish and Hungarian refugees from the 1848 Hungarian Revolution certainly represented the most controversial episode in the Polish presence in the Ottoman Empire. As a consequence of the revolution’s failure,

nearly 1,000 Polish refugees settled within Ottoman borders.²⁶ The focus of Polish correspondence and memoirs is mainly on the issue of conversion to Islam, which divided the refugees. Ottoman statesmen offered conversion to Islam as a political solution, as it would render the refugees Ottoman subjects and thus avoid their extradition to Russia. However, the idea was regarded as tantamount to a rejection of their Polish identity and was categorically rejected by the majority of Poles. During negotiations with Ottoman statesmen, chief representatives of Hôtel Lambert demanded the dismissal of such an option, arguing that faith could not be treated as a bargaining chip in political matters.²⁷ Out of 1,000 Poles only two dozen embraced Islam.²⁸ General Józef Wysocki (1809–1873) categorically dismissed the idea of conversion for his soldiers, saying that it would stain Polish honor for generations to come.²⁹ Those who accepted Islam were subject to stern criticism from their fellow countrymen, both in partitioned Poland and among Polish immigrants in France and the Ottoman Empire.

The example of Michał Czaykowski aka Mehmed Sadık Pasha is most illustrative of the disapproval that the conversions met. In his correspondence with Paris, he makes assurances that his decision to become a Muslim resulted from his determination to continue to serve the Polish cause. Although the Ottoman statesmen continued to regard Czaykowski as a representative of Polish interests on the Bosphorus, he was gradually excluded from activities of the Agency of the Polish Eastern Mission by fellow Poles as a consequence of his conversion. From Czaykowski's correspondence with Hôtel Lambert, we learn about his growing bitterness in light of the intrigues aimed at undermining his activities.

A common practice among the converts, and later on among regular émigrés—especially those who reached high ranks in the Ottoman army—was to adopt Muslim/Turkish names. Converts tended to choose names that indicated devotion to their new religion. Consequently, after Michał Czaykowski converted to Islam, he chose the name Sadık (loyal). Konstantyn Borzęcki (1826–1876), author of the renowned work *Les turcs anciens et modernes* (The Ancient and Modern Turks, 1869), opted for Celâleddin (defender of faith). Some Polish pashas preferred names that suggested their bravery. Ludwik Bystrzonowski (1797–1878) and Feliks Breański (1794–1884), who were generals in the Ottoman army during the Crimean War, were known as Arslan Paşa (lion) and Şahin Paşa (hawk) respectively. The Ottoman experience was also reflected in the language that the émigrés used. Their memoirs and correspondences show that they gradually increasingly adopted Ottoman Turkish words in their Polish writings, even when Polish equivalents existed. They used Polish spelling and did not refrain from declining them according to the rules of Polish grammar. Their language

became thus a particular hybrid, which may not have been easily understood by their fellow countrymen back in the lands of partitioned Poland.

Towards a More Inclusive Approach

Polish émigrés in the Ottoman Empire have often been depicted in the historiography as a group of foreigners focused exclusively on their own national agenda. There is no doubt that the struggle against Russia in order to rebuild an independent Polish state was their chief imperative at the time of their arrival in the Ottoman borders. However, their trajectories in the Ottoman Empire show that many of them simultaneously served a double national cause, and their allegiances to both Polish and Ottoman interests frequently overlapped. Activities and writings of the émigrés reveal their identification with the Ottoman political situation of the time. Meanwhile, they did not see this as incompatible with their allegiance to the cause of Polish independence. Rather, they depicted them as strongly interrelated. For instance, Władysław Kościelski aka Sefer Pasha (1818–1895) was not only the advisor of Sultan Abdülaziz (r.1861–76) on the introduction of European etiquette at the Ottoman court, but he also headed the Agency of the Polish Eastern Mission and functioned as the mayor of Adampol.³⁰ A noteworthy illustration of this identification with both the Polish and Ottoman causes is the political credo of one of the converts, Jan Alojzy Pruski aka İsa Bey (d. after 1850): “Poland is like a mother and the Ottoman Empire like a stepmother to me. The well-being and prosperity of the country that I accepted as my second homeland is of great importance to me, and consequently, as a Muslim, I have the right to get involved in all [its affairs] and to approve of what is good and disapprove of what is wrong for this country.”³¹ Instead of treating the presence of the Polish community on the Bosphorus as an isolated and exceptional phenomenon, it is more productive to look at the Polish community as a part of the multiethnic and multireligious mosaic of late Ottoman society and analyze their activities within that framework. The Polish case invites a reconsideration of the concept of the Late Ottoman identity, from the perspective of the individuals who seemingly do not belong to the core of the Ottoman society.

Conclusion

The Polish experience in the Late Ottoman Istanbul invites a number of questions that are worthy of investigation while studying this particular group of émigrés. It encourages us to reassess the extent to which the Polish experience fits

the Ottoman landscape. Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire were the destination for a number of refugee waves, beginning with the Sephardic Jews received by Beyazid II in 1492 until the Republican times when Jews fleeing the Nazi persecution found shelter in Turkey in the nineteen-thirties and forties. It is therefore productive to study the nineteenth-century Polish emigration in the Ottoman Empire as a part of this broader phenomenon.

The Polish experience in the late Ottoman Empire can also be examined as a case study of what it meant to be Polish in the absence of the sovereign Polish state. How did “Polishness” as an identity emerge in Istanbul? In their memoirs, émigrés frequently speak of the loci of everyday Polish life. They describe cafés and clubs where Poles gathered to discuss their current political situation, canteens where their fellow countrymen gave lectures on a variety of topics and read out Polish patriotic poetry, and family houses whose proprietors cultivated Polish traditions with the utmost care. They show us how Poles attempted to create a spiritual motherland in the absence of a sovereign Polish state. Memoirs are a valuable tool in investigating both the imprints the Ottoman experience left on Poles and the Polish legacy for Istanbul’s landscape. They invite us to an alternative reading of Istanbul’s topography.

It is also worth asking to what extent the Polish community of Istanbul was representative of Polish immigration in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Apart from the capital, Polish émigrés had also settled in the Balkans, on the Black Sea coast, and at the border with Iran. Hence, what was unique about the Polish settlement in Istanbul? The possible answer is at least twofold. On the one hand, the urban landscape facilitated the organization of the émigrés—memoirs abound with descriptions of Polish clubs, cafés and canteens—and facilitated their familiarity with and direct influence on Ottoman politics. On the other hand, the cosmopolitan character of Istanbul, especially of Pera, facilitated assimilation of the émigrés into its multicultural mosaic.

Finally, it may also be worth investigating what it meant to be a Polish émigré in Istanbul and Paris? What were the transnational ties? What divided and what linked the communities?

These and similar questions should not be disregarded during the study of the Polish presence in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

Notes

- 1 The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was partitioned three times by the neighboring states—Russia, Prussia, and Austria—in 1772, 1793, and 1795 (Austria did not participate in the second partition). Following the third and final partition in 1795, Poland disappeared from the map as a fully sovereign state until it regained independence in 1918.
- 2 As a chief representative of Polish Romanticism, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) was named a “Slavic bard.” Forced to live in exile, he remained a symbol of the perseverance of Polish culture under foreign political rule in the nineteenth century. Eventually, Mickiewicz also became an ardent columnist, political activist, and visionary. He died in 1855 in Istanbul, while taking part in a political mission among Polish émigrés during the Crimean War.
- 3 Friedrich Schrader, “Aus der Polenzeit Perus,” *Konstantinopel in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: J.C.B Mohr, 1917), 180–184. Although these numbers might be exaggerated, they suggest that Polish émigrés were numerous in Istanbul.
- 4 Michał Czaykowski, *Dziwne życie Polaków Polek* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1865), 194–195.
- 5 Michał Sokolnicki, *Polityka Państwa Polskiego a Turcja*, „Niepodległość”, v.6 (London: Wydawn. Instytutu Józefa Piłsudskiego Poświęconego Badaniu Najnowszej Historii Polski, 1958), 5.
- 6 Jan Reychman, “Polacy w Turcji,” *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, v.6/7 (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1971), 104, 109, 113–14.
- 7 Henryk Szułski quoted in: J.Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy*, 41 – 42.
- 8 Władysław Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki z lat 1851 – 93* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1967), 284 – 285.
- 9 Teodor Tomasz Jeż, *Od Kolebki przez życie*, v.II (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1936), 178.
- 10 Jabłonowski, 188.
- 11 Jerzy S.Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i w Republice* (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2005), 147, 272 – 273.
- 12 [Roman Zmorski], “Warszawianin. Notatki z podróży po europejskiej Turcji. 1. Stambuł (c.d.),” *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* no. 98(1861): 53.
- 13 Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne życie Sadyka Paszy: O Michale Czaykowskim* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1971), 316.
- 14 Jeż, 146–147.
- 15 Ignacy Pietraszewski, *Uroki Orientu: wspomnienia z wojaży, 1832–1840, 1860 – 62* (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Pojezierze, 1989), 205.
- 16 Łątka, *Odaliski, poturczony*, 65.
- 17 Adam Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji 1831–1878* (Warsaw: Gebethner & Wolff, 1935), 211.
- 18 Łątka, *Odaliski, poturczony*, 138.
- 19 Wacław Koszczyk, *Wschód: Ze Stanbuku do Angory* (Lviv: Nakładem i Drukiem A.J.O. Rogosza, 1874), 102.
- 20 Łątka, *Słownik Polaków*, 201.
- 21 Jeż, 182–183.
- 22 Ibid., 233–234.
- 23 Reychman, *Polacy w Turcji*, 113.
- 24 Jeż, 233.
- 25 Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX wieku*, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna, 1972), 25–26.
- 26 Kazimierz Dopierała, *Emigracja Polska w Turcji w XIX i XX wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1988), 117.
- 27 W.Zamoyski’s letter to M. Czaykowski from 9 September 1849, in [Władysław .Zamoyski], *Generał Zamoyski*, v.5 (Poznań: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1922), 273.
- 28 List of the Polish refugees sent to the Sublime Porte in March 1850, March 20, 1850, AZNiO 6514/I Archives of the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław (Archiwa Zakładu Narodowego Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu).
- 29 J.Wysocki’s letter to S.Bieliński from September 30, 1849 quoted in Dopierała, 122.
- 30 Łątka, *Słownik Polaków*, 169–170.
- 31 Jan Aloyzy Pruski’s letter to the Agency of Eastern Mission in Istanbul, 13 III 1850, BCz 5435, pages 21–22, Archives of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (Archiwum Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie).