

Turkey-Vatican Relations from the Ottomans to the Republic

Ahmet Türkan

Assistant Prof. Dr.

Dumlupınar University

Faculty of Divinity

History of Religions Department

Kütahya /Turkey

Abstract

The relations between Turkey and Vatican had started to be spoken more frequently after Pope Francis's visit to Turkey in 2014. Turkey-Vatican relations which were established formally in 1960 embody an important historical past. Formal relations, which were tried to be established substantially during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit II, -especially to reduce the impact of France over the Catholics and for many other reasons-, were not established due to many different reasons, each different than the other. In this study, we will try to examine the reasons why the Turkish-Vatican relations that started at high friendship level in the second half of the 19th century, hadn't been realized at formal level until the second half of the 20th century. Furthermore, we will examine the effective factors over these relations both for the Ottoman and the Republic periods. We will also discuss to what degree the Catholics and the Orthodox in Turkey were influential over these relations. In this sense, main part of our work will be within the frame of first-hand sources and documents obtained from the Turkish Republic State Archives.

Keywords: Papacy, Ottoman, Turkey, Vatican, Eastern Catholic Church, Greek Orthodox Church, Papal nuncio

1. Introduction

Pope Francis's visit to Turkey in November in 2014 had a broad repercussion in press. Followed by more than a thousand press members, this visit brought along many discussions as well. Most important one of these discussions was that the visit was regarded to unite Orthodox and Catholics rather than having formal negotiations with Turkish delegations (Hürriyet (December 8, 2014). When we look back several years, there are developments experienced that proves the correctness of this possibility. Having become Pope in March, 2013 Francis came together with Istanbul Greek Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomew four times in two years. First one of these was Bartholomew's visit to Vatican for religious ceremony held for the Francis' ascending to Papacy. Their second meeting took place in Jerusalem in May, 2014. Holding of a joint religious ceremony at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was regarded an important step for the convergence of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The two leaders met in Vatican once again, two months after their meeting in Jerusalem. Seeking solution for Israel-Palestine problem was the reason for this meeting (Catholic Herald (September 9, 2014). In this meeting, which was attended also by Israel President Simon Peres and Palestinian Leader Mahmoud Abbas, prayers were said for the peace in the Middle East. In this ceremony, Pope Francis, who addressed Bartholomew as "my brother" stated that his being present there was a "great blessing and a precious support." (www.bbc.co.uk).

Their last meeting took place on 28-30 November, 2014, during Francis' official visit to Turkey. After having met the Turkish delegations in Ankara, Pope Francis met with Patriarch Bartholomew in Istanbul. Even though the meeting of the two leaders was considered important step for the convergence of the Catholics and the Orthodox, Turkey-Vatican relations' contribution on this are undeniably significant. Because Papal visits to Turkey started after the establishment of formal relations in 1960. Therefore, Papacy's relations with the Orthodox Church are indirectly but closely connected to the relations between Turkey and Vatican. Besides, around 30 thousand Catholics living in Turkey are also another determinant on this issue. In this context, examining the Turkish-Vatican relations, especially for the last two hundred years starting from the Ottoman period, will shed light to this process.

The history of Turkey Vatican relations can be traced back to Ottoman Sultan Orhan Ghazi period (1326-1360). Due to the expansion of Ottoman territory and therefore including some Latin populated lands to the state's territory, in a sense necessitated these relations (Fortescue, 1907: 415; Çoban, 2014: 153). However, and naturally, the conquest of Istanbul by the Turks in 1453 was not welcomed at all by the Papacy. Victory of Sultan Mehmet II revived the idea of East-West alliance, and Papacy carried out alliance negotiations with many eastern countries. Yet, these negotiations didn't yield any positive outcome. In this sense, the relations of Popes with the Turks are observed to have taken place in different dimensions. For instance, while Pope Callistus III called Mehmet II as the "son of devil," Pope Alexander VI formed alliances with Sultan Beyazıt II, son of Mehmet II (Pfeffermann, 2003: 35, 49, 87).

Continued with political and military tactical moves, Ottoman-Vatican relations had shifted to a new period with the privileges bestowed to France in 16th century. The French, with these privileges given against the German Emperor Charles V, gained an enormous freedom throughout Ottoman lands (İnalçık, 2008: 31-33; Ceran, 2014: 411-412). In the following ages, these developments had brought the French to the status of the protectorate of the Catholics in the East (Şahin: 2009: 282-283, 288). We see that France had a different attitude towards the Papacy when we come to the first years of the 19th century.

France, even though continued to protect the rights of the Papacy in the east, closed many Catholic institutions in the country and sent their clergy to exile after the 1789 Revolution. It is also observed that the Ottomans had been affected negatively from the French Revolution (Çoban, 2014: 172-173). The idea of nationalism brought out by the revolution had increased the instinct of freedom among the nations the Ottoman State contain in itself (Karpas, 2006: 157; Shaw, 2006: 44). It is observed that, in such an atmosphere, the two states came closer in the manner of friendship. It is especially important that such a convergence to take place during the period known as "tanzimat" reform era (Karpas, 2006: 267, 312-314). As a matter of fact, Şekip Pasha's sending to Vatican soon after the Tanzimat has become an important milestone for the Turkish Vatican relations (Türkan, 2014: 16).

2. Period of Sultan Abdülmecit (1839-1861): First friendly Relations

It can be said that the establishment of relations in advanced level and amicable terms between Ottomans and Papacy took place after ambassador of Vienna Şekib Bey's visit to Vatican in 1847 (BOA., İ. MSM., 32/909 (November 5, 1848). The intention of Şekip Pasha, who went there by the courtesy of the Sultan, was to convey a letter of Sultan himself and to present his congratulations to Pius IX, who took the chair of papacy for a relatively short time (1846-1878). This was an incident taking place for the first time throughout the whole Ottoman history (Carım, 1966: 72). Having gone there with these intentions, Şekip Pasha was welcomed very warmly and conducted important negotiations together with his accompanying delegations including his son Head Clerk Arif Bey, Assistant Head Clerk Ali Bey, and Karpar Manas Bey who was one of the interpreters of the embassy (Türkan, 2014: 198).

Establishing amicable relations between Ottomans and Vatican was also an important incident for the Papacy. Through the establishment of amicable relations, millions of Catholics living under the auspices of Ottomans could be placed under the guardianship of Papacy and the Catholics would be saved from the impact of great powers who transgress the rights of the sultan and seek a pretext to abuse. Naturally, such steps taken by the papacy discomfited France who then used to play the protector role of Catholicism. Thus, French authorities in Vatican attempted to prevent the negotiations, yet they were unable to succeed (Brennan, 1877: 123).

Second step of amicable relations that started between the Ottomans and Vatican took place after the arrival of Bishop of Sidon Innocenzo Ferrieri to Istanbul soon after Şekib Pasha's visit. Ferrieri's visit was given great importance by the Ottoman government, and in line with this a private house was rented in Beyoğlu district and all expenses including the refurbishing of the house were met from the Ottoman treasure (BOA. İ. MSM. 32/905 (March 18, 1848); 32/906 (April 1, 1848).

Ferrieri, soon after his arrival to Istanbul, had met with the minister of foreign affairs, prime minister and sultan himself and got into an intensive work program (Ceride-i Havadis (16 Safer 1264/January 23, 1848); BOA, İ. MSM., 32/901 (January 28, 1848). In the process of works conducted with the Ottoman officials, it is understood that both the Ottomans and Vatican had different expectations. From the point of view of the Ottomans, with an agreement made with the Papacy, they aimed to prevent the countries like France and Austria to meddle in the domestic affairs of the Catholics.

However, although commercial and friendship concepts had to be dwelt on in the content of the agreement, subjects about faith and sects shouldn't have taken place (BOA, İ. MSM., 32/907 (April 18, 1848). When the position the Ottomans had taken is carried off to Ferrieri, he remarked that an emphasis in this direction would be better since Vatican had a side facing to sects. According to Ferrieri, unless such an emphasis is given, the agreement would not be intact and therefore an obligation to make a change would have arisen. For this reason, for a solution a bishop should be present in Istanbul acting in the capacity of "Deputy Pope" and when necessary a meeting should be hold with this bishop. Considering the suggestions, Ottoman Government saw fit to a "deputy Pope" to be present in Istanbul together with several regulations regarding the freedom of Catholics in their domestic affairs (BOA, İ. MSM., 32/907 (April 18, 1848).

Another point stressed in the agreement signed was that the person who would serve as the "Deputy Pope" in Istanbul could not have a diplomatic qualification (BOA, İ. MSM., 32/907 (April, 1848). Therefore, diplomatic relations, as was in the past, would be conducted through France who played the protector role of the Catholics in the east (BOA, A. DVN., 35/95 (April 28, 1848). And this practice would continue until the abolishing of the capitulations recognized to France with a unilateral cancellation by the Ottomans at the start of World War I (BOA, HR. HMS.İŞO., 88/36 (March 4, 1915); Pamir, 2002: 112). Yet, the fact remains that relations were established many times between the Ottomans and Vatican without the intermediation of France. Thus, soon after arriving at an agreement with Ferrieri, official notice for the ceremony held for Patriarch Valerga's assignment to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, was sent without the agency of French embassy (BOA, HR. SYS., 1768/8 (January 17, 1848).

Another striking matter about Ferrieri's visit was the letter named *In Suprema Petri Apostoli Sedesent* to the Eastern Churches by the Papacy (Frazee, 1983, 227). Ferrieri, as was the present Pope Francis' visit to Fener Greek Patriarch Bartholomew, also conveyed the letter of Pope Pius IX to Patriarch Anthimos IV (1848-1852) in 1848 (Madden, 1862: Vol. II, 88-116). The letter, which was mostly about the two churches conducting works together and ending the divergences, wasn't welcomed warmly by Fener Greek Patriarchate. Even the words uttered by Patriarch Anthimos IV: "Papacy should deal with the resisters of religion in the west rather than attacking the Orthodox faith in the east." (Frazee, 1983: 227) were enough to understand the level of reaction.

3. Period of Sultan Abdulaziz (1861-1876): Partial Standstill in Relations

When we generally look over the Ottoman – Vatican relations during the rule of Sultan Abdulaziz, it could be said that it was partially interrupted considering the previous period. The main reason for his was the problem of the Eastern Catholics. Although some of the religious ritualistic things of the eastern Catholics who are by birth Ottoman citizens were handled through Vatican, civil affairs used to be organized by the Ottomans. For instance, a bishop to be assigned to somewhere used to start his duty with the approval of the sultan and he also used to carry out some civil tasks about the Catholic congregation. To strengthen Vatican, Pope Pius IX gave weight to centralization activities due to the oppression he faced from many Catholic countries in Europe (Türkan, 2012: 117; Takvim-i Vekayi (29 Zilkade 1284/March 23, 1868). One of The most obvious examples of this was the Pope Pius IX's declaration of a church regulation named *Reversurusin* 1867. According to this, eastern catholic patriarch would not be able to exercise any power until unless they got the approval of the Pope. Besides, like other Latin patriarchs they would visit the pope once in five years and submit reports about the developments. This new regulation of Pope in a way meant that the Eastern Catholics had to give up their autonomous attitudes over the churches. Soon afterwards, several leaders of the Eastern Catholics like Melkit, Keldani and Maruni opposed to this new regulation (Türkan, 2012: 123). When we examined the Catholic Armenian congregation, it is seen that they were divided into two groups. These were the existing Patriach Hasun and his supporters who defended the regulation of the Papacy and the opposing party called Antihasan who claimed that their churches were their own national foundation. (BOA, A. DVNS.GMC.d., no. 13: 3; HR. SYS., 1782/4 (February 7, 1872); Basiret (26 Zilhicce 1290/February 4, 1874).

The Ottoman State was on the other side of the disputes going on between Vatican and the Eastern Catholics. Since the Ottoman State was dealing with the Crete event, they weren't able to follow the developments closely (BOA, İ. MMS., 39/1632 (October 17, 1870). Yet, when the disputes going on between the Papacy and the Eastern Catholics started to disturb the public order, interference was unavoidable. Because the quarrels in the church sometimes used to overflow to the streets and reach to a point where people actually get hurt (BOA, İ. MMS., 38/1600 (March 8, 1870).

On the other hand, the Ottoman State perceived the regulations of Pope Pius IX as the violation of her citizens' rights and therefore her rights (BOA, İ. MMS., 39/1632). Because, how the election of the patriarchs would be performed, and how the patriarchs should have acted towards the acts of the state and towards the autochthonic rights the congregations used to have ever since were stated in detail in the content of the warrants given to the patriarchs by sultan (BOA, A.DVNS.GMC.d., no 13: 52). Besides, the prominent people of Syrian, Keldani and Armenians were saying that the Papacy was intervening the legal rights of their congregations and they wanted the Ottoman State to prevent this (BOA, İ. MMS., 38/1600). In the light of these developments, the Ottoman State sent the Ambassador of Florence Rüstembey to Vatican to find a middle course and to end the disputes. Purpose of Rüstembey was to explain that the new regulations that were to be brought into force by the Papacy were contrary to the laws of both the Ottoman State and the Eastern Catholics. However, since the papacy didn't draw back, they weren't able to find a compromise. (BOA, HR. TO., 455/4 (September 22, 1871).

Plyum, the Deputy Pope in Istanbul, was also carrying out some works among the Armenian congregation for the solution of the problems. Yet, his excommunication of the Catholic Armenian opponents of Pope had only worsened the debates (Türkan, 2012: 136-139). This time Pope Pius IX sent one of his most trusted men Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, the Bishop of Salonika, to Istanbul (Ceride-iHavadis(4 Muharrem 1288/March 26, 1871). Franchi started conducting negotiations with the dissident Catholics in a short time; however it didn't yield any positive result (BOA, HR. SYS., 1786/25 (January 19, 1872).Franchi had also put forward proposals to the Ottoman State alongside the dissident Catholics. One of the most important one of these was the suggestion of signing a concordat- as was done in other Catholic countries- between the Papacy and the Ottoman state. Yet, he wasn't able to get an affirmative reply from the Ottoman officials for this proposal (BOA, HR. SYS., 1765/14 (July 13, 1872).

Papacy was also going through a problematic phase while Cardinal Franchi was paying an official visit to Istanbul. Acceptance of Papal Infallibility in the 1st Vatican Council was reacted against by many European countries (Manning, 1887: 164; Alici, 2015: 51; BOA, HR. SYS., 1945/40). Even these reactions were frequently at the agenda of the newspapers published in the Ottoman State (Ceride-iHavadis (25 Muharrem 1287/April 27, 1870); Diyojen (6 Tışrini Sani 1287/November 18, 1871). Ali Pasha, keeping abreast of all the latest developments closely, was thinking that Papacy nothing to legitimize its wishes and expressed his thought as: *"France and the most powerful bishops of Christian World deny the Papal Infallibility. A Catholic State Italy restrains the Papal Government. Austria repeals the agreements made with the Papacy. Lands belonging to church are being made public-land in Spain. It would be really weird if only we as Muslims accept the illegitimate intervention of an authority not recognized even by Catholic countries."* (BOA, Y. EE. 91/9).

It can be said that the international conjuncture had also strengthen the hand of the Ottomans against the Papacy regarding the solution of the problem of the Eastern Catholics. Even though France reacted against the Papacy about the Pope's Infallibility, during this process, they acquiesced the new regulation of the Papacy regarding the Eastern Catholics. However, having newly gotten out of war with Germany in 1870 had weakened the hand of the ambassador of France in Istanbul. Therefore the Ottoman State hadn't replied the wishes coming from France in favour of the Papacy affirmatively (BOA, HR. SYS., 1763/13 (July 10, 1872). The assurance given to Ottomans by Russia and Germany was also an important factor herein. Especially Germany had continuously suggested the Ottoman State that no concessions be given to the Papacy (The New York Times (February 15, 1874); Bozkurt, 1996: 186; Türkan, 2012: 190). As a result, although many steps were taken, the problem of the Eastern Catholics wasn't able to be solved for sure during the rule of Sultan Abdulaziz. Naturally these developments caused a standstill in the relations between the Ottomans and Vatican. Even though there was a positive movement during the last days of Sultan Abdulaziz's rule, the decisive solution will come during the period of Sultan Abdulhamit II.

Relations with Vatican continued unofficially during the period of Sultan Abdulaziz as it was before. It is clear that this situation caused some troubles. Especially Catholic citizens of the Ottomans experienced some difficulties about this situation. A group of Eastern Catholic clergymen put the Ottoman authorities in the picture regarding their situation in the year 1870. According to their statements, there were at least fifty Ottoman-citizen patriarchs and bishops from the Catholics of Melchite, Maronite, Syrian, and Armenian to attend the meeting held in Rome about the problems of the church. France, Austria, Bavaria made an announcement to the foreign minister of Rome that they would preserve their own bishops. However, since the Ottoman state had no ambassador in Rome, there were problems about this issue (BOA, HR. SYS., 1765/2 (March 1, 1870).

The Ottoman state made several attempts regarding the solution of the problems stated by the representatives of the Eastern Catholics; nevertheless, no results were obtained. The problem also revealed itself in unofficial relations and in a series of protocol ceremonies like gift exchange. For instance, Cardinal Franchi while conducting negotiations in Istanbul, presented the gifts sent Sultan Abdulaziz by Pope (BOA, İ. HR., 334/21476 (December 23, 1871). In return to this kind gesture, when the Ottomans wanted to send some gifts to the Papacy, they faced several diplomatic obstructions. The gift to be given to the Pope was tried to be sent via the Ottoman ambassador in Italy. However, Pope Pius IX stated that he would not accept the ambassador of this country due to the invasion of Rome by Italy (BOA, HR. SYS., 1922/23 (December 1, 1871); Ceride-iHavadis (22 Şevval 1289/December 23, 1872). This time, in order to overcome such difficulties in a short time, Ottomans amended to the practice of emissary, and this officer tried to resolve the unofficial relations between the Ottoman State and Vatican. Alongside with this, invasion of Rome by Italy urged the Ottomans to seek a solution. In a letter sent to the Ottoman government, ambassador of Italy Yanko Fotiadis Pasha stated that there were many Ottoman citizens in Rome most of which were clerics and that they were aggrieved due to the Italian invasion and suggested that an embassy should be opened in order for a better communication between the sides. Considering the requisition of the ambassador, Ottoman government deemed Italian citizen Monsieur Karlogalyani's assignment as the ambassador suitable. (BOA, İ. HR., 254/15151 (October 2, 1872). Even though there were ongoing problems in relations with Vatican during the period of Sultan Abdulaziz, paradoxically, the number of Latins living and the missionary activities throughout the Ottoman soils raised quite a lot. Especially Dominikens, Fransizkens, Assomptionists, Jesuits, and Capuchins became more activated in their endeavours (Milidonis, 1999: 87; Taşpınar, 2004: 94).

4. Period of Sultan Abdulhamit II (1876-1909): Intensive Period in the Relations

When compared to the previous period, it can be said that the relations between the Ottomans and Vatican were more fruitful during the rule of Sultan Abdulhamit II. Personal attitudes of Abdulhamit II and the respondent popes had great impact on this as well as the domestic and foreign dynamics. Most crucial foreign dynamic was the Ottomans losing the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War. Ottomans losing control over the most part of the Balkans made the Papacy anxious due to their Catholic fellows living in these soils. Orthodoxization activities of Russia over the lands they captured and banishment of many Catholic priests were the practices experienced by the papacy previously. Such concerns forced the Ottomans and Vatican to produce political decisions together against this common enemy. When Bedros Efendi had gone to Vatican as an emissary, these topics were constantly at the agenda and they especially discussed about the sort of common policies that could be carried out in the Balkans. Pope attached importance to the war between the Ottomans and Russia so much so that he even asked the age of Osman Pasha and appreciated his defence in Pleven (Türkan, 2014: 321).

One of the issues that came into prominence in the bilateral relations was the Armenian events. Although the Papacy criticized the Ottomans due to Armenian events, when compared to other European countries, it is obvious that they didn't maintain a harsh attitude (BOA, Y. EE., 841: 11 (March 21, 1898). Even some Catholics converted into Protestantism as a reaction to Papacy since Vatican didn't support them (BOA, DH. MKT., 2139/52; HR. SYS., 2858/43). Many critical articles were written in the newspapers published in Europe since the Papacy didn't develop an exact attitude towards the Ottoman State (BOA, HR. SYS., 2733/24 (January 23, 1895). For instance, news spread about Abdulhamit II's so called intermediacy proposal to Pope in the presence of European countries due to the Sason event that took place in 1894, however these news were disclaimed by official authorities of the Ottoman State (B.O.A., Y. EE., 163/35 (January 23, 1895).

Another detail observed in the Ottoman-Vatican relations was the reciprocal courtesy that took place between Abdulhamit II and Pope Leon XIII. For instance, when Cardinal Vanotelli came to Istanbul in 1880, he presented a mosaic table together with a letter written by Pope Leon XIII (BOA., Y. A. HUS., 164/49). In return, Abdulhamit II had also sent gifts and letters to Pope many times. Most striking one of these was the ring sent to Pope Leon XIII by Abdulhamit II in 1887. Catholic Armenian Patriarch Azaryan Efendi was the person who conveyed the gift of sultan to Pope. When Pope received the ring stated that he was honoured and commented about its beauty to the people around him. Besides, Cardinal Paruçi also presented his appreciations about the ring saying that its stone was a rare artefact and that it was even more superior than the gift sent to Pope a year before by the German Emperor (BOA., Y. PRK. A., 4/71).

Besides gift exchanging, Sultan Abdulhamit II wired his condolences and shared his grief when the brother of Pope Leon XIII passed away (BOA., Y. A. RES., 10/23 (March 27, 1881). Pope thanked, wished the continuance of their friendship, and presented his appreciations in a writing sent in return to Abdulhamit's letter (BOA., Y. PRK. NMH., 2/29).

Pope Pius IX held the office of Papacy throughout the whole sultanate of Abdulaziz and served as Pope for another two years during the period of Sultan Abdulhamit II. Unlike his predecessor, Pope Leon XIII (1878-1903), who was elected as the new pope after his demise, followed more pluralist policies about the Ottoman Catholics. Instead of Pope Pius IX's policy which was to take the Eastern Churches under the auspices of Vatican with an iron discipline, Pope Leon XIII's "East will change religion with the Easterners" policy was the most important determinant in this (Nicault, 2001: 179). Western policy of Pope Leon XIII contributed the development of bilateral relations throughout the sultanate of Abdulhamit II. As a result of these nice relations, throughout his sultanate, Abdulhamit II chose to enhance the power of the papal nuncio. Papal nuncio was responsible from eleven Latin Catholic religious territories. Thousands of students in Istanbul were also under his responsibility. Alongside of these, he was also ruling the priests sent to hospitals and orphanages (Frazee, 1983: 230).

The problem of Catholic Armenians that stretched the relations with Vatican during the rule of Sultan Abdulhamit was substantially solved in this period (BOA, İ. MMS., 98/4148 (June 29, 1888); HR. TO., 95/26 (July 28, 1879). Nonetheless, time to time, there had been interventionist attitudes of Vatican over the Eastern Catholics' congregation structures. For example, Chaldeans in Istanbul had to go to the Latin Churches and when they requested a church of their own, Vatican didn't go down well with that. Vatican's opposition to the building of a church on a state-allocated land, flabbergasted the Ottomans (BOA., Y. PRK. AZN., 6/78 (February 6, 1893). Similar problem was observed when Vatican didn't allow the Bible readings in the houses of Catholic Melchites living in Istanbul. Papal nuncio in Istanbul stepped into the attitudes Ottomans didn't really appropriate by stating that it was mandatory for Melchites to go to Latin Churches (BOA, A.DVNS.GMC.d no. 13: 7).

Relations with Vatican, as it was before, continued unofficially but around friendship during the period of Sultan Abdulhamit II. Although Vatican maintained the policy of not accepting the Ottoman Ambassadors sent before Rome, some peculiar negotiations had been carried out with the consulate of Rome. It is clearly understood from the documents that Pope shared some top secret information with the consulate, regarding especially the policies to be followed about the Catholics living in the Balkans (BOA, HR. TO., 95/37 (September 23, 1879).

Discommodity of lacking an official relation between the Ottomans and Vatican continued in the period Abdulhamit II. For the solution of this problem the idea of inauguration of corresponding consulates had come to the agenda from time to time. The problem was discussed in the government agencies of the Ottoman State and consultations were held about what could be done. According to one of these consultations, it is stated that many non-Catholic countries had a Vatican ambassador in their countries and therefore the Ottoman State could also establish a relation such as this. Having a great number of Catholic citizens played a crucial role in the shaping of this opinion (BOA, Y.A. RES., 91/28 (March 3, 1898). In this respect, in a writing sent to Prime Ministry from the Foreign Ministry in 1898, it was brought to agenda that MorolBey, undersecretary of German Consulate and a catholic himself, could be assigned as the Ottoman Ambassador to Vatican. However, as decreed later by Sultan Abdulhamit II, assigning of former ambassador of Athens AsımBey was deemed suitable to this chair. And yet, changing his decision Sultan wanted the postponing of the date of notification of AsımBey's official post in the embassy of Vatikan until the very last day (BOA, Y. A. RES., 92/42 (April 2, 1898). Vatican's not reaching to an exact decision can be taken as the reason for such an amendment. Because the deputy Pope Bonetti in Istanbul was invited to visit the palace and he was asked whether he received an answer from Vatican or not (Marmara, 2012: 4). And Bonetti stated that he didn't receive any such directive about this issue in the letter sent to him by the Foreign Minister of Vatican (BOA, Y. PRK. EŞA., 29/25 (March 27, 1898). Although as the situations seemed like this, when we look at the secret archive documents of Vatican, it is understood that Bonetti used an evasive language while answering Sultan about the issue and that France had a huge influence in this. As a matter of fact, French Ambassador in Istanbul by saying: "I don't want to hear anything about the re-opening of the issue of Ottomans assigning an ambassador to Vatican again" stated his reaction to Bonetti from the highest level possible (Marmara, 2012: 4-5; BOA, Y. A. RES., 92/45 (April 17, 1898).

Newspapers published in Italy were also split in half about the issue of embassy inauguration. When the comments on the newspapers are considered in general, those who had the anxiety of France losing the influence over the Eastern Catholics objected the Ottomans holding an ambassador in Vatican. Those who wanted the inauguration of an embassy criticized the intimacy between Russia and France by stating that the religiously careless French ambassadors hadn't prevented the Orthodoxization activities of Russia. It is understood that German Catholics were especially disturbed about this situation since they were not only troubled with the embassy issue but also serving under the protection of France (BOA, Y. A. HUS., 385/149 (June 18, 1898; HR. SYS., 1787/33). Hence opposing articles in the newspaper published in Germany, about German citizen Eastern Catholics being guarded by another country, draw attention (BOA, HR. SYS., 1878/41). However; by taking a decision about the continuance of France's right to guard the Eastern Catholics, Vatican in a way gave an answer to the objections and finished the discussions (BOA, HR. SYS., 1787/37, 38 (September 18, 1898).

As a consequence, although the opening of an embassy in Vatican had come to the agenda several times during the period Sultan Abdulhamit II, it hadn't been materialized. These requests sometimes came from Vatican and wasn't found suitable by the Ottomans and sometimes came from the Ottomans and wasn't found suitable by Vatican (BOA, Y. PRK. MŞ., 7/97; MV., 110/6 (September 14, 1904); HR. SYS., 1769/2 (7 August 1904).

5. Before and After the First World War: Indecisive and Uncertain Period for Vatican

Amicable relations also continued after the dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamit II in 1908 (HR. MTV., 202/19 (November 8, 1914). Although there were several attempts for the corresponding inauguration of embassies, relations, as it had been before, were maintained via France (BOA, HR. MTV., 478/80, 82 (August 16, 1914). However, a new process of relations commenced when the Ottoman State entered the WWI in October 1914. Since France was among the countries the Ottoman State waged war and the statement of the unilateral removal of capitulations which had been bestowed to this country by the Ottomans directly affected the relations with Vatican as France had long been the protectorate of Vatican. Ottoman Government on 16 November 1914 with an act of parliament, decreed the closure of educational institutes belonging to the countries -or to anyone from these countries- the Ottoman State was at war and the deportation of the employees of these institutions. However, omitting the institutions like churches, hospitals and orphanages from this decree, churches were allowed to be used for religious purposes. Hospitals and orphanages on the other hand were decided to be administrated directly or indirectly (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO., 88/36 (November 16, 1914).

Imposing sanctions to the institutions under the French protections by the Ottoman State, drove Vatican to the wall. Regarding this issue, papal nuncio in Istanbul requested new regulations to be introduced in a letter written to Ottoman Government by the by stating that these institutions are under the jurisdiction of Vatican although they seem to be under the protection of France. Concrete examples about the difficulties experienced were also given in the writing. For instance, the difficulties experienced in the institutions belonging to Assumptionist Sect in Kadıköy and Eskişehir, and problems in Catholic institutions in Beyoğlu, Galata and Sisli districts, and troubles in the areas far from the capital like Jerusalem, Beirut were only several of these examples (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO. 88/36 (April 15, 1915).

These difficulties experienced were originated from the agreements signed with France short time ago in 1901 and 1913. According to these agreements Catholic institutions were registered to France. Besides that, important religious centres like the Episcopality in Pangaltı, Catholic Patriarchate in Jerusalem, and Delegation of Papacy in Beirut were all accepted as French institutions. (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO. 88/36 (December 10, 1914).

Difficulties experienced due to the inventory of Catholic institutions were tried to be solved by tackling them in governmental agencies of the Ottoman State. Phases the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem experienced since it was founded were evaluated in historical process and the same patriarchate's status in 1848 and patronage of France was brought to the agenda. By considering the issue of France's not allowing religious leaders in some of its areas, the possibility of taking the present patriarchate under the Ottoman protectorate was dwelt on. Another issue brought to the agenda was that the person to be assigned to the head of Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem could be assigned unofficially by Papacy. In order to overcome the difficulties that might develop about the churches, possibilities like making similar concordats signed between many European countries and Vatican, and recently between the Serbians and the Papacy were discussed (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO., 83/1 (December 9, 1914).

As it can be seen, administration of Catholic institutions during under the difficult wartime situations left both Vatican and the Ottomans in the lurch. Especially the vagueness emerged as a result of the ending of France's protectorate, brought together many difficulties regarding the enforcement of laws about the Catholic institutions (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO., 88/36 December 10, 1914). Departure of French Ambassador from Istanbul due to war created a new development as well. The visit requests of Deputy Pope in Istanbul were conveyed to the Ottoman authorities via French Ambassador in line with the long-held customary (BOA, HR. SYS., 1768/36 (April 27, 1887). An interpreter from the French Embassy used to accompany the deputy Pope when he appeared before the Sultan. However, in line with the newly developed situations, papal nuncios were able to meet the Ottoman authorities and join the official ceremonies directly (Marmara, 2012: 60). This process brought together the need for the Ottomans to develop their relations with the Papacy. Deputy Pope in Istanbul was allowed to correspond in encryption and a set of conveniences were provided to him for communication. Indeed, this permission given, brought a sort of flexibility to the decree of the Ottoman government taken on 15 November 1914. Because, according to this decree taken on the day mentioned above, ambassadors of the neutral states would be able to communicate with their ministry of foreign affairs or with their embassies situated in neutral states via encrypted telegrams. Thus, if the law was enforced directly, no such permission could be given to the papal nuncio (BOA, BEO., 4329/324632 (December 30 1914). However, by considering the Deputy Pope Monsignor Dolci's need to communicate with Vatican in order to establish political relations between the Papacy and the Ottomans, certain flexibility was brought and he was allowed to communicate via encrypted telegram (BOA, BEO., 4329/324632 (January 30, 1915); HR. SYS., 2405/75).

Together with this permission given to Monsignor Dolci, it is observed that there are intensive communications for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and Vatican. When we look at Dolci's correspondences, it is clear that he was quite anxious about this. According to Dolci, if Vatican doesn't develop diplomatic relations with the Ottomans, the results would be catastrophic for the Catholics. However, his ideas were not approved by the Papacy, instead he was asked to act with deliberation while conducting negotiations with the Ottoman authorities. As for Vatican, if such an agreement is done, France would consider it as insurrection and the situation of the Catholics living in this country would get worse. Besides, even if an agreement would be done, they would have to wait for the ending of war and the French ambassador to get back to Istanbul. On the other hand, Dolci thought that the Catholic Church would get even more powerful with the agreement. If diplomatic relations are established, a uniformity could be secured among the Christians living on the Ottoman soils. This situation could even hurt the pride of Fener Greek Patriarch since this was a situation against Fener Patriarchate. As can be seen from the telegrams and letters sent between the authorities in Vatican and Deputy Pope in Istanbul, diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and Vatican were not be able to be realized during the wartime (1914-1918) due to a set of concerns (Marmara, 2012: 65, 67, 75). When we look at the correspondences of the Deputy Pope in Istanbul with Vatican authorities, we rather see the implementation of delaying tactics in the responses from the Papacy (Marmara, 2012: 96-109).

Even though the diplomatic relations weren't established, it is a fact that amicable relations were maintained between the Ottoman State and the Deputy Pope in Istanbul during the wartime. Deputy Pope carried out an important intermediacy task before the Ottomans especially for the priests under the protectorate of France (BOA, HR. SYS., 2884/54 (February 10, 1917). Besides this, he conveyed the complaints of the Catholics living in distant cities like Beirut and Jerusalem to the Ottoman government and requested the Sultan to forgive a sum of Armenians who were being judged at the court-martial (BOA, HR. HŞ.İŞO., 88/34 (December 6, 1916); HR. SYS., 2884/48).

Deputy Pope in Istanbul undertake an important mission for the Christian soldiers died on the enemy side during the Gallipoli War that took place in 1915. Within this context, the expenses of the graves and epitaphs to be built and organized for the soldiers who lost their lives here were covered by this Papal nuncio (BOA, HR. SYS., 2457/67 (August 29, 1918).

Even though good relations were established with the Deputy Pope in Istanbul, some difficulties were experienced with the Deputy Pope in Izmir. For instance, Zoketini, Deputy Pope in Izmir, gave a political speech in Izmir Catholic Church about France's rights on the capitulations. Arrival of Zoketini's speech to the consul of the USA, who were temporarily responsible for the interests of French citizens, drew reaction. Ambassador of Vienna Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha transmitted the speech given to the Ottoman government and asked for the necessary precautions to be taken (BOA, HR. SYS., 2420/23 (May 5, 1916).

It is also seen that Papacy conducted several diplomatic works during the war as a soft power. For this purpose, Pope Benedict XV sent a letter to Sultan Mehmet V for the termination of war (BOA, MV., 258/27 (September 23, 1917). Besides this, they acted as an intermediary between the Ottomans and the enemy countries about the wounded captivities (BOA, HR. SYS., 2237/5, 2246/23, 2237/2).

6. Establishment of the New Republic: Change of Notion in Vatican

The Ottoman State is defeated after a four-year war and signed armistice of Montrose on 30 October 1918 with the western winners of the war. The period from this date until the abolition of sultanate on 1 November 1922 is called "armistice environment." This period contains interesting relation networks where a set of political polarization are experienced in terms of the ending of the Ottoman State and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (Burak, 2013: 308). There had been some changes in Vatican's outlook on the Ottomans and the newly established republic in this transitional period. First of all, Vatican, who conducted delaying tactics throughout wartime with the ottomans, changed its policy. For instance, Deputy Pope in Istanbul Monsignor Dolci, had met with the authorities from the Foreign Ministry about this issue, yet he was informed that it was impossible to start official negotiations with Vatican. Because France, soon after the armistice, wanted to take the eastern Christians under her protection and it was accepted by the Ottoman state. Therefore, since the Ottoman State didn't want to offend France, it was unlikely that there could be an official agreement with Vatican in the near future. Another unreasonable point in establishing formal relation with Vatican was that the areas where crowded population of Catholics live like Lebanon and Syria were no longer under Ottoman control. Alongside these developments, Ottoman authorities left the door open for a change in the situation if the consent of France is taken (Marmara, 2012: 111-113).

It is observed that Vatican tried to establish relations with the new Republic after the Ending of the Ottoman State as a result of the abolition of the sultanate in 1922 and founding of the Republic of Turkey instead of it (BOA, HR. İM., 21/77 (September 22, 1923). Regarding this issue, Turkey's ambassador to Rome SuatBey's unofficial communications with Vatican in October 1923 are important. According to this, foreign Minister of Vatican Cardinal Gaspari had conveyed his wish for a private meeting with SuatBey via several mediators. In return to this request, SuatBey went to Vatican on the pretext of visiting the library and had a private meeting in a courteous environment. One of the subjects handled in the meeting was the ten thousand francs to be given to the Greek and Armenian refugees from the compensation paid to Italy by Greece. The information that money would be sent to Istanbul for this purpose and a commission to be established for the dispensation was received. In return for the information received from Gaspari, SuatBey stated that there were no Armenian or Greek refugees in the borders of Turkey, yet thousands of Muslims were drown away from Greece and therefore such a commission should be established somewhere in Greece. He also added that such commission would not be allowed to operate otherwise. Stating that he also agree with the ambassador, Cardinal Gaspari indicated that those concerned should be informed about the issue. Another issue Gaspari privately shared with SuatBey was the protectorate of France. According to him, as remarked in the treaty of Lausanne, Papacy was never in favour of French protectorate (BCA, 4249/30..10.0.0/236.594..9 (October 22, 1923).

As it can also be understood from Gaspari's statements, abolition of capitulations and French protectionism- in accordance with the decisions taken in the Treaty of Lausanne- pleased Vatican. As a matter of fact, complete abolition of capitulations and French protectionism in compliance with the decisions taken in the Treaty of Lausanne has been a positive development for Turkey (Pamir, 2002: 112). It is understood that, with these latest developments, the papal nuncio in Istanbul had gotten into intensive activities in order for the establishment of formal relations between Turkey and Vatican. Yet these efforts would yield no result at that period. When we look at the correspondences between the papal nuncio in Istanbul and Vatican state authorities, we see that there were many other underlying reasons. First of these was the efforts of France to prevent the establishment of formal relations between Turkey and Vatican and the other one was the Turkey's adoption of an attitude convenient to the newly developing political process. Accordingly Turkey didn't want to offend France due to the problems it was facing with England because of Mosul problem. Besides, the newly formed government of the Republic's concerns about laicism was also influential on this. Therefore, Dolci, in a letter he sent to Cardinal Gaspari, stated that Foreign Minister Ismet Pasha had wanted to suppress all sorts of religious phenomenon in Turkey due to laicism concerns (Marmara, 2012: 142, 145, 184).

Papal nuncio in Istanbul Monsignor Angelo Rotta was another person who worked hard for the establishment of formal relations. Rotta, during his visit to Turkish Foreign Ministry's İstanbul office in October 1925 negotiated about bilateral relations. Rotta, during his visit, expressed his opinion about the possibility of establishing a relation between Turkey and Vatican similar to the one newly established with Bulgaria. Besides, Rotta said he heard that the undersecretary of the Embassy of France had also come to İstanbul and wanted to know if they talked about this issue. However, envoi of İstanbul stated to him that there was a special relations between Turkey and Vatican and that the things accepted by Bulgaria couldn't be accepted by them and reminded him that papal nuncio had no formal position (BOA, HR. İM., 163/45 (October 17, 1925). Monsignor Rotta, after this meeting, made another visit to Ankara. He conducted several negotiations on ministerial level and carried out a set of interviews about what sort of relation could be established between Turkey and Vatican. Even though Rotta wanted to have a meeting with Mustafa Kemal, he wasn't able to succeed to that. Although the negotiations yield no positive outcome, Rotta gained the sympathy of Turkish authorities and he was given a diplomatic passport without any difficulties (Marmara, 2012: 157-167, 172). Another convenience provided to him was the exempting of Deputy Pope's residence in Buyukada from tax (BOA, HR. İM., 177/85, 25 Şubat 1926). Besides all these, together with Rotta, İstanbul counsellor of Papacy Cesarano and interpreter Stefano Bella were given identification cards (BOA, HR. İM., 229/57 (January 15, 1929).

One another important thing for the Papacy in the first half of the 20th century was the signing of Lateran Treaty between Italy and Vatican on 11 February 1929. Together with this treaty, which is accepted as one of the greatest achievements of Pope Pius XI, small but an independent country of Papacy emerged (Koenig, 1943: 319, 383). Along with this treaty that is signed between Italian president Mussolini and the Foreign Minister of Vatican Cardinal Gaspari, the Catholic Church as well as owning Vatican with all its building, it managed to get financial support from the government of Italy. With the treaty, Catholicism was accepted as the religion of the state and Catholicism was agreed to have a privileged statue in Italy. However, Papacy had also given up laying claims for the lands it used to have earlier. With this treaty, Papacy expanded its diplomatic area and signed concordats with 18 countries (Çoban, 2014: 190).

Concordats made with different countries by the Papacy had been informed to the Turkish Foreign Ministry by its diplomats in those countries and developments were followed closely (BCA, 4329//30..10.0.0/250.691..11 (31 July, 1929). In the meantime, Rotta, Deputy Pope in İstanbul, had given a letter to the authorities of Foreign Ministry including the texts of treaties signed (BOA, HR. İM., 231/67 (June 12, 1929). Here, it is understood that he was in expectation of having a similar concordat between Turkey and Vatican. As a matter of fact, Rotta, in a letter he wrote to Cardinal Gaspari in February 1929, conveyed the evaluations of the Turkish government about the treaty signed between Italy and Vatican. Accordingly, Foreign Minister TevfikRüştüBey made a statement to the ambassador of Italy that they had been pleased to hear the signing of the treaty. When the ambassadors of Italy and Germany asked TevfikBey when Turkey was going to make a treaty with Vatican, he avoided answering the question stating that the cabinet decree was important on this issue (Marmara, 2012: 181).

Consequently, formal relation between Turkey and Vatican wasn't able to be established from the early years of the Republic until the first years of 1960s. There is even a letter written to Vatican by Deputy Pope in İstanbul Carlo Margotti for bringing up this issue to the agenda during Prime Minister İsmetİnönü's visit to Italy in 1932. For this purpose, Vatican ambassador Borgongini notified the issue to Italian Foreign Minister Grandi and Turkish ambassador to Italy VasıfBey. While Grandi stated that he was unaware of the issue and remarked that he was amazed, VasıfBey stated that Turkey denied caliphate as it was a laic republic and therefore the issue should be evaluated within this framework. Vasıfbey also stated that there could be solution for this issue. However, during the developing process there hadn't been a medium where formal relations could be established (Marmara, 2012: 186-187).

7. Period of Turcophile Pope John XXIII (Roncalli): Establishment of Formal Relations

Commencement of relations between Turkey and Vatican took place during the period when Angelo GuiseppeRoncalli became Pope by the name of "John XXIII." Known as the "Shepherd of the 20th Century" in the world, and the "Turkish Pope" or "Turcophile Pope" in Turkey, Roncalli served unofficially in Turkey between the years 1935-1944 as Papal nuncio (Çoban, 2014: 193; Murphy, 2014: 277). Having arrived to İstanbul from Bulgaria via train on 4 January 1935, Roncalli engaged with Turkish authorities in a very short time and won their hearts.

He especially developed amicable relations with NumanMenemencioğlu, Secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs who then became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. However, during the time period he was in Turkey, he served deprived of diplomatic title like his predecessors (Marmara, 2012: 188-190; Giovannetti, 1959: 45-50).

Soon after arriving to Turkey, Roncalli visited places populated by Catholics. during his visits he encountered with these Catholic groups; a small Catholic group living in Cilicia, two Jesuit priests taking care of 50 families most of which consist of businessmen in Adana, a Maronite priest serving about two hundred people in the church and a Capuchin Monastery serving about a hundred Catholics in Mersin, a Melchite priest serving to a small group in Mersin again, a great number of Jacobite and Syrian Catholics in Mardin...(Murphy, 1959: 110).

Period of time Roncalli served in Istanbul was the years of World War II. In this respect, his positive contributions in Turkey worth mentioning (Conetti, 1968: 64-74, Giovannetti, 1959: 45). Besides, Roncalli supported the Jews fleeing from Poland during the wartime and helped them to reach Palestine. His cooperation with Jewish Agency's Istanbul representative Haim Barlas were very important in this respect (Çoban, 2015: 118-119; Shaw, 1993: 276; Time magazine (January 4, 1963).

The time period Roncalli spent in Turkey had always been the years he recalled longingly. As a matter of fact, his close friend who served in Istanbul after him, Giacomo Testa quotes their conversation about Turkey like this: "We lastly came together with Pope John XIII in the summer of 1958 in Bergamo Italy. He asked me about the events that had then taken place and amendments. He said he would very much want to visit Istanbul again after 14 years. John XXIII especially liked to spend the summers in Büyükkada. Watching the sunset from the cape of the island was one of his greatest pleasures. He told me many things about Turkey when we last met. He stated that he didn't only serve there as a diplomat but also dealt with the problems of people and helped them. Besides, he told me that he spent the best years of his life in Turkey" (Giovannetti, 1959: 58).

It is observed that relations with Vatican flourished after Turkey's shift to multi-party system and Justice Party's accession to power alongside the good impression Roncalli made during his service in Istanbul. In this respect, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes' and President Celal Bayar's visit to Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) in Vatican is a significant development. Adnan Menderes, having gone to Italy for a formal visit to develop political relations with this country in February 1955, conducted a set of negotiations with Italian authorities and later visited Pope in Vatican (Milliyet, February 1, 1955). Menderes' visit is accepted to be the first visit of Turks to Vatican at the level of prime Minister. Even though the Pope himself was seriously ill, he wanted the visit to take place. According to news Milliyet cited from Associated Press and Anatolian Agency, the reason why Pope placed great importance to the visit of a Muslim country's leader originated from the wish to act in unison and tighten the bilateral relations against communism. In such an attitude, bilateral discussions took place in the private library of the Pope. Pope, first had a private meeting with Menderes and Turkish Foreign Minister Prof.Dr.FuatKöprülü joined them afterwards. During the negotiations, issues about the establishment of formal relations between Turkey and Vatican were discussed alongside the political problems. Later on, Pope had presented gold medals to both Menderes and Köprülü and a book that enlist the Turkish works available in Vatican. When the negotiations were over, the Turkish delegation visited Vatican museums and St. Pier Church and left the city (Milliyet (February 2, 1955).

It is observed that the death of Pope Pius XII and the time period after that is closely followed from Turkey. Especially Roncalli's, who served in Turkey for a long time, being among the candidates had arisen this interest even more. Milliyet Daily Newspaper reported news about Roncalli and the election atmosphere with the headline: "Vatican's Ex-Istanbul papal nuncio candidate for Pope" (Milliyet (October 16, 1958). As a matter of fact Roncalli, after the elections chosen as the new Pope and took the name John XXIII and Turkey was among the firsts who congratulated him (Milliyet (November 30, 1958).

Establishing formal relations between Turkey and Vatican started to be spoken more frequently on February 1959. Pope John XXIII summoned papal nuncio of Istanbul Monsignor Testa to Rome to discuss this issue. Besides, President Celal Bayar and Foreign Minister FatinRüştüZorlu went to Italy for official visits in June 1959. Bayar, having seen the Italian government officials first, visited Pope John XXIII. During his meeting with Bayar, Pope said he missed his previous service place Istanbul and mentioned the beauty of Bosphorus. He also stated that the Catholics in Turkey were devout citizens and that they worked for the welfare of their country.

The most important topic discussed at the meeting was the taking of the leading decision about the initiation of formal relations and the founding of corresponding embassies (Milliyet (June 12, 1959). As a matter of fact, soon after, Vatican Ambassador Nurettin Vergin began works when he assigned to the office of Vatican Embassy with a ruling on 10 February 1960. As a result of the inauguration of corresponding embassies, amicable relations started in 1847 during the period of Sultan Abdulmecid had finally become formal after a long and hard process.

8. Papal Visits to Turkey

In the period developed after the establishment of formal relations, visits of Popes' to Turkey have also started besides the Turkish officials' visits to Vatican. In this sense, Pope Paul VI is the first Pope to visit Turkey. Visited Turkey on 24-26 July, 1967, Pope Paul VI conducted important negotiations with President Cevdet Sunay and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel. Then he visited Hagia Sophia and prayed there on his knees. Undoubtedly, one of his most important visits was his visit to Fener Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. Having met with Patriarch Athanagoras here, Pope Paul VI hugged and kissed the Patriarch. And this kiss was reflected in the press as the "Peace kiss." (Milliyet (July 26, 1967). Pope Paul VI, after having visited Ephesus, which is considered as one of the most important pilgrimage destinations by the Catholics, returned to Rome (Milliyet (July 27, 1967).

Second Pope to visit Turkey was John Paul II (1978-2005). John Paul II was visited Turkey between the dates 28-30 November, 1979. During his visit he had meetings with President Fahri Korutürk and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel. His next visit had been to Greek Patriarch Demetrios. Pope joined the Saint Andreas Feast at Istanbul Greek Orthodox Church with Patriarch Demetrius. Here, Pope crossed himself from right to left like the Orthodox do. Pope John Paul II read out the biblical verse "love each other and be brothers and sisters" aloud and referred the necessity of collaboration between the two churches. Patriarch Demetrius also expressed his appreciation by saying "We are happy today, as being Catholic and Orthodox Churches, to announce you the assignment of two theological commissions that will eventually commence the dialogue soon as joint theological commission." After conversations, prayers were repeated for the realization of the integration (Milliyet (November 29-31, 1979).

The third Pope to visit Turkey was Pope Benedict XVI. Unlike other Popes, before the arrival of Pope Benedict XVI there had been an incident that got reactions both in Turkey and in many other countries. It was his speech he gave at Regensburg University in Germany. His quoting the lines from Byzantine emperor Manuel Paleologos words "What novelty did Mohammad bring? You only find evils and non-human things among what he brought, like the spreading the sword and promised faith..." and his critical language used for Islam drew huge reactions (Hürriyet (September 27, 2006). These lines quoted by the Pope got reactions from many countries of the world, and alarmed the Islamic world. Leaders of Islamic countries made reactional statements one after another. One of these nations was Turkey. What made Turkey's reaction outstanding was the visit of Pope to Turkey planned to take place in soon future. Likewise, President of Religious Affairs Ali Bardakoğlu had also criticized the speech of Pope (Hürriyet (September 15, 2006). Bardakoğlu stated that the Pope should apologize and took his words back. According to Bardakoğlu, comments of Pope was worrisome both for the Christianity and world peace and it was more than being a criticism an attack on a religion's holiness (Hürriyet (September 27, 2006); National Catholic Reporter, (November 24, 2006). This speech created reactions in the world press and besides that there happened to appear comments in press that Pope's visit to Turkey might not take place. Upon these reactions, Vatican made a statement telling that Pope's speech was about anti-Islamic and that it was understood wrongly (The Washington Times; Hürriyet (September 15, 2006). Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan was also among those who stated that Pope should apologize (Washington Post (September 16, 2006); Sabah (September 17, 2006). Upon all these reactions, Pope, in a speech given in his summer resort, stated that he was very sorry about the reaction over a small portion of his speech that seemed to hurt the sensitivity of the Muslims. He also stated what he said about the Muslims was not his own comments but a quotation. Even though the speech of Pope is not an exact apology, it can be said that it is speech given to lighten the mood. Nevertheless, Pope visited Turkey soon after between the dates 28-30 November 2006. Pope carried out a set of negotiations with President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and President of Religious Affairs Ali Bardakoğlu (Yel, 2008, 336) during his visit to Turkey. After his negotiations he visited the House of the Virgin Mary in Izmir and met with Greek Patriarch Bartholomew in Istanbul. Pope joined Saint Andreas Feast with the Patriarch in the Greek Church and they continuation of collaborative works were decided by the signing of a joint declaration. It was also stated in the declaration that the rising of secularism and nihilism especially in the western world could not be ignored (The New York Times; Yeni Şafak (November 30, 2006); vatican.va).

Another thing that attracted the attentions during the visit of Pope Benedict was the praying of a pope's at the mosque for the first time in Turkey. He prayed in Istanbul Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Blue Mosque) together with Istanbul's Grand Mufti Mustafa Çağrı. He later gave Pope some information about the mosque (The New York Times (December 1, 2006); Americamagazine (December 18-25, 2006).

The last Pope to visit Turkey is Pope Francis. Arriving to Turkey on 28 November 2014, Pope Francis was first welcomed by President RecepTayyipErdoğan in Ankara at the Presidential Palace. The two leaders discussed issues such as war on terror, freedom of religion, Islamophobia, Christianophobia, and the situation of 30 thousand Catholics living in Turkey. Pope expressed his appreciation to Turkey for welcoming the Syrians escaping the war. Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and Vatican State Secretary Pietro Parolin had also attended meeting at the palace. After having a meeting with the President of Religious Affairs Mehmet Görmez, the two leaders made a joint statement to the press. Pope went to Istanbul after his official negotiations in Ankara. He visited Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Blue Mosque) in Istanbul and prayed there together with Istanbul's Grand Mufti RahmiYaran. Hagia Sophia Museum, which occupies an important position in the Christian world, was among the places visited by the Pope (theguardian(November 29, 2014).

As was with the other Popes, one of the most important meetings took place in Istanbul Fener Greek Patriarchate. Pope here joined the St Andreas Memorial Feast together with the Patriarch. Reciprocal statements were made after the ceremony. While Pope Francis said that; "It is important for me express again that the mutual respect is the main principle for the establishment of an exact unity. This neither means coming under the rule of another, nor being assimilated," Bartholomew stated that they didn't have the luxury of acting alone any longer. Then, Pope and Patriarch signed a joint declaration as well. Besides the Orthodox Church, Pope also visited Armenian PatriarchMesrobMutafyan at SurpPirgic Armenian Hospital where he had long been treated (Sabah; Star; The New York Times (November 28-30, 2014).

9. Conclusion

Starting from the Ottomans, Turkey's relation with Vatican had developed in a very complex process. This process is more closely connected with the Catholics in the East during the Ottoman period. Sultan Abdulhamit II had taken serious steps for the establishment of formal relations with Vatican to overcome the protectionism of France over the Catholics. However, avoidance of Papacy from France didn't let such a relation to be established. Waging war against France in the World War I pushed the Catholics living on the Ottoman soils into uncertainty. Ottomans tried hard to establish formal relations with Vatican during the wartime in order to overcome this uncertainty. Yet, -not making France angry being in the first place- Vatican didn't approach the process positively for several reasons. After the war, this time Vatican performed vigorous efforts for the establishment of formal relations. However, these efforts didn't find any positive answer from the Ottoman authorities. The new Republic of Turkey founded after the Ottomans carried the same negative attitude too. Two main reasons stand out for the authorities of the Republic of Turkey's negative approach to Vatican's wish. Firstly, they didn't want to offend France in respect to international conjuncture, and secondly, authorities of the new Republic didn't want to be in contact with a country ruled by religion due to their concerns for laicism.

Close relation with Vatican was established with Turkey shifting to multi-party system in 1945 and Justice Party's coming into power. In this respect, the meetings of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes with Pope Pius XII in Vatican in 1955 and President Celal Bayar's meeting with Pope John XXIII in Vatican in 1959 are important. As a matter of fact, formal relation between Turkey and Vatican was finally established in 1960 during the period of Turcophile Pope John XXIII. Actually, this formal relation established between the countries is the late result of a complex period of one and a half century. As a result, after this period, papal visits to Turkey have started. After Pope Paul VI's first visit in 1967 until today, four Popes have visited Turkey so far. Papal visits to Turkey have two steps. First one of these is Ankara and the other one is Istanbul. Meeting with government officials generally takes place in Ankara. At these meetings conducted at presidential and prime ministerial levels, mainly issues like international and local religious and political problems, conditions of Christians in Turkey and Middle East are discussed. Statements generally related to Muslim-Christian relations draw attention for the meetings of Popes with the Presidents of Religious Affairs. Meetings with Fener Greek Patriarchs take an important place in Popes' visits to Istanbul. During the meetings of the two leaders, reciprocal gestures and statements about the convergence of Catholic and Orthodox Churches draw the attentions.

The last three papal visits to take place during the end of November in which St Andreas Feast, which is considered very important by the Orthodox, is held, is the result of this gesture of goodwill. In this respect, it is clearly observed that while the Turkey-Vatican Relations were centred more around the Eastern Catholics during the Ottoman period, after 1967 it changed to centre more into Fener Greek Patriarchate.

References

- Alici, M., (2015), Roma Katolik Kilisesinde İki Otorite Kurumu; Papalık Ve Kilise, Akra Dergisi, Issue 5, pp. 41-58.
- America Magazine (December 18-25, 2006)
- Basiret gazetesi (26 Zilhicce 1290)
- BCA (Prime Ministry Turkey Republican Archive), Sayı: Dosya: 4249, Fon Kodu: 30..10.0.0, Yer No: 236.594..9, date: (October 22, 1923)
- BCA (Prime Ministry Turkey Republican Archive), Sayı: Dosya: 4329, Fon Kodu: 30..10.0.0, Yer No: 250.691..11, date: (July 31, 1929)
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), A. DVN. (Sadaret Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemi): 35/95
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), A.DVNS.GMC.d (Gayrimüslim Cemaat Defterleri 'Katoliklerin Berat Defteri'): no. 13, 1261/1845-1327/1909
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), BEO., (Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Evrakı): 4329/324632
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), DH. MKT., (Dahliye Mektubi Kalemi): 2139/52
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), HR. HMŞ.İŞÖ., (Hariciye Nezareti Hukuk Müşavirliği İstişare Odası Evrakı): 83/1; 88/34; 88/36
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), HR. İM., (Hariciye Nezareti İstanbul Murahhaslığı): 21/77; 163/45; 177/85; 229/57; 231/67
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), HR. MTV., (Hariciye Nezareti Mütenevvia Kısmı Evrakı): 202/19; 478/80; 478/82
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), HR. SYS. (Hariciye Siyasi): 1763/13; 1765/2; 1765/14; 1768/8; 1768/36; 1769/2; 1782/4; 1786/25; 1787/33; 1787/37; 1787/38 1878/41; 1922/23; 1945/40; 2237/2; 2237/5; 2246/23; 2405/75; 2420/23; 2733/24; 2457/67; 2858/43; 2884/48; 2884/54
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), HR. TO., (Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası): 95/26; 95/37; 135/118; 455/4
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), İ. HR., (Hariciye İrade): 254/15151; 334/21476
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), İ. MMS., (Meclis-i Mahsus İradeleri): 38/1600; 39/1632; 98/4148
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), İ. MSM., (Mesâil-i Mühimme İradeleri Belgeleri): 32/901; 32/905; 32/906; 32/907
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), MV., (Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları): 110/6; 258/27
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. A. HUS., (Yıldız Sadaret Hususî Maruzat Evrakı): 164/49; 385/149
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. A. RES., (Yıldız Sadaret Resmî Maruzat Evrakı): 10/23; 91/28; 92/14; 92/42; 92/45
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. EE., (Yıldız Esas Evrakı): 91/9; 163/35
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. EE., d. (Yıldız Esas Defteri Roma ve Berlin Elçiliği Yazışmaları): 841: 11
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. PRK. A., (Yıldız Sadaret Maruzatı): 4/71
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. PRK. AZN., (Yıldız Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti Maruzatı): 6/78
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. PRK. EŞA., (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Elçilik Şehbenderlik ve Ateşemiliterlik): 29/25
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. PRK. MŞ., (Yıldız Perakende Meşihat Dairesi Maruzatı): 7/97
- BOA (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive), Y. PRK. NMH., (Yıldız Name-i Hümayun Belgeleri): 2/29
- Bozkurt, G., (1996), Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu (1839-1914), TTK Basımevi, Ankara.
- Brennan, R., (1877), Pope Pius The Nineth: A Popular Life Of Our Holy Father, Printers To The Holy Apostolic See, New York.
- Burak, D. M., (2013), Osmanlı Devleti'nde Jön Türk Hareketinin Başlaması Ve Etkileri, OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi), Ankara, Issue: 14, pp: 291-318.
- Carım, F., (1966), İşlenmemiş Konular, İstanbul Matbaası, İstanbul. Catholic Herald (September 9, 2014)

- Ceran, İ., (2014), “XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türk-Fransız İlişkileri, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman –I. François İttifakı” Turkish Studies, Vol. 9/2 Winter, Ankara.
- Ceride-i Havadis gazetesi (16 Safer 1264); (25 Muharrem 1287); (4 Muharrem 1288); (22 Şevval 1289)
- Çoban, B.Z., (2012), Papa John XXIII Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli, Tıbyan Yayıncılık, İzmir.
- Çoban, B.Z., (2014), Geçmişten Günümüze Papalık, İnsan Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Conetti, G., (1968), “Monsignor Roncalli, Later Pope John XXIII, And Turkish Neutrality In The First Period Of The Second World War (September 1939-June 1941)”, University of Ankara, Institute of International Relations, Ankara, pp. 64-74.
- Diyojengazetesi (6 Tışrini Sani 1287)
- Fortescue, A. (1907), “William Durandus”, The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. V, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, Robert Appleton Company, New York, pp. 413-414.
- Frazer, C.A., (1983), Catholicism And Sultans: The Church And The Ottoman Empire 1453-1923, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Giovannetti, M.A., (1959), We Have A Pope: A Portrait of His Holiness John XXIII, translated from the Italian by John Chapin, The Newman Press, Maryland.
- http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/november/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20061130_dichiarazione-comune.html, access time: April 25, 2014.
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkey/haberler/2014.06.140608_ortadogu_papa_filistin, access time: September 15, 2014.
- <http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2014/09/09/reports-pope-francis-to-visit-turkey-in-november>, access time: October 9, 2014.
- Hürriyet gazetesi (September 15, 2006); (September 27, 2006); (December 8, 2014)
- İnalçık, H., (2008), Doğu Batı Makaleler II, Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara.
- Karpat, H.G., (2006), Osmanlı’da Değişim, Modernleşme ve Uluslaşma, translate: Dilek Özdemir, İmge Yayınları, Ankara.
- Koenig, H. C., (ed.), (1943) “Principles for Peace (Selections From Papal Documents Leo XIII To Pius XII)”, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington.
- Madden, R. R., (1862), The Turkish Empire In Its Relations With Christianity and Civilization, Vol. II, T. Cautley Newby Publisher, London.
- Manning, H.E., (1887), The Vatican Council And Its Definitions: A Pastoral Letter To The Clergy, D. & J. Sadlier, New York.
- Marmara, R., (2012), Vatikan Gizli Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Türkiye İle Diplomatik İlişkilere Doğru, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Milidonis, M.N.R., (1999), “19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Katolik Azınlık” 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Gayrimüslimler, çev. Fotive Stefo Benlisoy, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 86-92.
- Milliyet gazetesi (February 1, 1955); (February 2, 1955); (October 16, 1958); (November 30, 1958); (June 12, 1959); (July 26, 1967); (July 27, 1967); (November 29-31, 1979)
- Murphy, F., (1959), Pope John XXIII Comes To The Vatican, Robert M. McBride Co., New York.
- Murphy, W., (2014), “The Diversity of Sanctity and the Unity of Holiness Pope John XXIII and Pope John Paul II”, Catholic Social Science Review, Vol. 19, pp. 275-286.
- Nicault, C., (2001), Kudüs (1850-1948), translate: Estreya Seval Vali, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Pamir, A., (2002), “Kapitülasyon Kavramı ve Osmanlı Devleti’ne Etkileri”, Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. 51, Issue 2, pp. 79-119
- Pfeffermann, H., (2003), Rönesans Papalarının Türklerle İşbirliği, translate: Kemal Beydilli, Tatav Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Sabah gazetesi (September 17, 2006); (November 28-30, 2014)
- Şahin, H., (2009), “Doğu Sorunu Çerçevesinde Osmanlı-Fransız İlişkileri: Başlangıcından Paris Barışı’na 1856”, Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, Issue 40, Erzurum, pp. 277-315.
- Shaw, S. J., (1993), Turkey and the Holocaust: Turkey’s Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, 1933–1945. New York University Press, New York.
- Shaw, S.J; E.K., (2006), Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye, Vol. 2, E yayınları, İstanbul.
- Stargazetesi (November 28-30, 2014)
- Takvim-i Vekay gazetesi (29 Zilkade 1284)

- Taşpınar, İ., (2004), “Katolik Assomptionistler Tarikati ve Türkiye”, Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, Issue 10, Sakarya, pp. 93-114.
- The New York Times (February 15, 1874); (November 30, 2006); (December 1, 2006); (November 28-30, 2014);
- The Washington Times (September 15, 2006)
- The Guardian (November 29, 2014)
- Türkan, A., (2012), Ermenilerin ve Doğu Hıristiyanlarının Sorunları Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri, Kitabevi Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Türkan, A., (2014), “Osmanlı ile Papalık Arasındaki İlk Dostane İlişkiler ve Bununun Doğu Kiliseleri Açısından Önemi”, History Studies, Vol. 6 Issue 6, pp. 195-215, Samsun.
- Türkan, A., (2014), “Sultan Abdülaziz Dönemi’nde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri”, Sultan Abdülaziz ve Dönemi Sempozyumu, 12-13 Aralık 2013 Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, Vol. 3, pp. 15-36.
- Türkan, A., (2014), “Sultan Abdülhamit Dönemi’nde Osmanlı Papalık İlişkileri”, Sultan II. Abdülhamid Sempozyumu, 20-21 Şubat 2014 Thessaloniki, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Thessaloniki, Vol. 1, pp. 321-340.
- Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Resmi Gazetesi (February 10, 1960), no. 10428
- Washington Post (September 16, 2006)
- Yel. A.M., (2008), “The Dialogue of Two Institutions: The Vatican and the PRA”, The Muslim World, Vol. 98, April/July 2008, pp. 335-344.
- Yeni Şafak gazetesi (November 30, 2006)