



**University of Crete  
Department of History  
and Archaeology**



**Foundation for Research  
and Technology - Hellas  
Institute for Mediterranean Studies**

# **20<sup>th</sup> CIÉPO Symposium**

*New Trends in Ottoman Studies*

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# **Panel Abstracts**

- 1. Panels are listed in alphabetical order on the basis of the family name of the panel leader.**
- 2. The names of the other panelists of each panel are listed by order of presentation.**
- 3. The panels' paper abstracts are listed together with the abstracts of the independent papers in the next section.**

A. Nükhet Adıyeke (başkan), Nuri Adıyeke, Mehmet Ali Demirbaş, Melike Kara  
(Wed 27, 16.30, r. 9)

### **Yeni Kaynaklar ve Yeni Yaklaşımlarla Osmanlı Egemenliği'nde Girit ve Sonrası**

Türkiye'de yeni bulunan Mübadele arşivi içinde yer alan Girit evrakı Girit konusundaki çalışmalara yeni açılımlar sağlamıştır. Bu arşivde önemli bir kısmı Hanya, Kandiye ve Resmo'ya ait olmak üzere Şer'iyye sicilleri ve nüfus defterleri mevcuttur. Arşiv bu haliyle Girit'te Iraklion'da Vikelea Kütüphanesi'nde bulunan belgelerin de tamamlayıcısıdır.

Panelimizde yer alan bildirimler ağırlıklı olarak bu yeni bulunan kaynaklara dayalı olarak hazırlanmıştır. Girit'in Osmanlı egemenliği altında oluşturulan idari ve sosyal yaşantısı içinden belli başlı sosyal, ekonomik, hukuksal ve demografik olgular konu başlıkları olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu konu başlıkları altında yeni ortaya çıkan kaynakların sağladığı verilerle gerek Ada'da Müslüman Gayr-ı Müslim ilişkilerine gerekse Osmanlı kurumlarına yeni bakış açıları getirilmesi hedeflenmektedir.

Panelimizin ilk bildirisi olan Resmo Manastır Vakıfları, Osmanlı vakıf sistemi içinde Gayr-ı Müslim Vakıflarının tespit edilmesi için önemli bir örnek olguyu ele alacaktır. Vakıfların idari boyutu olduğu kadar sosyal ve ekonomik boyutu da ele alınacaktır. Cizye uygulamasına ilişkin bildiri ise Ada'daki Gayr-ı Müslim cemaatin sosyo-ekonomik durumlarının tespiti açısından önem taşımaktadır. Cizye uygulaması 18. yüzyıl boyunca önemli değişimlere uğramış ve bu durum toplumsal yakınmalara yol açmıştır. Şuf'a hakkının kullanımına ilişkin bildiri oldukça önemli bir hukuksal olguyu ele almıştır. Osmanlı'da özel mülkiyet hakları içinde az rastlanır bir uygulama olan şuf'a hakkı ilginç bir şekilde 19. yüzyılın ortalarına Kandiye sicillerinde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu işlem aynı zamanda ekonomik ve sosyal yapıya ilişkin veriler de sağlamaktadır. Son olarak 19. yüzyılda Girit'in demografik yapısının en belirleyici etkenlerinden olan göç olgusu çerçevesinde Girit'ten Kuzey Afrika'ya göç eden Müslümanlar üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu coğrafyaya taşınan Girit Müslümanları varlıklarını ve Girit kimliklerini bu gün dahi sürdürmektedirler. Bu nedenle Kuzey Afrika'ya giden grupların incelenmesi tarihsel olduğu kadar güncel bir boyut da taşımaktadır.

Sonuç olarak tüm bu bildirimler Ada'daki sosyal ve ekonomik yaşantının temel taşları konusunda yeni verilerle bakış açıları sağlayacaktır.

Antonis Anastasopoulos & Shirine Hamadeh (co-chairs), Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, Işık Tamdoğan  
(Fri 29, 14.30, r. 1)

### **Flesh and Mud:**

#### **Innovative Approaches to the Study of Early Modern Ottoman Cities**

This panel seeks to explore innovative approaches to the study of Ottoman cities in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In particular, it seeks to bring together the social and the spatial dimensions of a city, and address questions relating to everyday urban experiences that are often explored by privileging either the social or the physical environment. The panel consists of four historically grounded, geographically diverse case studies (Adana, Istanbul, Izmir, and Kandiye) that together raise such issues as the reproduction of urban and communal identities in the physical fabric, the processes by which 'landmarks' acquire meanings for and in their surrounding social and physical environments, moral regulations of spaces and geographies of social behaviors. By highlighting the intrinsic overlap between cities' social and physical fabrics, each paper brings about broader questions about method and source material with regard to the study of early modern Ottoman cities.

Antonis Anastasopoulos problematizes the notion of buildings as 'landmarks', by focusing on the mosque of El-Hac Ali Paşa, in Kandiye. He examines the mosque as both a building and a social/religious institution by questioning its patron's initial motives and the

mosque's relation to the social and physical space of its own neighborhood. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis also refers to the neighborhood as a framework of inquiry, but one which is implicitly called into question through an examination of the varied forms of social interaction among the inhabitants of Izmir. Arguing for a more complex notion of coexistence of the different ethnic, confessional, and national groups, she explores the ways in which this coexistence was inscribed in the space of the city. Shirine Hamadeh focuses on the less desirable segments of urban population, the single men (*bekâr*) of Istanbul, to explore the mechanisms by which this intrinsically instable population, mostly perceived as delinquent, integrated in the city's social and spatial fabrics and forged ties with the normative realms of neighborhood and public life. The violence inherent to practices of delinquency is the central theme of Işık Tamdoğan's paper, which investigates cases of bodily violence in Adana and probes the nature of relations that connected aggressors and aggressed. Tamdoğan is concerned with mapping out acts of violence spatially and temporally and questioning the likelihood of inherent connections between violence and urban space and time.

Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (président), Faruk Bilici, Jean-Charles Ducene  
(Fri 29, 14.30, r. 7)

### **Regards de la cartographie ottomane**

L'intérêt des Ottomans à l'égard des pays situés sur leurs frontières et au-delà a longtemps été sous-estimé. En fait, à l'examen, la curiosité manifestée en ce domaine par plusieurs auteurs turcs du XVI<sup>e</sup> et du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle apparaît en tous points digne d'attention, d'autant plus qu'on n'en trouve nulle part l'équivalent à cette époque dans le monde extérieur à l'Europe. Nous nous attacherons ici à des exemples relatifs à deux de ces auteurs. D'une part, Pîrî Re'îs et son "Livres des choses de la mer" (1521-1526), vaste description nautique des côtes et des îles de la Méditerranée, fondée sur l'expérience personnelle de l'auteur et des documents nautiques européens. Chaque chapitre de cet ouvrage est accompagné d'une carte. D'autre part, Evliyâ Çelebî, voyageur qui parcourut en tous sens le territoire ottoman et les pays adjacents pendant une quarantaine d'années. Il apparaît qu'outre sa relation en dix volumes, on lui doit des cartes présentant un réel intérêt.

John J. Curry (chair), Nabil Al-Tikriti, Günhan Börekçi, Kahraman Şakul  
(Sun 1, 11.30, r. 1)

### **Shifts in Ottoman Political and Intellectual Mentalities over the Course of the Early Modern Period**

The early modern period of Ottoman history, spanning from around 1500 to 1800, required the Ottoman political and intellectual elites to confront a context of rapid change across a far-flung network of territories, along with the growing geographical range of European powers and their agents. The result was that Ottoman political elites and intellectuals continually sought innovative new strategies and ideas to better help the Empire cope with the growing list of challenges to its long-term stability.

This panel seeks to uncover the nature of the mentalities, attitudes and ideas of Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals through both the introduction of new types of historical sources and novel approaches to already established ones. The first presentation will examine a nearly-forgotten treatise presented to Sultan Selim I by Idris-i Bitlisi, which gives insight onto the evolution of Ottoman political thought during a period in which the Empire was facing down the threats of civil war and hostile powers on its frontiers. Following that, a second presentation will examine a similar period of political transition in a time of crisis by analyzing the novel strategies employed by late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup>-century sultans to balance the growing power of factions present at the imperial court.

The final two papers will address Ottoman political and intellectual reactions to the growing influence and power of European states. One of these papers will study the intersection points between one of the greatest Ottoman intellectuals of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Katip Çelebi, and the European and Muslim geographical works from which he drew the material for his massive and unfinished geographical compendium. In particular, the lengthy chapters on the regions of the Indian Subcontinent prove especially fruitful in unpacking Katip Çelebi's methodology of scholarship and his attitudes toward both European and Muslim 'others'. Meanwhile, the final presentation will examine how Ottoman thinkers could develop potentially different attitudes toward programs of European-inspired military and political reform – with the key variable being the particular political figure or group that was engaging in it. In this case, the policies of Tipu Sultan in the Indian Subcontinent were viewed positively, whereas Şahin Giray, closer to the Ottoman center, received censure.

In sum, the panel as a whole hopes to demonstrate how new sources and novel approaches to Ottoman historical works can better illuminate critical shifts in Ottoman perceptions about their political culture and the wider world around them.

Cafer Çiftçi (başkan), Seher Boykoy, Nuran Bayram, Yusuf Oğuzoğlu  
(Fri 29, 11.30, r. 5)

### **1837-1923 Sürecinde Bursa'da Koza Üreticiliği ve İpekli Dokumacılık Sektörünün Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu**

Panelin ana hedefi, 1837-1923 döneminde Bursa'daki kozacılık ve ipekli dokumacılık sektörünün tarihsel kaynaklardan elde edilecek veriler ile değişimini ortaya koymak ve analiz edebilmektedir. Bu dönemin başlangıcı Bursa'da ilk ipek fabrikasının kurulması ile ortaya çıkar, fabrikalaşma süreci ile devam eder. İlgili dönemde Avrupa finans kapitalinin yatırımları ile kentte kurulan çok sayıda fabrika, kozadan ipek çekimini gerçekleştirerek Avrupa'daki dokuma fabrikalarına ipeği kullanmak üzere gönderir. Bu gelişmeler yabancı sermayedarın uygun fiyatlı ve kaliteli ipeği Avrupa dokuma piyasasına temin etmek gibi dış taleplere bağlıdır. Dış talebin etkisiyle ortaya çıkan bu durum, Bursa gibi ipekçiliğin merkezi olan Osmanlı şehrindeki toplumsal hayata sosyal ve ekonomik açıdan önemli değişiklikler getirecektir. Şehir halkının fabrikalarda işçi olarak çalışmaları (özellikle kadınların), çalışanların Avrupalı sermayedar ve örnek yabancı işçilerle tanışmaları, iş disiplinlerini almaları ve iş konusundaki yaşantılarını görmeleri, sosyal değişime etki eden bazı örneklerdir.

İlgili periyotta yaşanan önemli bir gelişme de kozacılık faaliyetini derinden etkileyen Pebrine (Karataban) adlı ipekböceği hastalığıdır. 1860'larda Osmanlı sahasına da giren bu hastalık, 20 yıla yakın bir zaman için Bursa'da koza üreticilerine ve onlara bağlı üretim yapan fabrika sahiplerine ciddi sıkıntılar yaşatmıştır. Ancak Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1875 yılında moratoryum ilan etmesi sonrasında kurulan Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi ile, ipekçilik sektörü için değişimin yeni bir safhası başlamıştır. 1881 sonrasında Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi'nin ipek öşrü gelirlerini toplama hakkını üzerine alması ve bu gelirleri maksimum düzeye çıkarma arzusu, Bursa'da durma noktasına gelen koza üreticiliği için yeni bir sayfa açmıştır. Osmanlı hükümetinin ve Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi'nin ortak çabası ile Bursa'da koza yetiştiriciliğinin fennî usûllerle yapılması için eğitim verecek olan okullar açılarak, koza üreticiliği bilimsel eğitimle yapılı hale gelmiştir.

1908-1923 yılları II. Meşrutiyetin ilanı, Balkan Savaşları, I. Dünya Savaşı, Osmanlı Devleti'nin sonu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunu içine almaktadır. 1908 yılına kadar Bursa'da sadece ipek çeken ve iplik üreten fabrikalar varken, şimdi ipekli dokuma süreci de fabrikalaşma sürecine girilmiştir. Ancak önce Balkan Savaşları ve ardından I. Dünya Savaşı gibi sosyal hayatı ve ekonomiyi olumsuz yönde etkileyen yıllara girilmesi, tüm üretim ve ticari faaliyet alanlarında görüldüğü gibi ipekçilik sektörünü de olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. 1908-1913 yıllarında Bursa'da beş ipekli dokuma fabrikası açılmıştır. Ancak Balkan Harpleri ve I. Dünya Savaşı sebebiyle Bursa'da ipekçilik sektörü yeni bir durma süreci yaşamıştır. I. Dünya Savaşının

çıkması ve Osmanlı Devletinin bu savaşta Fransa'nın içinde yer aldığı İtilaf bloğuna karşı olan safta yer alması, Lyon'a ipek ipliği ve koza ihracının durmasına neden olarak, Osmanlı ipek üretimi ve ticaretini büyük ölçüde geriletmiştir. 1923 yılından itibaren sektör yeniden canlandırılmış ve ipek ihraç edilmeye başlanmıştır.

Gökhan Yavuz Demir (başkan), Nurcan Abacı, Zeynep Dörtok Abacı, Ertuğrul Uzun  
(Fri 29, 14.30, r. 9)

## **Hikayelerimiz ve Adaletin Mümkünlüğü: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Adalet Hikayeleri**

Disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşımla literatürdeki “edebiyat ve hukuk” ilişkisini teorik bir çerçevede ele almayı hedefleyen bu panelin temel tezi edebiyatın hukuka bir zeyl olmadığı, aksine hukukun bizatihi bir edebî tür olduğudur. “Hukuk edebî bir tür olduğunu unutup bilim olma sevdasına düştüğünde adaletin önündeki asıl engel halini mi almaktadır” sorusunun izi, Osmanlı hukuk sistemi ve modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hukuk sistemindeki yargı süreçlerindeki adalet arayışlarını gerçek davalar üzerinden anlatan bildirilerce sürülecektir.

Özellikle Batılı araştırmacıların genelde İslam özelde de Osmanlı hukukunun şifahi/söze dayalı doğası nedeniyle Doğu toplumlarının pozitif ve modern hukuka geçişte “başarısız” olduğunu öngören bir bakış açısı mevcuttur. “Hukukun kendisinin edebi bir tür olduğunu öne süren bu yaklaşım, hukuk sistemlerinin farklılaşmasına yol açtığı düşünülen, hukukun kaynağının ilahi kurallar ve gelenekle, rasyonel akıl ya da toplumun ihtiyaçlarına dayandığı argümanın kendisini yeniden tartışmaya açar. Bu yaklaşımla önerdiğimiz panelde adaletin tesis edilme sürecinde iki hukuk sisteminin birbirinden farklı olmaktan çok birbirinin devamı olduğu gözler önüne serilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Hukukî durumlar her zaman çok boyutlu çatışan hikâyelere göre anlaşılabilir. Bu yüzden, hikâyenin olmadığı yerde adalet mümkün değildir. Modern hukukta, davalının bir hikâyesi vardır. Dava sürecinde anlatılan hikâyelerin yorumlarından, okunmasından, ve yeniden yazılmasından inşa edilen yeni bir hikâye vardır artık. Yoksa yargıca her duruma uygun doğru ve adil bir kararı fısıldayan yasa metni yoktur. Yargıç, dava boyunca dinlediklerinden yorumlayarak yeniden yazdığı hikâyenin ışığında yasa metninde kararını arar ve bulur.

Hukuk olarak hukukun karşısında edebî bir tür olarak hukuku savunmak; hukukî hikâyeleri edebî hikâyelerle eşitlemektir. Bu eşitlemenin kabulüyle, Osmanlı ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mahkemelerinden dava hikayelerinin benzerliği ve yargılama sürecinde kadının/yargıcın inşa edilen tahkiyeler üzerinden adaleti tesis etme çabalarına örnekler sunulacaktır.

İlkin Nurcan Abacı Osmanlı hukukunun kaynaklarından bahsettikten sonra, haklaştırma kurumu olarak Osmanlı mahkemesinin işleyişi üzerinde duracak ve yemin etme ile yeminden kaçınma örnekleri sunacaktır. İkinçileyin Zeynep Dörtok Abacı Bursa kadı sicillerinden seçilen dava örneklerinde, davacı-davalı ve şahitlerin ifadelerinin, hikaye etme ve hikayeyi destekleme çabalarının, davanın karara bağlanmasındaki belirleyici rolünü Sosyal Ağ Analizi yöntemini kullanarak anlamaya çalışacaktır. Daha sonra Ertuğrul Uzun, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti mahkemelerinde karar almada cinsellik ve ahlak ilişkisi çerçevesinde, hakimin değer yargılarının yerini, Osmanlı mahkemelerindeki uygulamalarla benzerliği açısından değerlendirecektir. Son olarak panelin düzenleyicisi Gökhan Yavuz Demir, hukuk ile adalet ayırımından bahsedecektir. Diğer panelistlerin sunduğu dava hikayelerinin “hukukun ededi bir tür olduğu iddiası açısından ne ifade ettiğini gösterir genel teorik bir değerlendirme yapacaktır.

Panelimiz “adalet arayışına dair hikâyelerin” dünden bugüne geçit resmini izlemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Muammer Demirel (başkan), Fatih Demirel, Hatip Yıldız, Mehmet Salih Erkek  
(Thu 28, 11.30, r. 9)

### **Osmanlı'da Eğitim Modernleşmesi**

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, 18. yüzyılda öncelikle askeri alanda reformlar başlatılmış, bu doğrultuda, orduya eğitilmiş subaylar kazandırmak amacıyla, 1775 yılında Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun ve 1795 yılında Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Hümayun kurulmuştur. Böylece Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki ilk eğitim modernleşmesi girişimi askeri alanda olmuştur. Sultan II. Mahmud döneminde kurulan Mekteb-i Harbiye, Mekteb-i Tıbbiye ve Mızıka-i Hümayun modern askeri eğitim kurumlarıdır. Sultan II. Mahmud saltanatının son dönemlerinde, bir taraftan maarif merkez teşkilatının kuruluş adımlarını atarken diğer taraftan sivil alandaki ilk modern eğitim kurumları olan Rüşdiye mektepleri, Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye ve Mekteb-i Ulum-ı Edebiyye-i Adliyye isimleri ile tesis edilmiştir. Tanzimat döneminin ilk yıllarında sivil eğitim kurumları ilk, orta ve yüksek olmak üzere üç kademe olarak tasarlanmış; ilköğretimi sıbyan mekteplerinin, ortaöğretimi rüşdiyelerin, yüksek öğretimi ise açılması planlanan darülfünununun oluşturulması kararlaştırılmıştır (1846). Rüşdiyelerin açılmaya başlamasıyla birlikte bu okullara öğretmen yetiştirmek için 1848 yılında Darümuallimin-i Rüşdi adıyla ilk öğretmen yetiştiren kurum açılmıştır. 1859 yılında Maarif Nezareti kurulduğu gibi, dönem içerisinde Mekteb-i Mülkiye, Mahrec-i Aklam, Mekteb-i Sultani gibi başka eğitim kurumları da açılmıştır.

Osmanlı eğitim modernleşmesinde dönüm noktalarından birisi 1869 tarihli Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesidir. Bu nizamname ile öğretim kurumları için bir hiyerarşi oluşturulduğu gibi hangi okulların nerelerde açılacağı da belirlenmiştir. Ancak nizamname hükümlerinin tam anlamıyla uygulanması Sultan II. Abdülhamid tarafından sağlanmıştır. Yeni usulde öğretim yapan sıbyan mektepleri ülke geneline yayılmış, bu okullarda derslere girecek öğretmenler yetiştirmede yetersiz kalınca da darümuallimin-i sıbyanlar vilayetlerde de açılmaya başlanmıştır. Modern eğitim kurumlarıyla birlikte öğretim yöntemleri ve uygulamalarındaki gelişmelere paralel olarak okullardaki ödüllendirme ve cezalandırma usullerinde de gelişmeler olmuştur. Elbette ki gelişmelere paralel olarak, öğrencilerden, öğretmenlerden, okul çalışanlarından, velilerden vb. kaynaklanan adli problemlerde ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu panel çerçevesinde, merkez teşkilatı (maarif nazırları), vilayetlerde öğretmen yetiştirme, modern eğitim kurumlarında işlenen suçlar ile ödüllendirme sistemi konuları ele alınmak suretiyle Osmanlı eğitim modernizasyonu süreci çeşitli yönleriyle açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Hikari Egawa (chair), Michinori Hatayama, Yoshio Kajitani, Shigeru Kakumoto, Maria Kosugi, Halit Ramazan Kubilay, İlhan Şahin, Takahiro Tomita, Mahito Usui, Koji Yoshikawa (Wed 27, 16.30, r. 1)

### **The Importance of Interdisciplinary Research Connecting Historical, Anthropological, Information, and Engineering Sciences Based on the Case Study of Spatial-Temporal GIS (DiMSIS-EX) Application**

It is well known that on March 11, 2011, we had the Eastern Japan (Tohoku) Earthquake and Tsunami disaster. This earthquake unfortunately demonstrated the importance to look back into historical events, because this disaster resembles another Tsunami disaster of about 1000 years ago. In August and November 1999, Düzce in Turkey was struck by big earthquakes twice. Although after these experiences some meetings were held about the history of earthquakes during the Ottoman and modern period in Turkey, there has been no interdisciplinary or long-term historical analysis relating to this subject. On the other hand, the local administration of the city of Düzce was very quick at undertaking recovery from the earthquakes. Now, more than ten years after the earthquakes, the city has been redeveloped and it is difficult to find any scars. In the context of the recovery and redevelopment of Düzce, DiMSIS-EX (Disaster Management



Spatial Information System-Expansion) has been used for processing a lot of information. Originally, DiMSIS-EX was a spatial-temporal GIS, which was made practicable during the Kobe earthquakes in 1995. Because of its special feature of spatial-temporal GIS, it has already started to be used for historical analysis. In countries with frequent earthquakes, such as Japan, Turkey or Greece, it is necessary for the safety of the cities to analyze from both a historical and a current urban planning point of view. The object of this panel is to make clear the effect of using DiMSIS-EX for interdisciplinary research connecting historical, anthropological, information, and engineering sciences. We believe that this system will be used to analyze culture in the future. The 2011 Eastern Japan Earthquake disaster is also mentioned by our panelists.

M. Akif Erdoğan (chair), Ali Efdal Özkul, Ersin Gülsoy (Thu 28, 11.30, r. 1)

### **Eastern Mediterranean Islands under Ottoman Rule**

In this panel, three panelists who are experts in Ottoman history will present papers about the administrative, commercial and population situations of eastern Mediterranean islands under Ottoman rule, more specifically Cyprus and Crete. All three papers are mainly based on Ottoman archival documents from Turkey and Cyprus. We believe that our papers will provide new information about these islands.

M. Metin Hülagü (başkan), Gülbadi Alan, Ömer Kılıç, Gökhan Bolat  
(Thu 28, 9.30, r. 1)

### **Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sürgün Politikası ve Akdeniz Adaları**

Tarih boyunca *hürriyeti kısıtlayıcı* bir ceza olarak kullanılan sürgün, insanların farklı sebeplerle buldukları yerden alınarak başka bir yerde müebbet veya geçici süre zorunlu ikamete tabi tutulmalarıdır. Bazen iskân bazen cezalandırma amacıyla hemen her devlet tarafından tatbik edilen sürgün uygulaması, Osmanlı Devleti'nde de etkin olarak kullanılmıştır.

Sürgün, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde üç farklı ceza şeklini tanımlamıştır. Birincisi *iskân ve yerleştirme* karşılığıdır. Devlet, kendi egemenliği altında yaşayan topluluklardan bir kısmını gönüllülük esasına göre belirli program ve kurallar çerçevesinde değişik sebeplerle yerleşik oldukları bölgelerden alıp öngördüğü başka bölgelere yerleştirmiştir.

Ancak zamanla devlet, sürgün yerlerine insanların kolayca gitmelerini sağlamakta zorlanmaya başlamış, neticede ahaliden alışılmış düzenlerini bozarak gönüllü sürgün gidenlerin sayılarında önemli azalmalar olmuştur. Böylece ilk devirlerde görülen iskâna yönelik kitlesel sürgün cezası yerini, 1699'dan itibaren aşiretlerin zor kullanılarak ülke içinde iskân edilmesine şekline dönüşmüştür. Böylece sürgün, ilk dönemlerdeki gönüllülük esasına dayanan iskan ve yerleştirme anlamını kaybetmiş ve aşiretlere uygulanan bir cezalandırma şekli olmuştur.

Yine devletin *iskân ve yerleştirme* politikası çerçevesinde, sürgün göndermek mecburiyetinde kalan yerleşim yerleri, işsiz veya topluma zararlı kimseleri seçmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Böylece sürgün kelimesi, ikinci bir anlama daha bürünmüş ve birey olarak suçluların cezalandırılması şeklini almıştır. Neticede sürgün, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde köy ve şehir halkının aralarında yaşamasını istemedikleri sabıkaları, hırsızları, fahişeleri ve yaramaz kişileri, içinde yaşadıkları toplumdan uzaklaştırmak için uygulanan bir *ceza* olmuştur.

Üçüncü anlamıyla sürgün, politik suçlar için kullanılmaya başlanmış ve mekân değiştirme yoluyla idare merkezinden uzaklaştırma şeklini almıştır.

Özellikle 19. yüzyıldan itibaren, daha çok başkent İstanbul'dan yönetime muhalif olan etkili ve yetkili görevlilerin zararlı oldukları gerekçesiyle gönderilmesi şekliyle uygulanmış ve muhalifleri sindirme politikası olarak başvuru bir devlet politikası haline gelmiştir.

Geniş topraklara sahip Osmanlıda, cezalandırma amaçlı sürgünlerde suçlular, kendi yerleşim yerlerinden uzaklara gönderilmişlerdir. Firar etmesinden korkulan, halkın güvenliğini tehdit eden, halkla iletişim kurmasından endişe edilen kimseler, kaçması zor olan yerlere

gönderilmişlerdir. İdare merkezinden uzak, yaşam şartları birbirine benzer ve etrafı sularla çevrili olmasından dolayı doğal olarak sürgün edilen kişilerin kaçmasının engellendiği Akdeniz adaları – Rodos, Girit, Kıbrıs, Sakız, Midilli... – sürgün cezaları için tercih edilen yerler olmuşlardır. Ancak adalar, işlenen suçların türleri ve suçu işleyenlerin özellikleri açısından, cezanın uygulamasında bazı farklılıklara tabi olmuşlardır.

Çalışmamızda Osmanlı Devleti'nin bir ceza şekli olarak uygulamış olduğu ve suçlularını Akdeniz adalarına gönderdiği sürgün, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi belgeleri ışığında ele alınacak ve çalışmada şu soruların cevapları aranacaktır:

- Osmanlıda uygulanan ceza sürgünlerinin sebepleri nelerdir?
- Ceza sürgünlerinin gönderildikleri yerler hangi kıstaslar dikkate alınarak belirlenmektedir ve sürgün yerlerinin özellikleri nelerdir?
- Bu çerçevede Akdeniz adalarının sürgün yeri olarak önemi nedir?

Gábor Kármán (chair), Robert Born, Ovidiu Cristea, Radu G. Păun (Fri 29, 9.30, r. 5)

### **The Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire between Loyalty and the Crusading Ideal**

The tributary states of the Ottoman Empire never really enjoyed the status of a specific unit of research: their histories were either discussed in a very general manner or in the frameworks of the national historiographies of individual tributary states, without references to the other political entities which have been in similar conditions. As a part of developing a research initiative of larger scope, this panel seeks to address key concepts in the history of tributary states: the co-operation and conflict with the Ottoman overlord, the assistance received from and resistance offered to the Ottoman Empire. The four participants of the panel shall address in pairs the history of Transylvania and Moldavia/Wallachia, and that of co-operation and conflict respectively, thereby creating an ample forum for comparisons.

Eugenia Kermeli (chair), Elif Bayraktar Tellan, Hasan Çolak, Phokion Kotzageorgis  
(Wed 27, 16.30, r. 3)

### **The Orthodox Patriarchates as Ottoman Institutions: 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

The Orthodox Patriarchates in the Ottoman Empire have attracted extensive attention in scholarship. Early 20<sup>th</sup>-century research incorporated the fate of the Orthodox patriarchates within the discourse about the treatment of non-Muslims in a Muslim polity. One of the prime aims of this endeavor was to compare the handling of the 'other' among early modern states. Following this train of thought, the Patriarchs and their role in Ottoman society were trapped in between two extremes: the image of the Patriarch as an 'ethnarch' and that of a tax farmer. Both extremes have done damage to our efforts to fully comprehend the institutional position, duties and responsibilities of the representative of the Patriarchate. Moreover, in an effort to support or refute the distorted caricature offered by these two frameworks we have failed to discuss how the Patriarchate as an Ottoman institution was established and evolved over time.

This panel aims at modifying the pitfalls of the previously used frameworks. The Patriarchate is seen as what it was, an Ottoman institution headed by an appointed member of the Ottoman elite, the Patriarch. As other Ottoman institutions, it would be naïve to expect that it remained unchanged over time. These precise changes are the theme of this panel viewed not as random whimsical results of the sultanic omnipotence, as scholarship still argues, but instead as parallel reflections of Ottoman societal evolutions.

Eugenia Kermeli is proposing to look beyond the empty term of 'tolerance' with regard to the position of Ottoman Orthodox *zimmis*. She will utilize Ottoman jurisprudential work from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in an effort to depict that changes in the status and

responsibilities of the Patriarch is a reflection of Ottoman societal and ideological developments. Phokion Kotageorgis utilizing *tayin defterleri* from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is going to readdress issues concerning the procedure of the bishops' appointments, the updating of the state's registers regarding the ecclesiastical officials and the relation between the *pişkeş* amount and the demographic capacity of the provinces. Elif Bayraktar Tellan using unknown *berats* of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century will discuss the changes the Patriarchate underwent as part of a larger transformation of the Ottoman administration and society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. She will focus on the *de jure* expansion of the judicial role of the Patriarch and his increasing role as an intermediary. Finally, Hasan Çolak will readdress Runciman's suppositions on the role of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul as intermediary of the Eastern Patriarchates. Using *berats* of Eastern Patriarchs he will suggest that the active presence of the Eastern Patriarchates in Istanbul was not the result of their domination by the Great Church, but of cooperation between the Ottoman central administration and lay and ecclesiastical leaders of the Ottoman Orthodox.

Elektra Kostopoulou (chair), Aimee Genell, Andrew Arsan, E. Attila Aytekin  
(Sun 1, 14.30, r. 9)

### **The Ottoman Empire in the Age of Colonialism: Fragmented Sovereignty and Provincial Lives**

This panel is an attempt to trace the multifaceted character of sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Particular emphasis will be placed on the numerous 'provincial worlds' – individual, communal, or regional. It will be argued that during the period in question these worlds were reshaped and transformed through a dialectical relationship among the provinces, the Ottoman regime, and the world around them. Attending in this way to the notion of sovereignty, the panel aims to highlight the influential role played by real and imagined Ottoman provinces in contesting and reshaping the imperial center. The discussion will address communalities and differences between the Ottomans and other contemporary empires; or, between the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier periods. Thus, by moving among 'legality', 'modernity', 'tradition', and 'intimate space' the panelists will try to uncover the blurry lines between the regional and the universal through the careful study of a number of specific examples from Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, and Lebanon.

The broader methodological goal of this approach is to initiate a dialogue between Ottoman and Postcolonial Studies; or/and Europe and the Arab world. In an attempt to delineate late Ottoman sovereignty as a diverse yet specific historical construction, the panelists will address and question some main concepts such as: absolute authority and foreign intervention; the rights and responsibilities of the sovereign versus the rights and responsibilities of the people; the secular and religious grounds of imperial notions of sovereignty; the multiple meanings of the 'domestic'; and the similarities and differences between European colonialism and the Empire of the Sultans. Through the discussion of all of the above, it becomes imperative to consider the profound impact of the diverse Ottoman provincial realities on the making of the multiple concepts of sovereignty in an imperial universe shared as it was contested.

Tijana Krstic (chair), Derin Terzioğlu, Nir Shafir (Fri 29, 16.30, r. 1)

### **Contextualizing the Kadızadelis: Politics of Religion and Networks of Piety in the 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Empire**

Contrary to the established literature that treats the Kadızadeli 'movement' as a phenomenon stemming exclusively from developments in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Empire, recent research has begun to uncover and highlight its relationship to the turn towards piety and Sunnizing trends reaching back to the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, arguing that the Kadızadelis constitute only a

chapter in a longer history of the Ottoman experience of ‘confessionalization’. By situating the Kadızadeli in a *longue durée* of religious trends in the early modern Ottoman Empire, recent studies have pointed to a more complex – both socially and politically – arena of Ottoman religious politics in which the fiery mosque preachers who became the trademark of the Kadızadeli movement constituted only one set of players. The initiative for religious reform by graduates of provincial *medreses* and the mosque preachers in Istanbul who led them, was challenged both ‘from above’ by the sultans and various imperial elites, and laterally, by various religious scholars and intellectuals, resulting in a multifocal and multidirectional debate on the nature of Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy. This debate spanned not only Muslim communities from Bosnia to Mecca but also had its cross-communal dimensions that allow one to analyze religious politics in early modern Europe and early modern Ottoman (and Safavid) Empire within the same analytical framework.

This panel looks into the social networks that shared religio-political values, either along the lines of what came to be identified as the Kadızadeli agenda or against it. In this way the papers highlight the complex nature of the debate on religious orthodoxy and the contributions of myriad actors – from the Chief Harem Eunuch to various sultans, *şeyhülislams* and *kadıs* to mosque preachers stemming from Rumeli and eminent religious scholars and mystics from beyond the Lands of Rum – to its articulation. By analyzing different social and class backgrounds of the participants in the debate, the panel proposes both to expand the discussion on religious politics in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Empire beyond the Kadızadeli and to nuance the understanding of this still largely elusive group whose ideological (and other) homogeneity, as well as the nature of its relationship with the rest of society, is more often assumed than demonstrated.

Paolo Maggiolini (chair), Francesco Mazzucotelli (Fri 29, 16.30, r. 9)

**Re-Thinking Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Polity:  
Catholic Dignitaries and the Ottoman Public Administration  
in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Catholic subjects in the Ottoman Empire are usually understood through the institutional prism of the *millet* system, the politicization of communal identities during the Tanzimat era (Makdisi 2000), or their uneasy standing vis-à-vis the policy of interventionism of all the major European powers of that time (Farah 2000).

Less known is the standing of Catholic dignitaries who, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, attained significant roles or prerogatives in the Ottoman system, either as a result of their rank as traditional landlords in peripheral regions, or because of their ascendance to the upper echelons of the imperial public administration. Rather than marginal oddities, the cases that we consider in this panel call for a significant reconsideration of the complexity of the Ottoman social and political fabric: these stories of social mobility and the power relations that they describe actually account for dynamics of ‘state versus society’ and ‘center versus periphery’ that are more multifaceted than it is often assumed.

From this vantage point, the papers in this panel analyze local political systems and balances of power, and assess them within the framework of the Tanzimat, their actual implementation in peripheral regions, and the notions of citizenship that they tried to mold (Inalcik 1993; Zubaida 2005).

Competing narratives and discourses of modernity and identity, as well as the advancement of notions of homogeneous national states along ethnic or ethno-sectarian lines (Roudometof 1999) are also investigated.

Hüseyin Muşmal (chair), Salih Kış, Yunus İnce, Ahmet Dönmez (Fri 29, 11.30, r. 9)

**Statesmen and the Public in the Ottoman Empire  
during the Modernization Process:  
Four Portraits**

Our panel will present four different portraits by four different researchers. Three researchers of the group of statesmen will examine those together with various examples of soldiers, officials and diplomats of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, a researcher of the common people will examine three different identities of the *reaya* class. The first of these three portraits in the class of the statesmen will show M. Reshid Pasha as an example of an Ottoman diplomat. M. Reshid Pasha, during his time as ambassador in Europe, had the opportunity to see the Ottoman Empire and its problems from the point of view of an external observer. This caused a differentiation between Mahmud II and Reshid Pasha on the issue of reform understanding. The second example of an administrator is R. Mehmed Pasha from the military class. The process of changes in the Ottoman army was influenced by R. Mehmed Pasha who commanded the armies of the old and new style, and his work was reflected in the results of the process of changes which took place in the Ottoman army. The third example, Ayan Süleyman Bey of Konya, is from the managerial administrative class. For many years Süleyman Bey served the modernization process, and the state received a variety of services from him during that period. However, after the end of the reign of Mahmud II and his centralizing policies everything changed, and his managerial actions were questioned by the *Meclis-i Vâlâ*. Lastly, the fourth researcher, giving various examples, will display how the public perceived the process of modernization.

Zeynep Oğuz (chair), Dimitris Loupis, Ünver Rüstem, Satoshi Kawamoto  
(Fri 29, 11.30, r. 1)

**Transcending Typologies:  
The Orchestration of Public and Private Spaces  
in Multifunctional Ottoman Buildings**

Ottoman architecture has traditionally been studied within a typological framework that seeks to place the extant buildings squarely into distinct groups, often with over- neat or simplistic results. Despite recent efforts to broaden, redefine, or juxtapose separate typological categories, works that explore the ways in which multiple functions could be combined in a single building remain rare. This panel will bring together papers that discuss buildings from different periods and geographies of the Ottoman Empire which share a similar orchestration of public and private spaces through the multiplicity of functions they perform. As well as creating a broad forum for the analysis of multifunctional buildings that defy the conventional typological categorizations, the panel will also explore the more specific ways in which the activities of different patrons and the demands of varying locales and periods affected the development of the buildings in question.

Dimitris Loupis discusses the administrative functions which were combined with those of the provision of food and dwelling in the *imarets* erected in the newly conquered cities of Komotini in 1370s and Genitsa in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. Patronized by Gazi Evrenos, these buildings appear to have served as centers around which new settlements grew. Focusing on the same period, Zeynep Oğuz discusses the development of the so-called ‘royal box’ in the royal *zaviye* complexes commissioned by Murad I (r. 1362-1389), and Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) in the early Ottoman capital of Bursa. In his paper, Satoshi Kawamoto argues that the provenance of the colonnaded courtyard of the mid 15<sup>th</sup>-century Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne should be sought in palatial architecture of the same century. Finally, Ünver Rüstem discusses the apparent reemergence of the ‘royal box’ in the mosques of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul, and considers the combination of palatial and religious functions in these mosques as the result of new modes of kingship and architectural expression that prevailed in the final centuries of the Ottoman Empire.

With its broad chronological span and four related but distinct topics, this panel will constitute an ambitious and thought-provoking addition to a growing body of revisionist scholarship that seeks to examine Ottoman architecture in its proper, and frequently overlapping, contexts.

Bülent Özdemir (chair), Yüksel Nizamoğlu, Deniz Güner, Eftal Irkıcıatal  
(Thu 28, 9.30, r. 9)

### **The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire: Aspects of World War I**

The bullet fired at Sarajevo set in a blaze the jealousies and economic feuds that had been smouldering for centuries, and caused a general war such as had never been known in the history of mankind. Millions of men of every race and creed hurled themselves at one another for over four years, and destroyed the cultivation and labor of centuries, shedding oceans of blood.

There is absolutely no doubt that the First World War was mainly a war between European states. On general principle, it was far more important for the Ottoman Empire to maintain its state of peace and tranquility than to seek excuses to enter the war. On the other hand, once the world war had begun, it was difficult and even perilous for the Ottoman Empire to remain inactive and unprepared. In view of this necessity Ottoman government ordered mobilization on the 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1914, in order to assume an attitude of ‘Armed Neutrality’.

In the first months of the war, the clashes on the Franco-German borders turned into a trench war and remained in this state for the following four years. At this time Germany was making strenuous efforts to bring the Ottoman Empire into the war on Germany’s side. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Empire had come under the military and commercial influence of Germany. The Ottoman Empire, although not militarily or financially powerful, would, by entering the war on the side of Germany, spread the war over a much wider geographical area and would ease the pressure on Germany in Europe.

World War I for the Ottoman Empire was formally ended by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920). This was the peace treaty between the Entente (Allies) and Associated Powers and the Ottoman Empire. As at Versailles, the Allies dictated the terms, dismembering the Empire. Several new states were to be created under the terms of the Sèvres Treaty.

There is no doubt that the legacy and effects of World War I on the Middle East, Balkans and Caucuses are still valid. Recent events, such as the so-called ‘Arab Spring’ in the Middle East, put World War I under discussion. In some circles the idea of a ‘new Ottomanism’ is being uttered. At this junction of time it is important to reconsider some aspects of World War I and the end of the Ottoman Empire.

Nilay Özok-Gündoğan (chair), David Gutman, Seda Altuğ (Sun 1, 11.30, r. 5)

### **On the Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: Exploring the Limits of the State in the Post-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire**

This panel’s goal is to contribute to recent scholarship that consciously questions the categories employed in the study of the post-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire. Whether portrayed as hegemonic or dialectic, the assumption of a dichotomous relationship between state and society remains at the heart of Ottoman political and social history. Perhaps, nowhere is the dichotomous portrayal of an Ottoman state-society relationship more prevalent than in the telling of the history of Istanbul’s policies in the so-called peripheries. This state-society divide, overlaid on the imagined (yet virulent) center-periphery divide, remains chronically embedded in the fabric of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century history writing. Part of the reason for its intransience is what the historian Frederic Cooper (2011) criticized as the linearity of imperial history when told as a uniform

march towards the centralized nation-state.

Through three case studies, from three different parts of the post-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire, these papers undertake a study in the complexity of the relationship between the multitude of state actors, representatives, intermediaries and the heterogeneous Ottoman population. Nilay Özok-Gündoğan examines how land relations in the province of Kurdistan in the Tanzimat-era Ottoman Empire were constantly redefined, challenged, and negotiated among a multiple of actors. These actors included the central and provincial governors, various segments of notables, and sharecropping producers. Taking the case study of the village of Palu, she adopts a bottom-up approach to the study of Ottoman state-making from the frontiers of the state control to the imperial center of administration. Seda Altuğ highlights the construction and redefinition of ethno-religious identities and affiliations in the post-Tanzimat empire by focusing on the Beshiri district in Diyarbakir, inhabited by Kurds and various eastern Christian communities. More specifically, her paper deals with how existing ethno-religious differences resonated with the urban vs. rural, and tribal vs. settled divisions within the local community, and explores the impact of Ottoman policies of centralization on ethno-religious affiliations. David Gutman, through the prism of migration and migration control of Ottoman Armenians, highlights the dialectical process that shaped state making and social control in the periphery in the final decades of the Ottoman Empire and the forces ‘from below’ that helped to mold and delimit these processes.

Minna Rozen (chair), Eyal Ginio, Evangelos Hekimoglou, Shai Srougo  
(Fri 29, 9.30, r. 1)

### **The Lower Classes of Ottoman Salonica (Thessaloniki) during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

The aim of the proposed panel is to offer a comparative view of the accelerated increase of the lower classes among the Muslims, Christians and Jews of Salonica in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their negotiations with the ruling classes of their respective communities, and the repercussions of their religious difference on their status inside their communities and outside, vis-à-vis the Ottoman ruler.

Eyal Ginio offers a view based on the Ottoman *sicils* of the shaping of networks of migration used by Christian and Muslim villagers who came to Salonica during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and discusses their significance vis-à-vis local authorities, as well as the local urban populations. Evangelos Hekimoglou uses Ottoman tax registers and Greek communal archives to stress migration into Salonica as one of the parameters which played a role in the increase of the number of Christian pauper and poor families in Salonica. He traces the process of accelerated concentration of capital in the hands of a small number of families, and points out that the refusal of this elite group to take upon itself the financial burden of opening modern schools for the children of the entire community led to an internal strife which lasted from the 1880s through the last moments of the Ottoman period. Minna Rozen’s paper complements that of Hekimoglou. Based upon Hebrew Rabbinical literature, Ladino and French newspapers, as well as European archives, she portrays a community, whose founders were poor and destitute (1492), but managed to prosper under the Ottoman government. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 18<sup>th</sup> century an accelerated process of concentration of capital in the hands of a few families took place. Because of the dependence of the community on the Ottoman ruler, whose associates these leading families were, the Jewish lower classes found it difficult to express their discontent in political terms and negotiate their cut of the communal cake. They transformed their stringency into changes in their social and religious behaviors. Shai Srougo’s paper, based upon British diplomatic reports, travelogues, post-WWII memorial literature in Hebrew, and Greek press, seals the panel. Although at face value it deals with a very specialized group, the Jewish stevedores in the port of Salonica, in fact, it unifies elements from the other three papers; the continued migration from the war-stricken Balkans to Salonica as a potential source of manpower

for the port, who competed with the Jewish dockers, and the religious difference as a factor which worked in favor of the Jewish dockers and against the newcomers.

Henning Sievert (chair), Johann Büssow, Astrid Meier (Wed 27, 14.30, r. 1)

**Peripheries Utilising the Centre:  
Imperial and Local Politics  
in Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire**

The panel aims at re-evaluating the centre-periphery paradigm and its often inherent top-down approach to local politics and administration by reversing the perspective and investigating whether the centre could be used as a resource by local forces. Taking this perspective enables us to integrate local politics into the imperial framework without privileging either side.

Overarching administrative structures were utilised by resourceful local individuals and personal networks across various localities to influence decision-making or to tip the balance in a power struggle that would otherwise have been confined to the local level. Imperial bureaucrats and officers, for their part, became involved locally, sometimes in conflict with their official obligations, while on other occasions, local knowledge might as well have been appreciated on the imperial level. Instead of presupposing either the prevalence or ineffectiveness of a coherent state apparatus pitted against either faithful or increasingly alienated notables, the contributions assembled in this panel will address the interdependence of imperial as well as local structures and actors within translocal political dynamics. These dynamics, and the utilising of imperial structures, took various forms in different places and were also changing over time. Therefore, the three papers investigate cases from various peripheries (Northern and Southern Syria, the Arab Peninsula and Libya) from the 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> as well as from the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Comparing these different contexts will hopefully shed new light onto the development from ‘early modern’ to ‘modern’ political relations within the empire.

Amy Singer (chair), Suna Çağaptay, Heath Lowry (Thu 28, 14.30, r. 9)

**From Byzantine Adrianople to Ottoman Edirne**

Edirne has attracted only sporadic interest as a topic in Ottoman history. Most of the existing research on the city is clustered around the Ottoman conquest of the city in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the building of the Selimiye, and the losses and reconquests of the city in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The narrative of the city’s early Ottoman occupation and development is incomplete and uncertain, reflecting the general status of Ottoman historical writings and the relative lack of sources on the empire: truly problematic in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and becoming increasingly more promising in the 15<sup>th</sup>. Even given the limitations, there are still sources, including remnants of buildings and narrative and documentary sources, that allow us to explore and understand more fully the nature of Adrianople at the time it was conquered and how it became Edirne.

This panel proposes to examine this transitional process, beginning with a study of late Byzantine Edirne, and including three papers each taking up an aspect of the city’s early Ottomanization. The papers rely heavily on the physical evidence of buildings, and also draw on non-Ottoman and non-Byzantine accounts to help supplement the lacunae in these sources. While buildings are at the core of each paper, the individual approaches of each scholar differ, as their principal approaches include archaeology, the history of art and architecture, and social and economic history.

As a collective endeavor, the panel is an early step in a larger project to attract attention to the study of Edirne in an effort to mirror the importance of the city in Ottoman history. Edirne played a unique role as a frequent imperial residence through the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, as one of the chief military bases for Ottoman expeditions into the Balkans, as a key bulwark in the defense of



the imperial capital at Istanbul and simultaneously as a gateway eastward to the Ottoman capital and to the Balkans. In its own space, Edirne was an important site of commerce, manufacturing and intellectual activity, and the home of large populations of Christians and Jews alongside the majority Muslims.

Arno Strohmeyer & Christine Vogel (co-chairs), Peter Burschel, Harriet Rudolph  
(Thu 28, 14.30, r. 1)

**The Appeal of Signs:  
Symbolic Practices of Western Diplomats at the Sublime Porte  
(16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

Historical research on early modern diplomacy, for a long time done under the auspices of historicism and history of events, undergoes a dynamic change. The adoption of approaches of cultural sciences and historical anthropology broadens the perspective and creates new fields of research, e.g. interculturality of diplomacy, perceptions of the other and microhistorical networks. Therefore, typical sources of diplomatic history (correspondence, reports, instructions, etc.) are seen with different eyes, for instance as egodocuments. A crucial point of this ‘new diplomatic history’ is the historization of the meaning of ‘politics’ and its consistent contextualization. Focusing on the symbolic dimension of political communication, early modern ceremonies and rituals are no longer dismissed as a typically baroque – or a typically ‘oriental’ – fondness of extravagance and pomposity. Instead, it is now widely acknowledged that the manifestation of political ideas, concepts and systems in acts of performance was absolutely essential to contemporaries. As a consequence, the symbolic dimension of diplomatic practice has become one of the main topics of current research on international relations in the early modern period. In the limelight are ritualized interactions, questions of ceremony, figurative languages and the theatricality of political communication.

These new perspectives have mainly been applied to the early modern court society in (Western) Europe and to the relations between European powers, assuming that Europe was partly formed by a common symbolic language and a common culture of ritual. It is only very recently that historians have started to broaden their scope and investigate the performance of symbolic communication in intercultural relations. As a classical area of early modern diplomatic history, Ottoman-European relations lend themselves particularly well to this new approach.

On the basis of four historical case studies, the panel investigates the political meaning of symbolic interactions between Ottomans and Europeans and its material fundamentals. In accordance with the wide range of ‘new diplomatic history’, the topic is seen from different perspectives. Common features are the analyses of similar phenomena (precedence, banquets, clothes, facial expressions, gestures, etc.) and their embedding in different systems of cultural reference. In the focus of attention are diplomats of France and the Habsburg Monarchy – traditionally a friendly and a hostile power respectively, which offers interesting opportunities of comparison.

The panel consists of speakers from Germany and Austria, specialized in early modern European history. Each of them is highly qualified in diplomatic history and has done research on the relations of European powers with the Ottoman Empire in recent years. Therefore, the panel tries to intensify the contacts between European history in general and Ottoman studies.

Mehmet Topal (başkan), Meral Bayrak (Ferlibaş), Meryem Kaçan Erdoğan  
(Sun 1, 14.30, r. 1)

**Osmanlı İdaresinde Bir Balkan Şehri: Rusçuk**

Bugünkü Bulgaristan sınırları içinde bulunan ve Tuna Nehri’nin güney kıyısında yer alan Rusçuk’un ne zaman kurulduğu bilinmemekle beraber ilkçağlardan itibaren şehrin civarında

yerleşim yerleri olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Romalılar döneminde (I-V. yüzyıllar) bu bölgede bir liman, hamam ve kale olduğu, kalenin 12-14. yüzyıllar arasında İkinci Bulgar Devleti zamanında da varlığını devam ettirdiği bilinmektedir. Rusenski Lom Nehri'nin Tuna'ya döküldüğü eski ağzında kayalık bir burun üzerinde kurulan bu kale geniş bir körfezi koruma özelliğine sahiptir.

Osmanlıların Balkanlar'da ilerlemeye başlamasıyla Bulgar toprakları yavaş yavaş Osmanlı hakimiyetine girmiş ve 1388 yılında Çandarlı Ali Paşa komutasındaki birlikler Tuna kıyılarındaki kalelerin büyük bir bölümünü ele geçirmiştir. Bu kaleler arasında Rusçuk Kalesi de yer almaktadır. Bölgenin en önemli şehri bugünkü Rusçuk'tan 30 km. uzakta bulunan Çerven (Çernovi) şehri olmakla beraber Osmanlıların bölgeyi ele geçirmesinden sonra burada yaşayanlar yavaş yavaş Rusçuk taraflarına yerleşmeye başlamıştır. 15-16. yüzyıllarda Niğbolu Sancağı'nda (bazen Silistre Sancağı'nda) yer alıp zaman zaman Çernovi Kazası'na bağlı olarak görülen Rusçuk, 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında artık pek çok açıdan gelişme göstererek bir kaza merkezi durumuna gelmiştir. Bu gelişmeyi nüfus alanında da görmek mümkündür. Nitekim 15-16. yüzyıllarda Rusçuk nüfusu hem gayrimüslimler hem de Müslümanlar lehine düzenli bir artış göstermiştir. Bu artış muhtemelen sistemli bir şekilde yürütülen iskan siyasetinin sonucudur.

Kaynaklar, 16. yüzyıl ortalarında Rusçuk'ta 6 Müslüman mahallesine karşılık 4 gayrimüslim mahallesinin varlığına işaret etmekte, nüfusun Türkler lehine artış göstermesine paralel olarak şehirde cami, mescit ve tekkeler inşa edildiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Aynı dönemde iskele ve pazarı dikkate alındığında Rusçuk'ta ekonomik hayatın oldukça canlı olduğu, Müslüman tacirlerin yanında yabancıların da ticaret yaptıkları görülmektedir.

17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda da ticareti, gümrüğü, tersanesi ve askeri açıdan bulunduğu stratejik konumu nedeniyle gelişmeye devam eden şehirde oniki mahalle, altı han, dokuz büyük cami, haffafhane, bedesten, saat kulesi, tersane, gümrük ve birçok hamam olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Özellikle Osmanlıların Avusturya-Macaristan ve Rusya ile yaptığı savaşlarda Rusçuk, Tuna Nehri kıyısında bulunması nedeniyle asker, gıda ve mühimmat sevkiyatında önemli bir üs olarak kullanılmıştır. 18. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru nüfusu yaklaşık 20.000'e ulaşan şehirde, yeni savunma sistemi inşa edilmiş, etrafı surlarla çevrilmiştir.

19. yüzyılda Rusçuk, Osmanlı Devleti'nde yaşanan yenileşme hareketlerinin uygulama merkezlerinden biri olmuştur. Özellikle Mithat Paşa'nın yönetiminde 1864 yılında kurulan Tuna Vilayeti'nin merkezi haline gelen şehirde, ilk vilayet matbaası ile yerel gazete, ıslahhane, menafi-i umumiye sandıkları ve idare-i nehriye gibi pek çok yeniliğin hayata geçirildiği yer olmuştur.

Katılımcılar aşağıda belirtilen konularda yapacakları sunumlarla Rusçuk'un idari, kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik yaşamına ışık tutmaya çalışacaklardır.

Muhittin Tuş (chair), Alaattin Aköz, Doğan Yörük, Mehmet Yılmaz  
(Fri 29, 9.30, r. 9)

### **Ottoman Rural Life: The Sudiremi Subdistrict of Konya**

The subdistrict of Sudiremi was an important administrative unit in the Ottoman period because of Sille village, which is located in the subdistrict. Even today, it is very influential. Because of its importance, the phases that this place went through in the historical process are very impressive. Sille, which is an important center of the subdistrict, 8 km away from Konya, is also one of the most important centers of early Christianity. The importance of Sille for Christianity persisted in the Ottoman period. Here, Christians and Muslims lived together. As a natural result, theirs was a very tight relationship. How did they live together despite their different religious backgrounds? What kind of relationship did they develop? How far do the social and economic dimensions of this relationship go? These problems and their solutions would be a good model not only for the society of that period, but also for modern society. In this panel, the panelists will compare the population, settlement, economic and social relationships of the township of Sudiremi in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and will try to examine these issues.

Nicolas Vatin (président), Claudia Römer, Michael Ursinus (Sun 1, 11.30, r. 9)

### **Les *hüccet* volantes: diplomatique et valeur comme source**

Les registres (*sicill*) où étaient notés les procès verbaux (*hüccet*) des cadis ottomans se sont imposés dans les dernières décennies comme des sources très précieuses pour l’histoire sociale de l’Empire ottoman. Plus d’un chercheur a également été amené à consulter des *hüccet* volantes, procès verbaux sur papier libre remis sur sa demande à l’une des parties et portant – signe de son authenticité – la signature-formule et le sceau d’un cadi ou *nâ’ib*. Pourtant, on s’est peu interrogé sur les particularités de ces *hüccet* volantes par opposition à celles rassemblées et archivées dans les registres des tribunaux.

Une première particularité est qu’elles sont conservées dans des fonds définis non plus par l’émetteur, mais par le destinataire (famille, monastère, etc.). Elles constituent de ce fait des ensembles très cohérents par les questions traitées et permettent notamment de suivre des cas ou des transactions dans la durée.

En second lieu, elles peuvent porter, outre la signature d’un – ou plusieurs – cadi, des notes ajoutées au cours du temps, soit par l’administration ottomane, soit par les intéressés. Leur mise en page elle-même peut se révéler symptomatique.

En conséquence, les *hüccet* volantes, principalement quand elles constituent des ensembles un peu cohérents, se révèlent à l’occasion extrêmement instructives sur le contexte des affaires traitées, au delà de ce que la seule lettre du texte du procès verbal peut nous apprendre.

Elles fournissent également des aperçus inédits sur les tâches des cadis ottomans et la façon dont ils s’en acquittaient.

Les communications présentées dans cet atelier ne prétendent pas faire le tour d’une vaste question, mais en aborder chacune un élément, à travers un cas particulier.

Tuba Vural (başkan), Emine Koca, Fatma Koç, Beyhan Pamuk (Thu 28, 11.30, r. 5)

### **Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformlar ve Kılık Kıyafet Değişimleri**

Osmanlılarda yenileşme dönemi, son iki yüz yılına damgasını vurmuş en önemli sosyal, siyasal, düşünsel, kültürel ve ekonomik dönüşüm dönemi olarak bilinmektedir. Bir kültürün en önemli ve kolayca görülebilir öğelerinden biri olan giyim, 18. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Osmanlı devletinde oluşmaya başlayan kültürel değişim sürecinde önemli bir öge olarak gündemde kalmıştır.

Osmanlılar güçlü oldukları dönemlerde kendilerini Batıdan üstün saymışlardır. Ancak, gerileme döneminin başlamasıyla birlikte niçin geri kaldığı sorusu sıkça sorulmuştur. Soru, Batının askeri üstünlüğü gösterilerek cevaplandırılmıştır. Bu dönemde askeri yenilikler yapılmış ve “öte yandan, Batı uygarlığının kişinin refahına yönelik değerleri Osmanlı idare sınıfına sızmıştır”. I. Mahmut (1730- 1754) ve III. Selim (1789-1807) dönemlerinde kıyafet reformları yapılmış, II. Mahmut döneminde 1829’da kıyafet reformu sivil memurları da içine almıştır. Sarık, cübbe ve ayakkabının yerini; redingotlar, pelerinler, pantolonlar ve siyah derili potinler almıştır. Buna bizzat Sultanlar öncü olmuş, saraydan paşalara ve diğer tabakalara yayılmıştır. Bu dönemde, “giyim, ev eşyası, paranın kullanılışı, evlerin stili, insanlar arası ilişkiler “Avrupai” olmuştur”. Batılı tarzdaki yapılanmayı oluşturmak için uygulanan reform hareketleri ile 18.yy.dan itibaren yönünü Batı’ya çevirmiş olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, giyim kuşam alanında da reformlar yapmış, ancak bu alandaki modernleşme çabaları tam olarak amacına ulaşamamıştır. Bu, tam anlamıyla Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurulması ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün devrimleri ile başarıya ulaşmıştır.

Panelde sunulacak olan dört çalışma ile; 17. yy. da başlayan 18.ve 19. yy.da radikal şekilde devam eden yenileşme süreci içerisinde, Osmanlı toplumundaki modernleşme çabaları içinde, erkek giysilerine getirilen reform hareketlerinin daha sonra kadın giysilerine ne şekilde yansıdığı ve giysilerdeki batılılaşma yönündeki değişimlerin farklı bakış açıları ile ortaya

konulması amaçlanmıştır. Yüz yıllarca, birbiri ile benzer özellikler gösteren erkek ve kadın giyim kuşamında oldukça önemli farklılıkların oluşması söz konusu reformlar ile birlikte gündeme gelmiştir. Batı medeniyetinden neler alındığı, bunların ne şekilde kullanıldığı açıklanarak, Doğu ve Batı medeniyeti arasındaki değişimin, tür, biçim, form, tarzlık, kullanım şekli ve estetik özelliklerini inceleyerek değerlendirmek ve kültür tarihine katkıda bulunulmaya çalışılacaktır.

Bu bağlamda “Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformlar Şekilde mi Yoksa Özde mi Değişim Getirmiştir” başlıklı çalışmada; söz konusu reformları kullanarak değişmeye çalışan bir toplumun, kılık kıyafet konusundaki yenileşmede kültüründen ne kadar ödün verebildiği ve dış görünümünü ne kadar değiştirebildiği örneklerle anlatılmaya çalışılacaktır. “Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Kadın Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri” ve “Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Erkek Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri” başlıklı ikinci ve üçüncü çalışmada, söz konusu reformların kadın ve erkek giysilerindeki etkileri tartışılarak tür, biçim, form, kullanım özellikleri ve estetik değerler açısından değişikliklerin neler olduğu üzerinde durulacaktır. “Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Malzeme Aksesuar Ve Süslenme Özelliklerine Etkileri”, nin açıklandığı dördüncü çalışmada, Batı medeniyetinin getirdiği yeniliklerin giysi kumaşlarına, süslemelerine, aksesuarlarına ve başlıklara nasıl yansıdığı üzerinde durularak doğu ve batı medeniyeti arasındaki kılık kıyafet konusundaki etkileşim alınanlar ve vazgeçilenler açısından değerlendirilecektir.

Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (chair), Suat Alp, Nurdan Sürbahan Küçükasköylü, Selda Alp  
(Sun 1, 9.30, r. 9)

### **Artistic Encounters in Ottoman Art and Architecture: Zones of Acculturation**

The impact of art and architecture as a means of visual culture and as end products of acculturation within everyday life of the Ottomans has not been given much attention. The word ‘influence’ is generally considered to be sufficient when it comes to explain the various inputs in the creation of art works or monuments. ‘Influences’ coming from different cultures by the presence of artists, by transfer of images and techniques, by different tastes and desires of art patrons lead in general to the main description of these encounters. Yet there are also different zones of cultural and artistic contacts not only between the Ottomans and the non-Ottomans but also within the peoples of the Empire who might or might not have contacts with the non-Ottomans.

These cultural and artistic zones of contact have their own network of associations. They can be formed within their own spheres of center and periphery relations and those can be different from the political and administrative ones. Thus cultures are initially plural and have their own traditions but they are also open and porous when it comes to everyday life within a plural society defined by regulations in an imperial state such as the Ottomans. Not only perception but reception is the key word in this acculturation which leads to double or triple visual readings of art works or architectural monuments. Simultaneous translation of images is there for the polyglot visual reader.

Thus the four papers in this panel will try to demonstrate four different ways of this acculturation in art and architecture in the Ottoman Empire. The first paper will discuss how characteristic features of 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup>-century Mediterranean architectural features were appropriated in Ottoman architecture, the second paper will discuss the contact zones in the Balkans, the third will show how the Ottoman painters themselves were in fact influential in the dissemination of Ottoman typed figures in European travel books, and the last paper will demonstrate how in certain cases the presence of foreign artists and their works do not form a way of acculturation with a given society at a given period.

# **Paper Abstracts**

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### **Hız. İsa Kadı Mahkemesinde: Bir Kanıt Olarak Müslüman ve Hristiyanların Yemin Etme Süreçleri**

Bir haklaştırma kurumu olarak Osmanlı mahkemesinin işleyişi üzerine bilgilerimiz son yıllarda biraz arttı. En azından genel hatları ile hukuki bir sorun nedeni ile mahkemeye başvuran kişilerin izledikleri yolu biliyoruz. Bildiri çerçevesinde üzerinde duracağım konu, mahkemeye gelen ancak ne yazılı ne de sözlü kanıtı olmayan davacı ve davalıların iddialarını kanıtlama ya da reddetme için başvurdukları “yemin etme”dir.

Osmanlı dönemi hukuk uygulamaları çerçevesinde herhangi bir kanıt olmaması durumunda davalının yemin etmesi suçsuzluğunun kanıtı olarak kabul edilirdi. Bu tür bir uygulamada ilk akla gelen suistimal ihtimalidir. Herhangi bir nedenle kayba uğramak istemeyen kişinin rahatlıkla yemin edebileceği varsayılır. Ancak karşı karşıya kaldığımız kayıtlardan bazıları bize, kişilerin “yalancı” olarak tanınmak yerine cezayı kabul ettiklerini gösteriyor. Bu tutum hem Müslüman hem de Hristiyanlar için geçerlidir. Hatta gayri müslimlerin şer’i mahkemelerde Hz.İsa üzerine ettikleri yeminin kabul edildiğini gösterir örneklerle rastlanır.

Panelin genel problemi çerçevesinde bu tutumun var olan güçlü bir sosyal kontrole işaret ettiğini savlıyoruz. 17. ve 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı uyrukları için, isimlerinin etrafında söze dayalı oluşacak olumsuz sıfatlar içeren “hale” yerine, mahkemenin vereceği cezaları üstlenmek daha tercih edilen bir tutumdur. Bildiride bu süreci belirleyen faktörler üzerinde durulacaktır.

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### **Mehmed Rashid’s Tenure in Syria (1866-1871)**

In 1864 the Sublime Porte enacted the Vilayet Law. Following that, it united the Province of Sidon, the seat of which was Beirut, with the province of Sham (Damascus) into a single province extending from the Province of Aleppo in the north to the Sinai desert in the south, excluding the semi-autonomous sub-province of Mount Lebanon. The new province was called Syria. Damascus was made the seat of the Governor-General. In May 1866 the Porte appointed Mehmed Rashid Pasha, a French educated young bureaucrat, as its Governor-General.

Several causes led to such a measure. Firstly, the growing interests of the powers in Syria and the strengthened connections of the Maronites with France especially after the events of 1860. Secondly, a growing tendency among the Maronites to expand the territory of the sub-province into adjacent regions regarded as essential for the well-being of the Mountain, and other causes which moved the Porte to enforce a policy of a firm control over the Syrian regions.

The rule of Rashid could be analyzed in the following way: he tried to gain the support of the coastal cities, especially Beirut; he imposed the central government’s rule over outlying districts of the Alawites in north-western Syria and of the Balqa region in Transjordan. He also worked to pacify the Druzes of Mount Hauran. Above all he encouraged the publication of newspapers and a periodical by local literati in Beirut by which he gained support for his measures and ultimately for the ideal of Ottomanism.

His recall, following Āli Pasha’s death in September 1871, was much regretted. He however left Syria more united but subject to a centralized rule and its inhabitants more hopeful of a better future within the Ottoman Empire.

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## **Architecture of Mardin in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: A Story of Modernisation**

Western styles dominate Ottoman architecture considerably throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Due to these changes, appearances of Ottoman cities were formed by an eclectic manner as a new test trend. While neo-baroque and neo-classical styles are favoured extensively in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, beside these styles, new European styles such as neo-gothic, art nouveau and orientalism dominate Ottoman architecture and decorative motifs from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These transformations were accelerated with the renovation movement of the Tanzimat Edict (1839-76). Features and appearances of Ottoman cities were transformed significantly with innovations and changes introduced by the edict. Many Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa, Cairo and Mardin, were affected by the new westernising trend. The particular aim of the paper is to discuss how the above-mentioned changes affected, transformed and reformed the provincial city of Mardin during the late Ottoman period. It also intends to focus on the religious and public buildings to situate Mardin's architecture and architectural decorations within Ottoman art.

Mardin was the capital city of the Artukid dynasty for almost three centuries from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and religious and educational buildings attributed to this dynasty mainly compose the present city. Moreover, buildings belonging to Syrian, Chaldean and Armenian communities dated to various periods are another group of buildings diversifying the city. A third group of buildings composing the city core are dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although Mardin was under the control of the Ottoman Empire since 1517, it is difficult to talk of an Ottoman architecture in the city before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is only from the second half of that century, when modernisation efforts took place in Mardin, that the city began to have an Ottoman appearance.

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### **18. Yüzyılda Girit'te Cizye Uygulaması ve Toplumsal Etkileri**

Cizye, İslam egemenliği altında yaşayan kitap ehli gayri Müslimlerin şer'i esaslara göre ödemekle yükümlü oldukları baş vergisidir. Cizye uygulaması Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda vergi sisteminin önemli bir parçasıdır. Bunun yanı sıra başta nüfus yapısı olmak üzere sosyo-ekonomik yapıya ilişkin çok önemli verilere cizye kayıtları sayesinde ulaşılabilir.

Girit'te Osmanlı egemenliğinde gerçekleştirilen cizye düzenlemeleri ve buna bağlı olarak oluşturulan cizye defterleri hem Ada'nın nüfus yapısına hem de gayri Müslimlerin ekonomik statüsüne ilişkin temel kaynaklardır.

Çalışmamızda Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan belgeler ve 18. Yüzyıl Girit Şeriye Sicilleri incelenerek bu döneme ilişkin cizye uygulamasının özellikleri aşağıdaki başlıklar çerçevesinde incelenecektir.

- a-Cizye uygulamasında meydana gelen değişiklikler ve ortaya çıkan şikayetler.
- b-Cizye mükelleflerinin ve muafiyetlerin belirlenmesi.
- c-Yeniçerilerin ödeneklerinin karşılanmasında cizye gelirlerinden yararlanılması.
- d-Vakıf köylerinde cizye uygulamasında mütevellilerin yol açtığı yakınmalar.

Cizye uygulamasına ilişkin tespitler önemli bir vergi kalemini ele almamızı sağlar. Diğer yandan bu veriler toplumsal yaşantı, sosyal statü ve ekonomik yapının belirlenmesinde de önemli ip uçları sağlayacaktır.

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## 17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Kadı Sicillerine Göre Resmo Manastır Vakıfları

Modern dönem öncesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İslamın yanı sıra Ortodoks Hıristiyanlığı ve Yahudiliği de korunup kollanması gereken resmi dinler olarak kabul etmiştir. Bu çerçevede de bu dinlerin ibadethanelerinin yaşamlarını devam ettirebilmeleri için gerekli düzenlemeleri yapmıştır. Bu düzenlemelerin birisi de vakıflardır.

Çalışmamızda, Resmo kadı sicillerinde bulunan Ortodoks manastırlarına ait kayıtlar incelenecektir. Kadı sicillerindeki kayıtlardan; eskiden kalan vakıfların statülerinin devam ettirilmesi ve buna müdahale edilmesinin engellenmesine yönelik düzenlemeler, manastırlara reayanın yaptığı yeni bağışlar ve vakıflarla ilgili düzenlemeler ve tüm vakıflarda olduğu gibi bu vakıfların denetlenmesi süreçleri izlenebilmektedir. Şüphesiz ki kadı sicilleri üzerindeki detaylı incelememizde bu vakıflarla ilgili farklı bilgiler de karşımıza çıkacaktır. Tüm bunların toplamı olarak bildirimizde, Resmo manastır vakıflarının 17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda pratikteki işleyişi kadı sicillerinden takip edilmeye çalışılacaktır.

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## The Settlement and Demography in Sudiremi Subdistrict in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century

Sudiremi Subdistrict (*nahiye*) is situated in the northwest of Konya, and, as was common practice in the Ottoman Empire, it did not have a settlement of this name. At first, it came under the rule of the Turkish Seljuks and then of the Karamanoğulları. The power struggle between the Karamanoğulları and the Ottoman Empire began in 1360, and lasted about 100 years. Then, after 1460, Sudiremi was incorporated into the Ottoman lands, and various aspects of the region have been recorded. According to these records, Sudiremi Subdistrict had approximately 20 villages.

Historians have unanimously accepted that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the population growth rate in the Mediterranean basin was seriously increasing. Of course, the Ottoman area should not be separated from it. In this paper, population and demographic changes will be discussed on the basis of a subdistrict. By using Ottoman archival documents, we will describe the subdistrict, settlement patterns and demographics. While doing so, the traces of these sources in the pre-Ottoman period will be followed. As it has been shown more clearly in previous studies, important clues about this issue, particularly about the practices of the Karamanoğulları in the region, can be obtained. When the methods applied to data obtained in the matter of housing are explored, they will show diversity in the region and the basic foundations of the settlement. In this context, the role of charitable foundations appears to be important. We shall also discuss various aspects of demography and the population living in the area, which was defined principally on religious grounds.

In this paper, the main source will be *tahrir defters*, which contain the most important data on location and demographics. From the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (TD 40=1500-1501), through the mid (TD 415=1539) and late (TK 104=1583) century, the sources provide a comprehensive picture of the subject, while they also allow a comparative approach, and thus are an important factor to be addressed. Other registers and records will also be discussed.



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**“I Now See that There Is No Constancy in this World”:  
Notes on the Life and Cultural Background  
of a 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Sanjak Governor**

In this paper, I have three different interconnected aims. The first of these is to take a brief look at the life of Yunus Beg, a sanjak governor who spent most of his life in the Ottoman Balkan garrisons in the 16th century.

My second aim is to attempt to designate and evaluate where Yunus Beg’s life stands in terms of the general Ottoman history of this period, concentrating on his familial and professional life by referring to his *tereke* record, his last will and testament, and *mühimme* records. Finally, I will focus on Yunus Beg’s intellectual accumulation in reference to the list of books seen in his *tereke*, and, rather than confining my discussion to simply this one singular context, I will examine the significance of these books in the broader context of general Ottoman cultural history. In this regard, by taking a closer look at the books thus listed, my primary aim will be to evaluate what these books – the property of a high-level member of the Ottoman administrative class – might signify within and about the generality of Ottoman book culture. In evaluating their significance, I will review and compare the results of previous *tereke* studies, with an emphasis on book ownership from members of different Ottoman classes, different cities, and different periods. Using the data gleaned from such a review and comparison, I will formulate a series of general ideas and hypotheses concerning Ottoman book culture, with special attention being paid to where miscellanies (*mecmuas*) might have stood within this culture.

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**Entrepreneurs and Economic Relations  
in Late 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Salonica**

Salonica lived through a very rapid change in the demographic, urban, commercial and industrial spheres in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the constitution of the municipality in 1869, the city lived through important urban developments: maritime city walls were demolished; the construction of the first quay was realized between 1870-1902; the city saw the construction of railways and the telegraphic connections respectively in the years 1870 and 1880. If the easiness of communications with Europe and the development of banking structures played a major role in the industrial development of Salonica in this period, accumulation of capital thanks to exportation was equally a very important element, which allowed constituting a local resource for capital accumulation. The accumulated capital was in this way reinvested in industries that aimed at producing goods for daily consumption by the urban population.

Entrepreneurial activity saw a boom in Salonica at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While Jewish families dominated the industrial domain in Salonica, the list of bankers and merchants of the city provided in the yearbooks of Salonica show also Muslim and Greek names together with the Jewish ones. The same observation holds true for commerce: the members of the Chamber of Commerce were rich merchants, Christian, Jewish, and Muslim.

In this context of entrepreneurial boom, getting concessions for mining activities became an entrepreneurial activity in itself. In this paper, I will focus on two entrepreneurs, Osman Inayet and Mustafa Fazil, who were engaged in the mine business, and propose an analysis of the complex relationships they created with other big and small entrepreneurs through this economic activity. Such an analysis, based on archival documents on concessions, will provide new

perspectives to our understanding of the inner mechanisms of a plural society of a port city in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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## **Osmanlı Devlet Memurları ve Aydınlarının Sürgünlerinde Akdeniz Adalarının Yeri ve Önemi**

Osmanlı hukuk sistemine göre mahkemelerde kadılar üç çeşit ceza vermektedirler: Hadd cezaları, ta'zir cezaları ve kısas cezaları. Sürgün, bunlardan hem hadd hem de ta'zir gerektiren suçlar için verilen bir cezadır. Bundan dolayı sürgün cezasına çarptırılan suç gruplarını tasnif edebilmek oldukça zordur. Bu zorluğa rağmen Osmanlıda genelde sürgün cezaları; devlet nizamını bozmak, şer'i hükümlere uymamak, emir ve yasaklara aykırı davranışlar, memuriyet görevini kötüye kullanmak, halka zulmetmek gibi nedenlerle uygulanmıştır. Ancak 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren siyasi eylem ve düşünce suçlarına da sürgün cezası uygulanmaya başlanmıştır.

Yapılan incelemelerde, Osmanlı devlet memurları ve aydınlarının bu suç grupları içerisinde ağırlıklı olarak; memuriyet görevini kötüye kullanmak, siyasi eylem ve düşünce suçlarından sürgüne gönderildikleri tespit edilmiştir. Sürgün yeri olarak devletin bütün toprakları kullanılmış olmasına rağmen, yaşam şartları ağır, merkezden olabildiğince uzak ve suçluların firar etmesinden korkulduğu için kaçması zor olan yerleşim yerleri seçilmiştir. Bu çerçevede Akdeniz adaları -özellikle Rodos, Girit, Kıbrıs, Sakız, Midilli gibi ... - bu grup sürgün cezalıları için özellikle tercih edilen yerler olmuşlardır.

Bu çerçevede meselenin aydınlığa kavuşturulması için kaynak olarak konuyla ilgili Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde yer alan 19. yüzyıla ait belge gruplarından yararlanılacaktır. Çalışmada öncelikle sürgün cezasının Osmanlıdaki uygulamaları hakkında bilgi verilecek, daha sonra da devlet memurları ve aydınları arasında sürgün cezasının uygulanması üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu noktada araştırmada şu sorulara cevap verilmeye çalışılacaktır:

- Osmanlıda 19. yüzyılda hangi suçlardan dolayı, devlet memurları ve aydınlara sürgün cezası verilmiştir?
- Bu çerçevede sürgün cezasına çarptırılanlar, hangi şartlarda, hangi Akdeniz adasına gönderilmişlerdir?
- Cezanın uygulanması esnasında Osmanlı memur ve aydınlarının yaşantıları nasıl şekillenmiştir?
- Cezanın uygulanması esnasında ve sonrasında sürgüne gönderilen memur ve aydınların toplum içindeki durumlarında nasıl bir değişme meydana gelmiştir ve aileleri bu yeni gelişmelerden nasıl etkilenmiştir?

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## **Public Spaces, Different Worlds: Non-Muslim Grave Monuments in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Istanbul**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time when non-Muslim communities living under Ottoman rule went through important political, social and cultural changes. Substantial political reforms that took as a model Western institutions gave non-Muslim communities important privileges and rights. Besides, Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities, from the mid century played increasingly an important role as intermediaries for western economic practices in the Ottoman Empire, becoming wealthier and acquiring a greater social status. The interactions with the West in social and cultural life affected this new non-Muslim bourgeoisie in their daily lives; from clothing to

domestic living conditions, to their tastes, and in many other ways of life where Western culture became dominant.

The graveyards belonging to Christian communities in Istanbul have many examples of grandiose grave monuments with sculptural decoration that show this cultural interaction with the West. The wish of Greek, Armenian or Levantine communities to have monumental grave monuments like those in Europe created the conditions for artisans mainly from their own communities to create such sculptural art work. The demand was such that, in some cases, the design or even sculptural work could only be completed by bringing in examples from European workshops and artists.

On the other hand, the Westernization we can see in every field of life, was not absorbed thoroughly by every social stratum in the cosmopolitan Ottoman population. Even though the Ottoman Sultans of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were ordering from European sculptors statues of animals to be placed in palatial gardens, in the public monuments they sponsored, no sculptural work was used. The Sultan and other important public figures of the times did not wish to challenge long established rules of Islamic traditions and thus were more conservative to have figurative decorations on public monuments. At the same time, the Muslim graveyards of the period, including the mausoleums of public figures, were still made in traditional styles and decorations. Thus, it may be said that the presence of a certain type of visual language, as seen in non-Muslim funerary monuments, did not have an impact on the Muslim society of the city, even though they did share a lot in public life and the radical changes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Form and Image:**

## **Hybrid Receptions of Ottoman Culture on the Metalwork Produced in the Balkans (14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

The purpose of this paper is to explore the Balkans as an artistic acculturation zone by means of the patterns of the artists/ateliers in the Balkans in relation to their aesthetic perception and social adaptation.

On the basis of the argument in this paper, some liturgical objects of Balkan origin are considered as products of a specific style or its secondary copies. It seems that a group of artifacts may be delineated which may be distinguished from other, similar products, made in the Balkans. Meanwhile, their inventory of motifs as well as time of manufacturing are closely associated with the first Ottoman court style. The mediating links can be the workshops, artists and the vessels itself, which, from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, had close connections with the sultan's court. Due to this situation, such workshops may have mediated Ottoman influences, which continuously affected Islamic and Ottoman art from its beginnings and which later spread to the Balkans.

This paper offers a survey of the ornamental relations between the center and periphery from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, either on the Balkan territory or at its borders. The 'ruling' Ottoman administration is regarded as the pattern for the interaction. It can be stated that there was a sterile opposition between an active giver (Ottoman court/administration) and a passive taker (ateliers in the Balkans). But, on the other hand, there were also artists from the Balkans working for the *ehl-i hiref*. In this process, artists in the Balkans actively transfigured the Ottoman culture and aesthetic characters according to their needs and perception. This process of 'acculturation' is to be described in relation to artistic, aesthetic and regionally and socially specified conditions between the court and Rumeli. Looking for signs of the artistic-ornamental transformation of Ottoman cultural and aesthetic influence, we will concentrate on the transformation of ornamental court styles derived from the court's ateliers.

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### **Grim Advice, Bold Solutions: Idris-i Bitlisi's 1513 Treatise on the Caliphate and Sultanic Protocols**

Following the intensely chaotic violence of the 1511-13 Şahkulu rebellion and fraternal succession struggle, a wholesale changing of the palace guard ensued. In the course of this transition, several imperial elites applied for court employment and patronage via submissions of poetry, advice treatises, and other forms of cultured knowledge production. While the historical narratives commonly known as *Selim-nāmes* have attracted a modicum of scholarly attention, treatises submitted at the very beginning of Selim's reign remain largely unknown. Three examples of such submissions include the anonymous 1512 *Risala fi Sharh Qasida Julus Sultan Selim Khan*, Idris-i Bitlisi's 1513 *Risala fi al-Khilafa wa Adab al-Salatin*, and Shams al-Din Jahrami's 1514 *Risala Siyasiyya Bara-yi Sultan Selim*. In this paper, I shall summarize, analyze, and contextualize the second of the aforementioned three works, the nearly forgotten treatise presented by Idris-i Bitlisi (d. 1520) to 'Yavuz' Sultan Selim (d. 1520) in February 1513. In order to place this submission within its immediate context, I shall also detail Idris-i Bitlisi's biography during the chaotic transition years and briefly summarize the contents of the other two aforementioned treatises. While each of these authors presumably had self-aggrandizing motivations for their respective submissions, the arguments which they put forth in support of Selim's rule and reign should provide nuanced views of the political theories and public arguments mobilized to support the new Ottoman ruler during a sensitive and divisive period of social upheaval.

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### **Anecdotes about Poets and 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Elite Identity**

16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman biographies of poets, *tezkires*, teem with anecdotes to the extent that often the biographical act itself comes down to the anecdotal. This paper explores this phenomenon in its various facets. First, it offers a typology of this rich material according to subject matter (political, romantic, poetic, etc.) and modality (edifying, entertaining).

Secondly, it argues that in spite of the *tezkires'* presentation of these anecdotes as historically true, they can be largely apocryphal and exist in radically diverse versions, a result of the decades of oral circulation before being finally committed to writing by the *tezkire* authors. Strikingly, however, the variability of concrete detail among the versions of a particular story is offset by a marked thematic stability. It is this stability of the main idea that makes it especially rewarding to explore the cultural significance of these anecdotes.

Moreover, a panoramic look at the whole corpus suggests that the recurring themes are surprisingly few. In what ways, then, this paper asks, do these anecdotes reveal the values, fantasies and fears of the Ottoman elites of the 16<sup>th</sup> century? And how can we locate these anecdotes involving poets, as distinct from those involving religious scholars or sheikhs, for example, on the Ottoman cultural topography? With their unembarrassed portrayal of the pederastic pursuits of poets, with their celebration of wit, humor and rhetorical prowess, and their acute sensitivity to how poetry functions in actual communicational contexts, these anecdotes, I argue, were the manifestation of an urban gentlemanly culture of refined taste, both libertine and liberal. In the composition of the self-image of Ottoman elites, this culture was at least as important as other commonly acknowledged identity markers such as being a 'Muslim' or an

‘Ottoman’ subject. The paper concludes by making note of the fact that such anecdotal material disappears from the *tezkires* from the end of the century onwards and by speculating on the possible reasons for this shift.

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**Land, Community, and Conflict  
in the Ottoman Province of Diyarbekir:  
The Case of Beshiri, 1839-1878**

In Ottoman historical writing, until the recent revisionist studies, the analyses of ethno-religious relations have been based mostly on timeless, ahistorical categories of identity, nation, and community. Rather than examining the specific socio-political contexts within which ethno-religious identities were deconstructed, reconstructed, and operationalized in the form of conflicts, they took these *identities* for granted, perceived conflict as essential to intercommunal relations and in this way projected nation-state based notions to the analysis of the Ottoman imperial context. Recent studies on Arab provinces, however, demonstrated the different ways in which these identities were constructed and gained their rather fluent meanings within specific historical context defined by imperial and local transformations. Despite the emergence of recent critical approaches within Ottoman provincial historiography, the studies on Armenian and Kurdish populated regions of the Empire are still based on these essentialized and at times romanticized perceptions of ethno-religious identity. My presentation aims to challenge these dominant approaches by presenting a nuanced historical-contextual analysis to the intercommunal relations in the Beshiri district of the Diyarbekir province inhabited by the Kurds and various eastern Christian communities. Using Ottoman archival sources and British and French missionary reports, my paper will look at how existing ethno-religious differences resonated with the urban vs. rural, and tribal vs. settled divisions within the local community, and explore the ways in which Ottoman policies of centralization, mainly among them being the Land Code of 1858, transformed and/or reinforced these ethno-religious affiliations in novel ways in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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**How Secluded was the Ottoman Woman in Public?**

The subject of my paper is restricted to the period from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have already been treated by me in a paper). I have chosen the phenomenon of flirting as a gauge of seclusion. The question I shall try to answer is this: Did Ottoman girls and women flirt at all outside their homes or was the practice of coquetry in public something unheard of? The answer is that there are indications of and allusions to the fact that there was some modest flirting going on in public space. Ottoman women certainly did not flirt in the modern way by openly embracing and kissing, but they could find occasions for acting coquettishly if they wished, and this could lead to romantic developments. The localities conducive to such freedom of behavior will be described. Included in the research are all Ottoman women, both Muslim and non-Muslim, of all classes.

The sources used are Ottoman prose and poetry of all kinds (including minstrel, i.e. ‘*âshiq*, poetry), Ottoman edicts, and travel accounts and memoirs written by foreigners. The argumentation will be illustrated by samples from these sources. As the available material refers mainly to Istanbul, the paper will necessarily reflect this restriction.

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## **A Mosque and Its Town Quarter or a Town Quarter and Its Mosque?**

### **The Elhac Ali Paşa Mosque and Quarter in Ottoman Kandiye**

Kandiye (mod. Heraklion) was conquered by the Ottomans in 1669, following a long siege of more than twenty years. In 1700 the governor of the town, Elhac Ali Paşa, founded a mosque. This mosque, where the pasha was also buried, gave its name to the urban quarter around it.

The case of the Elhac Ali Paşa mosque and quarter raises a number of factual and methodological issues which apply to other similar urban cases as well. These may be divided into two sets of questions. The first has to do with the conditions of establishment of the mosque: the western part of the town of Kandiye had been hit hard by the war, and it is not known to what extent it had recovered from the siege by 1700. Even though the foundation deed of the mosque survives in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century copy, it is unclear if the pasha sought to revive a damaged part of the town near the economically important western gate of the walls, or if the revival of the quarter preceded the decision to provide it with a mosque.

The second set of questions pertains to the relationship between the mosque and the urban quarter, and is connected to the first set: first of all, did Ali Paşa mean the mosque to be the mosque of the quarter or a monument of town-wide importance, since its position near one of the major entrances to the city favoured it as a landmark? Furthermore, did the mosque in fact develop into the centre of the quarter both as a monument and as an institution? In this respect, it is important to explore, for instance, the role that the imam of the mosque played in the private and public affairs of the population of the Elhac Ali Paşa quarter.

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### **Ioannis Kalfoglou (1871-1931), un patriote ottoman controversé**

En 1899 parut à Constantinople la *Géographie historique de l'Asie mineure*, publiée en *karamanlie*. L'auteur Ioannis Kalfoglou (1871-1931), originaire du Pont-Euxin, choisit leur écriture pour communiquer avec un groupe de pairs, les turcophones chrétiens orthodoxes. « Nous sommes des Orientaux (*Ανατολίτες*) », déclare-t-il et par cette voie il se présente et il s'identifie à une certaine catégorie de la population.

La *Géographie historique* constitue une œuvre à limites : située dans un point de transition historique elle signale le passage du monde qui s'en va au monde à venir. De même l'auteur ; Kalfoglou, en tant que personnage historique, ne correspond pas aux stéréotypes actuels et par conséquent il ne peut pas être classé facilement suivant les catégories existantes. Qui est Kalfoglou en réalité ? Un Grec ou un Ottoman ? Que signifie être Grec ou Turc dans un monde pré-national ? Voici juste un échantillon de questions que le cas de Ioannis Kalfoglou implique. En effet la personnalité de Kalfoglou doit être examinée par rapport à l'état idéologique complexe déterminé par la propagation du nationalisme et de la transition au monde des états-nations.

Né en 1871, Kalfoglou a vécu les trente dernières années du 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle en tant que chrétien orthodoxe turcophone citoyen de l'Empire ottoman, alors que les trente années suivantes dans le vingtième siècle – semble-t-il en équilibre – il les a vécu orienté vers l'idée nationale grecque. Kalfoglou utilisât au début sa langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire le turc. Après la troisième décennie de sa vie, il choisit le grec ainsi que le persan, le russe, le français sans jamais abandonner le turc. En réalité son lancement vers un horizon multiculturel et multiethnique, survenu au tournant du siècle, coïncide avec une intersection cardinale : sa migration et sa participation active à la lutte de libération du Pont-Euxin. Ainsi, l'orthodoxe turcophone adopta

effectivement la langue et l'idéologie grecques. Le cas de Ioannis Kalfoglou constitue une bonne raison pour traiter des questions de recherche théoriques et méthodologiques relatives à la formation de l'identité nationale.

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### **Ottoman Aqueducts in the Helladic Region: Architecture and Construction**

The stabilization of the Ottomans' conquest of the Helladic region combined with their increasing skills in the relevant structural techniques, led to the construction of numerous water projects throughout Greece, dated from the late 16<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In accordance with the stress placed by Muslim religion on issues of water, these constructions provided cities or towns with abundant water, either incorporating parts of earlier aqueducts or more frequently being totally new ones. The waqf institution contributed significantly to the funding of many projects of that kind. The majority of these constructions are characterized by high technical expertise and they generally incorporate structural, architectural and functional provisions clearly corresponding to the large Ottoman water supply works of Istanbul which date back to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The Ottoman aqueducts are characterized by numerous arched water bridges which often combine pointed and regular arches in the same branch. At the cases where the construction rises quite high, up various solutions, like diminished width, buttresses etc, ensure the required strength. The use of metal and wooden tensible strengthening elements is quite frequent, and many traces of covered and underground conduits still survive. On the other hand, formations on the sites of the water acquisition can be rarely found.

Many surviving monuments of that type cover most of the Helladic region, from Serres and Kavala to Pylos, Crete and Kos. The various elements of their surviving parts, as well as the miscellaneous types of descriptions found in the written sources (maps, engravings, texts, old photographs), testify not only similarities of these constructions but also their adjustment to the relevant terrain relief.

Numerous of these aqueducts were in use until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore incorporate remarkable techniques on repairs and improvements which kept them operational.

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### **Processes of Demographic and Ethno-Religious Change in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Dobrudja (NE Balkans): Repopulation, Turcoman Colonization, and Conversion to Islam**

This paper takes up the task to describe and analyze the major processes of demographic and ethno-religious change in Ottoman Dobrudja in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Dominated by a low, relatively hilly, and arid plateau in the northeastern Balkans, Dobrudja had experienced numerous invasions on the part of nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkic groups from the Pontic steppe in the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries and the still hotly debated migration of Anatolian Turcomans under the leadership of the legendary Sarı Saltık in 1261-1262. The Despotate of Dobrudja founded in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century was subdued by the Ottomans by the late 14<sup>th</sup> century; the region was further depopulated in the turbulent 15<sup>th</sup> century in relation to events such as the Ottoman civil war (1402-1413), the Crusade of Varna (1444) and the invasions of Vlad Draculea (1461-1462).

The paper analyzes demographic and ethno-religious change in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Dobrudja mainly on the basis of several Ottoman tax registers (*tapu tahrir defterleri*) and the related Ottoman provincial law-codes for the province (*sancak*) of Silistre, which roughly encompassed historic Dobrudja, with references to Ottoman registers of important affairs (*mühimme defterleri*) from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman chronicles, and eastern travel accounts and historical narratives.

The paper pays special attention to the repopulation of the region thanks to the massive Turcoman colonization on the part of nomadic and semi-nomadic newcomers from Ottoman Anatolia in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, largely in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict. In addition to issues such as the state's ability to control the resettlement and sedentarization of nomads, the paper touches upon urban development, the relationship between cities and their hinterlands, and conversion to Islam.

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### **Ustazade Yunus'un Girit'in Fethi Tarihi**

Ustazade Yunus, Girit'in Resmo (Retimnon) kentinde doğdu. Hakkındaki bilgilerimiz sınırlıdır. Bektaşî olduğunu ve uzun süre Girit'te yaşadığını biliyoruz. "Girit'te Milli Taharriler" başlığı altında yaptığı araştırmaların pek azı gün ışığına çıkmıştır. Mübadele'den önce İstanbul'a gelmiş ve eserlerinin önemli bir bölümünü Fuat Köprülü'ye teslim etmiştir. Köprülü'nün oğlu Orhan F. Köprülü, bunlardan iki makaleyi yayımladı. Birinci makale, Girit'te Köprülülerin eserlerini ele alır. Girit'te Bektaşî dergahları üzerine yaptığı araştırma oldukça önemlidir. Yazar, Girit'teki bütün Bektaşî dergahlarını teker teker incelemiştir. Ustazade Yunus'un 1924 yılında hayatta olduğu bilinmekle birlikte ölüm tarihi ve yeri belli değildir.

Girit kökenli olan ve ailesi Mübadele'den önce Söke'ye yerleşen Ali Ekrem Erkal (1926 – 2011), yaşamı boyunca Girit'in tarihi ve kültürüyle uğraştı. Atalarının yurdu olan Girit'i yakından tanımak ve tanıtmak için uğraştı. Grekçeyi çok iyi biliyordu. Girit manilerini Türkçeye çevirecek kadar bu dile hakimdi. Erkal, Girit üzerine pek çok malzeme topladı. Bastırdığı üç büyük ciltlik eserinden birisi de Ustazade Yunus'un *Girit Fethi Tarihi* başlığını taşıyor. Bu, şimdiye kadar ele geçmeyen ve bilinmeyen bir eserdir. Erkal, bu yazma esere ulaşmak için olağanüstü bir çaba gösterdi. Eseri buldu, yeni harflere çevirerek bastırdı. Bu Girit Tarihi açısından çok önemli bir eser böylece ortaya çıktı.

Ustazade Yunus'un bu eseri çağdaş tarih yöntemleri ışığında, geniş bir kaynakçaya dayanılarak yazılmıştır. En eski dönemlerden başlayarak burada yeşeren uygarlıklar üzerinde durur. Roma, Bizans, İslam, Venedik dönemlerini inceler. Osmanlı – Venedik ilişkileri ağırlıklı ve ayrıntılı olarak ele alınır. Olayları, 1669 yılına, yani Girit'te Osmanlı egemenliğinin kurulmasına kadar işler. Ustazade Yunus, Osmanlı kaynakları dışında İtalyanca, Almanca, Fransızca, İngilizce ve Grekçe kaynaklar kullanmış ve bütün bunların ötesinde adayı karış karış dolaşarak elde ettiği bilgileri, kaynaklarla karşılaştırmıştır. Böylece Girit'in tarihi coğrafyasına da önemli bir katkıda bulunmuştur. Bildirimizde bu eserin kapsam ve önemi üzerinde durulacaktır.



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## **An Inquiry into Imperial Political Thought: International Intervention, Provincial Law, and Shared Sovereignty in Late Ottoman Lebanon**

This paper examines contested conceptions of Ottoman sovereignty through the lens of a single work: a long disquisition on the history and shifting legal status of the *mutasarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon, completed in 1908 by the Lebanese lawyer and functionary Bulus Nujaym. Scholars have largely considered this work a nationalist statement of intent, interesting only for what it reveals of its author's ideological attachments. But this text was not so much a call for the secession of Lebanon, as an extended meditation on the workings of sovereign power. A study in what Duncan Bell has called 'imperial political thought', it engaged with three central preoccupations of late Ottoman political life: the question of executive power and its acceptable limits; the balance between the central state and provincial prerogatives; and the relations of the Sublime Porte to its European neighbours. For Nujaym regarded the *tanzimat* as a fundamentally paradoxical process. Even as the 'strong administrative centralisation' of these years had done away with the layered sovereignty and local autonomies of old, the Porte had surrendered some of its own powers in return for admission to the community of nations. This tension was embodied in the Lebanese statute drawn up in the wake of the bloodshed of 1860. A 'skilful' piece of legislation which had enshrined the novel principle of 'collective intervention' in the Porte's affairs while maintaining the 'fiction' of Ottoman rule, it had nevertheless armed 'the governor with almost irresistible power' over Lebanon, replicating on a local level a pattern in which sovereignty was simultaneously shared out between the states of the Concert, and concentrated in the hands of a single office-holder. Only effective international mediation, Nujaym argued, could guarantee the creation of veritable 'autonomy'; for better or worse, the provincial, the imperial, and the international were inextricably linked.

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## **Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kamusal Alan Düzenlemeleri ve Anıtsal Çalışmalar (1840-1917)**

Osmanlı devletinde 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren gerçekleştirilen reformların geleneksel devlet-toplum ilişkisini yeniden biçimlemeye yönelik olduğu bilinmektedir. Daha II. Mahmud döneminden itibaren sık sık dile getirilen tebaanın eşitliği ve hukukun egemenliği gibi yeni anlayışların güdümünde toplumla yeni bir ilişki biçimi arayışı içinde olan devlet, toplumun bütün katmanlarına daha önce hiç olmadığı kadar nüfuz etmeye çalışmaktadır. Kamu önünde devletin görünürlülüğü arttırmaya, iktidar erkini vurgulamaya yönelik olarak fiziksel, sembolik veya ideolojik pek çok vasıta denenmiş, bunlardan bazıları oldukça başarılı bir biçimde kullanılmıştır.

Toplumsal bütünleşmeyi ve devlet-toplum yakınlaşmasını sağlamaya yönelik olarak kurulmak istenen yeni ilişki biçimi için politik propaganda yöntemleri içinde belki de en ilginç olanı, 19. yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren tasarlanan anıt taşları (dikili taşlar), figüratif ya da figüratif olmayan anıtsal çalışmalardır. Söz konusu dönemde bu anıtsal çalışmalar, Osmanlı modernleşmesinin görsel teyidi ve Osmanlı iktidarının simgesel tezahürü olarak hayati bir öneme sahiptir. Bu çalışmada Tanzimat'ın ilanından bir yıl sonra Gülhane Bahçesi ve Beyazıt Meydanı'na dikilmek üzere tasarlanan iki anıt taşı, Padişah Abdülaziz'i tasvir eden atlı heykel gibi ilk örneklerden başlanarak, II. Abdülhamid ve II. Meşrutiyet döneminde gündeme gelen, tasarlanan ya da gerçekleştirilen başlıca anıtsal çalışmalar incelenecektir. Çalışmada, Mısır ve Balkanlardaki figüratif heykeller ve önemli anıtlar Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kültür sahası

içinde değerlendirilecek, ayrıca Avrupa’da kamusal alanda boy gösteren heykellerin Osmanlı merkezi tarafından nasıl algılandığına cevap aranacaktır. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi’nden alınan belgeler ve dönemin basını çalışmanın temel kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır.

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## **18. Yüzyılda Selanik’te Para Vakıfları ve Kredi İşlemleri**

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda çok erken dönemlerde ortaya çıkan para vakıfları, 18. yüzyıla gelindiğinde, Anadolu ve Rumeli’deki kentlerinde oldukça yaygınlaşmış, hemen her kentte olağan birer küçük kredi kurumlarından biri haline gelmişlerdir. Bu yönüyle, bankacılık işlemlerinin henüz yeterince gelişmediği bir toplumda, gerek ticari işlemler gerekse, bireysel ve toplumsal nedenlerle ihtiyaç duyulan nakit kredi taleplerinin karşılanmasında önemli rol üstlenmişlerdir. Bu özellikleriyle, artan vergi borçları dolayısıyla tefecilerden yüksek faizle borçlanan köylülerle, küçük işletmecilere daha düşük faizle kredi sağlayarak önemli katkılar sağlamışlardır.

Bu çerçevede, çalışmamız, 1696-1800 yılları arasında, Selanik Tarih Arşivinde bulunun Selanik Kadı Sicilleri koleksiyonunda yer alan dört adet para vakıfları tahrir defterlerinden yararlanarak, 18.yüzyılda Selanik’te para vakıfların borç-kredi işlemlerindeki yeri ve rolü; vakıfların kurucuları, sermayeleri, kredi verdikleri kişiler ve uyguladıkları faiz oranları analiz edilerek, bu vakıfların Selanik kenti finans tarihindeki yerleri değerlendirilecektir.

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## **Unveiling the Unseen Agent of Crime: Medico-Legal Evidence in Suspected Poisoning Cases in the Late Ottoman Empire**

Given the prevailing theory of proof in *şer’î* law, witnesses were always an essential basis for the legal system in the Ottoman Empire. The role of witness testimony in criminal investigations did not change with the establishment of the new *nizamiye* courts. Nevertheless, unlike *şer’î* courts, circumstantial evidence started to play a pivotal role in indictments in these legal tribunals, if a confession could not be obtained and in case there were no witnesses to the crime. Especially in uncovering hidden crimes like poisoning, forensic medicine and medico-legal evidence became gradually important for the Ottoman courts from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. However, this process was hindered by various obstacles from public attitudes towards dissection and unpaid fees and salaries of the physicians to the reliability of toxicological evidence for the courts’ final verdicts.

This paper aims to explore the role of medico-legal proof in poisoning cases in the courts of the late Ottoman Empire. Given the limited scope of scholarly works on the subject, it will focus on primary sources derived from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives and some textbooks written by jurists and forensic scientists that are promissory in revealing clues about various aspects of forensic medicine such as external post-mortem examination, dissection (autopsy), and chemical analysis (toxicology). This paper will analyze its subject within the context of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman state’s concern with public health and security and also with the rights of the heirs in homicide cases, while showing the courts’ great scrutiny and reservation in considering dissection and toxicology reports as decisive proof.

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### **Modernization, Urban Development and Electrification in the Ottoman Empire:**

#### **Examples from the Electricity Projects of Istanbul and Thessaloniki**

This paper focuses on the electrification of the cities in the Ottoman Empire, especially Istanbul and Thessaloniki. The role played by the Ottoman officials and experts, their ideas on modernity, urban development and electrification projects of Istanbul and Thessaloniki will be analysed through research undertaken in the archives of Turkey, Germany and United States.

The active role of the Ottoman bureaucrat in the adjudication process of this new technology, the rules and regulations of the Ottoman authorities employed during the preparation, construction and implementation phases of the electrification projects, all prove the local dynamics in the process. Therefore, in this paper, the local dynamics of Ottoman electrification will be dealt with through the examples of Istanbul and Thessaloniki's electricity network projects. Further, the ideas of the Ottoman officials and experts regarding the electrification, with a special focus on the place of electrification within the larger problematics of the Empire, such as modernization, urban and economic development, will be discussed.

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### **Between Empire and Nation-State: Belgrade during the Period of Autonomy, 1830-1867**

Belgrade, which had lain on the border of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires for a long period, became one of the important theatres of Serbian nation-state building practices from 1830s onwards. The Ottoman character of the urban space was gradually eliminated and the Muslim and Jewish populations steadily declined. That Serbia became independent following a long period of large autonomy played a role in the transformation of Belgrade into a post-imperial city. Until 1867, the city witnessed a form of fragmented sovereignty between Ottoman and Serbian judicial, administrative and military institutions.

This paper will discuss Belgrade in this period with a special focus on the riots targeting the Muslim quarter and the attack on the fortress in June 1862, resulting in the bombardment of the city by the Ottoman garrison. The incident soon became a European-wide diplomatic issue and was concluded in an international conference later in the year which set forth a schedule for the Ottoman garrison and Muslims to leave Belgrade by 1867. Although the de-Ottomanisation of Belgrade had begun when there was still a sizable Muslim population in the city, after their exodus, the Muslim quarter was incorporated into the new city which was being increasingly defined within a national(ist) framework.

The incidents in 1862 attested to the presence of serious ethnic conflict in Belgrade during the period of autonomy. The difficulties faced by the international commissions reflected the contradictions of an urban space that had developed mostly organically and which was being influenced by the juxtaposition of an emerging nation-state, the reformed Ottoman polity, imperialism, and military exigency. Based on Ottoman, British and international documents, the paper will strive to analyse the spatio-social impact of nation-state building practices on Belgrade despite the Ottoman attempts to cling to the city. The goal is to throw new light on the post-imperial transformation of Belgrade through the analysis of a decisive period.

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### **Notes sur la Crète dans le Kitâb-i Bahriyye de Piri Re'îs**

Au temps de Pîrî Re'îs, la Crète était encore une possession vénitienne pour plus d'un siècle et demi. Cela n'empêchait nullement l'auteur d'avoir une bonne connaissance des côtes de l'île où, bien sûr, sa présence n'était nullement souhaitable. Nous examinerons quelles pouvaient être, dans ces conditions, les sources de son information.

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### **1903-1907 Tarihli Manastır Ceraim Defteri Işığında Manastır'da Suç**

1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı sonrasında imzalanan Ayastefanos ve Berlin Antlaşmaları, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu için yeni bir dönemi açmakla birlikte "Makedonya Sorunu"nu da ortaya çıkardı. 20. yüzyılda sadece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu değil, Balkan devletleri ile birlikte Avrupalı büyük güçlerin de çıkarlarının kesişeceği bir şekle dönüşen Makedonya Sorunu, pek çok tarihçi tarafından ele alınmıştır. 1903 İlinden isyanı yine pek çok tarihçinin ele aldığı sorunun bir parçasını oluşturmuştur.

Bölgeyi Haziran 1903'te gezen biri Makedonya'daki genel havayı tanımlarken "...kesinlikle belirtmelidir ki, Hıristiyanların büyük bir kısmı komitacıların hareketlerine karşı düşmanca davranmaktadırlar. Çetelerin birliklerle sık sık çatışmaya girdiği dağlık bölgelerde bile köylüler, komitelerin emirlerini ancak zorlamayla uyguluyorlar." demektedir. Hal böyle iken tam da İlinden İsyanının çıkarıldığı yıl bölge halkının suç işlemeye yönelik tavırlarına ışık tutabileceğini umduğumuz Manastır Ceraim Defterini bu minvalde incelemeyi uygun bulduk. Defter, Rumi 1319-1323 (1903-1907) yıllarını kapsamaktadır. Suçun vasfı, hangi etnik gruba dahil kişiler arasında işlendiğine ilişkin ilginç veriler barındırması açısından defter, sadece bir istatistikî veri kaynağı olmaktan çok, etnik açıdan oldukça farklı grupların yaşadığı bölge insanının – hem de yoğun çete faaliyetleri arasında – durumuna ışık tutabilecek değeri haizdir.

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### **Gendered Approaches to Infanticide in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Society**

My paper examines a largely overlooked topic in scholarship on Ottoman history and discusses the cases of the murder of babies in Ottoman towns and cities. Based on archival findings, I ask questions such as what were the motivations behind child murder, who carried out this act, who were the victims, what were the methods used, and how extensive it was in the Ottoman society.

The nature of this crime also forces us to problematize the available documentation and hence I also discuss the nature of the sources that offer us a glimpse of the infanticide cases. I demonstrate how social status and gendered hierarchies in Ottoman society intermingle in the infanticide cases and the choice to murder babies as a means of birth control. In sum, through such questions I try to shed light onto infanticide practices, and to discuss the gendered nature of violence in Ottoman society.

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## **Osmanlı Şehirlerinde İnşa ve Onarım Faaliyetlerinde Çalışan Gruplar ve Meslekler**

Osmanlı şehirlerinde sivil veya kamu yapıların inşası ile bunların tamirleri sırasında çok sayıda meslek sınıfından insan çalışırdı. Merkezî hükümetin hemen her şehre atadığı kadı ve mimarbaşından başka inşaat ve onarım faaliyetlerinde başlıca üç grup çalışan göze çarpardı. Bunlar ‘üstâd’ denilen ustalar, ‘irgad’ veya ‘rençber’ denilen inşaat işçileri ile ‘ecîrîn’ olarak kaydedilen ve ücretle çalışan gündelikçilerdi.

Adı geçen gruplardan ustalar, en çeşitlilik gösteren sınıftı. Bu sınıfta, ‘bennâ’ denilen bina yapıcı ustaları başta olmak üzere farklı işleri gören ve değişik meslekleri icra eden bir sürü çalışan usta bulunurdu. Dülgerler, neccarlar, senk-traşlar bunlara birkaç örnektir. Bir inşaat veya onarım sırasında her usta, kendi uzmanlık alanına uygun düşen işleri yapardı. Ayrıca yaptıkları işin hacmine göre veya yevmiye hesabı üzerinden ücret alırlardı. Yukarıda sayılan diğer gruplar ise daha çok ustalara yardım eden veya inşaat, tamirat alanında yıkım, temizlik, taşıma, vb. yan görevleri yürüten kişilerdi.

Bu araştırmada yukarıda kısaca değinilen ve şehirlerde inşa ve onarım faaliyetlerine katılan gruplar ile bu gruplara mensup tüm meslekler/meslek erbabı tanıtılacaktır. Böylece klasik Osmanlı döneminde lonca sistemine dahil ve inşaat sektöründe çalışan değişik uzmanlık alanlarına sahip ustalar ve benzeri esnaf grupları ile diğer çalışanlar ortaya çıkarılacak, özellikleri, çalışma/uzmanlık alanları, aldıkları ücretler ve çalıştıkları/kullandıkları malzeme (araç-gereçler) çeşitli belgelerden yola çıkılarak incelenecektir.

Osmanlı Devleti dönemine ait, merkezî yönetimin mimarlık örgütlenmesi, bununla ilgili teşkilât ve görevliler hakkında görece çalışmalar mevcuttur. Ancak, şehirlerde mimarlık ve inşaat işlerini yürüten gruplar, meslekler ve kişiler hakkında yeterince araştırma ve bilimsel yayın bulunmamaktadır. Buradan hareketle, taşrada, şehirlerde inşa ve onarım faaliyetlerini yürütenler ve bu işlerde çalışanlar hakkında böyle bir araştırma gerekli görülmüştür.

Araştırma, özellikle şer’iye sicil defterlerinde bulunan keşif ve tamir belgelerinden, arşivlerde yer alan inşaat defterlerinden, ayrıca vakfiye ve benzeri vakıf belgelerinden yararlanılarak hazırlanacaktır. Bu arada konuyla ilgili diğer yayınlara da ulaşılabilecek ve bunun sonucunda bir değerlendirmeye varılacaktır.

Hazırlanacak çalışmanın girişinde Osmanlı Devleti’nde sivil veya kamu yapıların inşa, tamir ve yenileme işlemleri/prosedürü hakkında açıklama verilecektir. Daha sonra esas konunun ayrıntılarına değinilecektir.

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## **Ruşuk’ta Osmanlı Kültür Varlıkları: Dini Ve Hayri Kurumlardan Bazıları**

Osmanlı toplumunda sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçlar vakıflar aracılığıyla karşılanmış, devlet bu alanla ilgilenmek zorunda kalmamıştır. Başta padişahlar, şehzadeler ve hanım sultanlar kendi özel gelirlerinden kaynak aktararak vakıf eserler inşa ettirip vakıflar kurmuşlar, üst düzey devlet adamları ile imkanı olan hayırseverler de aynı biçimde topluma hizmet vermede adeta yarışmışlardır. Dini ve hayri nedenlerle oluşturulan söz konusu kurumlar yerleşim yerlerinin mamur hale gelmesine de katkı sağlamışlardır.

Tuna kıyısındaki önemli merkezlerden biri olan Rusçuk da Osmanlı egemenliğindeki tüm yerleşim yerleri gibi vakıflarla imar edilmiş, çeşitli hizmetler bu kurumlar aracılığıyla yerine getirilmiştir. Burada çoğu dini hizmet amacına yönelik olan cami vakıflarının yanında eğitim,

konaklama ve su ihtiyacını karşılayacak kurumlar oluşturulmuş, bu yolla topluma hizmet sunulmuştur. 1878 Berlin Antlaşması sonrasında kurulan Bulgar Prenslığı döneminde şehrin belediyesi tarafından uygulanan yok etme politikası sonucu, kültür mirası olan Osmanlı vakıfları korunamamıştır. Bugün bir cami ile bir okul binası ve pek az vakıf malı bulunan Rusçuk'ta Osmanlı döneminde kurulmuş olan vakıflardan bazıları daha önce tarafımızdan hazırlanan iki çalışmaya konu olmuştur. Sadece arşivlerde yer alan belge ve defterlerden varlıkları hakkında bilgi edinilen bu kurumlardan önceki çalışmalarda incelenmeyen bir kısmı da bu bildirinin konusunu oluşturmuştur.

Osmanlı medeniyetinin göstergesi olan söz konusu kültür mirası ile bunların mimarlarını yani kurucularını hatırlamak, hatırlatmak ve hizmet sunan bu hayırseverlerin unutulmalarını engellemek amacıyla hazırlanan bildiriye vakıf eserler, bunların hizmetlerini sürdürmesi için tahsis edilen gelirler başka bir deyişle bağışlanan menkul ve gayrimenkuller, vakıf çalışanları ile aldıkları ücretler hakkında bilgi verilecek, tespit edilebilen verilere göre vakıfların yıllık gelir-gider durumları değerlendirilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Bildiri, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi ile Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi'nden sağlanan çeşitli belge ve defter tasniflerindeki verilere göre hazırlanacak ayrıca Bulgaristan'ın Milli Kütüphanesi olan Cyril ve Methodius Kütüphanesi'nin Şark Koleksiyonu bölümünden temin edilen Rusçuk Vakıf Sicili ile diğer sicillerde yer alan bilgileri de kapsayacaktır.

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**“As It Is Clearly Expressed in their *Berats*”:**

### **An Interpretation of the Transformation of the Patriarchate of Istanbul in the Light of Patriarchal *Berats* in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

The Patriarchate of Istanbul experienced a transformation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century; the patriarchs used their authority on law and order more extensively as an intermediary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the patriarchate became a life-long office *de jure*, and the system of *gerondismos* was established by 1763. So far, the elements of this transformation have widely been interpreted as changes peculiar to the Patriarchate. I am proposing that the adventures of the Patriarchate in the first three decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century fit into a larger picture, that is, the transformation of Ottoman administration and society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Based on my study on 19 so far undiscovered *berats* of the patriarchs of Istanbul dating from 1714 to 1769, I will interpret this transformation in my presentation.

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### **1837-1923 Sürecinde Bursa'da İpekçilik Sektörünün Sosyo-Ekonomik Analizi**

Kentte ham ipek üreten ilk fabrikanın açıldığı 1837'den Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurulduğu 1923 yılına kadar geçen süreçte Bursa'da koza yetiştiriciliği ve ipekli dokumacılığın değişim süreci, Temettüat Defterleri ve Hudâvendigâr Vilâyeti Sâlnâmelerinden elde edilen istatistiksel verilerle analiz edilecektir. Temettüat Defterleri, Osmanlı döneminde fertlerin iktisadî imkânlarını tespit etmek suretiyle kişinin ekonomik gücüne, senelik kazancına göre tarh edilecek verginin tesviyesi amacıyla yönelik olarak hazırlanmış defterlerdir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin önemli bir kesiminde 1840'lı yıllarda yapılan emlak, arazi, hayvanat ve temettüat sayımları sonucu oluşan bu defterler, Osmanlı taşrasına ilişkin tahlilî çalışmalar için önemli istatistikî verileri kapsarlar. Bursa'daki

temettüat sayımlarını gösteren defterlerde, kentteki ipekçiliğe konu olan kalemler ve mahallelerde yer alan dut bahçeleri dönüm olarak gösterilmektedir.

Vilâyet Sâlnâmeleri ise, ilgili vilâyetin idari teşkilatı, memur listeleri, mahalli tarih ve coğrafyası, eski eserleri, üretim ve ekonomik faaliyetleri, nüfusu gibi pek çok konuda bilgiler sunan yıllıklardır. Hudâvendigâr Vilâyeti Sâlnâmelerinden ilki Hicri 1287 tarihli olup sonuncusu Cumhuriyet Dönemine ait 1927 yılı Bursa Sâlnâmesidir. Bu kaynaklarda Bursa'da gerçekleşen koza üretimi ve ipek ticareti ile ilgili ayrıntılı bilgiler yer almakta, Bursa'nın Gemlik ve Mudanya iskelelerinden yurt içi ve yurt dışına yapılan koza ve ipekli ürünlerin ihracatına yönelik veriler bulunmaktadır.

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### **Le Danube chez Evliyâ Celebî**

Le second plus grand fleuve du continent européen après la Volga, le Danube traverse l'Allemagne, l'Autriche, la Slovaquie, la Hongrie, la Croatie, la Serbie-Monténégro, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie, la Moldova et l'Ukraine. Avec ses affluents, il constitue la principale voie de communication de la région, car le réseau routier est jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle fort défaillant. Evliya Çelebi voit apparemment pour la première fois en 1651 le Danube devant la ville de Ruse (Ruşçuk), lorsque Melek Ahmed Pacha fut nommé Beylerbey d'Özü et se met à décrire le fleuve et ses affluents avec un certain détail. Dans cette étude, ce sont à la fois les observations directes d'Evliya Çelebi, sa description géographique du Danube, mais aussi ses impressions qui seront analysées. Naturellement, on ne peut pas parler d'Evliya Çelebi sans parler également des légendes, qu'il rapporte à propos du Danube. Nous les examinerons de la même manière pour éventuellement en trouver la source.

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### **19. Yüzyıl Belgelerine Göre Cesaret ve Uykusuzluğun Kol Gezdiği Osmanlı Mahalleleri**

Osmanlı insanı ve onun sosyal hayatını anlama gayretleri içerisindeki araştırmacılar için, 'Osmanlı Mahallesi' temel bir birim olarak kabul edilir. Pek çok araştırmacı, klasik diyebileceğimiz, şer'i siciller, normatif düzenlemeler vb. kaynaklara dayanarak, bu yaşam hakkında değerli araştırmalar sunmuştur.

Ancak Osmanlı sosyal yaşamını çözümlenmeye yönelik bizim çalışmamızda ise, ağırlıklı olarak hukuki metinlerden elde ettiğimiz veriler, Osmanlı mahallelerinde yaşanan, klasik kaynakların bize hiçbir şey söylemediği, cesaret ve genel uykusuzluk halleri gibi yeni olgularla bizi tanıştırmakta olup, Osmanlı sosyal yaşamını farklı bir yaklaşımla ele almamızı sağladı.

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### **Bedirhan Aşireti'nin Sürgün Edilmesi Çerçevesinde Akdeniz Adalarına Yapılan Aşiret Sürgünleri**

Osmanlı Devleti'nde aşiretlere uygulanan sürgün iki farklı şekilde uygulanmıştır. Bunlardan birincisi iskân ve yerleştirme şeklinde olmuştur. Devlet, kendi egemenliği altında yaşayan

topluluklardan bir kısmını belirli program ve kurallar çerçevesinde, gönüllülük esasına dayalı olarak, değişik sebeplerle yerleşik oldukları bölgelerden alıp öngördüğü başka bölgelere yerleştirmiştir. İkincisi ise cezalandırma amaçlı sürgünler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çerçevede eşkıyalık ederek halkın huzur ve güvenliğini bozan bazı aşiretler ve aşiret mensupları, başka yerlere sürülerek zorunlu iskâna tabi tutulmuşlardır. Aşiretlere ikinci grupta uygulanan cezalandırma amaçlı sürgünlerin en önemli sebebi; ülkede oluşan otorite boşluğunu gidermek ve devlete karşı itaat ve güveni sağlayarak bu topluluklar üzerinde egemenlik sağlamaktır. Çalışmamızda, aşiretlere uygulanan sürgün cezaları bu anlamıyla ele alınacaktır.

Osmanlıda cezalandırma amaçlı olarak -milliyet ayırımı yapılmaksızın- birçok aşiret veya topluluk sürgüne gönderilmiştir. Bedirhanlar bu noktada dikkati çeken bir aşirettir. Pek çok isyanda adları geçen Bedirhanlar, Osmanlıda büyük bir aşirettir. Özellikle 19. yüzyılın başlarından (1838) itibaren zaman zaman Osmanlıya karşı isyan girişimlerinde bulunmuşlar ve neticede toplu halde sürgüne gönderilmişlerdir.

Araştırmada, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde konuyla ilgili belgeler ışığında, aşiretlere uygulanan sürgün cezalarının sebepleri ve uygulanış şekilleri ve Akdeniz adalarının bu sürgünlerde yeri ve önemi hakkında bir değerlendirme yapıldıktan sonra aşağıdaki sorulara cevap aranacaktır:

- Cezalandırma çerçevesinde Akdeniz adalarına gönderilen aşiretler hangileridir?
- Akdeniz adalarına sürgüne gönderilen aşiretlerin sürgün sebepleri nelerdir?
- Bu aşiretler içinde Bedirhan aşiretinin yeri nedir?
- Cezanın uygulanış şekli ve uygulama sonrası ortaya çıkan gelişmeler nelerdir?

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### **From Vassal to Miles Christianus: Sigismund Báthory's Battles with the Ottomans as a European Media Event**

The military campaigns of the 'Long Turkish War' (1593-1606) were accompanied by intense propaganda efforts in a wide variety of media. To date, research has primarily focused on the display of Habsburg military triumph, with particular emphasis placed on Emperor Rudolf II and his court artists in Prague. This paper aims to address the literary and visual display of military success from the point of view of the prince of Transylvania, Sigismund (Zsigmond) Báthory, who – due to his defection from Ottoman vassalage – became an important character carrying hope for the alliance led by the Habsburgs. My focus will be twofold. First, attention will be drawn to the prince's literary and historiographic stylisation as *miles christianus*, a topos heavily indebted to the idea of the crusade. Second, the argumentative strategies of diverse visual media (such as graphic arts, paintings, or maps) will be analysed with regard to their aim to communicate events from the Habsburg-Ottoman war to a Western European public.

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### **1908-1923 Sürecinde Bursa'da Koza Üreticiliği ve İpekli Dokumacılık Sektörü**

19. yüzyılda ipek filatür fabrikalarının damgasını vurduğu tekstil sanayindeki gelişme, ipekböceği kozasından ipek ipliği üretimi ile sınırlı kalmış; dokuma alanında etkili olmamıştır. Tekstil sanayinin ipekli kumaş dokuma alanında el tezgâhlarından kurtularak makineleşme süreci ise, II.



Meşrutiyetten sonra başlamıştır. Bu nedenle 1908 yılı, ipekli dokumacılıkta fabrikalaşma sürecinin başlangıç noktasını teşkil etmiştir. Meşrutiyetten sonra Avrupa ile olan temaslar, Bursa'da ipekli dokumacılığın gelişmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır. Bursa'da 1908'den sonra ipekli dokumacılık sektöründe yaşanan fabrikalaşma süreci, üretimde artış sağlarken; emek-sermaye çatışmasını da gündeme getirmiştir. 1910 yılında, Bursa ipekçiliğinde emeğin büyük kısmını temsil eden kadın işçilerin greve gittikleri görülmektedir.

1908 sonrasındaki sürece damgasını vuran diğer bir gelişme de, bu dönemde Bursa'da milli şirketlerin kurulmaya başlanması olmuştur. Bu gelişme, İttihat ve Terakkinin milli iktisat temelinde yerli ve milli burjuvazi yetiştirme siyasetinin sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Cumhuriyet yıllarında kurulan İpekişin temelini oluşturan "Bursa Mensucat-ı Osmaniye Anonim Şirketi" bu dönemde kurulmuştur.

1914 yılında dünya savaşının başlaması, savaş yıllarında yaşanan sevk ve iskân uygulamalarına bağlı olarak nüfus kompozisyonunda meydana gelen değişim, I.Dünya Savaşından sonra başlayan işgaller süreci, Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı ve 1923 Nüfus Mübadelesi, Bursa ve çevresinde ipekböcekçiliği ve ipek üretimini büyük ölçüde geriletmiş; dış pazarlar kapanmıştır. Bursa ipekçilik sektöründe canlanma, Cumhuriyetle birlikte Avrupa'daki yöntemlerin ülkemizde uygulanmaya başlanması ve yasal-kurumsal düzenlemelerle sağlanacaktır. Tüm bu konular, Bursa'da ham ipek üretim ve ihracatına ilişkin istatistikler, Osmanlı sanayi sayımları, Hüdavendigâr Vilayet Salnameleri, Bursa Halkevi Uludağ dergileri ve Bursa yerel basınına ait kaynaklarla değerlendirmeye alınacaktır.

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### **Le réinvestissement du passé par le présent : des usages multiples de l'histoire ottomane**

Depuis les années 1980, de plus en plus d'acteurs du monde culturel et politique évoquent les « images d'Epinal » de l'histoire ottoman.

Après une très longue absence, que couvre-t-il exactement ce retour au passé ? Une volonté de réappropriation un pan de l'histoire que la République a fait oublier ? Voulant rattraper ainsi une partie occultée de l'identité turque ?

Une manière de réhabiliter un temps révolu, pouvant en même temps reconforter et/ou servir des stratégies de reconquête de l'opinion, nationale et régionale ?

Et au plan international, s'agit-il de l'éveil d'une nostalgie dérisoire ou de la manifestation collatérale de l'émergence d'une puissance régionale ?

Dans cette communication, après avoir observé l'intérêt grandissant pour le passé ottoman provoqué et nourri par les historiens, ce qui est légitime, mais aussi des médias, des politiques et des acteurs internationaux, on tentera de susciter la réflexion sur divers aspects de ce phénomène.

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### **Seeking Power at an Imperial Court Divided by Factions: The New Ruling Strategies of the Ottoman Sultans in the Late 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

This paper examines the changing dynamics of power and patronage relations at the Ottoman imperial court in Istanbul in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It aims to provide new perspectives on the question of how power was wielded within the institutional frameworks of the court between the 1570s and the 1610s, a crucial period which many scholars today consider the

beginning of a long era of ‘crisis and change’ in the dynastic, political, socio-economic, military and administrative structures of the pre-modern Ottoman Empire. The present study focuses on the politics of factionalism and favoritism at the higher echelons of the Ottoman ruling elite who were situated in and around Topkapı Palace, which served as both the sultan’s royal residence and the seat of his imperial government. My main objective is to shed light on the political problems of this period through the prism of the paramount ruling figure, the sultan, by illustrating how the Ottoman rulers of this era, namely, Murad III (r. 1574-95), Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) and Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), repositioned themselves in practical politics vis-à-vis alternative foci of power and networks of patronage, and how they projected power in the context of a factional politics that was intertwined with the exigencies of prolonged wars and incessant military rebellions. I contend that, under these circumstances, these sultans employed new ruling strategies in order to impose their sovereign authority on the business of rule, an end which they achieved, with varying degrees of success, mainly through the mediation of their royal favorites and the court factions led by them.

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### **Topkapı Sarayı or a Journey to the End of Time**

I have been endeavoring for some considerable time to read early modern ambassadors’ reports from the Ottoman Empire as personal reports. For this reason, in my contribution I would like to include a study of a building which plays a special role in these reports: the Sultan’s Palace in Istanbul – Topkapı Sarayı. For there is one thing about which all these reports concur: nothing in Topkapı Sarayı is without significance, and everything or at least almost everything is also imbued with symbolic value. Here it is important to keep one’s eyes wider open than usual in order to spot those ghostlike movements which reveal a concealed window or a remote, abruptly-opening gate. Here it is necessary to listen precisely in order to experience the palace not just as an architectural, but also as an acoustic order which serves first and foremost to represent power as tranquility – and not for example as breadth. And here it is furthermore important at all times to view all actions and all movements in relation to each other, so as to interpret this as the order which appears to determine the success or failure of the individual’s political mission: as a multiply differentiated building of sacral communications in which literally everything is at stake. This means, however: it is my assumption that this building is particularly well-suited to being ‘read’ as a building of self-observation and of self-assurance, indeed as a building of self-revelation.

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### **The Anaza Bedouins and the Ottoman State during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The Anaza were a tribal confederation of more than 100,000 Bedouin camel herders who during the 19<sup>th</sup> century moved with their herds in the Syrian steppe between the northern Arabian Peninsula and south-eastern Anatolia. In genealogical terms, the Anaza are considered a family of tribes. In political terms, they are best described as an umbrella organisation of various groups that exploited economic and political niches in a peripheral region of the Ottoman Empire. The peripheral location itself was instrumental for the political strategy of the Anaza groups, as it enabled them to bargain with multiple power holders, be it the Ottoman governors of Aleppo, Bagdad and Damascus, the central government in Istanbul or the Wahhabi movement in the Najd. At times, Anaza groups even developed state-like structures of their own.

The Ottomans mostly perceived the Anaza as a disruptive force which hampered control of the steppe lands. However, they could not avoid cooperating with them. Crucial issues where a cooperative approach was needed were the safety of overland roads, the trade of Aleppo and the organisation of the Damascene hajj caravan.

Drawing on documents from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul as well as on shari'a court records, travelogues and consular reports, the paper presents hypotheses on how representatives of the Anaza used the structures of the Ottoman state for their own ends. Particular attention will be given to alliances between individual Anaza leaders and the provincial government, to tactics of drawing the state into local conflicts and to issues of symbolic representation. Finally, it will be asked how the Tanzimat reforms changed the rules of political interaction between the Anaza and the Ottomans.

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### **Wearing and Trading the Fez in an Ottoman-Mediterranean Context (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> C.)**

My paper focuses on the intra-Mediterranean trade links and cultural bonds in two regions of the Ottoman Empire: Greece – its southwestern part, Peloponnesus – and Tunisia, addressing the embedded cultural heritage between a Christian and a Muslim region under the same political authority, the Ottoman Porte. In the pre-industrial period of Mediterranean exchanges, geographic vicinity and economic complementarity were strong assets in the creation of capitalistic enclaves, which were nourished by the common consumption of everyday use items. In the intricate relation between the two Mediterranean regions, *corso* constitutes an intervening filter of understanding between them. The Western-created term *Barbaria*, dictated by the perception of the dangerous image of the *barbarian corso*, leaves its place to a Greek adjective, *barbareziko*, indicating the place of origin of a luxurious item of wearing apparel, the fez. Caps and fezzes were common to Christian and Muslim populations and their spread consumption created a vast arena of entrepreneurial opportunities from trade to manufacturing, overlapping religious and ethnic differences, strengthening and strengthened by cultural bonds. A basic argument here is in what ways cultural features and geographical vicinity can provoke, facilitate, and energize trade links.

The main sources of the paper are the private papers of the Efessios merchant house, and secondary sources.

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### **Catholic Elites and Ottomans in the Western Balkans (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

Following the conquest of the Balkans in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, a long process of implementation of the Ottoman institutions took place in the region, with major consequences at the social, economic and cultural levels. Within this context, the phenomenon of Islamization affected many Christian communities, among them the Catholics living mostly in the Western areas of the peninsula.

This was caused mainly by the frail social position of the Catholic subjects living under Ottoman rule, as they lacked a juridical form of representation recognized by the Porte (with the notable exception of the Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia), unlike the case of the Orthodox, represented by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In other words, the Catholics under the

Ottomans lacked a representative elite. However, the Franciscan Bosnians, the Ragusan mercantile communities living in towns, or members of the Catholic clergy (i.e., bishops, parish priests and missionaries commissioned by the Congregation ‘De Propaganda Fide’) functioned in specific circumstances as local elites credited by the Ottoman authorities as representatives of their coreligionists. In most cases, the studies focusing on Balkan society under the Ottomans generally miss the problem of the Catholic elites, the analysis of the Muslim or Orthodox elites being prevalent.

The purpose of my paper is to investigate and describe the relations between these ‘local elites’ and the Ottoman authorities, the way these relations build their social role within the communities including also various forms of passive and active resistance to the pressures towards integration through Islamization. I consider that my contribution will clarify some aspects concerning, at a more general level, the degree to which religious identities were defined through social networks and, at a more specific level, the way local Balkan Catholic elites emerged and functioned in various contexts in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

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**Self-Conversion in the Balkans:  
A Micro-History of 15<sup>th</sup>-Century Çeç and Divoçane  
in the Rhodope Mountains**

Conversion to Islam in the Balkans continues to be a controversial issue. In light of such controversy, this paper is based on a micro-study of two particular villages, Çeç and Divoçane, where large-scale, individual self-conversion occurred. The study is based on a detailed tax register of 1478. By analyzing the entries concerning the two villages (in particular usage of names and role of geography), I will attempt to present some different ideas and assumptions concerning self-conversion in the Rhodopes. I have chosen these villages for several reasons: although the Rhodopes were among the first regions to be conquered by the Ottomans in the Balkans, these villages were high in the mountains and not on a route that put them under immediate and direct Ottoman administration.

However, by the time the villages were fully registered, Çeç, the larger of the two, had completely converted to Islam. Meanwhile Divoçane, by comparison, remained mixed, demonstrating an intricate process of conversion, as well as a complex interaction between Muslims and Christians. This micro-study evaluates if the socio-economic and geographical climate motivated or influenced the process of self-conversion. Possible contact with Turkic elements is also examined through an analysis of the origin and frequency of name types adopted by converts, in order to theorize about the spread of Islam in this region. The analysis of names and taxes paid will also suggest the type of Islam practiced by the new converts.

The purpose of this paper is neither to deliver a total history of conversion nor a snapshot of the area. Rather, one particular entry is used to demonstrate how a detailed Ottoman tax register, when approached differently, can reveal new information concerning the process of conversion to Islam, without drawing any conclusive ideas concerning other time periods or geographical areas in the Balkans.

### **Giritli Osmanlı Ressamlarından Kazım Kavur Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri**

Girit – Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika'ya eşit mesafelerde bulunan bu ada yıllar yılı medeniyetlerin bir kavşağı idi. Mısırlılar, Yunanlılar, Romalılar, Bizanslı ve Filistinli müstemlekeçiler, Müslümanlar ve Haçlı şövalyeleri hep buraya uğrayarak sanat medeniyetinin bir parçasını bıraktılar. Geçmişte Venediklilerin ve Romalıların alabildiğine sömürdükleri bu güzel adada 1645 yılında başlayan Osmanlı kuşatması 1669'da kesin zafer ile sonuçlanmış ve Osmanlı dönemi başlamıştır. Böylece ada halkı yeni medeniyeti ile kültürü de altında günlerini yaşamıştı.

Türk-İslam eserleri ile bir baştan diğer başa yeni gelin gibi süslenmiş ve Anadolu alperenleri ile de manevi zenginliğe kavuşmuştur. Kurulan tekke ve zaviyelerle de Müslüman halk manevi hazzı tatmıştır. 1898 tarihinde batılıların müdahalesi ile durum değişmiş ve Girit otonomi kazanmıştır. 1912-1913 Balkan harpleri sonunda ise Yunanistan ile birleşmiş ve tamamen Osmanlıların elinden çıkmıştır. Yaklaşık 244 yıl Osmanlı yönetiminde kalan bu güzel ada Osmanlı eserlerini bilhassa mimari eseri doludur. Diğer memleketlerine göre Girit te oldukça fazla Türk eserine rastlanmaktadır.

Osmanlı halkı dünya medeniyeti için güzel bir tarih sayfasını da açmış: Osmanlıların zamanında Osmanlı aydınları Girit'in (El Greco dünyaca ünlü ressamın memleketinde) kültürünü zenginleştirdiler ve katkıda bulunmuşlar. Birçok isimlerin arasında çeşitli zamanlarda diplomatlar, yazarlar, şairler ve ressamlar vardı. Tanzimat'tan sonra modernleşme olayı Girit adasında yaşandı. 19. yy sonunda ve 20. yy başındaki sanatçılar Avrupalı meslektaşlarıyla temaslar kurup Avrupa'da bulunan akımlar (resim, heykel, edebiyat vs) gerçekleştiriyorlardı. Bunların bir örneği Giritli ressam Kazım Kavur beydir. Unutulmuş sayılabilir ama son zamanlarda bulunan resimlerinden bellidir ki ondan bahsetmeliyiz ve dünya sanatına hatırlatmalıyız. *Türk çağdaş sanatının öncülerinden olan* Kazım Kavur'un şahsiyeti ve çalışmaları hakkında ve o dönemin sanat yaşam ortamı hakkında geniş bilgi verip power point şekilde sunum yapılacaktır.

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### **Ottoman Military Support for Tributary States: The Case of Wallachia and Moldavia (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> C.)**

The aim of the paper is to discuss the Ottoman military interventions in favor of two of its tributary states, Wallachia and Moldavia. There are at least three different cases to be taken into account. The first concerns military help for a candidate appointed by the sultan as a ruler of Wallachia/Moldavia; the second is related to Ottoman interventions during the Wallachian-Moldavian wars in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; in the third case, the Porte gave military aid during the conflicts of Wallachia and Moldavia with their more powerful neighbors (Hungary and Poland). The paper will try to answer some important questions such as the number and quality of Ottoman units involved as well as the relations between the Wallachian and Moldavian political elite and the Ottoman *begs* who led the expedition. It will also highlight the differences between the Moldavian and Wallachian cases as well as the changes in the nature of military collaboration between the two principalities and the Porte during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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### **Ottoman Perceptions of the Indian Subcontinent as Reflected in the *Cihânnümâ* of Katip Çelebi**

One of the most prominent and challenging works left by the Ottoman scholar and polymath Katip Çelebi is his massive geographical work, the *Cihânnümâ*, which was never completed. The noted Ottoman founder of its first printing-press, İbrâhîm Müteferrika, considered it important enough to expand upon its foundations and print the work in 1732. The development of the *Cihânnümâ* is remarkable, at least in part, because Katip Çelebi recognized the utility of several treatises of European geographical literature that had been emerging in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Having had these works translated by intermediaries, he was in the process of rewriting the work with the input from this foreign literature when he died in 1657. While the work has occasionally attracted scholarly attention, interest in it has otherwise languished in favor of Katip Çelebi's other, more accessible works, such as *The Balance of Truth* or his catalogue of medieval and early modern works of Islamic civilization. Having recently completed a translation of the relevant chapters, the goal of this paper is to examine how Katip Çelebi presented the Indian Subcontinent and Indian Ocean world to his contemporaries. Through an examination of these chapters of the work and others related to the topic, the paper will address the question of how an Ottoman intellectual like Katip Çelebi envisioned and imagined parts of the world that he encountered only through textual intermediaries, both Muslim and European. It will also examine the interplay between the Muslim and non-Muslim sources in the compilation of the *Cihânnümâ* as a whole.

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### **A City Caught in Between: Viewing Byzantine Adrianople against Historical and Scholarly Disjunctions**

Little survives in modern Edirne to bear witness to the fascinating Byzantine history of the city. Constantly ravaged by war during the Byzantine period and dramatically rebuilt in the early Ottoman period, the historic core of the city was devastated by fire and earthquake and suffered additional damage during the sieges and wars especially in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Moreover, located on a river valley that separates Greece from Turkey, the city has become a part of a liminal zone exacerbated by political, religious, and linguistic differences, and thus the city's Byzantine legacy has been entirely overshadowed by its Ottoman successor.

The so-called Church of Hagia Sophia was destroyed by a fire in 1751 and left a ruin. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was nothing left of the building. Luckily though, it was studied by A. Choisy who published two plans in 1876 and 1913. Choisy claimed that the building had two construction phases. Its first plan has an aisled tetraconch plan dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century but remodeled in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Another tetraconch-planned church was the Sinaitikon constructed in the period of the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Yıldırım Camii is another curious building within the purview of this talk. Interpreted as Byzantine in origin due to its cruciform plan and odd orientation, this building might have reused Byzantine foundation walls and is undoubtedly of early Ottoman origin, possibly constructed as a convent.

In this paper, using a set of visual data (inventories, catalogues, albums and sketches), historical documents and archaeology, I aim to reclaim the character and context of the Byzantine city of Adrianople. My paper analyzes a significant story of cultural development during the

Byzantine period and helps us to see the city that the Ottomans encountered when they conquered it.

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### **The Women Guards at the Service of the Ottoman Customs**

At the beginning of the 1900s the Ottoman Customs Administration (*Rüsûmât Dairesi*) began to employ women guards at the Ottoman Customs. Actually prior to this date women had been employed in different fields, including women's prisons, but this employment was to be a new experience for the Ottoman women. So why did the Customs Administration begin to employ women guards at the customs in the early 1900s? Ottoman archival sources explain this as the result of increasing smuggling by women of various items, like firearms, salt, tobacco, textiles, etc., which were also smuggled by men. Especially, smuggling tobacco turned to be an aspect of the struggle of Ottoman producers against the Régie Company and the Public Debt Administration, since their incomes were badly affected from these two institutions' monopoly and restrictions. In fact, the Régie had begun to employ male guards after the 1890s to keep tobacco production under its control and to fight smuggling. When the male smugglers became easy target for the male guards, it seems that women began to be involved in smuggling, since they could not be checked according to the Sharia or the traditional rules. In a period when the Ottoman governments were not willing to help to prevent this problem, the Régie insisted on the employment of women guards at various borders near the tobacco production centers, like Izmir, Bursa, Edirne, and Salonica, in order to fight women smugglers.

This paper aims to examine the employment of Ottoman women as guards at the Ottoman Customs, and provide information as to where and how the Ottoman women guards were employed in the light of related sources, so as to contribute to a little-known case in Ottoman history.

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### **19. Yüzyılda İdari Değişimin Odak Noktası Olarak Bâbîâli Binası**

Osmanlı Devleti'nde yeni bakanlıkların, meclislerin ve belediye örgütünün oluşturulduğu 19. yüzyıl, idari mekânizmada yoğun bir değişim sürecine işaret eder. Tanzimat Dönemi (1839-1876) ile ivme kazanan bu süreçte, 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren hükümet merkezi olarak biçimlenmeye başlayan Bâbîâli binası önemli değişimler geçirmiştir. 19. yüzyılda kagir olarak yeniden inşa edilmeden önce bir çok yangın geçiren Bâbîâli binası, önceleri sadrazamın konutu ve idari merkez konumunda iken, bu dönemde tamamen bakanlık ve meclislerin yerleşimine ayrılmıştır. 1839 yangınından sonra Avrupai görünümde tasarlanan Bâbîâli, İstanbul Tarihi Yarımadası'nda politik bir güç odağı olarak baskın bir kütleli kompozisyona sahipti. Arşiv kayıtlarından izlenebildiği kadarıyla, neredeyse her yıl, yapının belli bir bölümü onarılmış, genişletilmiş veya yeni dairelerin teşkil edilmesi için tekrar düzenlenmiştir. Bâbîâli Binası, dönemin bürokratik yapılanmasının mimari yansıması olarak okunabilir. Bu çalışmada, Bâbîâli ve çevresinin 19. yüzyılda geçirmiş olduğu değişimin, arşiv belgeleri ve dönemin hassas siyasi atmosferi baz alınarak irdelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

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### **About the Political Identity of Osman Bey: Was He A Khan?**

It is remarkable that, besides demographic, religious and economic factors, in most Ottoman historians' accounts of the establishment of the Ottoman *beylik*, any political-administrative factors have not been taken into consideration sufficiently. In this respect, the effects of the Mongol/Ilkhanid administration in Anatolia and Mongol/Ilkhanid thought of sovereignty on the 'foundation' of the Ottoman *beylik* have been touched slightly and tenuously by most researchers. In fact, Anatolia was under the Ilkhanid rule for about a century between the years 1243-1335. The type and thought of government, sources of legitimacy, fiscal, military and administrative regulations in the Ottoman state bear the deep impact of the Ilkhanid period. From this point of view, it is arguable that the Mongol/Ilkhanid rule left a legacy regarding the early Ottomans' understanding of policy and administration.

Indeed, the Mongol nomads represented the common tradition for the Ottoman nomads: Turkish-Mongolian steppe culture. This paper argues that the most concrete legacy of the Mongol/Ilkhanid hegemony in Anatolia was the institution of khanship of the steppe culture as a model of political organisation which was followed by the early Ottomans when they established their state. Besides evaluating the political and administrative effects of Mongol-Ilkhanid rule on Turcoman identity in Anatolia, we shall particularly focus on determining the role played by the khanship in the foundation of the Ottoman *beylik* by re-reading primary sources.

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### **1837-1908 Sürecinde Bursa'da Koza Üreticiliği ve İpekli Dokumacılık Sektörü**

Osmanlı döneminde Bursa'da koza yetiştiriciliği ve ipekli dokumacılık sektörü yaklaşık 500 yıllık köklü bir yapıya ve geleneğe sahiptir. 19. yüzyılın başlarına kadar ham ipeğin üretimi evlerde ve mahallelerde geleneksel yöntemlerle ve tepme mançınıklar vasıtasıyla yapılmış, üretilen kumaşlar ise iyi örgütlenmiş esnaf teşkilatları aracılığıyla imal edilmiştir. Ancak 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde birçok alanda görüldüğü gibi, sektörde de değişimi başlatacak yenileşme sürecine girilmiştir. Kentte ham ipek üreten ilk fabrika 1837 yılında açılmıştır. Fabrika sahipleri Bursa'nın dışından işçiler getirmişler, başlangıçta sadece Rum kızlarından oluşan işçiler sonraları yerli Türk, Ermeni ve Yahudiler arasından da çıkmaya başlamıştır. Yaşanan tüm bu gelişmeler Bursa'nın ipekçilik tarihinde köklü değişimin başlangıcını oluşturmakla birlikte, geleneksel ham ipek üretim tekniğinden de vazgeçilmemiştir. 19. yüzyılın ortalarında Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan Pebrine (Karataban) adlı ipekböceği hastalığı, 1860'larda Osmanlı sahasına girmiş ve Bursa'daki ipekçilik sektörünü durma noktasına getirmiştir. 1881 sonrası Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi'nin ipek öşrü gelirlerini toplama hakkını üzerine alması, Avrupa'daki gelişmelerle birlikte ipekböcekçiliği ve Bursa için yeni bir dönemin başlamasında etkili olmuştur. Bursa'da koza yetiştiriciliğinin fennî usûllerle yapılması için eğitim verecek olan Harîr Dârüttâlîmi ve Bursa Ziraat Mektebine bağlı Harîr Dârüttahsili açılmıştır. 1908 yılından itibaren ise Bursa'da ham ipeğin üretimi dışında ipekli kumaşlar üretmek üzere dokuma fabrikaları açılmaya başlamıştır. Hazırlanacak olan bildiri 1837-1908 yılları arasında ilgili sektörde Bursa'da yaşanan değişim sürecini değerlendirmeye almayı amaçlamaktadır.



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## **Centralisation of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria in Istanbul: Testimony of the Patriarchal *Berats* of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

Following Steven Runciman's *Great Church in Captivity*, which still dominates the secondary literature on the Greek Orthodox Church in the Ottoman era, a number of scholars maintained that throughout the whole Ottoman period, both Ottoman administration and the Eastern Patriarchates needed the mediation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in their relations. This obsession with Runciman's paradigm influenced the scholarship to the extent that even those scholars who distinctively made use of the correspondence between the Great Church and the central administration and disagreed with many of Runciman's arguments regarding the Patriarchate and the Ottoman administration, repeated the same fallacies about the status of the Eastern Patriarchates. The paper proposes that these scholars supported Runciman's paradigm with 19<sup>th</sup>-century documents and anachronistically imposed them to earlier centuries. With a close examination of the patriarchal *berats* issued for the Eastern Patriarchates in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, which have always escaped attention, this paper analyses the transformation in the way Ottoman administration regarded the Eastern Patriarchates. This paper focuses on the *berats* issued for Chrysanthos of Jerusalem (1707-1731) and Athanasios of Antioch (1720-1724), which showed a number of distinct elements, followed by those issued for Silvestros of Antioch (1724-1766), Parthenios of Jerusalem (1737-1766), and Matthaïos of Alexandria (1746-1766), which show a graphic rupture from earlier *berats*. These latter *berats* also show the degree of the centralisation of the Eastern Patriarchates' affairs in Istanbul. On a broader scale, the paper suggests that the centralisation of the Eastern Patriarchates in Istanbul was not the result of their domination by the Great Church, as has been maintained by many, but of co-operation between the Ottoman central administration and lay and ecclesiastical leaders of the Ottoman Orthodox.

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## **Celestin Bonnin and the Creation of a Modern Ottoman Police Force**

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman state developed a modern, urban police force, with Istanbul leading the way. In general, this followed the pattern of development evident in Europe, and especially France. There were two major points of development: organization and professionalization. Organizational issues included the setting up of plainclothes police as well as a uniformed branch, the development of different intelligence (or spy) organizations for political and criminal information, and where and how the various branches of the police should fit into the governmental hierarchy.

Professionalizing the police force meant stamping out corruption and incompetence, as well as the bureaucratic mindset that expected a good salary but little or no work.

At the center of this modernization project was a Frenchman named Celestin Bonnin. Bonnin Efendi, as he was known, was hired in the 1880s to improve the Ottoman police. Recent works on the Ottoman police (such as that of Noemi Levy) fail to even mention Bonnin Efendi. This paper contributes to the emerging scholarship on the Ottoman police by examining the role of Inspector Bonnin Efendi in transforming the Ottoman police force, drawing on the reports and recommendations Celestin Bonnin presented to Sultan Abdülhamid II.

It also looks at later organizational patterns and concerns over professionalism to achieve an initial assessment of Bonnin Efendi's effects on the Ottoman police. Finally, it looks at two criminal cases Bonnin Efendi was involved in as an active investigator, to explore the role he

played not just in the organization of the police, but also in their everyday investigative techniques. I conclude that, although Bonnin Efendi is mentioned nowhere in the literature on the Ottoman police, his important role in the development of the Ottoman police deserves recognition. The Ottoman police reform was shaped to a significant degree by the insights and experiences of a French advisor translating a European model to serve the needs of an expanding Ottoman state.

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### **Adaletin Hikayeler Üzerinden Tesis**

Adalet taleplerimiz daima adaletsizlik ithamlarımız üzerinde yükselir. Adalet arayışımızı daima mağduru olduğumuz adaletsizlik motive eder. Adaletsizliğin olmadığı yerde adalet talebi veya adalet arayışı da yoktur. Adalet, adaletsizlik olmadan düşünülemez. Aslında anahtar kavram adalet değil adaletsizliktir. Adaletin ne olduğuna, ne olması gerektiğine ve nasıl tesis edileceğine dair buluşlarımızın tümünü adaletsizliğe maruz kalmamıza borçluyuz. Çünkü adaletin yaşadığımız dünyada bir gerçekliği yoktur.

Adalet, fiilî durumdan ziyade olması istenen bir dünyayı dile getirir. Adalet bir ideal, adaletsizlikse realitedir. Bu sebeple hukukun adaleti tesis etmesini istiyor ve bekliyoruz. Oysa hukukun bir kutsiyeti yoktur ve hukuk demek adalet demek değildir. Çoğu zaman adalet hukukta gerçekleşmez. Hukukun zaman zaman adaleti zedelediği ve hatta yeri geldiğinde adaletin önündeki en büyük engelin hukuk olduğu da söylenebilir.

Hukuk bir bilim olma idealiyle kesinlik arayışına girdiğinde bütün farklılıkları ve istisnaları göz ardı etmek durumundadır; başka türlü işleyemez. Herkesi kuşatacak bir karara imza atmanın bedeli tekil durumların ıskalanması pahasına mümkündür. Bu nedenle hukuk suçun tanımını ve cezaî yaptırımını ile ilgilenir. Oysa genel bir suç tanımını yapmak o suçu çerçevelemektir. Oysa adalet çerçevenemez. Çünkü adalet suçun hikâyesine dair bir şeydir. Adalet arayışı ancak bu tekil hikâyeler üzerinden mümkündür.

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### **Gayr-ı Menkul Satışında Şuf'a (Önalım) Hakkının Kullanımı: Kandiye Örneği**

Şuf'a (önalım), satılan ya da satılmış hükmünde olan bir gayr-ı menkulün müşteriden ya da müşteri hükmünde olan kişiden cebren alıp aynı fiyatla şuf'a sahibine vermek demektir. Mülkünü satmak niyetinde olan kişi bunu öncelikle belli kişilere teklif etmek zorundadır. Şuf'a hakkı sahibi olarak adlandırılan bu kişiler (a) satılan taşınmazda ortak olanlar, (b) bu gayr-ı menkulde irtifak hakkı bulunur ve (c) komşulardır. Güdülen amaç ise, ortaklar ve komşular arasında zararlı kimselerin girmesini önleme, eski ortak ve komşuların huzur ve güvenliğini sağlama düşüncesidir. Eğer mülk sahibi bu malı şuf'a hakkına sahip olanlara haber vermeden satarsa hak sahipleri kadı aracılığıyla satışı iptal ettirme gücüne sahiptirler. Bu hak yalnızca gayr-i menkuller için geçerli olup, vakıf ve miri arazileri kapsamamaktadır.

Kısaca hukuksal olarak tanımlamaya çalıştığımız bu uygulamaya Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun değişik bölgelerinde oldukça seyrek örneklerine rastlanmaktadır. Ancak 19. yüzyılda Girit Kandiye'de, özellikle komşular arasında sıklıkla kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Örneğin Vakıflar Arşivi mübadele evrakı arasında bulunan 604 nolu Kandiye Şeriye Sicilinde Müslüman olsun Gayrı Müslim olsun şufa hakkını talep edenlerin açıkları davalar yer

almaktadır. Bu bildiriye, 1845–1849 yılları arasındaki şerhiye sicillerinden elde edilen örnekler üzerinde durulacaktır.

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### **Osmanlı Modern Eğitim Kurumlarında İşlenen Suçlar**

Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun ile başlayan Osmanlı eğitim modernleşmesi Sultan II. Mahmud ile önemli bir merhale kat etmiştir. O dönemde yeni tarzda askeri okular açıldığı gibi ilk modern sivil öğretim kurumların da temelleri atılmıştır. Sultan II. Mahmud tarafından başlatılmış olan eğitim alanındaki modernleşme Tanzimat Dönemi'nde devam ettirilmiştir. Tanzimat Dönemi'nde çeşitli sivil öğretim kurumları açıldığı gibi Maârif Nezâretinin kuruluşu tamamlanmıştır. Açılan okulların ülke geneline yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışıldığı bu dönemde, eğitim alanında atılan en önemli adım, 1869 yılında kabul edilen, Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi'dir. Ancak nizamnâme kararlarının gerçekleştirilmesi Tanzimat Dönemi'nde mümkün olmamıştır. Sultan II. Abdülhamid'le birlikte Tanzimat Dönemi'nin, eğitim alanındaki birikimleri uygulamaya konulduğu gibi birçok yenilik de hayat bulmuştur. O dönemde ilk, orta ve yüksek öğretim kurumları şekillenip ülke geneline yayıldığı gibi pek çok alanda yeni eğitim öğretim kurumları da açılmıştır. II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde ilk, orta ve yüksek öğretim yapısında değişikliğe gidilmiştir. Eğitim alanındaki modernleşme sürecinde açılan okullarda öğrencilerden, öğretmenlerden, okul çalışanlarından, velilerden vb. kaynaklanan çeşitli problemler ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu bildiri çerçevesinde Osmanlı eğitiminin modernleşmesi sürecinde açılmış okulların, idarecilerinden, memurlarından, öğrencilerinden, öğretmenlerinden, velilerinden, müteahhitlerinden vb. kaynaklanan suç örnekleri ele alınacaktır. Bu suretle Osmanlı modern eğitim kurumlarının problemleri, bu yönüyle, ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır.

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### **Osmanlı Modern Mekteplerinde Ödüllendirme**

Osmanlı modernleşmesinin ilk başladığı alanlardan biri eğitim olmuş, tüm alanlarda olduğu gibi askeri başarının da temeli eğitime dayanmakta olduğundan Avrupa tarzı askeri birlikler kurulurken askeri okullarda açılmaya başlanmıştır. İlk modern okulların kuruluş çalışmaları 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında başlamıştır. Kurumsal olarak açılan ilk modern eğitim kurumu askeri bir okul olan Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun (1775) olmuştur. Daha sonra diğer askeri okullar Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun, Tıbbiye, Baytar Mektebi ve Mektebi Fünûn-i Harbiye açılmıştır. Askeri olmayan devlet daireleri için memur ve askeri yüksekokullara öğrenci hazırlamak üzere açılan ilk modern ortaöğretim okul Rüşdiye Mektebi 1839 tarihinde açılmıştır. Daha sonra ilköğretimden yükseköğretime kadar tüm okullar zaman içinde açılmıştır.

Yeni eğitim kurumlarında programdan öğretim yöntemine kadar modern pedagojik yöntemler kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Programlarda pozitif bilimler yer almış, derslerde modern öğretim yöntemleri kullanılmaya başlamıştır. Başarıyı artıran modern yöntemlerden birinin ödüllendirme olduğu bilinen bir yöntem olarak alınmıştır. Rüşdiye mektepleri öğretime başladığında ödüllendirme yöntemi de uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Yılsonu sınavları bir tören havasında ulema, devlet adamları huzurunda yapılarak başarılı olanların tamamı bir üst sınıfa geçtiği gibi ayrıca ödüllendirilmiş, dereceye girenlerden birincilere “sim nişan” ve “altın madalya” ödülü verilmiş, ikinci, üçüncülere de derecesine göre ödüller verilmiştir. Okullardan

mezun olanlar mezuniyet derecelerine göre devlet kurumlarında tayin edilmiş ve bu da ödüllendirmenin son aşamasını oluşturmuştur.

Modern okullar taşraya yaygınlaştıktan sonra ödüller de törensel nitelik kazanmıştır. Vilayetlerde ilköğretim, ortaöğretim okullarında öğretim yılı sonunda ödül törenleri düzenlenmiş, törenlerin düzenlenmesi ve verilen ödüllerin masrafları merkezi veya mahalli bütçelerden karşılanmıştır. Ödüllendirmeler çeşitli niteliklerde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bazı okullarda doğrudan maddi destek olarak para ödülü, bazılarında atın, gümüş gibi madalya verilmiş, bazılarında ise daha çok manevi yeri olan kitap, bayrak gibi ödüller verilmiştir.

Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde konu ile ilgili yüzlerce yazışma bulunmaktadır. İstanbul ve taşradaki okullarda yapılan bu ödül törenleri cetveller halinde Maarif Nezareti'ne sunulmuştur. Bu çalışmada ödüller nitelik ve nicelik yönünden incelenecektir.

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### **Osmanlı Seramik Sanatında Yeni Bir Keşif**

Bu bildiri kapsamında, Osmanlı seramik sanatından söz eden bütün kaynaklarda – işlevi belirtilmeksizin – ‘halka’ ya da ‘disk’ olarak tanımlanan bir grup buluntuya değinilecektir. Nitekim 1981 yılından beri sürdürülen İznik Çini Fırınları Kazıları’nda ele geçen parçalar arasında da bulunan bu halkalar aslında ‘ağırlıklırlar’. Sadece madeni örnekleri bilinen ve dirhem olarak isimlendirilen bu tip ağırlıkların seramik örneklerinin bilim dünyasına tanıtılması, akademik literatürde yerini alması gereklidir. Bu amaçla özellikle İznik Çini Fırınları Kazısı’nda ele geçen örneklerden yola çıkarak bu tip parçalar tanıtılacak, başka kazı ve koleksiyonlardan tanınan örneklerle birlikte değerlendirileceklerdir. Ayrıca bu seramik örnekler madeni örneklerle form, desen ve boyut açısından karşılaştırılacaklardır.

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### **Osmanlı Esnafında İşyeri Açma Uygulaması, Karşılaşılan İstismarlar ve Uygulanan Yaptırımlar**

Osmanlı Esnaf Nizamına göre yeni işyerlerinin açılması izne bağlı olup, bunda halkın talebi ve ihtiyaçlar gözetilmekteydi. Ancak söz konusu nizama ve uygulanan yaptırımlara rağmen, Osmanlı Esnafı arasında, mesleğini icra ederken çok çeşitli istismarlara başvuran esnaf hemen her dönemde olmuştur. Esnafta sıklıkla karşılaşılan istismarların başında, ruhsatsız veya izinsiz işyeri açılması uygulaması gelmekteydi. Gerek Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, gerek Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki kayıtlarda, gerekse Şer‘iyye Sicillerinde bu konuya dair çok sayıda örnek olaya rastlamak mümkündür. Mevcut nizama göre, devletin tespit etmiş olduğu sayıdan fazla dükkân açılması veya devletin izni olmaksızın işyeri açılması yasaktı.

Dükkân sayısı yeterli iken bir süre sonra nüfusun artmasına paralel olarak yeni dükkânlara ihtiyaç duyulması halinde yeni işyerlerinin açılmasına izin verilmekteydi. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Cevdet Tasnifinde (C. BLD-7162) yer alan bir kayıta konu hakkında ilgi çekici bilgiler yer almaktadır. Buna göre, aralarında mahallenin imamı ve müezzininin de bulunduğu elli Müslüman ile kırk kişiden meydana gelen gayrimüslim erkek ve elli kadın, İstanbul Kadısı’na müracaat ederek, otuz yıldan bu yana nüfusta meydana gelen artış neticesinde bakkal dükkânlarının sayısının yetersiz kaldığını ifade etmiş yeni bakkal dükkânlarının açılmasını talep etmişlerdi.

Halkın talebinin ilgililer tarafında uygun bulunarak yerine getirildiği görülmektedir. Benzer hassasiyetin, ihtiyaç fazlası dükkânların yıkılmasında da gösterildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bir

şer'iyeye sicilinde, mevcut on dört adet kunduracı dükkânının ihtiyacı karşılması sebebiyle izinsiz açılan yeni kunduracı dükkânın yıkılmasına karar verildiği bilgisi dikkati çekmektedir (Bkz. İMŞSA-İK-48 vr. 4-b 01 ZA 1195/19 Ekim 1781).

Yukarıdaki iki örnek olaydan hareketle devletin, esnafın faaliyetlerini sıkı bir şekilde kontrol ettiği ve gerekli yaptırımları uyguladığı sonucunu çıkarmak mümkündür. Bu tebliğde H 1100-1200 döneminde özellikle İstanbul Esnafının, mesleğini icra ederken baş vurduğu istismarlar ile devletin, bu istismarların önüne geçmek maksadıyla uyguladığı cezalar incelenmeye çalışılacaktır.

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### **Transforming Urban Space in a Late Ottoman Port-City: The Ayasofya Mosque in Salonica**

In 1890 a major fire ravaged the centre of Salonica. Among the damaged buildings was Ayasofya, a Byzantine church which had been turned into a mosque roughly a hundred years after the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1430. After much deliberation and search for the necessary funds, the Ottoman state assigned the operation to the young French archaeologist Michel de Tourneau, who, with the help of historian Charles Diehl, proceeded between 1907 and 1909 to restore the 8<sup>th</sup>-century building, including its original Byzantine interior decorations.

The repairs on Ayasofya were only one of the many interventions made by the Ottoman authorities on Salonica's centre, in an attempt to re-organise the cityscape according to new models of urbanism. These operations, in turn, were only part of the wide-ranging spatial transformation experienced in the city between the 1860s and the end of Ottoman rule in 1912. A diverse number of actors all sought to impose their own representations of urban space, sometimes complementary and sometimes conflicting, effecting deep changes in the city's layout, its image, its institutional structures and its social life. In this context, space and its transformation became a marker for elite or 'modern' status, a commodity and source of profit and also a place of contestation.

Ayasofya is in this sense an iconic example: Its restoration involved the Ottoman government in Istanbul, its local representatives in the city, Muslim religiosity and religious institutions, aspirations of different social and communal groups and the preconceptions of Europeans about the region, its history and its future. Based on Ottoman archives, bibliography on archaeology and its history in the region and related entries in the local press, this paper aims at unearthing the history of the building's restoration and its impact on local society, as a comment to the history of late Ottoman Salonica as a whole.

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### **Differentiation in Governance and Reform Understanding between Mahmud II and Reshid Pasha during the Modernization Process**

After the abolition of the janissary corps in 1826, Mahmud II found a suitable environment to carry out the reforms that he had designed a long time earlier. Since that time and especially in the 1830s he was occupied with performing administrative, military, legal, and other reforms. The biggest challenges that Mahmud II faced, while performing the reforms, was the lack of trained staff, who could be effective in the new institutions. This problem forced him to send diplomats and students to Europe for training purposes. One of those trained in this way, M.

Reshid Pasha, learned a foreign language and gained competence to carry out the reform project during his Paris and London embassies. Yet, his European experience and knowledge led to his being distanced from Mahmud II's understanding of governance and reform. This paper will give detailed information about the differences in the understandings of Mahmud II and M. Reshid Pasha about governance and reform.

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## **Osmanlı Mahkemesinde Taraflar Şahitler ve Dava Hikayeleri: Tahkiyelerin Sosyal Ağlar Üzerinden Okunması**

Osmanlı hukukunun “teorik” temelini oluşturan Şer’i ve örfi kuralların yanında hukukun uygulamasında ortaya çıkan farklılıkların bir arada ele alınması gerektiğini belirten yaklaşımlar 1970’li yıllardan beri dile getirilmektedir. İlk bu çalışmanın, temel olarak kadı sicilleri kullanıldığı için, Osmanlı hukukunun uygulama boyutuna vurgu yaptığını belirtmek gerekir. Ancak panelin diğer bildiri ile birlikte düşünüldüğünde, Osmanlı mahkemelerinden dava hikayeleri ve şahitlik örneklerini içeren bu çalışmanın, “hukukun edebi bir tür olduğu” ve aslında “adalet arayışı ile hukukun aynı şeyler olmadığını” öne süren çok daha geniş bir hukuk felsefesi problemine bağlandığı görülecektir.

Bu bildirinin temel amacı, Bursa kadı sicillerinden seçilen dava örneklerinde, davacı-davalı ve şahitlerin ifadelerinin, başka bir deyişle tarafların dava ile ilgili iddialarını hikaye etme ve hikayeyi destekleme çabalarının, davanın karara bağlanmasındaki belirleyici rolünü ele almaktır. Çalışmanın temel argümanı sosyal kontrolün güçlü olduğu Osmanlı toplumunda “bazı kişilerin sözlerinin ve hikayelerinin diğerlerine göre daha değerli ve inandırıcı” olduğudur. Yani sözü kimin söylediği, en azından sözün inandırıcılığı kadar önemlidir. Bu argümanı sınamak için, daha önce kadı sicillerini analiz etmek için çok fazla kullanılmamış bir yöntem (Sosyal Ağ Analizi) başvurulacaktır. Hastalıkların nasıl yayıldığını keşfetmekten, maymunlar arasında iktidar ilişkilerini ortaya çıkarmaya, dedikodunun yayılışı ve sosyal etkilerini kavramaya kadar farklı disiplinlerde karşımıza çıkan sosyal ağ analizi yöntemini, kadı sicillerindeki verilerden yola çıkarak, toplumda sözü geçen, en çok şahitliğine başvuru alan kişilerin kimler olduğu ve bu kişilerin toplumsal piramitteki yerlerini göstermek için kullanmayı deneyeceğiz.

Rastsal olarak Bursa kadı sicillerinden seçtiğimiz defterlerdeki dava kayıtlarını, “kimlerin-kimlere şahitlik yaptığı” sorusu çerçevesinde tarayarak, sosyal ağları ve bu ağları oluşturan ilişkileri anlamayı hedefliyoruz. Bu yöntemle merkezde yer alan (degree centrality), sosyal ağda ilişkileri sağlayan ve grupları birbirine bağlayan (betweenness centrality) kişilerin kimler olduğunu anlamaya çalışacağız. Böylece Osmanlı mahkemelerinde, delil olarak taraflar, şahitler ve onların hikayelerinin, kadının davayı karara bağlamasındaki etkisinin yanı sıra, kullandığımız sosyal ağ analizi yöntemiyle dava ile ilgili tahkiyelerin hangi ilişkiler üzerinden oluşturulduğunu da en azından Bursa örneğinde göstermiş olacağız.

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## **Notes sur les côtes du Maghreb dans le Kitâb-i Bahriyye de Piri Re’îs**

Parmi la production cartographique musulmane nautique, la place de Pîrî Re’îs est particulière et nous voudrions, dans cette contribution, comparer les parties du « Kitâb-i bahrîye » qui traitent des côtes maghrébines (Maroc et Algérie actuelles) avec les cartes nautiques dessinées au Maghreb à la même époque. En effet, il apparaît qu’indépendamment de sources écrites ou d’un

savoir partagé par les gens de mer de la Méditerranée à cette époque, les connaissances topographiques de Pîrî Re'is de cette partie de la côte proviennent sans doute de notes personnelles car aucune carte de son époque ne s'avère à la fois aussi précise dans le contour des côtes et aussi juste pour la toponymie arabe ou berbère.

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### **Çevre (Ekoloji) Tarihi Merceğinden Osmanlı Tarihini Yeniden Yazmak**

Dünya genelinde tarihsel coğrafya, tarihsel ekoloji ve çevre tarihi alanında çalışan araştırmacıların eserleri bize erken modern dönemden beri doğa ve toplum etkileşimine dair büyük bir bilgi birikimi sağladılar. Ancak, çevre tarihi ya da ekolojik tarih alanında Avrupa'da ve dünyanın geri kalanında meydana gelen bütün bu gelişmeler düşünüldüğünde Osmanlı tarihyazımı ne yapılan araştırmalar ve ne de basılı eserler olarak bu gelişmeler içinde önemli bir yer teşkil etmez. Bu makalede, çevresel (ekolojik) meseleleri yeniden düşünmek ve çevresel değişim ve insan faaliyetlerinin Anadolu, Mezopotamya ve Balkanlar'daki etkilerini araştırmak için rehberlik üzere Osmanlı ve Türkiye tarihyazımının kısa bir değerlendirmesini yapacağız. Ayrıca, Osmanlı tarihyazımı için yararlı olabilecek birtakım çevresel (ekolojik) tarih metodlarına ve mevzularına da değineceğiz. Tarihsel olarak birtakım yönleriyle analiz edilecek olan çevresel değişim, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda meydana gelen geçmiş tarihsel dönüşümler hakkındaki yaklaşımlarımızı yeniden gözden geçirmemize katkıda bulunabilir. Eldeki arşiv malzemeleri ve diğer ikinci el kaynaklar, yeniden değerlendirildiğinde ve aynı zamanda da çevresel (ekolojik) tarih yöntemleri uygulandığında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çevresel (ekolojik) tarihi hakkında yeterli bilgiyi sağlayabilecek durumdadır. Sonuç olarak, biz bu çalışmada, bu kaynaklardan çıkarılacak soruların ve hipotezlerin yardımıyla, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun çevresel (ekolojik) tarihini, erken modern dönemden itibaren incelenen idarî, siyasî, kültürel, ve iktisadî tarihin daha geniş bir bağlamına eklemeye çalışacağız.

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### **1900 Yılı Başlarında Osmanlı Beyrut'unda Kültürel Yaşam**

Beyrut tarihsel süreç içinde Doğu Akdeniz'i, Mezopotamya'ya, Anadolu'ya, Mısır'a ve Akdeniz dünyasına bağlayan önemli bir liman olmuştur. 1900 yılına girerken Beyrut kenti Osmanlı düzeni içinde Beyrut vilayetinin merkezi konumundaydı. Nüfusu 120 bine yükselmişti. 1904 yılında Beyrut nüfusunun "milletlere" göre dağılımı incelendiğinde İslam, Ortodoks, Maruni, Katolik, Protestan, Latin, Ermeni, Süryani, Musevi, Kıpti gibi çok çeşitli ve renkli bir demografik yapı içerdiği görülür. Beyrut'un kültürel yapısı da bu görüntü ile örtüşmekteydi. Kentte bulunan 16 yabancı konsolos kendi devletlerinin politikasını da içerecek şekilde kültürel alanda varlığını hissettirmeye çalışıyordu. Bu dönemde Beyrut'un Rusya, İstanbul, Selanik, Atina, İzmir, İskenderiye üzerinden her gün işleyen vapurlar sayesinde dış dünya ile sıkı bir bağlantısı vardı. Girit, Orta ve Batı Avrupa limanlarından gelen gemileri Beyrut'a bağlayan önemli bir merkez konumundaydı. Beyrut limanı Hicaz demiryoluna bağlanmıştı. Kent içinde tramvay ulaşımı da başlamış bulunuyordu.

Beyrut vilayet salnameleri, Osmanlı arşiv kayıtları, İngiliz konsolos raporları ve başka yayınlanmış birinci elden kaynakları kullanarak 1900 yılı başlarındaki Beyrut'un kültürel yaşamına ilişkin bilgiler vermeye çalışacağız. Bu bağlamda kentin matbaaları, kütüphaneleri, gazete ve dergilerinin önemli bir altyapı oluşturduğunu söyleyebiliriz. 1902 yılında Beyrut'ta

Türkçe, Arapça ve Fransızca dillerinde 21 gazete çıkarılmaktaydı. Ayrıca kentte 23 matbaa bulunuyordu. Yine bu süreçte artık iyice kurumlaşan Osmanlı Maarif düzeni Beyrut'ta birçok kız ve erkek okulunun açılmasını sağlamıştı. Amerikan, Fransız, Rus, İtalyan kültürel kurumları da bu gelişmeye katkı sağlamaktaydı.

Sunmayı tasarladığımız bildiri, harita ve grafiklerle desteklenecek, 1900 yılı başlarındaki Beyrut'un kültürel durumunu yansıtan özgün fotoğraflar kullanılacaktır.

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### **The Ottoman Houses in the Old Town of the City of Nicosia of Cyprus in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century**

My paper is based mainly on the court registers of Nicosia judgmental region of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As known, the Inner Castle of the city of Nicosia had many Venetian and Ottoman houses in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Some of the European travellers who visited Nicosia gave information on the building materials and construction techniques, as well as on details of the houses, such as size, rooms, gardens, courtyard and façade. We know that the houses were mostly constructed in hewn stones, and had wide courtyards with palm or date trees. After the conquest of 1571, the Ottomans made over these houses to the Selimiye Mosque (formerly the Cathedral of Ayia Sofia) in Nicosia as a charitable foundation by Sultan Selim II. Later, some of them became private properties by purchase, and changed owners. Most of these new owners were Muslim Turks. We can find valuable information about the transferring of these houses in the court registers of Nicosia; this includes former and new owners, selling price, sales outlet, main building and annexes, condition of sale or grant, and types of Ottoman Nicosia houses. The Ottoman houses of Nicosia in hewn stone are generally two-layered, include many rooms, one well and/or a small stream for agricultural irrigation, palm trees or date trees, a courtyard, a few storerooms. We know from the Ottoman documents that some constructed in mud brick were low-priced.

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### **'Ideal/Role Model' Defined for the Ottoman Individuals and its Change throughout Time**

The distinctive characteristics of the 'Ideal Model' or 'role model' defined for the individuals either by Ottoman society or by the society's various layers throughout time will be evaluated and discussed in this paper. In this approach, the main breaking points of the long Ottoman history will be taken into consideration by periodizing Ottoman history in three main time frames.

The first time frame will be defined as 'classical period' until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while the second will be referred to as 'post-classical' period covering the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the last will be the 'modernization' period for the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The first two periods in this time frame correspond to the 'early modern' period for Western historiography, while the last corresponds to the 'modern' period. Since the periodization of the West is not sufficient to fully explain the main or critical breaking points in Ottoman history, our arguments will be based on the Ottoman society's internal dynamics and its evolution.

Ideal model in this paper will be scrutinized within two dimensions: i) Ideal model in state-individual relations, and ii) Ideal model in society-individual relations. The parameter for all the evaluations will be 'individuals' perception of knowledge'. Primary sources like *fermans* and *berats* produced in the *Divan-ı Hümayun* rooms featuring countless terms and concepts



demonstrating Ottoman administrative approach will be used for explaining state-individual relations. Society-individual relations, on the other hand, will be explained by miscellaneous kadı court registers which intensively reflect societal relations. Since both sets of primary sources are official documents, this paper may also be regarded as an attempt to show how official documents can be used as a tool to shed light on unofficial or non-state agents.

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### **Bir Dönem On Bir Nazır: II. Meşrutiyet Döneminin Maarif Nazırları**

Osmanlı modernleşme hareketinin önemli dönüm noktalarından birisi olan II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanı ile siyasi, iktisadi ve sosyal anlamda geleneksel yapının dışında bir takım yenilikler yapılmaya başlanılmıştır. İnkılâbı gerçekleştiren kadronun yapılacak olan yenilikleri halka ulaştırma ve kalıcı kılma yolunda kullanabilecekleri en önemli araç hiç şüphesiz ki eğitimdi. Bu durumun bilincinde olan iktidar güçleri eğitimi ülkenin öncelikli sorunu olarak görmüşler, kurumları, işleyişi ve organizasyonlarıyla bu alan üzerinde topyekûn bir çalışma başlatmışlardır. Elbetteki bu çalışmaların en önemli noktası tüm bu faaliyetleri yürütecek, daha açık bir ifadeyle maarif işlerini birinci elden yönetecek olan nazırların seçilmesiydi. Bu çalışma II. Meşrutiyet'in ilan edildiği tarihten I. Dünya Savaşı'nın son yıllarına kadar uzanan süreçte görev yapmış olan Maarif Nazırlarını ve onların faaliyetlerini konu edinmektedir. Anılan zaman diliminde asaleten ve vekâleten 11 Maarif Nazırı görev yapmıştır. Bu on bir nazırdan üç tanesinin farklı zaman dilimlerinde iki kez nazırlık koltuğuna oturmuş olmaları ve çok kısa süreli görev yapmaları dönemin ne derecede istikrarsız bir zaman dilimi olduğunun da kanıtıdır. Maarif teşkilatının zirvesinde bulunan bu kişilerin eğitim görüşlerinin doğrudan devletin maarif politikalarını da etkilediği düşünüldüğünde II. Meşrutiyet döneminde nazırlık yapmış olan bu isimlerin etkileri araştırılmaya değer bir konudur.

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### **The Serbian Orthodox Community in Ottoman Jerusalem (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> C.):**

#### **Sources, Interpretations and Historiographical Problems**

Although the Serbian Orthodox community in the Holy Land had already been founded by 1229, it was not until 1313-1315 when King Milutin purchased/renewed/erected the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel in Jerusalem (Mar Mihail) that its continued survival there was made possible. The Serbs owned this monastery for more than three centuries in continuity. Some point at the turn between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Serbian community also took over the administration of the most renowned monastery in the desert – the Great Laura of St. Sabbas (Mar Saba) in the Kidron Valley. Somewhere around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, due to large indebtedness, they had to sell the Holy Archangel monastery and relinquish control of the St. Sabbas Laura.

It is little known that the Monastery of St. Michael the Archangel in urban toponymy and daily communication, and also in Mamluk and Ottoman documents, became known as 'The Serbian Monastery' (*Dair al-Sirb*). This name was in use for a long time even after it was transferred to Greek hands. A small city gate, in the immediate vicinity of the monastery was called 'The Gate of the Serbian Monastery', and 'The Serbian Gate' (*Bāb dair al-Sirb*, *Bāb al-Sirb*), right until it was demolished during the Ottoman construction of the new city walls in 1538-41.

In the Archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, new Ottoman documents have come to light, mostly *fermāns* and *hüccets*, which can enlarge our very modest knowledge from several aspects, about how the Serbian Orthodox community functioned in the Holy Land, its relations with the Ottoman authorities, as well as with the leading and the most numerous Greek community. In addition, the documents reveal data about construction and repairs, the sale of real estate and the problems pilgrims encountered.

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### **Violence in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire and its Social Meanings**

Violence was a common experience in the everyday life of early modern societies and an integral aspect of interpersonal relations in specific settings. For some people, such as soldiers, guards or persons with policing authority, as of course brigands and pirates, inflicting violence was how they earned a living. For others, such as children, apprentices or slaves, suffering violence was part of the world order. For all, violence was inextricably linked to how authority was established – or, conversely, challenged – and power maintained – or, conversely, subverted. This is especially true in regard to the relationship between subjects and state: violent coercion and violent punishment, from the corporal chastisement of wrong-doers to punitive expeditions against unruly or rebellious populations, was part of how authorities enforced law and order; acts of violence, including riots and armed revolts, was part of how subordinates resisted authority or control and tried to redefine their place vis-à-vis the state.

This paper seeks to explore the place and meanings of violence in the early modern Ottoman Empire, as well as situate the Ottoman practices and experiences in the wider debate on early modern violence. The paper focuses on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century Balkans and draws on a broad range of sources that include kadi court records, rescripts in response to petitions, chronicles and histories, hagiographies, and ego-documents. It discusses the forms of violence on record (outside organized warfare) and their uses. It also examines the logic that underlies the use of violence in specific settings, and its legitimacy, whether contested or not.

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### **Boundaries, Passports and Treaties: Ottoman Legal Challenges to the British Occupation of Egypt**

In September of 1882, British troops occupied Egypt in the aftermath of the ‘Urabi revolt. Between 1882 and December 1914, when Egypt was formally incorporated into the British Empire as a protectorate, Egypt remained under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, but was administered by the British Foreign Office in London and ruled on the ground through the British-backed Khedive, the governor of the Ottoman Sultan. This paper analyzes a series of opinions produced by the Ottoman Foreign Ministry’s Legal Advisors (*Hukuk Müşavirleri*) concerning Egypt during the occupation. Ottoman legal advisors asserted the sovereign rights of the Sultan in Egypt and attempted to limit the Khedive’s expanded role in foreign affairs under British administration. The opinions generated by the Foreign Ministry’s Office of Legal Counsel (*İstişare Odası*) focused almost entirely upon the Khedive’s conduct of foreign policy outside of the authority of the Sultan and the Ottoman Foreign Ministry. Legal Advisors were particularly concerned with the formalization and legalization of boundaries, as well as with the movement of people and goods in and out of Egypt outside of Ottoman control. This paper is based upon

archival research at the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul as well as an examination of Ottoman international law textbooks.

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### **Networks of Immigration to Ottoman Salonica**

While our knowledge about urban life in the major Ottoman centers of the Balkans is relatively considerable, our understanding of the experiences of villagers is much scarcer due to the paucity of sources. Notwithstanding, one case in which villagers are mentioned in the Ottoman sources is related to migration. The *sicil* of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Salonica provides evidence for rural migration from all over the Western Balkans to Salonica. Most of the immigrants were Christian and Muslim villagers who arrived in this Ottoman port city in search of work. The scarcity of work in the neighboring mountainous regions, often aggravated by social and political conflicts, encouraged the mountaineers' tendency to descend to the urban centers, like Salonica. Many of these villagers were individual unskilled workers who looked for random and temporary employment in the harbor area; others were part of chain immigration – to use Charles Tilly's term – that could ensure solidarity, community and security for the migrants by shaping a network of migration. Indeed, affiliation to a network was essential for the migrants to secure a livelihood in the city and to avoid deportation back to their place of origin (*vatan*), as was time and again decreed by the authorities. Being part of a network could enable the migrant to move from the fringes of local society into the mainstream by transferring him from the inferior status of a doubtful foreigner, often connected to crime, into a worker who belonged to a respectful network.

By using documents taken from the *sicil*, this paper aims to retrace the shaping of networks of migration used by Muslim and Christian villagers who came to Salonica and to discuss their significance vis-à-vis local authorities, as well as the local urban populations of this major port town.

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### **Trans-Hemispheric Migration, Domestic Mobility and the Limits to Ottoman State Control of Armenian Migration from Eastern Anatolia to North America, 1888-1908**

The contentious legacy of the 1915 Armenian genocide continues to dominate historical writing on the non-Muslim populations of eastern Anatolia during the late Ottoman period. In the past four decades, scholars writing on this event have produced a voluminous literature in multiple languages. Yet, research on topics ranging from the social, economic, and political dynamics in the empire's Anatolian periphery, to the evolving relationship between the Ottoman state and its Armenian populations remain thin. With this lacuna as a point of departure, my research investigates the intersection of Armenian migration to North America with the Ottoman state's attempts to exert greater control over its Anatolian periphery and its diverse populations. Between the late 1880s and 1908, thousands of migrants, mostly young Armenian men, departed the eastern provinces of Anatolia for North America. For most, this migration was undertaken clandestinely and in the face of harsh prohibitions put in place by the central Ottoman state. Through the prism of migration and migration control, this paper seeks to highlight some of the dialectical processes that shaped state making and social control in the periphery and the forces 'from below' that helped to mold these processes. Specifically, it focuses on the Ottoman state's attempts to modify its internal migration controls (exemplified by its intricate internal passport

system) beginning in the early 1890s as a strategy to prevent unauthorized migration abroad. Shortly following the advent of large-scale trans-hemispheric migration from Anatolia's eastern provinces, however, prospective North America-bound migrants subverted the internal passport system by using these documents to 'illegally' gain access to ships bound for foreign ports. In response, the Ottoman central state placed increasingly onerous restrictions on the granting of these documents to Anatolian Armenians. Numerous difficulties in enforcing these measures quickly surfaced. Despite the importance the Ottoman state assigned to preventing migration from eastern Anatolia to North America, its attempts at using internal migration controls to prevent unwanted migration abroad were hamstrung by its dependence on this region's large pools of migrant labor. As a result, both migrants and migrant smugglers used this tension to their advantage, allowing for the continued flow of people from eastern Anatolia to the New World.

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### **Governor-Generals of the Island of Crete under Ottoman Rule**

Crete, separating the Mediterranean Sea from the Aegean Sea, is the second biggest island after Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean. Because of its closeness to Anatolia and the Peloponnese and its location as a checkpoint to control trade between Istanbul and Mediterranean countries, Crete always played an important role in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean. Crete, due to its geographical location, is on the sea routes of Tunisia, Egypt, and Algeria; this geographical location posed a major threat for the means of subsistence coming to Istanbul from these countries. So, the Ottoman Empire started to watch for an opportunity and the right time to set sail for the conquest of Crete after that of Cyprus. The Sünbül Ağa incident gave such an opportunity to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Cretan campaign, which started in 1645, lasted until 1669 and ended by the seizing of Heraklion. Chania was seized right at the beginning of the campaign, and it was not administratively connected to any other province, forming the province of Chania. The center of the province was shifted from Chania to Heraklion after the conquest of the latter city, and Ankebut Ahmed Pasha was appointed the governor of the province. After the Ottoman conquest, Heraklion could not have the population density and liveliness of the past and the eastern part of the island succumbed to Chania, an important trade center. Therefore, the center of the province of Crete was again shifted from Heraklion to Chania in 1850. The governors of Crete from its conquest till 1785-1786 AD (1200 AH) are examined in this paper through archival documents and source materials.

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### **Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar Erbabına Hazineden Verilen Borçlar ve Geri Alınması: Sultan IV. Murat'ın Bağdat Seferi Örneği**

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda başta tımarlı sipahiler ve diğer tımar erbabı taşrada hizmet yaparken, kanunlar tarafından kendilerine tanınan vergileri de toplarlar. Kendi geçimlerini bu vergiler ile sağlarlar. Ayrıca kendilerine hazine tarafından bir ödenek yapılmaz. Savaş zamanı tüm masraflarını da kendilerine bırakılan bu vergiler ile karşılarlar.

Tımarlı sipahiler ve zaimlerin tahsil ettikleri vergilerin çoğu tarımsal üretimden alınan vergilerdir. Bu sebepten dolayı tımar erbabı üretimden alacakları vergileri bizzat harmanın başında almak isterler. Savaş zamanı vergileri tahsil edebilmek için aralarında yerlerine nöbetçi bırakırlar. Nöbete kalan sipahiler almaları gereken vergileri reyadan toplarlar.

Seferlerin uzun sürmesinden dolayı tımarlı erbabının parası tükenebilir. Mesafenin uzak olmasından dolayı yerlerine bıraktıkları nöbetçiler tarafından toplanan paraları alamazlar. Seferlerin uzun sürdüğünde Osmanlı devleti tımarlıların acil para ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için bazı uygulamalar yapmıştır. I. Selim Çaldıran seferinden sonra Mısır seferine yönelmesi sonucu, seferler uzamış ve tımarlı sipahinin elinde ki para bitmiştir. Bunun üzerine Yavuz Sultan Selim hazineden sipahilere borç vermiş ardından da Rumeli'deki kadılara gönderdiği fermanlar ile kadıların defter tutarak bölgelerindeki nöbetçi sipahilerin tahsil ettikleri paraları acilen getirmeleri istenmiştir. Getirilen paralar borçları düşüldükten sonra arta kalanı hak sahiplerine dağıtılmıştır.

Buna benzer bir durumda IV. Murat'ın Bağdat seferi sırasında görülmektedir. Sultan IV. Murat sefer sırasında tımarlı sipahilere, zaimlere ve beylere hazineden borç vermiştir. IV. Murat'ın seferden sonra kısa süre sonra ölümü üzerine verilen bu paraların Sultan İbrahim tarafından hazineye teslimi istenmiştir.

Bu bildiriye Sultan İbrahim tarafından yayınlanan ve bir önceki padişah tarafından Bağdat seferi sırasında tımarlılara verilen borçları geri isteyen on iki fermanın verdiği bilgilerin yardımı ile tımarlılara borç verilmesi ve bu borçların hazineye teslim edilmesi süreci incelenecektir.

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### **Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Sansür Uygulamaları**

Savaş Avrupa'da olduğu gibi Anadolu coğrafyasında da çok ciddi siyasi ve sosyal yaralar açmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı; Fransız İnkılabından sonra hızla değişen dünya haritası ve aynı hızla daralan Osmanlı topraklarına büyük acılar getirmiştir. Savaşların yaralar acı, acılar getiren insani boyutlarının haricinde birde stratejik boyutları vardır. Savaşlar; iyi bir ordu, kenetlenmiş bir millet, başarılı bir savunma ve taarruzun dışında iyi de bir istihbarat ve kriz yönetimi gerektirirler. Bu yüzden de savaşlarda istihbarat ve sansür iki önemli olay olarak karşımıza çıkar.

Savaşta haber alma, bilgi, gizlilik ve moral önemli faktörlerdir. Orduda ve halkta gerekli moral ve güvenin sağlanabilmesi için bir takım heyecan yaratacak ve halkı hezeyana sürükleyecek gelişmelerin kamuoyuna yeri geldiği zaman ve şekilde sunulması gereklidir. Bu yüzden Osmanlı Devleti de Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında sansür işlerinin yürütülmesi için İstanbul'da ve taşrada sansür işleri müfettişlikleri kurmuştur. Kurulan bu müfettişlik ile basında yer alacak yerli ve yabancı haberler, asker ve esir mektupları ve esirlere gönderilen bir takım kitaplar sansür heyetinin denetiminden geçmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı ortamında ne tür bilgileri tehdit olarak görüp sansüre tabi tuttuğunu analiz etmektir.

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### **Ege Kıyısında Bir Osmanlı Kasabasında Yaşam Standardı: Edremit**

Osmanlı Devleti'nde insanların yaşam standardını tespit etmek oldukça zahmetli bir süreci gerektirmektedir. Bu amaçla kullanılan materyal genellikle tereke kayıtlarıdır. Bunun yanı sıra satış sözleşmeleri, ya da mahkeme kayıtlarına yansıyan mal mülk davaları da bu amaca hizmet etmek üzere kullanılmaktadır. Tereke kayıtlarının yanı sıra muhalefat defterleri, vakfiyeler bize bu konuda yardımcı olmaktadır.

Ben de bu kaynaklardan yararlanarak Ege kıyısında küçük bir kasaba olan Edremit Kazası'nda yaşayan insanların yaşamlarına dair bir panorama çizmeyi amaçlıyorum. Ele aldığım zaman dilim 18. yüzyıl olacaktır. Çünkü 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nin problemlerini arttırdığı

merkez taşra ilişkilerinde klasik yapıdan iyiden iyiye koptuğu bir dönemdir. Geçmiş dönemlerden örneklemeler seçilmek suretiyle karşılaştırma yapılarak bu problemlili dönemin özellikle sıradan insanın yaşamına olan etkilerini ortaya koymaya çalışmak bu bildirinin temel sorunsalı olacaktır. Sıradan insanla kazanın ileri gelenleri, şehirli ile köylüleri ele alarak bu anlamda da insanların yaşadıkları yere ve yaşam biçimlerine dayalı varsa farklılıkları tespit etmeye çalışmak bildiride ele alacağım bir başka konudur. Bütün bunları bir araya getirmek suretiyle en temel soruna Osmanlı taşrasında, Ege kıyısında küçük bir kasabada insanların hayatlarını idame ettirebilmek için hangi materyalleri kullandıklarını, nelerle süslendiklerini, neyle geçindiklerini, kısaca nasıl yaşadıklarına dair bir pencere açmaya çalışacağım. Bunun için Şer'îye sicillerinden, arşiv belgelerinden, muhalledat kayıtlarından ve vakfiyelerden istifade edeceğim.

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**Urban-Rural Relations in an Ottoman 'Miniature Continent':  
Advance Purchase and Forward Contracts  
in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Cyprus**

The paper studies financial and commercial networks and systems as a facet of urban-rural relations. The main unit of analysis is the forward contract (Tk. *selem*, Ar. *salam*), a type of advance purchase of cash crops connected to 18<sup>th</sup>-century economic and social transformations induced by the dynamics of world trade. These will be studied with reference to Cyprus, an island categorised by Braudel as a 'miniature continent' and a Mediterranean junction of commercial activity.

Existing research indicates that advance purchase existed throughout the Ottoman Empire and was an intrinsic part of capitalist transformations. Growing interest in world history highlights futures markets for grains in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a key dynamic in the emergence of global markets. While existing knowledge shows that advance purchase was a process connected to modern economics, there is little detailed statistical analysis of pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century quantitative data. The paper is an initial attempt to fill this gap by focusing on this particular aspect of economic relations.

My research suggests that forward contracts were an important feature of 18<sup>th</sup>-century urban-rural relations and constituted complex financial systems of wealth accumulation. Some isolated, and probably out-of-the-ordinary, cases indicate that profit margins for merchants could be as high as 266%. Moreover, forward contracts entailed the interplay of financial and commercial relations and the manipulation of existing monetary conditions that allowed local merchants to turn both a high rate of inflation and the declining silver content of the Ottoman currency to their benefit. Merchants-cum-moneylenders were able to lend money during a period of high inflation and ensure the full return of interest by receiving the payment in kind. Concurrently, they were able to rid themselves of debased Ottoman currency and re-sell the cash crops to European merchants in exchange for more valuable currency.

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**Young and Single in Istanbul:  
The Social Space of the *Bekâr* Community**

Unattached, without family ties in the city, occupational stability or sustained membership in an established administrative body like a professional guild or a neighborhood, living in rented rooms in khans and tenements across the city, Istanbul's single men (*bekâr*, or *bekâr taifesi*) bore

every mark of what Zygmunt Bauman called “the permanent slimy”. It was in this capacity – as a volatile, uncontrollable and undesirable population – that they emerge in the narratives of order in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, often as euphemisms for recent immigrants, vagabonds, thugs, the riffraff – or all of the above.

The relation of this inherently instable population to the rest of the city – to the heart of its physical and social fabrics – is the central theme of my paper. By exploring their place in urban society through the spaces and social environments they mostly occupied (streets, tenements, inns, coffeehouses, taverns), I will try to reflect on how they engaged with the city, the solidarities they forged among themselves and their ties to the normative realms of neighborhood and public life. I will suggest that, despite their apparent precariousness, they were, in greater or lesser ways, entrenched in the life and workings of the city, both in social and spatial terms. It was, in fact, their integration into the urban fabric, much more so than the immoral or unlawful nature of their delinquent (and sometimes criminal) activities, that lay at the core of their image, to the eyes of the authorities and residents of Istanbul, as offences to the urban order.

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### **How Does a Poet Become a ‘Bad Poet’? The Case of the 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Poet Keşfi**

The bulk of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century poets’ collective biographies (*tezkiire-i şu‘arâ*) incomprehensibly disregards the poetic qualities of Keşfi (d. 1538-39). The collective biographies in question are by Sehî, Latîfî, ‘Âşık Çelebi, Kınalı-zâde Hasan Çelebi, Beyânî and Gelibolulu ‘Âlî. In the opinion of the last four of these six authors there was hardly a verse of Keşfi’s in *mecmû‘as* (collections of various poets’ poems) that could catch the eye and might be read in an assembly of people of wit.

Firstly, this paper will emphasize the known fact that writers of poets’ biographies occasionally (frequently?) copied information about the poets from each other without further comment. Secondly, the reliability of at least some of the information given by them about the poets’ literary abilities will be questioned. The argumentation will be based on the case of Keşfi. Some of his verses will be compared with some by major contemporary and prior poets to ascertain whether strong negative critique is appropriate in his case. If it is not, then this may be considered evidence that the biographers’ critique might not be appropriate in other cases either.

The related question of whether the biographers’ judgement relies on literary-aesthetic criteria or not will also be discussed. Lastly, this paper will reflect on other sources that may contain more reliable criteria for the evaluation of poets’ literary qualities.

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### **The Assassination of the Russian Consul at Mitrovica, 1903**

In late 1902, the establishment of the Russian consulate at Mitrovica was considered a diplomatic, as well as a political success for St. Petersburg. Mitrovica, then a part of the Ottoman province of Kosovo, was one among the stages of an increasing ethnic, religious, and national tension raging throughout the Balkans. An object of historic territorial claims, and strategically located at the intersection of frontiers, the district was also a target of Great Power aspirations.

Anticipating eminent unrest that the appointment of a Russian consul would bring to the area, Sultan Abdülhamid II was caught between Russia’s ultimatum and increasingly violent protests by local Albanian leaders. He could not do more than postponing the establishment of the

first consulate in the district for some months. At the end, Russia threatened to declare war, and Stcherbina reached his post. The Ottoman government duly held ceremonies, and the Serbian inhabitants of the region made festive celebrations. In late March 1903, heavily armed Albanian mutineers attacked the Ottoman garrison.

The clash, claiming many lives on both sides, was aimed to force the consul to leave the region, but failed. The following day, when walking around in the city, Stcherbina was shot by an Ottoman soldier, and died days later. Sources describe the event, the victim, the incentive behind the murder, and the immediate developments quite contradictorily. Russia was expected to declare war on the Ottoman state, but documents show that the Tsar demanded the Porte to pardon the assassin. Ottoman archives, British and French consular reports, American and English newspapers, memoirs and accounts provide different aspects to the existing political and national agendas. The paper will examine the event, which a hundred years later, in 2003, led to Stcherbina's monument to be raised in Mitrovica to commemorate the late consul.

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### **The Orthodox Christian Poor and Pauper Families in Thessaloniki (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> C.): How Many and How Strong They Were?**

Unpublished and published Ottoman tax registers, and Greek communal archives from the 18<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, provide sufficient data for a quantified evaluation of the social differences between the members of the Orthodox Christian community of Thessaloniki. The income stratification and the diversified occupational patterns are the two essential parameters, provided by the registers, to form an image of the social differences in Thessaloniki of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This image reveals a stratum of poor families, which grew proportionally bigger as time passed, while a rather stable and narrow stratum of paupers retained. The poor families were newcomers, or older residents who worked without profit in obsolete industries, as the growing imports of European merchandise paralyzed the traditional guilds.

The craftsmen tried to make the Orthodox community to pay for the establishment of new, free-to-attend schools, in order to secure that their children would obtain sufficient knowledge to work in the modern economic context as clerks or teachers. But the communal election system kept the poor Christians away from the administrative offices of the Orthodox community; it is worth saying that every amendment of the election system tended to make the barriers-to-entry higher for the poorer Christians, excluding them from the decision-making mechanisms. In the 1880s, due to the unexpected help of the Orthodox Church, the poor craftsmen took over the reins of power. And then a quasi-civil war took place, which lasted for almost thirty years, until the end of the Ottoman era of Salonica (1912).

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### **Osmanlı Devleti'nde Sürgün Cezasının Hukuki Boyutu ve Akdeniz Adalarının Sürgünler Açısından Önemi**

Suç ve ceza yasaları bütün toplumların hukuk sisteminde var olmuştur. Ancak her birinin doğası, algılanışı ve uygulanışı birbirinden farklılıklar göstermiştir. Sürgün de her hukuk sisteminde farklı anlamlar yüklenen ve farklı uygulama sistemleriyle karşımıza çıkan bir hukuk terimidir. Çalışmamızda, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde de yer alan ve tanımı, algılanışı ve uygulanışı diğer



hukuk sistemine göre bazı farklılıklar gösteren sürgün, bir cezalandırma şekli olarak ele alınacaktır.

Bu çerçevede insanlık tarihinde sürgünün ne olduğu, ortaya çıkışı ve uygulanışı hakkında kısa bir bilgi verildikten sonra, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde hangi açılardan ele alındığı ve nasıl tanımlandığı, ardından Osmanlı Devleti'nin bir ceza şekli olarak uygulamış olduğu sürgünün hukuki boyutu ve bir sürgün yeri olarak Akdeniz adalarının taşıdığı önem, konuyla ilgili belgeler ışığında bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulacak ve çalışmada şu soruların cevapları aranacaktır:

- Osmanlı hukukunda sürgün ne anlama gelmektedir ve uygulanışı hangi esaslar çerçevesinde yapılmaktadır?
- Osmanlı hukukunda sürgün gerektiren cezalar nelerdir, hangi suça ne kadar süre sürgün cezası verilir?
- Hangi suçtan hangi bölgeler sürgün yeri olarak belirlenmiştir, Akdeniz adalarına gönderilen sürgünlerin cezai gerekçesi nedir?

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### **Bir İsyanın Kodları: I. Dünya Savaşı'nda Arap Ayaklanması**

Birinci Dünya Savaşı esnasında yaşananlar bu gün Ortadoğu halkları için hala güncelliğini korumaya ve kamuoyunda tartışılmaya devam etmektedir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın üzerinden bir asra yakın bir süre geçmiş olmasına rağmen bu topraklarda yaşayan insanların zihinlerinde savaşla ilgili hatıralar hala tazeliğini korumaya devam etmektedir. Türklerin bölgeye gelişi ile beraber başlayan sonraki süreçte ortak dini kimlik etrafında şekillenen Türk - Arap ilişkileri artarak devam etmiştir. 19.yüzyıl ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğu için reformlar ve ulusçu ayrılıklar çağı olmuştur. Başta Yunanlılar olmak üzere Balkanlardaki Osmanlı tebaası olan gayrimüslimler Birinci Dünya Savaşı öncesinde birer birer bağımsızlıklarını ilan ederek imparatorluktan ayrılmışlardır. Osmanlı coğrafyasında yaşamakta olan diğer etnik gruplar gibi Araplar da tüm dünyada yayılmakta olan ulusçuluk hareketinden etkilenmişlerdir. Bu hareketin bir neticesi olarak ortaya çıkan ve Ortadoğu'nun yakın tarihinin şekillenmesi sürecinde en önemli kırılma noktalarından biri olan 'Arap İsyanı' ulusçu tarih paradigmasında Arapların Türklere ihaneti şeklinde izah edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Dolayısı ile mevcut Türkçe literatürde Arap İsyanı çatışma, ihanet, Anadolu'nun bir hiç uğruna fedakârlığı bağlamında kavramsallaştırılarak ulus devletin inşasında da bu olgu kullanılmıştır. Yüzyıl evvel bölgeyi şekillendiren güçlerin bu gün aynı coğrafyada yine aynı sebeplerle bulunması meseleye çok yönlü bakmayı mecbur kılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada İngiltere'nin Kahire istihbarat dairesine bağlı olarak çalışan Arap Bürosu'nun elinde bulunan belgeler çerçevesinde Arap İsyanı'nın arka planı yeniden bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulacaktır. Bahsi geçen belgeler ışığında Arap İsyanı ulusçu tarih bakış açısından daha farklı bir yaklaşımla ele alınarak 'Araplar Osmanlı'ya ihanet etti' veya 'Araplar Osmanlı'yı arkadan vurdu' şeklinde ki Türkiye'de yerleşmiş tarih algısının da yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gerektiğine vurgu yapılacaktır.

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### **Mulay Abd al-Malik's Enthronement in Morocco (June 1576) in the Context of the Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry**

Event-oriented history (*histoire événementielle*) is not dead! What is more, it is necessary more than ever in order to work with big and fuzzy concepts (empire, centre-periphery relations, etc.).

This does not imply, however, realignment with the Hegelian or pre-Annalistic historiography which focuses extensively on prominent political actors, and their achievements. We claim that, among other means, by unearthing new documents which enable the historian to display the machinations of small or middle-term tactics – eventually their failures – and by discovering the careers and strategies of hitherto unnoticed personalities in the margins of Empires, one may grasp the nature of political power and international relations in the early modern age.

If there are several studies on the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, very few of them deal with the modalities of its transfer to the Atlantic Ocean. Thanks to his well established diplomatic and commercial network in the Mediterranean realm, Mulay Abd al-Malik, of the Saadian dynastic family, convinces both Murad III (1574-1595) and Philip II (1556-1598), on the necessity of a neutral zone between the two powers. He dethrones his nephew Mohammed al-Mutawwakil (1574-1576) after a field battle in which both Ottoman and Spanish soldiers engage side by side. But his reign is ephemeral: it lasts only two years, with his demise in the Battle of the Three Kings (1578).

Ottoman documents, hitherto unpublished, offer new perspectives on a known but never studied episode of the Ottoman history: the conquest of Morocco by Abd al-Malik with the help of the sultan, as well as of the king of Spain, and its effect on the geopolitical structure of North Africa.

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### **The Rumelian Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Tax-Farming System of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Following the changes in the Ottoman fiscal system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the persistence and concrete manifestations of tax-farming practices in the central Rumelian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the paper aims at examining the roles played by representatives of the local elites in the Ottoman tax-farming system at that time. It will focus, first, on the social and economic profile of the members of the local elites involved in tax-farming. The evolution in the composition of the tax-farmers' group will be considered, with special attention to the growing number of non-Muslims, representatives of the provincial elites, acting as tax-farmers of different revenues.

The changing roles of the members of the local administrative elites in tax-farming throughout the century will be also discussed. The paper will further try to demonstrate the notable participation of merchants in tax-farming activities, especially in the 1850s, 1860s and early 1870s. On the basis of archival material mainly from the central Rumelian lands of the Ottoman Empire, the roles of the members of the local elites in the tax-farming process will be then outlined – their functions as farmers of large revenues at auctions in the Ottoman capital or in the provincial centres, as sub-farmers of different revenues, as guarantors and/or intermediaries, as formal or 'sleeping' partners in tax-farming enterprises, etc. The paper will also address the question of the importance of tax-farming for increasing and strengthening the power and influence (both economic and social) of members of the local provincial elites involved in such activity.

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## **Assessment of the Architecture of the Ottoman Empire: The Island of Crete**

While conducting a survey study in the island of Crete within Gazi University Scientific Research Projects between 2008-2009, I had the chance to investigate and review art structures from the Ottoman period in Chania, Rethymno and Heraklion. More than 100 buildings were reviewed in these three cities. These included mosques, *tekkes*, tombs, schools (*mektep*), madrasas, baths, inns, fountains, bridges as part of social and religious structures, but also military structures such as castles, towers, shipyards. In this paper, we intend to give more detailed information about such structures; Heraklion: Fazıl Ahmed Pasha Mosque and Fountain, Abhaza Yellow Hussein Pasha Mosque and Fountain, with the Mevlevi and Bektashi skullcaps; Chania: Haseki Ahmet Ağa Mosque, Küçük Hasan (Yalı) Mosque, Captain Yusuf Pasha Mosque, Ibrahim Sultan (Sultan's) Mosque; Rethymno: Gazi Deli Hüseyin Pasha Mosque, Sultan's Mosque.

Those structures will be studied more thoroughly through the use of archives, records and registers at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, the General Directorate of Foundations and Land Registry. This study will also provide the historical and architectural characteristics of the structures while providing comparisons with other structures built within the Ottoman realm.

Our aim is to highlight the need to preserve the structures in the island of Crete as part of humanity's common culture. I believe this will be of benefit for the two neighboring countries, Greece and Turkey.

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## **Maintenance or Subversion of Order: Policing the Police at Turn-of-the-20<sup>th</sup>-Century Istanbul**

Istanbul's ruling authorities spent a particular effort in order to regulate streets and maintain order in the city in the scope of modern administrative policies in the late Ottoman Empire. The rapid population growth and the participation of a wider group of people from various economic and social backgrounds in the city, along with fear and anxiety of 'modern life' experience, triggered the implementation of security regulations. The reorganization of the police force came along with these regulations.

This paper focuses on the multifaceted experiences of Istanbul police officers who seemingly represented the Ottoman state power in the city in a period that the concerns on 'centralization and modernization' increased. Focusing on five police council interrogations, this paper aims to focus on two main issues: First, it questions the nature of the *istintaknames* provided from the Police Ministry catalogues and speculates on how these sources can contribute to Ottoman historiography. As a second point, it analyzes the contradictory nature and fragmentary structure of the 'modernizing' police institution. Depending on these cases of police officers who committed 'crime', malfeasance, theft, drunkenness, negligence of duty, and malediction, it intends to highlight the fuzzy boundaries between legality and criminality.

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### **Man as Microcosm: The Concept of ‘Al-İnsan Al-Kamil’ in the Light of the Mystical Treatises of Husayn Lamakani (d. 1625)**

The concept of the Perfect Man, as epitome of the universe and mediator between the world of Existence and the world of Absolute, introduced by Ibn Arabi (d. 1239), later expanded by Al-Jili (d. 1428), was the focal point of the teachings of the Malami-Bairami brotherhood, which significantly contributed to the spreading of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine through the Ottoman world of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. One of the most important literary protagonists of the movement was Husayn Lamakani (d. 1625, Istanbul), who left behind five treatises and seven epistles in which he elaborated the main concepts of Ibn Arabi’s ontology including ‘al-insan al-kamil’. Using mostly unpublished manuscript material, the author of the paper aims to present Lamakani’s works and settle them in their historical and intellectual entourage.

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### **An Ottoman Padishah from the Point of View of his Subjects: Mahmud II**

We have so many documents, as well as many texts prepared on the basis of these documents, about the *reaya*’s social, economic and military position from the point of view of the Ottoman statesmen or the Sultan. However, we do not have so much information about how the *reaya* perceived the sultan of the time and the era they lived in. Mahmud II is regarded by many historians as the reformer, the intellectual, the centralist sultan. In fact the belief that his reforms formed the base of the republican reforms is very widespread amongst historians. In this study we will evaluate Mahmud II, who is defined in the way we noted above by today’s historians, also in the framework of the perspective of three of his subjects who lived in the same period. The persons whose opinions we will evaluate are: a stately pilgrim who cannot be included in the statesmen class, a widow with three children, victim of war, and a sheikh who disapproved the reforms of the sultan. As in every period, in Mahmud II’s period people had different ideas, and the opinions of these three people about the sultan differ. In this study, we will examine with three examples how members of the public were affected positively or negatively by the actions, decisions and reforms, and how they perceived the sultan and the era in which they lived in.

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### **Osmanlı’nın Son Döneminde Kürt Basını: İlk Kürt Gazetesi “Kürdistan” (1898-1902)**

18. yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda meydana gelen politik ve iktisadi gelişmelere bağlı olarak 19. yüzyılda modern bir aydın hareketi ortaya çıkmıştır. Asla tek bir kanaldan ilerlemeyen bu hareket, özellikle geç 19. yüzyıldan itibaren büyük bir çeşitlilik göstermeye başlamıştır. Çok-etnili bir yapı olan İmparatorluk bünyesinde gelişen milliyetçilikler ve bu yükselişlerde aydınların oynadığı rol, henüz ulusal bir aidiyet fikri taşımayan aydınları da bu yönde kimlik arayışına itmiştir. Kürt ulusal kimliğinin gelişimi ve Kürt aydınlarının ortaya çıkması bu genel çerçevenin bir parçası olarak görülebilir.

Diğer aydın öbekleri ile aynı düşünsel zemini paylaşan Kürt aydınları bu düşünsel zemini etkileyecekleri, kendi kimliklerini ortaya koyup geliştirecekleri ve nihayet toplumsallaştıracakları

araçlar üretmişler, bu doğrultuda siyasal ve toplumsal örgütlenmelere gitmişlerdir. Bunlar arasında ilk göze çarpan unsur bu dönemde ortaya çıkan Kürt gazeteleridir.

İlk Kürt gazetesi, 1898 yılında İmparatorluk'un başkentinden ve Kürt coğrafyasından uzak bir mekanda, Kahire'de yayımlanmaya başlamıştır. İlk 6 sayısını Kahire'de çıkaran "Kürdistan" baskılar nedeniyle yayın hayatına matbaa ve şehir değişiklikleriyle devam etmiştir. Bir anlamda sürgün ve gezgin bir gazete olan "Kürdistan", 1902'deki Jön Türk Kongresi'ne kadar 31 sayı çıkmıştır. Genel olarak Kürtçe yayın yapan "Kürdistan", Osmanlı'nın geleceğine ilişkin dönemin genel tartışmalarına ve bu bağlamda Kürtlerin akıbetine ilişkin Kürt aydınlarının bakışını net biçimde yansıtmaktadır.

1902'den II. Meşrutiyet'e kadar Kürt basınından bahsetmemiz zordur. II. Meşrutiyet'in getirdiği kısa süreli özgürlük ortamında birçok etnik grup gibi Kürtler de basın-yayın ve örgütlenme alanlarında yeniden etkinlik göstermeye başlamışlardır. Bu dönemde "Kürt Teavün ve Terakki", "Şark ve Kurdistan", "Roj-i Kurd" ve "Jin" gibi gazeteler farklı çevreler tarafından yayımlanmaya başlamıştır.

Bu çalışma, Kürt aydınlarının dönemin temel siyasal söylemleri ve tartışmaları ile entelektüel üretim ve gazetecilik faaliyeti üzerinden nasıl ilişkilendikleri sorusuna odaklanmaktadır. Kürt aydınlarında ayrı bir ulus-devlet fikrinin ancak I. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonunda gözlemlendiğini ve bu tarihten önce Kürt aydınlarının düşünsel çerçevelerinin Osmanlılık tarafından belirlendiğini göstermek bu çalışmanın temel amacını oluşturmaktadır.

Söz konusu yayınlarda ortaya atılan tezler ve tartışmalar incelendiğinde günümüzde varlığını bütün şiddeti ile sürdüren "Kürt sorunu"nun tarihsel köklerine inmek ve sorunun entelektüel alandaki nüvelerini gözlemek mümkün olacaktır.

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### **“And the Question of Lands is Very Confusing”: Birgivi on Land Tenure and Taxation**

This paper will examine Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (1523-1573) critique of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman practices of land tenure and taxation. Birgivi – a famous religious scholar and preacher from Western Anatolia – was a prolific writer, best known for his influence on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century movement of Istanbul preachers known as the Kadızadeli. While Birgivi's critique of certain economic practices and institutions of his day, such as that of the cash *waqf*, has been documented in fair amount of detail, less is known of other areas of his thought. In his seminal work on ethics and exhortation, *al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*, for instance, Birgivi dedicates a lengthy section to the question of land tenure and taxation.

On the basis of a strict interpretation of a number of Ḥanafī legal sources, Birgivi furnishes a powerful critique of contemporary practices of land ownership and taxation. This critique, I argue, represents an example of Birgivi's particular religious discourse – a discourse that directly links matters of social and economic concern to questions of ethics and piety. The aim of the paper is to shed light on this discourse, which saw as its goal the promotion of both individual and societal virtue. By providing a case study of how an early modern Ottoman *‘ālim* dealt with a number of legal and fiscal practices he considered deeply un-Islamic, the paper is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the development of Islamic thought in the early modern Ottoman Empire, generally, and ideas on ethics and piety, in particular.

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## **Le consul Charles Guys et la question de la protection française dans la Salonique ottomane dans les années 1830**

Dans le cadre de ma thèse portant sur le Consulat de France à Salonique de 1781 à 1912, je suis amené à m'interroger sur les composantes de la « colonie » française de la ville et de ses évolutions, dans un contexte historiographique en plein renouveau depuis une dizaine d'années sur la société ottomane en général – je ne citerai ici que Maria Todorova dans *Imagining the Balkans* pour qui la société ottomane n'est pas cosmopolite mais a-ethnique, et les confessions ne sont pas forcément des barrières fixes et infranchissables – ou sur les sociétés européennes et levantines à l'exemple de Marie-Carmen Smyrnélis sur Smyrne.

Une question me paraît à ce titre particulièrement pertinente et j'aimerais la développer dans le cadre de cette conférence, il s'agit de la place des protégés de la France au sein de l'Echelle de Salonique. L'Empire ottoman, après avoir accordé le principe de la protection dans les capitulations, notamment celles de 1740, essaie de revenir dessus tout au long du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle afin d'en limiter les abus, par des réformes intérieures – 1839, 1856 ou 1869 sur la nationalité – mais aussi par des traités avec les Puissances européennes, notamment celui de 1863 qui limite et change les conditions de la protection. Je souhaiterais ici l'étudier à travers le prisme local de l'échelle de Salonique, et à travers le passage au consulat de Charles Guys dans les années 1830. Ce dernier symbolise parfaitement l'importance des protégés au sein de la « colonie » française, il rentre en conflit avec le premier consul de Grèce quant à la question des Grecs-Hellènes, ou encore est démis de ses fonctions par le ministère des Affaires étrangères français en 1839 – année du Hatt-i Sharif de Gulhané – pour abus de protection.

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## **16. Yüzyılda Rusçuk'ta Demografik ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı**

Tuna Nehri'nin güney kıyısında yer alan Rusçuk, tarih boyunca çeşitli etnik grupların yaşadığı bir yerleşim birimi olmuştur. Bölge, M.Ö. 1. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Roma İmparatorluğu'nun, 7. yüzyıldan itibaren Bulgar Devleti'nin hakimiyet sahasına girmiştir. Rusçuk da bu devlete tabi olarak eski Roma kalesinin bulunduğu yerde bir köy olarak gelişmeye başlamış ve 1388 yılında Osmanlılar tarafından fethedilmiştir. Osmanlı arşiv kaynaklarında Rusçuk için Nefs-i Rus, Nefs-i Urus Berü Yaka ya da Yergöğü Berü Yaka tabirleri kullanılmıştır.

Rusçuk, 16. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar bölgenin önemli bir merkezi olan Niğbolu Sancağı'ndaki Çernovi kazasına bağlı bir kasaba olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Şehrin fetihden sonraki bir yüzyıllık süreç boyunca nüfus yapısının gayrimüslimler lehine devam ettiği görülmektedir. Bu dönemde kasabada 248 gayrimüslim hanesine karşılık sadece 3 müslüman hanesi bulunmaktaydı. Sistemli bir şekilde yürütülen iskân siyasetinin bir sonucu olarak 16. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Müslüman nüfus giderek artmaya başlamıştır. Ancak bunun yeterli bir artış olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Zira bahsedilen dönemde Rusçuk'ta Müslüman mahalleleri fazla olmasına rağmen nüfus oranı hala gayrimüslimler lehineydi. Bununla birlikte aynı yüzyılın sonlarına doğru şehirde nüfus açısından bir denge oluşmuş, Müslüman ve gayrimüslim nüfusu hane bazında birbirine oldukça yaklaşmıştır. Bunun dışında şehirde ikamet eden diğer topluluklar arasında ayrı bir cemaat halinde defterlere kaydedilen Kıptiler ile ticaret amacıyla buraya gelen Latin tacirler de görülmektedir.

Bu dönemde şehirde yaşayanların sosyo-ekonomik ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak amacıyla mevcut müesseselerin yanında yeni müesseseler de kurulmaya başlanmıştır. Bu durum Rusçuk'un gelişmesine ve büyümesine katkıda bulunmuştur.

Bu çalışmada 16. yüzyıla ait tahrir ve evkaf defterleri esas alınarak şehrin idari yapısı, kalesi, mahalleleri, Müslim-gayrimüslim nüfusu ve muaf reayası ile ilgili veriler değerlendirilerek askerî, sosyo-ekonomik ve dini yapısı aydınlatılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu kapsamda Rusçuk'ta sosyal statü, halkın meşgul olduğu meslekler, ticari ve zirai faaliyetler ve tahsil edilen vergiler hakkında bilgi verilecektir. Ayrıca şehrin ekonomik anlamda gelişmesine katkıda bulunan gümrük ve limanına dikkat çekilecektir.

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### **Collaborative Research of History and Information Science: Difference of Recovery Procedure after the Earthquake Disaster Based on Each Culture**

Earthquake recovery process has been assisted using a spatial temporal database system named DiMSIS which has functions to handle temporal change information as well as location information. The advantage of the spatial temporal database system is that it integrates any human activity into one single database. Even if the name of the area or city is changed, the location is the same. Temporal information handling in the database can differentiate activities on the same place in different periods. The location of road and town (density area) shows the rational way of land use which is clearly revealed after disasters. The Düzce area in Turkey has been surveyed after the Düzce earthquake in 1999 by using the DiMSIS in which historical information, especially on roads and transportation, has been integrated. According to Ottoman historical sources, Düzce emerged as a bazaar in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and developed as a station (*menzil*) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During the Tanzimat period, according to the *temettiât defterleri*, Düzce was a district belonging to Bolu. Even at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were few households in the town of Düzce. In short, it is clear that Düzce has been not suitable for people to live on perpetually because of its environmental conditions, both earthquakes and dampness. Thus, the residential area of Düzce was moved to surrounding areas, but the center of city has remained mainly for its function as a market, which in any case was historically the original identity of Düzce and the surrounding area. The integration of historical activities has possibilities to show us a way for the future, and information technology can assist this integration of events and forecast future. Culture can be seen as a rational way of living in a region and using technology. We can learn a lot from other cultures.

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### **A Village Micro-Economy in the Hinterland of Selanik between 1770 and 1845**

My research focuses on the structures of the rural economy in the hinterland of the city of Selanik (Thessaloniki) from the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The area of study is delimited by the jurisdiction of the judge of the local Islamic law court, within which nevertheless multiple regions with distinct geographic, economic and cultural characteristics may be discerned, while the impact of the urban economy is a factor that presumably also contributes strongly to the formation of specific rural structures. In this context, both urban demand, and commerce and strategies of investment, as well as specific regional characteristics, will be taken into consideration for the study of the village economy of one settlement located within the

district but not in the immediate vicinity of the city, at the northern edge of the peninsula of Halkidiki.

The settlement (Zagliver) is included in a revenue and expense register of 1768 belonging to the household of a local notable family, while in the middle of the 1770s a dispute appears to be taking place between the villagers and the *çiftlik*-owner on what seems to be the terms of share-cropping contracts. Related entries are also found at the local tax-allocation (*tevzi*) registers and at the series of the *temettüat* registers of 1844 as both a *çiftlik* and a *yüriik* settlement (*mahalle*). Lastly, oral tradition written down in the 1950s refers in detail to the same complaint petitioning process as well as on different aspects of rural conditions in the region. In this context, the questions which will be set refer to agricultural practices, the degree of commercialization and specialization of production, the economic and cultural relations with neighboring settlements, social stratification within the village and the structure and perception of power relations as contested in 1775.

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### **Levantine Architecture in Smyrna/Izmir:**

#### **Tracing the Architectural Classification of its Residential Buildings**

The city of Smyrna/Izmir is situated on the western coast of Anatolia, at a crossroad of different cultures. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of socio-economic development in the Ottoman Empire, the city with its ethnically diverse population became a significant multicultural centre.

European merchants coming from France, Italy, England, Germany, etc., the *Levantines*, inhabited the region, the Levant (many of them were also descendants of Genoese merchants from Chios). The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till 1922 (when the big destruction of the Greek and Armenian quarters occurred) was the period of intense Westernization. The city's urban fabric was expanded to the former villages of Bornova, Buca, Goztepe and Karşıyaka, and impressive large mansions were constructed, following the western morphological rules, reminding of English country houses and French chateaux.

The domestic architecture of Smyrna was formed under the influence of Western culture: by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the city's housing compound included, apart from the typical Turkish houses of Anatolia, a big number of Levantine and Greek residences, reflecting a cultural mosaic of architectural trends. This was due not only to the ethnically mixed communities, but also to the architects responsible for the buildings' construction, many of whom had studied abroad. One, two or three-storey buildings were constructed, with a symmetrical organization in their façade and a closed wooden balcony (reminiscent of vernacular Anatolian *konaks*), often in a row, presenting similar architectural features in various styles. Levantine architecture is characterised by an amalgamation of trends, from Baroque to Neoclassicism, incorporating also decorative elements, which stem from Art Nouveau. The result of this very remarkable combination of forms allows us to speak of a special Eclecticism, with reference to Neoclassicistic forms, that can still be noticed today in Izmir.

The present paper will focus on the analysis and classification of the Izmir Levantine architecture, after concluding an *in situ* documentation of its existing residential buildings.



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### **Kuzey Afrika'da Girit Müslümanları**

Girit Adası, 19. yüzyılın özellikle ikinci yarısından itibaren yaşadığı bir dizi politik gelişme sonucunda 1897 yılında özerkliğini kazanmıştır. Özerk bir yönetime geçiş süreci Ada halkı için oldukça karışık bir dönemi ifade etmektedir. İki halk arasında yaşanan sorunlar sonucunda gerek halktan gelen talepler gerek bizzat Osmanlı Devleti'nin önlem kararları doğrultusunda Müslümanlar için Ada'da göç süreci başlamıştır. Girit'ten başlayan göç dalgası genelde iki ana rota izlemiş ve muhacirler ya Anadolu'nun farklı bölgelerine ya da Kuzey Afrika'ya göç etmişlerdir. Girit'ten Kuzey Afrika'ya yapılan göçler çalışmamızın konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, Girit Müslümanlarının Kuzey Afrika'ya göç süreçleri ve orada yaşadıkları iskan problemlerini ayrıntılarıyla ele alınmaya çalışılacaktır. Ayrıca 1894 yılında başlayıp 1918 yılına değin bir türlü tam olarak çözülemeyen iskan problemlerinin Girit Müslümanları üzerinde yarattığı etkilerin de ortaya konması hedeflenmektedir.

Bu çalışma ile 20. yüzyılda iki büyük göç dalgasının öznesi olan Girit Müslümanlarının Kuzey Afrika'ya gerçekleştirdikleri göç ve iskan süreçleri birincil kaynaklar doğrultusunda incelenecektir.

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### **The Making of the Edirne Jewish Community: A Demographic and Spatial Analysis (c. 1690-1750)**

This paper examines the demographic development and geographic dispersion of the Edirne Jewish community from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century by mainly benefiting from Ottoman archival sources and Muslim court records of Edirne. Except some big cities such as Istanbul, Jerusalem, Salonica and Izmir, monographic studies on Ottoman Jews have been rare in Ottoman historiography. These works have either focused on the early periods (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) or on the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ottoman Jews in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, however, are shortly mentioned in parallel to the 'decline' paradigm. This paper investigates the relevance of this discourse by focusing on the second largest Jewish community in the Ottoman Balkans. Did the Edirne Jewish community face a demographic decline in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries? How was its spatial organization in the centuries concerned? Hitherto unused archival material is the one drawn upon most heavily in this research. For the demographic situation and the spatial organization of the Edirne Jews, detailed (*mufassal*) and summary (*icmal*) 'avârız registers, one detailed *cizye* register, and the census conducted in Edirne in 1703 have been used. Furthermore, in order to see the neighborhoods where they lived and to analyze their relations with the broader society, judicial records of Edirne between 1680s and 1750s concerning Jews were used. Bearing in mind the limitations and problems of the sources, I have attempted to scrutinize the demographic and spatial structure of the Edirne Jewish community during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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### **Osmanlı Literatüründe Ben-Anlatılarına (*Ego-dokumente*) Katkı: Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü (1711-1735)**

Osmanlı tarihinin erken/erken modern dönemleri söz konusu olduğunda, en az rastladığımız kaynak türlerinden birisi günlüklerdir. Bu tebliğde, 1711-35 yıllarını kapsayan Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi'ye ait günlük üzerine odaklanıyorum. Mustafa Efendi, ünlü Sadreddinzadeler ulema ailesinin mensubudur. Osmanlı dünyasında böylesine erken tarihlere ait bir günlüğün varlığı bilhassa dikkate değerdir.

Sadreddinzade günlüğü, şüphesiz “ben-dokümanları” (*ego-dokumente*) kapsamında değerlendirilebilir. Günlüğün “Doğu’da birey var mıdır?” tartışmalarına nitelikli bir katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum. Günlüğümüz yazarı; sırasıyla Sofya, Manisa, Diyarbakır, Üsküdar ve Filibe kadısı olarak görev almış olması münasebetiyle, imparatorluk geneli gündelik yaşamına ait kıymetli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Günlükte, gündelik yaşamı doğrudan etkileyen üç toplumsal hadiseye ait ayrıntılı bilgiler bulunmaktadır: deprem, iklim/hava koşulları (sel vb.) ve yangın. Sadreddinzade günlüğüne dayalı olarak verdiğim deprem haritasının, İstanbul’un 18. yüzyıl başlarında deprenselliğine/deprem tarihine katkıda bulunacağını umuyorum. Günlüğün Osmanlı iklim tarihi çalışmaları için çok kısıtlı bulunan veri bankasına katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum ve dolayısıyla Küçük Buzul Çağı’nın Osmanlı’daki yansımaları/etkileri meselesini de aydınlatmaya yardımcı olacağı ümidindeyim. Sadreddinzade’nin kayıtlarını esas alırsak; İstanbul, 18. yüzyıl başlarında yangın yeridir. Metinde şehrin hemen her yerinde ardı arkası kesilmeyen yangınlardan bahs olunmaktadır. Literatürde, tulumbacılar ocağı’nın kuruluşu, bir tür garip aydınlanma/‘modernleşme’ sonucu olarak izah edilir de bunca yangının yarattığı çaresizliğin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmış olabileceği üzerinde düşünülmez. Günlüğün literatürdeki klişeleri çözümlene noktasında da bilgimizi zenginleştireceği kanaatindeyim.

Günlük yazarı, kadılık mesleği mensubu olması münasebetiyle Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatı ile ilgilenen araştırmacılar için temel kaynaklardan birisi olacaktır. Pek çok kadı tayininin eserde mevcut olması, kadınların kariyer takibinin günlük üzerinden gerçekleştirilmesini mümkün kılacaktır. Kadıasker ruznamçeleri, Sadreddinzade günlüğü ile beraber değerlendirildiğinde Osmanlı kadılarına ilişkin biyografik/prosopografik çalışmalar zenginleşecektir.

Tebliğim, günlüğün ayrıntılı bir içerik analizinin ardından, temelde yukarıda işaret ettiğim konu başlıkları özelinde, literatüre bu spesifik eser üzerinden ne gibi bir katkıda bulunabileceğimiz üzerine olacaktır.

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### **From Formal Suppression to Informal Accommodation: The Ottoman State and the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Anatolia**

Ottoman politics of difference has become a popular topic of scholarly discussion in recent years. Several works that have taken up the issue since the 1980s have highlighted the Ottomans’ pragmatic inclusivity vis-à-vis their ethnically and religiously diverse subjects, and their willingness to grant the various non-Muslim communities autonomy and freedom to practice their religions. However, one limiting feature of the current literature on Ottoman politics of difference has been its heavy focus on the non-Muslim communities, and the relative absence in related discussions of sectarian Muslim minorities which sharia-bound/orthodox Muslims view as ‘heretical’.

The Kizilbash/Alevi were the largest sectarian community of this sort in the Ottoman domains. They faced repression and waves of persecution that continued on and off throughout

the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As reflected in numerous contemporary *fetvas* justifying these harsh measures, the Ottoman state treated the Kizilbash with a policy of ‘zero tolerance’ at the level of official rhetoric. Yet persecution and threat of it was only one component of the Ottoman policy towards the Kizilbash. In their long-term management of Kizilbash ‘heresy’, the Ottomans shifted and combined strategies ranging from lesser forms of punishment and assimilation to informal accommodation. Even when persecution was largely replaced by milder forms of imperial disciplining and control after the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, a discourse of exclusion and intolerance was maintained at the formal level. This intermediate state of formal suppression and informal accommodation defined the precarious existence of the Kizilbash/Alevi communities on the periphery of the larger Ottoman polity. This paper will focus on these variable Ottoman strategies in managing the Kizilbash ‘heresy’, and on the complex interplay between political expediency and religious ideology in fashioning the timing and specificities of these policy choices.

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**“My Name is Şirin Kadın, my Craft, Slaver”:  
The World of Slave Women  
in the Late 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Empire**

In March 1888, a detailed report informed the Ottoman palace about three women, who had been, in an ongoing scheme, tricking poor immigrant families to hand their daughters over to them. The women told the parents that their daughters were to be taken to the imperial harem to become concubines and that they themselves would be paid and be done with poverty and misery. One of these trickster women was specified as *Çerkez* (Circassian) in the report, and another as *esirci Zenciye* (slaver Negress). They themselves were manumitted concubines, thus well informed; they knew from their own experience, for instance, that they had to account for the girls’ fluent Turkish. Part of the report also dealt with the recovery of these girls, now the property of such notable people as a high-ranking eunuch of the imperial harem, Ferhad Ağa or Şehzade Mahmud Celaledin Efendi. Other girls had been dispersed to other provinces, most notably to Egypt.

Taking this incident, which embodies most of the distinct features of the Ottoman practice of slavery, such as its multi-racial, linguistic or gender component, this paper aims to explore slavery as a cultural practice. It is true that for the women who were involved in the incident, the motive was mainly financial: absolute lack of it, in the case of the girls’ parents; securing more means for an undeclared retirement plan, specifically in the case of widowed women; climbing the ladder of social mobility through manipulation of a familiar system, in the case of ex-slaves; and even, a promise of medical treatment, in the case of one woman, who was reported to be turning blind. Nevertheless, these commercial transactions took place within a larger circle of cultural practices, which made them possible in the first place. Through an analysis of this particular incident, this paper will trace the ways in which Ottoman women (of different social and economic backgrounds) saw, thought and ordered their world or, rather, organized diversity.

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**The Transylvanian Rhetoric of Being an Ottoman Tributary**

One of the challenges of being a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire for the elites of Transylvania was to simultaneously maintain two different political vocabularies. On the one hand, in communication with the Sublime Porte and its dignitaries, the Transylvanian princes and their envoys had to apply a political language of obedience and humility; a vocabulary which also

was in use in reference to the Ottomans in the political correspondence between the embassy and the ruler of the principality. Quite to the contrary, in their communication towards the monarchs of Christian Europe, the princes of Transylvania had to downplay their connections to the Sultan. They never went as far as Ragusans, who merged their tributary status with a discourse of *antemurale Christianitatis*, but they also applied a variety of strategies in order to be seen as equal members of the European international system. Apart from introducing these different discourses, the paper shall present the unexpected situations when the two came into contact with each other: the debates following the printing and distribution of some captured letters of Gábor Bethlen by pro-Habsburg forces in the early phases of the Thirty Years War.

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### **The Courtyard of Üç Şerefeli Mosque: A Point of Contact between Mosque and Palace Architecture**

Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne, whose construction finished in 1447, is known as the turning point of the Ottoman mosque architecture. For the first time in its history, two prominent architectural elements were introduced to this first imperial mosque in Edirne: a huge dome dominating the prayer hall and a colonnaded courtyard juxtaposed to that.

This paper is to argue that the adoption of the courtyard was profoundly related to the Ottoman palace architecture in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Although the sudden emergence of the courtyard has been interpreted as an acceptance of architectural style from Egypt and south-eastern Anatolia, the stylistic and spatial disparity of the courtyard itself denies such a suggestion.

In fact, a similar colonnaded courtyard was reported in Murad II's palace at Edirne by European travelers in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A new court and government organization required a place for pompous ceremonial, and consequently a ceremonial courtyard and an audience hall were added to the traditional Turkic/Persian palaces with pavilions and gardens.

Is the application of colonnaded courtyard to both the imperial mosque and the royal palace in Edirne a sheer coincidence? Although we lack detailed documents about the ceremonial usage of the imperial mosques during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there are two circumstantial evidences to prove the link. Firstly, the sword-girding ceremony, which accompanied the enthronement ceremony in the palace, was held in the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the court left Istanbul to stay in Edirne. That mosque, not Selimiye or Ulu Cami, was regarded as a suitable place for such a royal ceremony. Secondly, the avoidance of using courtyards in non-sultanic mosques until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century supports the prestige of this type of space, which was closely linked to the authority of the sultan.

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### **Comparative Analysis of Labor Organisation in Çiftlik in the Hinterlands of Izmir and Salonica (1840-1912)**

By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Izmir had emerged as the most important port in the Ottoman Empire's trade with the West and retained this position throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century by carrying more than 50% of the Empire's exports. The volume of trade increased four-fold, exports three-fold and imports six-fold between the 1840s and 1870s. Even more spectacular results apply to Salonica. Within the same time span, Salonica's export experienced a tenfold increase in the volume of trade, exports and imports. In this context of trade expansion, these two important port

cities of the Eastern Mediterranean were mostly supplied by their rich hinterland where big farms, *çiftlik*s, dominated rural economy.

This paper will discuss in a comparative framework how labor is organized in the hinterland of each of two expanding port cities, with a focus on the *çiftlik*s. If sharecropping is the most common form of labor organisation, what are the dynamics of sharecropping systems practiced in each of these two hinterlands? Are there any changes during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the form of labor organisation, from sharecropping to wage-labor or to rent system, vice versa, etc.? Does any relationship between labor organisation and productivity growth exist? What are the determinants of production growth in terms of labor organisation? The paper will discuss these questions on the basis of the quantitative and qualitative data on the labor organisation existing in the income registers (*temettuat defterleri*) of 1845 and other archival materials (i.e., *hazine-i hassa defterleri*, *salnames*, 1907-1909 agricultural statistics) for the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century about the *çiftlik*s existing in the hinterlands of Izmir and Salonica.

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### **Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Belgeleri Işığında İstanbul'da Porselen Üretimi Girişimleri**

18. yüzyıldan itibaren Batıda gelişen Sanayi Devrimi'nin bir sonucu olarak geleneksel üretim yöntemlerinin yerini fabrikalar almıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu önceleri yeni teknolojiyle üretilen mamullerinin pazarı durumunda iken, çok uzun sayılmayacak süreçte İmparatorluk bünyesinde el sanatları alanında da atölyelerin yanı sıra fabrikasyon üretim başlamıştır. Bunlardan biri geleneksel atölye üretimi çini ve seramiğe alternatif, fabrika üretimi fayans ve porselendir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ilk porselen üretiminin, Batıyla eş zamanlı olarak 18. yüzyıldan itibaren Galata, Beykoz, Eyüp ve Balat'ta bulunan atölyelerde başladığı kabul edilir. Bu atölyeler dışında, Batı teknolojinine uygun ilk porselen fabrikası, 1845 yılında Beykoz'da kurulmuş, saray için üretim yapacak olan Yıldız Çini ve Porselen Fabrikası, Yıldız Sarayı dış bahçesinde 1890-1892 yılları arasında inşa edilmiştir.

Sözü edilen bu kuruluşlar dışında, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde çini, porselen veya fayans fabrikası kurmak isteyen şahsi teşebbüslere ilişkin belgeler bulunmaktadır. Mesela transkripsiyonu yapılan bazı belgelerden 1885 yılında Çubuklu'da Porselen ve Fayans fabrikası kurmak isteyen Ticaret Nezareti Mektupçusu Münir Bey'e 15 yıllığına, 1894 yılında da Silaharağa'da kurmayı düşündüğü Çini ve Porselen Fabrikası için Mimar Yanko'ya 30 yıllığına imtiyaz verildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bildiri de BOA belgeleri ışığında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda porselen üretimi, özellikle de çini ve porselen fabrikası kurmak isteyen şahsi teşebbüsler, ele alınarak porselen üretimi içerisinde az bilinen bu konunun aydınlatılması amaçlanmıştır.

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### **Ottomanism and Notions of Empire on the Verge of its Collapse**

The contested character of Ottomanism as an ideology that preoccupied friends and foes has been one of the most debated aspects of the late Ottoman period. Especially, after 1908, with the restoration of the constitution, the re-emergence of the Ottomanist project was greeted with enthusiasm domestically and abroad. Yet, it soon became clear that, for a large part of the Muslim bureaucratic and military elite, Ottomanism was envisaged as a dynamic process of

creating a new nation, dominated by and large by the Turkish element, while for most of the other ethno-religious groups, it entailed a necessary compromise, a solidarity based on political unity which would definitely not affect the cultural and ethnic specificities of the diverse populations.

Whatever the case, during these volatile years, members of almost every ethno-religious community, journalists, scholars or professionals, engaged whole-heartedly in the political struggle that seemed to be opening new avenues for cooperation among the elites at least of these communities and sincerely adhered to safeguarding the integrity of the Empire. Interestingly enough, many of these individuals, who had already emerged as prominent figures within their particular communities, were going to play an important role in the post-Ottoman period in new contexts dominated by their respective national aspirations. The purpose of this paper is to discuss and reflect on such individuals who derive from among the non-Muslim communities, Greek-Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian and Sûryani. My approach engages the use of biography, a way of narrating the past that has recently re-emerged and has agreeably contributed to highlighting not only the role of individuals in the making of history, as the traditional use of biography had it, but also, by turning the table around and introducing subjectivity, the way that broader developments are experienced by still rather prominent individuals.

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### **The Ulema and the Patriarch: Accommodation and Conflict**

Scholarship on the role and function of the Orthodox Patriarchate in the Ottoman Empire has so far concentrated on two main aspects, the famous ‘millet’ theory that envisaged the Patriarch in the role of an ‘*ethnarch*’ as the sole representative of his *millet* or that presenting him as a mere tax-farmer. The dichotomy of these two distinct and conflicting roles led research to concentrate on proving or disproving one side against the other. Another theoretical hurdle was yet another dichotomy between *shar’ia* and *kanun* this time. For primarily 20<sup>th</sup>-century ideological reasons, the Ottoman Empire was pictured as an idiosyncratic Muslim state where Islamic law was only used for legitimacy and was employed to justify the will of autocratic rulers.

This paper aims at going beyond both dichotomies. Using *risales* and *fetva* collections from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, I will discuss the legal framework that bound sultanic decisions vis-à-vis the Orthodox Church. Ottoman muftis’, such as Molla Husrev, Ibrahim Halebi, Çivizade Mehmed Efendi, Ebussuud Efendi, Abdurrahim Efendi, jurisprudential works were influential in formulating Ottoman ideology. Their shifting attitudes towards the Patriarchate and the *zimmis* resulted to and were a result of societal and ideological evolution that in turn shaped the development of the Orthodox Patriarchate as an Ottoman institution.

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### **Kırım Hanlarının Osmanlıda Sürgün Günleri (Akdeniz Adalarında Sürgün Asilzadeler)**

Kırım Hanlığı, Osmanlı tarihi boyunca çok özel bir statüye sahip olmuştur. Bu çerçevede Kırım Hanlığı üzerindeki kardeş kavgalarında tahta çıkan hanın, rakibi olan hanları yanlarında eş, çocuk, yakın akraba ve hizmetçileriyle birlikte toplu halde Osmanlı Devleti’ne sürgüne göndermesi gelenek haline gelmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti de Selatin-i Cengiziye olarak kabul ettiği sürgün Kırımli hanlara, giraylara ve asilzadelere büyük saygı göstermiş ve sürgün hayatlarında maddi yönden sıkıntı çekmemeleri için üzerine düşeni fazlasıyla yerine getirmiştir.

Hayatlarını devam ettirmeleri için sağlanan bu kolaylıklara rağmen, sürgüne gönderilen Kırım Hanlarının, iktidardaki hanlara sorun çıkarmamaları için Kırım'a yakın yerlerde yaşamalarına da izin verilmemiştir. Tahta oturan Han'ın talepleri doğrultusunda, sürgün asilzadelerin Kırım'daki yandaşları ile temas kuramayacakları Akdeniz adalarına sürgün edilmeleri gelenek haline gelmiştir. Başta Rodos olmak üzere Sakız, Midilli, Limni gibi Akdeniz adaları sürgüne gönderilen Kırım hanları için önemli sürgün yerleri olmuşlardır. Buralara sürgün gönderilenlerin birçoğu hayatlarını buralarda kaybetmişlerdir.

Bu noktalar dikkate alınarak çalışmada, ağırlıklı olarak Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde yer alan belge gruplarından yararlanılarak konuya açıklık getirilmeye çalışılacaktır. Öncelikle Kırım hanlarının Osmanlı Devleti ile siyasi ve hukuki bağlantıları hakkında kısa bir bilgi verildikten sonra, Kırım hanları arasında sürgün cezasının uygulaması üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu noktada araştırmada şu sorulara cevap verilmeye çalışılacaktır:

- Kırım hanlarının sürgüne gönderilme sebepleri nelerdir?
- Kırım hanları ağırlıklı olarak nerelere sürgüne gönderilmişlerdir ve bunlar içinde Akdeniz adalarının önemi nedir?
- Sürgüne gönderilen Kırım hanlarının sürgün yerlerinde hayatları nasıl şekillenmiştir?

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**A *Serdar-ı Ekrem* in the Ottoman Army  
during the Transition Process:  
R. Mehmed Pasha**

The Ottoman Empire began to introduce reforms in the military field, in particular, in the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The innovation movement led by Sultan Selim III was short-lived but a good start. These reforms were resumed slowly under Mahmud II, and gained momentum with the abolition of the janissary corps. The implementation of the military reforms launched by Mahmud II was entrusted to the generals who served in the Ottoman army. At the head of these generals was R. Mehmed Pasha, who had military and administrative duties in Rumelia, and was given the duty to suppress the 1821 Greek Rebellion. As a result of the important activity that he developed in the Morea peninsula, he was actively involved in the Egyptian Question. Considering his reformist characteristics and military personality, Mahmud II appointed R. Mehmed Pasha as Grand Vizier and, in addition, *serdar-ı ekrem*.

However, R. Mehmed Pasha not only lost the Battle of Konya against the Egyptian army, but was also captured by Kavalalı Ibrahim Pasha. The joint fate of these two persons, who fought together against the rebels in the Morea, was interrupted in the plain of Konya. When *serdar-ı ekrem* R. Mehmed Pasha was returned to the Ottoman Empire in the course of the Egyptian Question, he had fallen from grace. Even though he continued to work for the state until the end of his life, this was at more passive tasks. In this paper, R. Mehmed Pasha's career in Rumelia, the Morea and Anatolia will be discussed within the framework of the modernization of the Ottoman army.

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**Defining the Confessional and Ethnic Plurality  
of the Ottoman Society:  
Pilgrimage of Monastic Priest Leontii to the Holy Land  
of Christianity (1763-1766)**

The name of the priest-monk Leontii (1726-1807), whose life was tightly bound with the Ottoman Empire, is hardly known to historians and his multivolume autobiography, which has never been published, is among the least utilized sources by Ottomanists. The first three volumes of Leontii's memoirs deal with his journey to Egypt, Sinai and Palestine and cover the period of 1763-1766. Written in the epistolary genre, Leontii's work is a picturesque mixture of various facts and accurate observations, psychological sketches and verbose inner dialogues which provide a scholar with a lot of material about the writer's experiences in the Middle East. His description of the pilgrimage is lively with a fascinating and sympathetic insight into the Arab-Ottoman world which he found to be alluring, dynamic and diverse. His narration encompasses many aspects of religious and daily life in the Arab provinces. It is most likely that Leontii's pilgrimage record is the sole Russian narrative source of this kind which contains lengthy passages with colorful descriptions of life in the nomadic hinterland. In defining the confessional and ethnic plurality of Ottoman society, the cleric was as bigoted about the world beyond his homeland as his Russian fellow travelers and Western European counterparts. Yet, in Leontii's description, the images of Muslims and Jews were not transformed beyond recognition by the 'distorting mirror' of Christianocentrism. Focusing his attention on his non-Orthodox opponents – especially Catholics, the cleric remained sharply critical of them. At the same time, the pilgrim did not look at his co-regionalists – Eastern Christians – through rose-colored glasses. The aim of the present paper is to examine Leontii's views of the different religious communities and ethnic groups of the Middle East.

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**Between Court and Coffeehouse:  
Crimean Tatar Chronicles in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

A descendant of the Eurasian steppe empires and in close contact with the Ottoman Empire since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Crimean Khanate featured its own unique forms of cultural expression. Regrettably, scholars of Ottoman literature have paid little attention to Crimean literary works, which they tend to dismiss as sub-standard provincial production. With regard to history writing, in particular, it has been suggested that Crimean Tatar chronicles were primitive works that would normally be read in coffeehouses in front of an illiterate audience.

In my paper, I wish to look closer at Crimean chronicles in order to establish the elements that lead scholars to express such views and reconsider whether this interpretation is a valid one. I will discuss Crimean Tatar history writing of the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries in general to then focus on the History of the Tatar prince Mehmed Giray, which chronicles the years 1683-1703. I shall analyze this text investigating the narrative techniques employed by the author in order to find evidence regarding its intended audience and its mode of reception (written, oral). I will suggest that the History of Mehmed Giray was addressed to both a literate and an illiterate public, i.e. both to the Crimean court and elite as well as to coffeehouse patrons. I will argue that these audiences are not mutually exclusive but that, on the contrary, the written and oral culture coexisted and interacted with each other.



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## **Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Erkek Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri**

Osmanlı sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet, hükümdarlığı sırasında asker ve devlet erkânının unvanlarına göre giyinmeye başlaması, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş ve diğer padişahlar tarafından sürdürülmüştür. Osmanlı sarayı ve devlet adamlarının kıyafetleri en gösterişli şekilde ve sembolik olarak sınıf ve rütbelerine göre sıralanmış ve padişahın şahsında son bulacak şekilde bir düzene sokulmuştur.

Katı ve belirlenmiş formlar 16. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar temelde benzer öğelerle kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. 19. yüzyıldan itibaren yoğunlaşan Batı ile ilişkiler, giysilere de yansımış ve giysilerin kesimleri ile kullanılışlarında yüzyıllar boyunca korunan geleneklerin kurallarının kırılmasına ve biçimsel değişikliklerin oluşmasına yol açmıştır. Nizam-ı Cedid'in ilk oluşumunda III. Selim doğrudan Avrupa ordularının setre pantolonunu almaktansa, en eski yeniçeri kıyafetlerinden 18. yy. sonu Avrupa kıyafetlerine en yakın olanını almayı tercih etmiştir. Böylece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ilk kez, "üniform" olan bir askeri giyim tasarlama girişimi kararı alınmıştır. 17. yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan Batı etkileri ve II. Mahmud'un gerçekleştirdiği reformlar sonucunda kıyafetler ile ilgili düzenlemelerden sonra erkek ile kadın giysilerindeki benzerlik ortadan kalkmış, önce erkek giysilerinde daha sonra da kadın giysilerinde geleneksel kurallar yıkılarak radikal değişiklikler oluşmuştur.

Giysi formlarında oluşabilecek model değişikliklerini en iyi yansıtan unsurlar yaka ve kol özelliklerinin değiştirilmesi ile gerçekleştirilebilir. Yakaların genişleyip daralması, kolların uzayıp kısalması giysi modellerinde önemli değişikliklerin oluşmasını gerekli kılmıştır. Değişimler öncelikle renkli entari kaftanların yerini, siyah, lacivert gibi koyu renklerde dikilen takım elbiseler, yanları şeritli pantolonlar, çift sıra düğmeli önleri, kol kapakları ve yakaları sarı ve beyaz parlak ipliklerle ağır ve yoğun işlemler yapılmış ceketler almıştır. Böylece Osmanlı'nın 400 yıl süren giyim anlayışında önemli ve radikal değişim süreci öncelikle erkek giysilerinde başlamıştır. Dış görünümde gerçekleştirilen değişiklikler, sultanların da batılı komutanlar gibi üniformalar giymelerini gerektirmiştir.

Bu çalışmada, söz konusu reformların erkek giysilerindeki etkileri tartışılarak tür, biçim, form, kullanım özellikleri ve estetik değerler açısından değişikliklerin neler olduğu ve toplum tarafından nasıl değerlendirildiği üzerinde durulacaktır.

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## **Osmanlı Mukataa Sisteminde Emanet ve İltizam Uygulamaları: İstanbul Gümrüğü Örneği**

Osmanlı ekonomisinde mukataa olarak örgütlendirilen mali ve ekonomik gelir kaynakları, mukataa biriminin özelliklerine ve devrin şartlarına göre emanet ya da iltizam yöntemiyle idare edilmiştir. Emanet yöntemiyle idarede, mukataayı devletin memuru devlet adına idare ederken, iltizam yönteminde, getireceği gelir yaklaşık olarak tahmin edilen mukataa birimi, peşin ödeme karşılığında 1-3 yıllığına özel teşebbüse devredilerek işletilmiştir. İltizam usulü içerisinde devletin nakit ihtiyacının artmasına paralel olarak 17. yüzyılın sonunda malikâne usulü geliştirilmiş ve mukataa sisteminin kapsamı da tımar sistemindeki küçülmeyle birlikte tarım topraklarını da içine alacak şekilde genişlemiştir.

"Osmanlı Mukataa Sisteminde Emanet ve İltizam Uygulamaları: İstanbul Gümrüğü Örneği" başlıklı bu tebliğde teoride bu şekilde tanımlanan emanet ve iltizam uygulamalarının

aynı mukataa birimi üzerinde zaman içinde ne şekilde uygulandığı gerekçeleriyle birlikte İstanbul Gümrüğü üzerinden ortaya konulacaktır.

İstanbul'daki kara ve deniz gümrükleri merkezliğinde Marmara bölgesi ile Adalar Denizi'nde İzmir ve Sakız, Karadeniz'de Sinop ve Samsun gümrüklerine kadar olan bölgenin gümrüklerinin bağlı olduğu İstanbul Gümrük Emaneti, Osmanlı Devleti'nin en varlıklı mukataalarından birini oluşturmuştur. İncelediğimiz 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında gerek emanet gerek de iltizam yönetimi ile idare edildiği yıllar olan İstanbul Gümrüğü'nün, başta maaş ödemeleri olmak üzere devletin pek çok harcamasına aracılık etmesi, iltizam yöntemiyle idare edildiği zamanlarda da iltizam sistemi için teoride belirtilen 'özel teşebbüs' kavramını sorgulatacak bir özellik arz etmektedir.

İstanbul Gümrüğü'ne geniş bir coğrafi alandaki gümrüklerin bağlı olması aynı dönem içerisinde bağlı mukataalarda farklı yönetim uygulamalarını da ortaya çıkarmıştır. Zira İstanbul gümrüğünün başında olan gümrük emini bağlı mukataaları başka eminler ya da sorumlular aracılığıyla idare etmiştir. Bu farklılıklar da tebliğde üzerinde durulacak olan bir diğer noktadır.

Bu tebliğ, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan Baş Muhasebe ve Maden Mukataası Kalemleri'nin İstanbul Gümrük Eminliği fonları ile Cevdet tasnifinde yer alan ilgili dokümanlara dayanarak hazırlanmıştır.

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## **Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Kadın Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri**

Yüzyıllar boyunca Türkler geleneksel giyim kuşam tarzını genel özelliklerini bozmayacak şekilde küçük farklılıklarla şekillendirmiştir. Orta Asya'dan günümüze Türk giysilerinin ana unsurlarını bilekte toplanarak ayak üzerine dökülen geniş paçalı, belden büzülerek toplanan şalvar, şalvarın üzerine giyilen bürümcük gömlek, beli kemer veya kuşakla bağlanan önu boydan boya açık, yırtmaçlı bir üst entarisi ve bu entarilerin üzerine giyilen kaftan, ferace vb. üstlükler oluşturmuştur. Türklerde kadın ve erkek takılar da dâhil olmak üzere tüm giysileri ve onların parçalarını birlikte kullanmışlardır. Erken dönemlere ait kadın, erkek ve çocuk giyiminin ayrımı ölçülerden, renklerden, süsleme biçimlerinin yoğunluğundan, giyinme şekillerinden veya bolluk-darlık açısından gözlenebilmiştir. 17. yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan Batı etkileri ve II. Mahmud'un gerçekleştirdiği reformlar sonucunda kıyafetler ile ilgili düzenlemelerden sonra erkek ile kadın giysilerindeki benzerlik ortadan kalkmıştır.

Erkeklerin giysilerine kanunlarla getirilen zorunlu yenilikler kadın giysilerine getirilmemiştir. Ancak bu durum erkek giysilerini çok hızlı ve kesin bir şekilde batıya yönettiren, kadın giysilerindeki geleneksel çizgileri korumuş ve önceleri kadın giysilerdeki değişiklikler sadece ayrıntılarda kendini gösterebilmiştir. Bol ve uzun gömlek ve şalvarların üzerine giyilen önu açık peşli entarilerin yerini önu kapalı boy entarileri (kutu içi entari veya iki etek) almıştır. Ancak bu giysiler tam olarak Avrupa tarzı giysiler olarak değerlendirilmemelidir. Takma kolları, rokoko tarzı ağır işlemeleri, Avrupa'dan getirilen dantel, harç ve su taşları ile süslemeleri, kuyruklu etekleri, modern tekstil ürünü kumaşları ile geleneksel giysi anlayışından oldukça uzaklaşmış, ancak Avrupa tarzı ile Osmanlı giyim tarzının birleştirildiği bir sentez oluşturulmuştur. Osmanlı devletinin son yüzyılı, giysilerde büyük değişikliklerin olduğu, geleneksel giyim tarzından uzaklaşıp, tamamen ithal edilen bambaşka bir modanın etkisine girdiği bir dönem olmuştur. 1870'lerden sonra, şehirlerde yaşayan Osmanlı kadını Avrupalı kadından ayırt edilemeyecek bir tarzda giyinmeye başlamıştır.

Yüz yıllarca, birbiri ile benzer özellikler gösteren erkek ve kadın giyim kuşamı arasında oldukça önemli farklılıkların oluşması, yenileşme döneminde yapılmaya başlanan kılık kıyafete ilişkin reformlar ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada; söz konusu reformların kadın giysilerindeki etkileri tartışılarak tür, biçim, form, kullanım özellikleri ve estetik değerler

açısından değişikliklerin neler olduğu ve toplum tarafından nasıl değerlendirildiği üzerinde durulacaktır.

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### **Ottoman vs. Crimean Tatar Elites in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century: A Comparative Approach**

During the last decades, several authors, to name only Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, Metin Kunt, and recently Baki Tezcan, have suggested a much larger role of Ottoman elites vs. the sultan in the ruling of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Empire. According to Tezcan, the conquest of Constantinople gave Mehmed II the necessary prestige to build a patrimonial system that replaced the earlier feudal system dominated by the Anatolian nobility. Yet, at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the patrimonial system was in turn replaced by a new arrangement, in which the Ottoman elites took control over the dynasty. These elites were represented by the *ulema*, the viziers and provincial governors, and the janissaries, who by that time had become a corporation autonomous from the court.

By contrast, the Crimean Khanate seems to have gone in the opposite direction as in the 17<sup>th</sup> century we observe the rise of the court creatures, referred to as aghas, who successfully challenged the position of the members of the Tatar nobility. Also the *ulema*, once prominent in the political life of the Khanate, became less visible in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These conflicting developments seem odd given the osmosis between the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate, visible at the same period in institutional, economic and cultural areas.

Should we regard the strengthening of the khan's court a delayed adoption of the Ottoman patrimonial model, or rather a response to fresh challenges from Central-Eastern Europe, where the advent of an absolutist Sweden forced other states of the region to adopt similar models as protective measures, as once persuasively suggested by Perry Anderson? If the latter case were true, the Khanate, exposed to dangers from a militarized and bureaucratized Europe earlier than the Porte, could be perceived as a pioneer, which undertook – though ultimately unsuccessfully – centralizing reforms long before the Ottoman *tanzimat*.

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### **Early Ottoman Diplomats Revisited: An Order of the *Beylerbey* of Rumeli in 1401 in Favor of the Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi**

The paper will present an order of the *beylerbey* of Rumeli in 1401, Hacı Firuz ibn Abdullah, which confirms the revenues of the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi from its estate in Prosfiori, near Mount Athos. The document was found recently in the Archives of the Vatopedi Monastery.

The paper will discuss: i) the content of the document, in the context of the protection that the Ottoman authorities had in certain cases offered to the monks of Mount Athos; ii) the prosopography of the author of the document, Hacı Firuz ibn Abdullah; iii) the diplomatics of the document, and especially the use of the *pençe* of the *beylerbey* Hacı Firuz ibn Abdullah in the place of a *tuğra*, i.e., above the main part of the document. Finally, following a lively discussion on the internet list H-Turk on this document and its originality, I plan to revisit our knowledge of early Ottoman diplomatics and put this document, apparently the earliest known so far document of an Ottoman *beylerbey* and one of the few Ottoman documents we have from the years before the battle of Ankara, into the context of early Ottoman history.

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### **Le théâtre musical européen à Smyrne**

L'opéra européen a pénétré dans la cour ottomane depuis 1675, lorsque Giacomo Guerini, l'assistant de l'ambassadeur vénitien a invité une troupe opératique à Constantinople pour prendre part aux festivités de la circoncision du prince Mustafa II. Même si le projet n'a jamais été réalisé, les cours Européens savaient que les Turcs avaient commencé à s'intéresser à l'opéra.

En 1839 le mouvement de l'occidentalisation fut officiellement instauré par le sultan Abdul Medjid. Ainsi, l'opéra est devenu la forme préférée du théâtre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, non seulement à Constantinople, mais aussi dans les autres villes ottomanes comme Ankara et Smyrne. Concernant le théâtre musical à Constantinople au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle beaucoup de recherches ont été réalisées. Dans le cas de Smyrne, nous n'avons pas assez d'informations.

Pendant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et avant la catastrophe de Smyrne la ville était le port le plus important dans la Méditerranée orientale et le centre de la vie économique et sociale. En 1900, Smyrne a atteint un pic de prospérité. Cependant, Smyrne n'était pas seulement un centre commercial, mais également une ville où différentes nationalités, cultures, religions étaient réunies. La composition ethnique a eu des répercussions sur le domaine culturel de Smyrne. Ainsi, nous y trouvons une riche activité théâtrale.

Le théâtre musical européen a été introduit à Smyrne par les troupes étrangères qui voyageaient et qui ont contribué de manière décisive à l'élaboration de l'identité globale du théâtre de la ville.

Cette communication fait partie d'une recherche qui examine le théâtre musical à Smyrne du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1922 afin de mettre en lumière l'activité artistique de la ville, qui reste inconnue à nos jours. Plus particulièrement, elle étudie les représentations de l'opéra et de l'opérette afin de tirer de conclusions pour la vie artistique de la ville en fonction du cosmopolitisme. Puisque le temps est limité, nous avons comme but d'exposer les représentations les plus importantes de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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### **Sovereignty Laws: The Secular Conception of the Religious in the Fin-de-Siècle Ottoman Mediterranean**

This presentation will focus on the reshaping of the notion of the religious community and the introduction of new concepts of communal law in three different Ottoman provinces in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Crete, Cyprus, and Lebanon. This analysis is part of a broader project aiming at the creation of a larger methodological scheme for the comparative study of the Ottoman Autonomous Provinces. The specific goal here is to compare a number of provincial laws that were produced by the Ottoman, British, French, and/or local authorities regarding the autonomous provinces of Crete, Cyprus, and Lebanon. What did autonomy mean in each case and from the point of view of each power? What role did religion play in the reconceptualization of the local? What did the concept of the religious community stand for from a legal and administrative perspective? To what extent was Ottoman sovereignty – actual or metaphorical – maintained over the provinces in question after the proclamation of autonomy? What did the reshaping of collective ideologies mean for the individual lives of the people involved in this process? Undoubtedly, the above questions cannot be answered by the mere examination of a few administrative sources. Thus this presentation's only goal remains to use a few indicative examples in order to examine what religion stood for in the universe of Ottoman Autonomous

Provinces; and investigate how imperial sovereignty became the catalyst for the creation of modern notions of the ‘religious’ in the Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Qur’anic Manuscript Data on Computer: A Case of Applying DiMSIS-EX to Historical Studies**

The aim of this presentation is to introduce one of the projects to apply DiMSIS-EX, a new type program of Geographic Information System invented in Japan, to human sciences. One of the important functions of this new program is that this system can accumulate and process not only spatial data in a given time but also data along a timeline. It can make a database of temporal data as well as spatial data simultaneously, analyze them and visualize the temporal progresses in a given period, varying from a few hours to a longer period, even to a number of centuries.

Our aim has been to apply this system to Qur’anic studies, especially to Qur’anic manuscripts, to analyze both temporal and spatial characteristics of rare manuscripts of the Qur’an preserved in national libraries and museums both in Muslim and non-Muslim countries. The questions to be answered are as follows: what is the geographical distribution of these manuscripts, what kind of characteristics do they have, especially to which dynasty are they related, from which specific region and period are they, and what can we say from the quantitative analysis based on the data accumulated on DiMSIS-EX?

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### **Socio-Economic Aspects of a Tax: The Metropolitans’ and Bishops’ *Pişkeş* (Second Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The incorporation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople into the Ottoman state was achieved through fiscal integration and the imposition of two taxes: *pişkeş* and *haraç*. The first one was the amount paid by the patriarch for his appointment in the patriarchal throne, while the second was the annual tax paid for implementing and fulfilling his duties as a patriarch. The first one was connected with the promulgation of a *ferman*, while the second was followed by the issuing of a *berat*. When a new sultan was enthroned, the *pişkeş* was to be paid again by the patriarch. This dual taxation system originated from a well-known Ottoman fiscal practice regarding the operation of the tax-farm system (*iltizam*). As a matter of fact, the patriarch was considered by the Ottoman authorities a *mültezim*. The patriarch’s subordinates, i.e. metropolitans and bishops, had to pay *pişkeş* and *haraç* as well for validating their ecclesiastical functions (duties and privileges). Although the scholars frequently refer to the patriarchal *pişkeş*, little is known about the payment of this tax by the metropolitans and bishops. The purpose of this paper is to comment on and analyze a source dealing with the *pişkeş* of metropolitans and bishops. It concerns a copy of a register of appointment (*tayin defteri*) from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Through the analysis of this document, topics such as the procedure of the bishops’ appointments, the updating of the state’s registers regarding ecclesiastical officials, and the relation between the amount of the *pişkeş* and the demographic capacity of the various regions are to be investigated.

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### **Economic and Social Hierarchies within an Urban Context: The Case of Thessaloniki in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

The paper aspires to delineate seminal aspects of the social and economic life in Thessaloniki during the 18<sup>th</sup> century through the study of its *şeriat* court registers (*sicillat*). It is based on 55 volumes (*defter*) recording exclusively properties of deceased residents either of the city or its whereabouts.

The content of the registers will be quantified so that the distribution of wealth in the city according to its spatial structure or along lines of religious, gender and ethnic segregation of the urban population is described. In this vein, the distinction between urban and rural space, as reflected in the proprietorial hierarchies, will be discussed. Though the analytical approach will be of a quantitative nature, qualitative considerations, to wit classifications of the content of the recorded properties (estates, valuables, money, debts, servants and slaves), will be taken into account as well. Furthermore, the aforementioned contents will be examined as evidence of material culture and social attitudes. Finally, issues regarding inheritance law and the way they were resolved along with questions concerning the family structure will be discussed. Conclusively, the paper aims at throwing light on significant aspects of the transformation of Thessaloniki during the 18<sup>th</sup> century into a population unit with a more integrated urban character.

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### **Experienced Diplomat, Skilled *Bohçacı*, or Professional Witch? On the Nature of Jewish Women's Presence in the Ottoman Royal Palace**

The paper tries to explore the nature of Jewish women's presence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman royal palace. It critically evaluates the current state of academic research and its methodology; presents the common Western perception on the roles Jewish women played at the Ottoman court; and suggests a way to deal with contradictory information provided by different sources.

There were certainly many Jewish women active in the imperial palace, though only three of them, also known as 'kyra(s)', have received considerable attention in modern scholarship. According to a widely accepted theory, the majority of them were female providers who used to supply the royal court with various goods, and often became personal agents for women secluded in the harem. The thorough analysis of the sources, however, shows that such an interpretation is problematic and superficial.

In order to develop an alternative hypothesis one should first examine European literature on the Ottomans. Western authors were convinced that the Sultan's concubines kept in touch with Jewish witches who used to put at their disposal various potions. Although such an accusation resembles an apparent fantasy, there exists evidence of real scandal as a result of which numerous women, some of whom were Jewish, were accused of sorcery and punished for an attempt to poison several concubines.

Jewish sources point out several episodes when Jewish women managed to cure members of the royal family from different diseases. Although this motive is a widely spread migrant subject in Hebrew folklore, the Ottoman cases seem to have a historical kernel. This paper concludes that the social group of Jewish women, from which mediators and suppliers could occasionally come, must be identified with healers who practiced folk medicine. They belonged to the informal female medical system that functioned alongside the official male one.

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### **Defining a Subject of the Sultan's 'Nation': Law, Religion and Orthodoxy in Ahmed I's Istanbul**

This paper examines religio-political trends in the era of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617) and explores their relationship to both preceding and subsequent trends towards Sunnization and enforcement of 'orthodoxy' among the Ottoman political and religious elites, espoused in particular by the Kadızadeli 'movement' later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It does so by focusing on the intertwined cases of the Morisco refugees to Istanbul, who began to arrive in the Ottoman capital in 1609, and the so-called *carazzo* (*haraç*) affair affecting the foreign residents in Istanbul in the period between 1612 and 1617. The neighborhood of Galata, where both foreign residents and the Morisco refugees came to settle, will be the main focus of this paper that draws on Ottoman, Venetian and French diplomatic sources. By looking into the interaction among the Moriscos, foreign ambassadors and dragomans, as well as the Ottoman administrative and legal corps involved in the events in Galata in the 1610s, the paper will expose a network of players who used the rhetoric of confessionalism to further their own goals both on the international scene and in Ottoman internal politics. In particular, the paper will explore the relationships among the Cadi of Galata Ali Efendi (Cadi Moro), the Grand Vezir (formerly Kapudan Pasha) Halil Pasha, the two sheyhulislams from the lineage of Hoca Sadeddin (Hocazade Mehmed Efendi and Hocazade Es'ad Efendi), sheyh Aziz Mahmud Hüdai and Sultan Ahmed himself, and their attitudes towards the events mentioned above. In this way, the paper will comment on the evolving notions of Ottoman dynastic sovereignty, the role of law and religion in its articulation at this point in Ottoman history, as well as the ways it was contested by other (non-)Ottoman actors. It will then connect these religio-political trends to the later religious politics of the Kadızadeli and the like-minded individuals.

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### **Disguise as a Means of Safe Travel and Survival in the Ottoman Empire in the Modern Age**

In the modern age, disguise was not only a theatrical means or a play, a part of the stage or the public feasts and other religious parades, but it was the most essential part of survival, especially for the Europeans who traveled within the borders of the Ottoman Empire for various reasons. Disguise was one of the safest ways to be able to bring all kinds of missions to a successful end. We have archival data in hand relating to merchants disguised as janissaries, Turks as Italian fishermen, spies as merchants, etc.

There were an infinite number of cases of spies disguised as merchants, as the merchants constituted a social class who could move freely in the ports and cities of the Empire. They were not subject to the restrictions that applied to diplomatic and political representatives and envoys. Disguise was more a part of real life than in the streets of Naples where theatre became a necessity for the public. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 'floating population' converted the Mediterranean into a gigantic stage, as Shakespeare claims, in 'As you like it' through the mouth of Jaques in his famous soliloquy: "All the world's a stage / And all the men and women merely players".

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### **The Zellich Print House: European Immigrants and Technology Transfer in the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Empire**

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman state opened its market to world economy and foreign capital. Together with European capital and business, thousands of European immigrant workers began to arrive to Istanbul as the major city of the empire in search for work.

The story of Dalmatian Antonio Zelić, who came to Istanbul in 1840, provides a good example of the European immigrant dream come true. After arrival, Zelić found employment at the lithographic print house of Frenchman Henri Cayol, the first of its kind in the Ottoman Empire. In 1869, he opened his own lithographic print house called 'Zellich and Sons' (*A. Zellich et fils*). His descendants continued his work with great success, and the Zellich Print House, now known as 'Zellich Brothers' (*Zellich frères*), became one of the most renowned in the Empire. Zellich Brothers won recognition due to the high quality of their products, and, above all, postcards and posters. Their crowning achievement was an order for the printing of the Ottoman Turkish lira banknotes in 1914. The Zelliches received many Ottoman and international awards for their achievements and services, including medals conferred by the Pope, the Persian shah, and the Serbian king.

Transfer of technology into the Ottoman state was one of the most important roles of European immigrants. Despite occasional state pressure during Abdülhamid's reign in particular, the Zellich family was able to develop its business on account of mastering the art of lithography, one of new technologies imported from the West. However, after the circumstances that had attracted European immigrants changed in the 1920s and 1930s, the Zellich family, following the example of others, abandoned the business and eventually left the city in which it made its fame.

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### **Patronage Networks in the Aegean Sea, End of the 18<sup>th</sup> – Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The paper demonstrates the interconfessional political and economic cooperation between high Ottoman officials and Christian *reaya* in the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The examination of this collaboration is a part of a larger project aiming to investigate the ways certain groups of the Christian *reaya* were integrated into the Ottoman political and economic system during this period.

The paper will focus on the case of Georgios Voulgaris, co-captain in the flagship of the Ottoman fleet and later *baş kocabaşı* of the Aegean island of Hydra (Çamlıca adası), and his relationship with the *kapudan paşa* Küçük Hüseyin Paşa, as revealed in archival material from the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi and in the private Ottoman archive of Voulgaris (located in the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens). First, the terms of their economic cooperation will be examined; these included loans, the granting of ships, help with the sale of commodities, as well as investment in land. Then the paper will continue with the demonstration of the political characteristics of this cooperation within the larger framework of patronage networks. Georgios Voulgaris was a prominent member of the local society of Hydra/Çamlıca, who defended the state interests and was rewarded by the Sublime Porte for his stance.

On the other hand, Küçük Hüseyin Paşa is known for his innovative measures aiming to the better functioning of the Ottoman fleet as well as for his entrepreneurial activities, availing himself of the opportunities his office offered to him. In this respect, the collaboration of a



prominent member of the society of Hydra was necessary for both aspects of his activity, while Voulgaris' social position was strengthened through his communication with the higher Ottoman echelons.

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### **A Building for All Purposes: Functions of the T-Shaped Edifices under Evrenos in the Early Ottoman Balkans**

The reverse T-shaped edifices of the so-called *zaviye-imaret* type were constructed in the Ottoman world in a period from the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. This paper focuses on the extant buildings of this sort commissioned by the *akıncı* leader Evrenos and his immediate descendants in the Balkans, more specifically in Komotini and Genitsa in Northern Greece. These buildings, run by military patrons, served the various needs of a nascent power in newly conquered areas. Religious, residential, and administrative functions were taking place simultaneously in order to respond to the pragmatic realities of the early Ottoman Balkans.

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### **14<sup>th</sup>-Century *Zaviye-Imarets* in Edirne and Eastern Rumeli: An Overlooked Facet of the ‘Ottoman Method of Conquest’**

Via an examination of the earliest Ottoman *zaviye-imarets* in Edirne and its hinterland this paper will advance the proposition that such structures were designed to provide a social network for the peoples of newly conquered territories, as well as (à la Barkan), to provide for the sustenance of the dervishes and their *şeyhs*, *babas*, sultans.

While it was the dervishes who, in response to the guidance of their *şeyhs*, provided a key manpower element in the *akıncı* forces commanded by the *uç beys* (march lords) who led the actual conquests, the *sefers* (campaigns) they participated in only lasted for six months of the year. In order to ensure their ready availability in the region it was necessary to meet their temporal needs during the ‘off season’. Failure to have done so would have resulted in their plundering of the local Christian taxpayers. This was accomplished by the establishment of a network of *zaviye-imarets* scattered throughout the countryside and in the towns and cities, chief among which was Edirne.

By looking at the earliest such sultanic/*uç bey zaviye-imarets* in Edirne and the nearby areas (in particular that of Seyyid Ali Sultan in Ruşenler), the paper will argue several points concerning these structures: i) They were open to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and as such provided a milieu where dervishes and poor Christians intermingled; ii) They likewise facilitated commerce by expanding their services to the ‘*ayende ve revende*’ (those who come and go); iii) They helped attract needed manpower for the *akıncı* forces in the form of the Abdals, Kalenders, Hurufis, etc. who settled in them.

In short, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *zaviye-imarets* in Edirne, Dimetoka and their hinterlands were a key element in the ‘Ottoman Method of Conquest’ of that era.

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**Proto-Globalization and National Politicization  
in Late Ottoman Thrace:  
The Case of Stenimahos (İstanimaka)**

Despite its never becoming part of the Greek state, the rural town of Stenimahos (İstanimaka, today Asenovgrad in Bulgaria), situated in Northern Thrace near Plovdiv (Filibe), supplied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century hundreds of men who fought on several occasions for the Greek national cause and acquired the fame of brave defenders of ‘Hellenism’.

The paper will explore the initial stages of this national politicization of the Greek Orthodox population of Stenimahos and the forging of a special relationship to the Greek state and nationalism during the Tanzimat period. The combined influence of tax reforms entailing heavier taxation in the aftermath of the Crimean War and instabilities caused by the integration of local agriculture in the expanding capitalist world market brought local producers (occupied predominantly in viticulture and cericulture) in a critical position. Living in a period which was equally turbulent from a political point of view, as it was marked by the advent of the Greek-Bulgarian nationalist conflict and the parallel efforts of the Ottoman state to secure the integration and loyalty of the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire, a part of the Greek Orthodox population of Stenimahos adopted strategies (temporary migration and Greek nationality acquisition) which brought them in severe conflict with the Ottoman authorities and well into the bosom of the Greek state and nationalism.

The socio-political phenomena discussed in the paper could be meaningfully analysed as symptoms of the specific processes of peripheralization and crisis associated with the participation of the Ottoman society and polity in the first wave of globalization during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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**Understanding Life in the Ottoman-Montenegrin Borderlands  
of Northern Albania during the Tanzimat Era:  
Catholic Mirdite Tribes, Missionaries and Ottoman Officials**

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman authorities tried to extend their power into the borderland territories of their Empire that had not been exposed to direct Ottoman direct rule for centuries (Rogan 2002). The Ottoman-Montenegrin borderlands of Northern Albania were among these territories (Reinkowski 2003). Confronting local opposition to subdue them to the new Ottoman administrative system and limited military and financial means of the Ottoman state, the Sublime Porte resorted to its traditional policy of bargaining and cooptation, seeking to gain the cooperation of the local population and opening a new phase of confrontation between center and peripheries.

The paper aims to reconsider the development of decentralization/centralization dynamics during the Ottoman Empire, focusing on the Ottoman-Montenegrin borderlands of Northern Albania with particular reference to the Mirdite territory inhabited by Catholic tribes.

Firstly, the paper describes the local socio-political system and balance of power in Mirdite territory before the enactment of the Gülhane decree. Secondly, the paper focuses on the development and changes occurring in this land during the *Tanzimat*. Interaction, intertwining and overlapping between different strategies and policies are analyzed in regard to the relationship between Catholic tribes, missionaries and Ottoman officials. Because of them, the

changes and developments in the local administrative system occurring in both the religious and the political dimensions during the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were expressions of the process of decentralization/centralization dynamics triggered by Istanbul from the third decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on.

Finally, the paper reconsiders the 19<sup>th</sup> century history of the Montenegrin borderlands of Northern Albania to outline the connection between the process of elaborating a notion of modern Ottoman sovereignty in a century of European hegemony and the development of national movements within the Ottoman Empire.

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### **The Medici and the Ottoman-Habsburg Wars: The Szigetvár Campaign (1566)**

The paper deals with the participation of the Gran Duchy of Tuscany in the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1566, whose acme was the siege of Szigetvár. The Medici state took part in several important campaigns against the Ottomans, such as the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and the 1594-1596 war, but, although the paper insists on the marginality of Tuscany's role in the conflict, it is useful to analyze the Medicis' perception of the European geopolitical framework.

Although Florence was not a major actor, it was very much present and expert in obtaining information through all channels in order to make the most of its political potential. Through the correspondence between the Tuscan authorities and their diplomatic representatives at the Imperial Court and in the field, it is possible to follow in detail the changing demands during the Balkan wars and to observe their interactions with the religious and political frictions within the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. between the Habsburgs and the German states.

The paper is centred on the Imperial Diet (Reichstag) of Augsburg of 1566. This allows it to show perfectly the interplay between the deeply entwined layers of the socio-political organisation (diplomatic, political, military, economic and religious) and the network of states involved either directly or indirectly in the Habsburg-Ottoman war.

The research is chiefly carried out on archival documents of the Gran Duchy of Tuscany preserved in the National Archive in Florence, giving particular attention to the diplomatic correspondence. A further part of the research is carried out using published sources regarding the Holy Roman Empire's Reichstag and family correspondence of Maximilian II.

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### **19. Yüzyılda Dicle ve Fırat'ta Osmanlı Nehir Taşımacılığı**

İlk insan uygarlıkları, Mısır'da Nil nehri, Irak'ta, Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinin etrafında oluşmuştur. Dicle ve Fırat nehirleri, tarih boyunca, tarım arazilerini sulamak için kullanıldıkları gibi, mal ve insan taşımacılığında da kullanılmışlardır.

16. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren bölgeye hakim olan Osmanlılar da, Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinden istifade etmeye çalışmışlardır. Ancak 19. yüzyılda, sanayi devrimi neticesinde Basra limanı üzerinden uluslararası doğu-batı ticaretinin artmasına bağlı olarak, Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinde, nehir taşımacılığı büyük bir gelişme kaydetmeye başlamıştır. Nehir taşımacılığının büyük bir kısmı, Dicle nehri üzerinden Bağdat ve Basra vilayetleri arasında icra edilmekte idi.

Bağdat Valileri, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren, Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinde insan ve mal taşımacılığını geliştirme çabaları kapsamında, Avrupa'dan yeni gemiler sipariş etmeye

başlamışlardır. Ayrıca Osmanlı Devleti, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren, İngiliz Lynch şirketine bu nehirlerde gemi işletme imtiyazını vermeye başlamıştır.

Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinde, mal taşımacılığına yönelik en büyük tehlikelerin başında, gemileri yağmalayan, yerli ve yabancı tüccarların mal ve paralarını gasbeden göçebe Arap aşiretlerinin saldırıları gelmekteydi.

Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı belgeleri ışığında, 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devletinin Dicle ve Fırat'ta nehir taşımacılığını geliştirme çabalarını, yaşanan zorlukları ve yabancı sermayenin bu alandaki faaliyetlerini ele almaya çalışacağız.

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### **The Amazing Stories of Rüstem Mariani Paşa, Vasa Paşa, and Muzaffer Czaikowski Paşa:**

#### **Catholic *Mutasarrıfs* in Ottoman Mount Lebanon, 1861-1914**

What do a gentleman from Central Italy, a feudal landlord from Scutari, Albania, and a Polish aristocrat formed in a French military academy have in common?

All of them were selected for the position of *mutasarrıf* (governor-general) of the autonomous province of Mount Lebanon, under the procedures stipulated by the *Règlement Organique* of 1861. Their personal stories are no Orientalist tales of Romantic adventurers casually ending up in exotic lands, but testify to a consistent policy of the Porte regarding the *Cebel-i Lübnan meselesi*, or the thorny issue of Mount Lebanon and its endemic strife.

The three governors, in their position as Ottoman officials with European formation and Catholic religious allegiance, tried to implement a center-driven policy of administrative modernization, which was partly at odds with the largely autonomous, sectarian-based system created by the *Règlement Organique*. In particular, the governors often suffered from stranded relations with the local Administrative Council, which had a say in fiscal affairs and the management of provincial budget, thus being able to intervene in matters such as public order and roadworks (Akarlı 1993).

Two competing notions of modernity appear: one based on a notion of centralized administrative homogenization, largely in line with the spirit of the Tanzimat; the other stressing the specificity of the periphery, even at the price of the substitution of traditional feudal allegiances with controversial sectarian communal identities, later entrenched in what will evolve as the Lebanese confessionalist system (Rabbath 1986).

The paper plans to highlight how the *mutasarrıfs*, in their dual standing as Ottoman officials and Catholics, tried more or less successfully to negotiate different agendas, and how they were viewed at by both parts as possible mediators.

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### **Villagers, *Kadıaskers*, *Şeyhülislams* and the Sultan: Resolving a Water Conflict in the Environment of Ottoman Damascus, 1670-1720**

In 1720, the Ottoman sultan charged the kadi and the governor of Damascus with the investigation of a case of two villages in the environs of the city which fought over the water of a canal. The results of this investigation and the following court procedures are recorded in a rather

exceptional document registered in the *sicill* of the main court of Damascus. It allows following the evolution of the conflict over a time period of half a century. The most surprising aspect of this local conflict is however the prominence attributed to actors beyond the provincial level, as several imperial bodies were implicated in the attempts to resolve it at one time or another. They do not only include the Sultan, but also and much more worthy of note in this local and provincial context, several solicitations of the highest judicial authorities of the empire (*şeyhülislam* and both *kadıaskers*).

As even the repeated intervention of the ‘centre’ did not put an end to the conflict, the case raises the question whether and in what ways the recourse to imperial structures was a resource used by local groups to strengthen their bargaining position vis-à-vis each other. The long duration of the conflict and some of the surprising turns of the case provide some insights into the different strategies used by the local groups to defend their case, both in the juridical and the political field. My paper tries to situate these local strategies in the context of the evolving political relations between the capital and its provinces in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, it wants to contribute to the debates of the ‘political logic of localities’ within the complex framework of the Ottoman Empire.

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### **The Young Turks and the Muslim Reform Movement in Bulgaria, 1895-1908**

The paper explores the expansion of the Young Turk opposition organization in Bulgaria in the period 1895-1908, and how this, combined with other local developments, contributed to the emergence of a cultural and political reform movement among the local Muslims. The modern Bulgarian state was established in 1878 and it had a significant Muslim population of about 600,000. The local Muslims – Turks and Pomaks – remained closely attached to the Ottoman state and the sultan, regarding them as their traditional protectors. However, from the mid 1890s onwards these attitudes were changing as Young Turk opposition activists fleeing persecution in the Ottoman Empire proper started arriving in Bulgaria. They found a particularly receptive ground for their ideas among a group representing a new generation of local Muslims who were beginning to challenge the established community leadership and sought to introduce reforms of local Muslim institutions.

The paper explores how Young Turk ideas about religion, science and parliamentary politics were adapted to the local circumstances and the agenda of the Muslim reformers. Furthermore, it seeks to explain how the Young Turk organization whose purpose was to depose Abdülhamid II managed to appeal to many Muslims in Bulgaria who saw the sultan as their primary protector. Finally, it examines how the experiences of the Muslims in the Bulgarian aspiring nation-state contributed to the strengthening of the activist faction of the Young Turk organization and the development of its Turkist ideology.

The paper is based on Ottoman and Bulgarian archival sources, as well as the Muslim press of Bulgaria.

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**Corruption, Economy and Bureaucracy  
in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Bosnia:  
The View of the Ragusean Diplomacy**

The paper has as its theme the issue of corruption and bureaucratic involvement in the economic life of the Pashadom of Bosnia during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and its impact on the trade-related relations of the Raguseans with the local Ottoman authorities.

Although the terms of under which foreigners performed commerce in the Ottoman territory were strictly regulated by the Capitulations, trade required continuous interpellations at the local Ottoman authorities that, in practice, had the ability to change the 'rules of the game' in favor of some subjects who were able to exercise more 'persuasiveness' than others.

However, it is necessary to specify that the phenomenon of bureaucratic corruption is configured as a 'role play': there is no corrupted without a corrupter. Those who participated in this game more than others as corrupters were the neighbouring traders (Venetians and Raguseans) who, by the use of money, tried to influence the commercial choices of the local bureaucracy in order to gain a more favorable position in the markets of the Pashadom.

For these reasons the moment of commercial contact between foreign traders and local authorities on Ottoman territory is considered particularly important; this was one of the predicaments in which the mingling of economic intent, mechanisms of mutual bureaucracies and different political attitudes could lead to the redefinition of official relations (political and commercial agreements) between the parts involved.

Given these preliminary remarks, the Pashadom of Bosnia for the period examined can be considered as a case study because it does not appear as an isolated system representative only of itself, but rather reflects the operation of a larger system that involves the economic setup of the border areas in the Balkans during the modern age. Regarding archival sources, the paper will be based on Ragusean commissions and reports.

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**Revolts, Demands and Reaction  
in an Era of Uncertainty in the Ottoman Periphery:  
The Three Revolts of 1833 in Cyprus**

Three revolts in Cyprus during the year 1833 are being analysed in this paper in an effort to study the Ottoman framework a few years before the important changes brought by the Tanzimat reforms on an island of the Ottoman periphery such as Cyprus. The revolt in Larnaca in March, associated with the name of Nicolas Theseus, the revolt of the Giaur Imam in the area of Paphos and the revolt of the Kalogeros (monk) in the area of Karpass during the summer of 1833 reveal the major questions facing Cyprus Ottoman society during this period. The correspondence between the local and the central Ottoman administration, the letters of the Archbishop of Cyprus to the Ecumenical Patriarch in which he describes the revolts, and the letters of the French consul in Larnaca in which he also describes the revolts but in complete contradiction with the remarks of the Archbishop, provide sufficient information regarding the sources of these three revolts.

The questions raised by the analysis of these three revolts are several and complex. First and foremost, why did the revolts begin in the first place, and what were the demands of the revolted people and their leaders? What was the reaction of the local Ottoman administration and the central administration as well? What can we conclude by the directions given by the central

administration in Istanbul regarding the revolts and the return of the island to normality? Additionally, did these parallel revolts on a small island indicate something more than the usual uprising when the tax burdens were increased? Lastly, why are these revolts the last revolts with the common participation of Muslims and non-Muslims in Cyprus?

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### **The Myth of the Byzantine Origins of the Osmanlis: An Essay to Interpretation**

The genealogical myths of the Ottoman family in their political and ideological implications have received proper attention in modern scholarship. It suffices to notice Prof. Imber's study in the 1980s. Yet, a particular version attributing to Osman a byzantine ancestry, that is present in a few Italian and Greek texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, has not been discussed by Ottomanists. The aim of the present paper is to trace and put in context the origins of this genealogical version, as well as to propose possible interpretations in terms of its political purposes.

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### **An *Ayan* in Anatolia during the Reform Process: Süleyman Bey and his Trial**

Süleyman Bey, the scion of an *ayan* family, had an active role in many events in Konya during his tenure as an *ayan* in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. During that period, he served the state in various fields. Indeed, because of his services in suppressing the bandits' movements in Konya and the surrounding areas Süleyman Bey was awarded the title of swordsman. Süleyman Bey also acquired the title of *mütesellim* as a result of his services and in this period he showed merit in the recording of taxes and the provision of soldiers. However, in the periods that he served in the *vilayet* of Konya, the inhabitants often complained about him and as a result he was arrested and judged. The questioning and proceedings of Süleyman Bey's trial by the *Meclis i Vâlâ* will be dealt with in this paper.

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### **Büyük Savaş'ta III. Ordu'nun İleri Harekatı ve İstihbarat Faaliyetlerinin Rolü**

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın önemli cephelerinden birisini oluşturan Kafkas Cephesi'nde Osmanlı ve Rus orduları karşı karşıya gelmişti. Ruslar, Osmanlıların Sarıkamış Harekatı'ndaki başarısızlığından sonra 1915 ve 1916 yıllarında Karadeniz sahilinde Rize, Artvin ve Trabzon'u işgal ederek Görele'ye kadar, iç kesimlerde Erzurum, Bayburt, Gümüşhane ve Erzincan'ı işgal ederek Refahiye'ye kadar ilerlemişler, daha güneyde de Ağrı'dan sonra Van'ı ele geçirerek Muş ve Bitlis'e kadar ilerlemişlerdi.

1917 yılında Rusya'da yaşanan Bolşevik İhtilali ile Rus orduları büyük bir sıkıntıya düşmüş, emir komuta zinciri ortadan kalkmış, iaşe problemleri bir türlü çözülememiştir. Ruslarla Osmanlılar arasında 1917 Aralık ayında Erzincan Mütarekesi yapılarak bir barış ortamı sağlanmıştır. Bu sırada Rus kuvvetleri Erzincan Mütarekesi'nin belirlediği sınırın daha da

doğusuna çekilerek, yerlerini ve silahlarının bir kısmını da Ermeni ve Gürcülere bırakmaya başlamışlardı. III. Ordu bu süreçten yararlanarak 1918 yılı Şubat ayında ileri hareketi başlatmış ve önce 1914 sınırına, daha sonra da 1877 sınırına kadar ulaşmayı başarmıştır. Türk tarih yazıcılığında ileri hareketin başlamasında istihbarat zaafı olduğu, Rusların elinde olan bölgeler hakkında detaylı bilgiler olmadığı ileri sürülmüştür. Halbuki ATASE Arşivi'ndeki bu döneme ait istihbarat faaliyetleri, Ruslardan kaçan esirlerin ifadeleri ve Erzincan Mütarekesi sonrasında Rusların mükaleme heyetlerinden elde edilen bilgiler değerlendirildiğinde hareketin toplanan bilgiler doğrultusunda yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Bu bildiriye; III. Ordu'nun Batum'a kadar devam eden ilerleyişi öncesinde Rusların elindeki yerlerle ilgili olarak pek çok istihbarat toplandığı ve ileri hareketin başarılı olmasında bu istihbarat çalışmalarının çok önemli bir yere sahip olduğu ortaya konulacaktır.

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### **The Ongoing Dialogue between the Letter of the *Waqf* Law and Socio-Economic Requirements as Indicated by *Waqf* Account Books**

The *waqf* was one of the most important institutions in Muslim society in general and the Ottoman society in particular. The founder sets aside part of his or her private revenue-bearing property to be henceforth inalienable in perpetuity and designates the revenues to support a specific beneficiary. The *waqf* is founded by a declaration of the founder recorded in a document (*waqfiyye*-endowment deed) and signed by a *kadı* and witnesses.

The *waqfiyye* includes all the relevant stipulations: the purpose of founding, the alienated revenue-bearing property/-ies, the beneficiary/-ies, the proper distribution of the annual income, the trustee responsible for the management of the *waqf*, and so on. Not only *waqfs* had an important place in the social and cultural spheres by performing religious, charitable and public services, but they also played a significant role in economic life through the construction and maintenance of buildings and the employment of a large number of functionaries.

Apparently any transactions, such as sale, legacy, mortgage, or exchange, imposed on property transferred into the endowment are suspended. Yet, it appears, as different researchers have shown, that the managerial policy was characterized by a constant dialogue between the letter of the *waqf* law and socio-economic requirements.

In my paper, I shall point to the dynamism and pragmatism of the *waqf* institution by showing that the stipulations recorded on the *waqfiyyes* were not kept as time went by due to changing circumstances. I intend to do so by focusing on the managerial policy of the *waqfs* founded by *şeyhülislam* Feyzullah Efendi (1695-1703) throughout a period of approximately 70 years. To this end, following Kayhan Orbay's research on the *waqf* account books as sources for Ottoman economic and institutional history (2007), I have utilized a series of account books found in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in order to follow the *waqfs*' day to day management, their economic activities and the changes taking place in these activities over time.

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### **Pleasure and Piety: The Palatial Elements in the *Zaviyes* of Early Ottoman Rulers**

The T-shaped *zaviyes* (convent complexes) patronized by the Ottoman elite in the first two centuries of the Ottoman polity constitute an important source for understanding the nature of architectural production in the newly conquered territories in Western Anatolia and the Balkans.



The T-shaped *zaviyes* appear to have addressed the needs of a dynamic society and were vital throughout the creation of new settlements, as well as the transformation of existing urban centers. On the other hand, the continued royal sponsorship of larger-scale, more lavish versions of these *zaviyes* in the early Ottoman capital of Bursa appears to have communicated ideas of expansion and change by appropriating and updating this multifunctional building of the peripheral areas.

Unlike the rural Anatolian *zaviyes* with their organic layouts, and unlike those pioneering T-shaped *zaviyes* that mark the first few Ottoman architectural alterations in a given center, the royal *zaviyes* built in Bursa in the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century ostentatiously display the wealth and power of their patrons through their immense size, lavish decorations, exquisite workmanship. As such, *zaviyes* commissioned by Murad I (also known as Hüdavendigâr, built in the 1370s) and by Bayezid I (also known as Yıldırım, built in the 1390s) in Bursa were the first known T-shaped *zaviyes* to be built on a grander scale, and to incorporate a more complex architectural program that brought together elements of palatial architecture and socio-religious charitable functions. This paper will discuss the orchestration of various functions –such as dwelling, praying, gathering, and cooking – in these royal *zaviyes* in relation to their patronage dynamics, intended audiences and symbolism. Doing so, this paper aims to reconsider the royal T-shaped *zaviye* complexes as part of the larger context of institutions, territorial claims, and ideologies that were changing in accordance with the emerging imperial economy.

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### **Giritli Mübadillerin İpekçilik Deneyimleri ve Bunun Bursa Yöresine Aktarılması**

Göç, entegrasyon ve sosyo-kültürel değişim, sosyal tarih araştırmalarının önemli bir çalışma alanıdır. Kongrede panel kapsamında sunmayı planladığımız “Giritli Mübadillerin İpekçilik Deneyimleri ve Bunun Bursa Yöresine Aktarılması” konusu, insan odaklı bir yaklaşımla ele alınmaya çalışılacaktır. Osmanlıların Girit’in tümünü ele geçirmeden 1650 yılında Resmo’da (Rethymno) oluşturdukları düzen içinde adanın yeni sakinleri olarak Müslüman halka rastlanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu dönemde Girit’in olanaklarının sınırlı olması ve ana karadan uzakta oluşu, adada dış etkilere daha kapalı konservatif bir toplumsal yapı oluşturmuştur. Bu ortamda yaşayan Girit’in Müslüman halkı da Yunancanın renkli eski bir moda lehçesi olan Girit Rumcasını konuşmaktadır.

Osmanlı arşiv kayıtları, adanın iç tarafında yer alan alüvyonlu ovalarda buğday, mısır, tütün, turunçgil tarımının yapıldığını, su değirmenleri ve su kuyularının bulunduğunu, zeytin, çınar, badem, ceviz ve dut ağaçlarının varlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Osmanlı arşiv kayıtlarında dut ağaçlarına paralel olarak adada ipekçiliğin de mevcut olduğu görülmektedir. Osmanlı döneminin sonlarına ait önemli veriler bırakan Nikolaos Stavrakes (1890), adada yaşayan Müslüman nüfusun 8080’inin tarım, 3818’inin sanayi, 1858’inin ticaret alanında çalıştığını kayda geçirmiştir.

1923 yılında Yapılan Lozan Antlaşması ek protokolü ile Türkiye ile Yunanistan kendi ülkelerinin yurttaşlarını din esası üzerine zorunlu göçe tabi tutunca Girit’te yaşayan Müslümanlar Türkiye’ye mübadil olarak göç etmişlerdir. Gelen mübadillerin bir kısmı Bursa’ya bağlı küçük yerleşim birimleri olan Mudanya ve Tirilye sahasına yerleştirilmişlerdir. Tirilye ve Mudanya yöresinde yaşayan bu göçmen aileler üzerinde yaptığımız sözlü tarih çalışmalarında kendilerinin adadan gelirirken dokuma tezgâhlarını da bu topraklara getirdikleri ve yerleştirildikleri alanlarda ipek böcekçiliği yaptıkları öğrenildi. Ayrıca bu göçmen aileler yanlarında çeyizlik ipek çarşaf, çeşitli ipekli giyecekler, cepkenler ve ipek kaftanlar da getirmişlerdir. Sunulacak bu bildiri ile Giritli mübadillerin Osmanlı döneminde Girit’teki ipekçilik faaliyetleri ve göç sonrasında

Bursa'daki yerleşik ipekçilik kültürüne entegrasyonu ve katkıları örneklerle değerlendirmeye alınacaktır.

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### **Migration Movements and British-Ottoman Diplomatic Relations**

My paper aims to reconsider non-Muslim migration movements and British Ottoman diplomatic relations by using archives preserved in the NA, England, BOA, Turkey, and MWT, Syria. Migration movements in the late Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean region caused highly complicated issues for diplomatic relations between European countries and the Ottoman Empire.

Under such circumstances, some individuals and families could use as their strategy to obtain European protection and/or nationality by way of the Capitulations and/or extra-territoriality. In my paper, I examine some Greek and Jewish families' cases in Syria and Baghdad (Mishaqas, Hararis, and others), who claimed British nationality and sometimes caused diplomatic problems in British-Ottoman relations. Archival records concerning negotiations between them will shed light on the non-Muslims' position and strategies in the late Ottoman period, and the problem of 'extra-territoriality'.

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### **Proto-Industrialization in Mid 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Rural Area: Textile Manufacturing in Villages of Plovdiv**

The idea behind this research project emerged in order to analyze the reflections of post-Industrial Revolution production and trade networks on the Ottoman Balkans. Rural small-scale textile manufacturing became an export-oriented phenomenon and its customer was not only Istanbul but also several markets in Europe. It became the dominant economic activity for a number of Balkan villages in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The best examples of small-scale textile manufacturing in the mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century Balkans were identified in three villages of Plovdiv; Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Several studies dealing with this issue refer to Bulgarian villages in general terms through explaining the manufacturing activities in the region. Nevertheless, the present study is different from the existing ones by combining in its approach a theoretical perspective and sources. Registers called '*Emlak, arazi, hayvanat ve temettüat tahrir defterleri*', which means 'survey registers of real estate, land, animals and income', in short *temettüat* registers, were prepared for the three villages mentioned in the year 1845. This is the main source of the present study. The relatively recent introduction of the *temettüat* registers into Ottoman studies has allowed us to re-evaluate the question of 'proto-industrialization'. Rich qualitative and quantitative data made it possible to reveal the key components of this thesis.

The study analyzes textile manufacturing in both micro and macro levels. The social and economic composition of the selected households, which may exemplify either the general trends or the exceptions, will be explained with respect to their ethnic identities, income levels, possessions, agrarian relations. Besides, statistical results which explain the textile labour as a whole will also be presented. For instance, the share of textile income in village economy; the breakdown of the incomes of textile manufacturers; their access to land, raw materials and tools of production; their tax payments are some of the points studied.

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## **The Heart of the War: The Strategic Importance of the Mediterranean Basin for the Powers during WW I and the Dardanelles Campaign**

The world has been in conflict over the Mediterranean for at least three thousand years. Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Athens, Rome, the Italian cities, the Ottomans, Napoleon, Russia, England, France, Germany and the Allies have fought for its control. From the beginning of history the world has fought for control of the land and water routes from Asia to Europe. Civilizations arose and fell about this struggle.

The Mediterranean is the greatest trade route of the world. It has been so from beginning of time. It connects three continents. Twenty nations and peoples are dependent upon the Mediterranean for political and industrial contact with the outside world. The life of England, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire and Balkan states was inextricably bound with the Mediterranean.

On the eve of the First World War, the strategies adopted in the Mediterranean basin were governed by geographical as well as by political factors. Germany was blockaded by the British Grand Fleet in the North Sea and Channel Ports. Austria's Navy was unprepared for major operations and was kept in its main base Pola. The Ottoman Empire had no significant sea power and its fleet was confined within the Dardanelles by the Allied blockading fleet. Italy had an extensive coastline and was preoccupied with the neutralization of the Austrian Adriatic Fleet. While the French Mediterranean Fleet's main duty was to confront the Austrian Fleet, British strategic interests centered on the Suez Canal and the route to India.

The purpose of this paper to analyze the policies and positions of the Powers in the Mediterranean with special reference to the Dardanelles Campaign.

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## **Commercial Activities of Italian City-States (Sicily-Naples, Venice, Genoa and Sardinia) on the Island of Cyprus under Ottoman Rule**

Cyprus has a very important strategic and geographic position in the Mediterranean. Therefore, Cyprus was invaded by many countries in its history. Cyprus attracted an important part of the Eastern Mediterranean international trade as it was situated on the Mediterranean trade route. The states in charge of trade in the Mediterranean Sea held Cyprus for their different aims. Therefore, nearly all the states trading in the lands of the Ottoman Empire had merchants on the island. The states which had embassies in Istanbul used to appoint consuls, their representatives, to deal with the foreign merchants and their problems on the island. The Ottomans took precautions to increase the importance and share of Cyprus within the Mediterranean trade. During the Ottoman administration, there were consuls and consul representatives of 19 countries. Among these, there were consuls of Italian city-states, whose commercial and political activities in Cyprus had started before the Ottoman conquest. This study focuses on the commercial and political activities of the Italian city-states' (Sicily-Naples, Venice, Genoa, Sardinia) consuls and their interpreters in Cyprus under Ottoman rule. In addition, their activities prior to the Ottoman period in Cyprus will be discussed. This study is based on data from Cyprus judicial registers (*şeri sicilleri*), Ottoman archival documents from the Prime Ministry's Archive, consular reports and travellers' accounts, as well as local and international literature on Cyprus. To conclude, this paper aims to demonstrate the influence of the consuls of the Italian city-states and their interpreters, as

compared to the activities of the consuls and interpreters of other states, on Cypriots, highlighting their positive and negative effects on the socio-economic and political structure in Cyprus.

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**Land Disputes in the Frontiers of the State:  
Making of the Modern Ottoman State in the Kurdish Periphery,  
1840-1870**

In the last two decades, Ottoman historical writing witnessed the proliferation of provincial histories and studies on the frontiers of the Empire. Using mainly central Ottoman archives and local sources, this new literature examined the social and economic transformations that the Ottoman provinces underwent throughout the long 19<sup>th</sup> century. With all their differences, the collective contribution of these provincial studies was to debunk the Euro-centric and state-centered readings of Ottoman history, and to introduce provincial societies, albeit at varying degrees, as integral parts of Ottoman modernization. However, this genre of Ottoman provincial historiography focused mostly on the Arab provinces and, to a lesser extent, on the Balkans and Anatolia. The eastern provinces of the Empire, inhabited mostly by Kurds and Armenians, have not found a place in these recent literatures. My paper contributes to the recent literatures on Ottoman provinces by looking at this rarely examined region. I will focus on the Tanzimat era and examine the Ottoman policies in taxation and land in the district of Palu in the Diyarbekir province which was characterized by hereditary large landownership by Kurdish emirs. With the Tanzimat, the Ottoman state embarked upon a policy of rationalizing the tax system and standardizing land tenure in the provinces. Within this context, the control of the Kurdish emirs over large tracts of land, for which they did not pay any dues to the central treasury for three hundred years, turned into a problem for the central state. Rather than focusing solely on the changing relations between the Kurdish notables and the Ottoman state, my paper looks at how land relations were redefined, challenged and negotiated among multiple actors, including the central and provincial governors, local notables, and sharecroppers, and in this way presents a bottom-up approach to Ottoman state-making in the periphery.

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**The Settlement of Mendenitsa (Modoniç), Central Greece:  
Archaeological Evidence for a Local Ottoman Pilgrimage Center**

In 1414 the Ottoman troops of Mehmed I conquered the Castle of Mendenitsa, the capital of the Crusader marquisate of Budonitsa, which is located in the eastern part of Central Greece, close to the North Euboic Gulf's coastline. This small city was built on a hill overlooking both the coastal and the sea route to southern Greece. During the Ottoman times, Mendenitsa (then known as Modoniç) prospered, as it continued to be a local administrative center, the seat of a *kaza*. At the same time, it was a place of Muslim pilgrimage, which was developed around the *türbe* of Veliyullah Baba. The settlement remained under constant Ottoman rule until 1821.

*Tahrir defterleri* is the main historical source for Ottoman Modoniç. According to them, the city reached its peak in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, with a population of 56 Muslim and 237 Christian households. Further evidence about the settlement's state is to be found in the work of Evliya Çelebi, who gave the fullest description of the place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

After suffering serious damage, during the Greek War of Independence, and even later, during World War II, the Ottoman past of Mendenitsa is not easy to be traced in the modern

village. Fortunately, archaeological evidence allows us to reconstruct the picture of the Ottoman settlement, which extended in and south of the old Crusader castle. The *extra muros* quarter consisted of large houses surrounded by gardens, whose substructures still exist in some cases. This is where the mosque of Modoniç was also located. A recently discovered deserted bath house could be identified with the one mentioned by Çelebi. There are no visible remains of the Bektashi *tekke* complex that included the tomb of Veliyullah Baba. Spolia of inscriptions and architectural members of Ottoman style come from cemeteries and lost buildings of the same era.

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## **Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Malzeme Aksesuar ve Süslenme Özelliklerine Etkileri**

Türklerin İslamiyet'i kabulüyle, sarık dinsel nitelik kazanmıştır. Ancak zamanla fes sarığının yerini almıştır. Mustafa Kemal, şapka devrimini gerçekleştirdiği zaman şapkaya "gâvur işi" diyip karşı çıkmıştır. Kadın giysisinde de İslamiyet'in kabulüyle örtünme olgusu önem kazanmış ve başlık türleri farklı şekillerde kullanılmıştır. Günlük hayatı Batıya uydurma çabaları giyim kuşamda da kendisini göstermiştir. II. Mahmut döneminde, setre pantolon, Frenk gömleği, boyun bağı giyilmeye başlanmış, erkekler saçlarını uzatıp, bıyıklarını kesmişlerdir.

İlk kez II. Mahmut döneminde yapılan reformlar gereği Osmanlı toplumunda kullanılmaya başlanan ayakkabı, saat ve baston gibi aksesuarların en önemlileri arasında yer alan fes olmuştur. II. Mahmut döneminde memurlar için setre ve pantolon mecburi kıyafet yapıldıktan sonra serpuş meselesi en önemli konu olarak ele alınmıştır. Serpuş, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ırk, din, tarikat, sınıf ve mesleklere göre farklılık gösteren ve statü belirleyici bir aksesuar olarak kullanılmıştır.

16. yy. kumaş sanatında başlayan gelişme 17. yy. ortalarından itibaren duraklama dönemine girmiş, motifler küçülerek düz veya dalgalı yollar şeklinde düzenlenmeye başlamıştır. Yüzyılın sonlarına doğru İmparatorluğun maddi sıkıntıya girmesi ve batılılaşma etkilerinin hızlanması kıymetli malzemelerin sınırlı kullanılmasına neden olmuştur. Desenlerde Avrupa etkisi de kendini hissettirmiş, hazır harçlar, süsleme malzemeleri tamamen Avrupai olmuş batının neyi varsa kullanmak prestij olarak sunulmuştur.

Kadın giysilerinin geleneksel çizgilerindeki süreklilik 1850 yıllarına kadar sürmüş ve bu tarihten sonra geleneksel kıyafetler Batı aksesuarlarıyla süslenerek yirmi beş yıl kadar bir geçiş dönemi yaşamıştır. Bu durum 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar giysilerin önce aksesuarlarında; (oyalar, danteller, yıldızlı geniş, parlak harçlar) kendini hissettirmiş, sonraları giysi modellerindeki (pile, korsaj, yaka) teknik uygulamalarda kendini göstermiştir.

Bu çalışmada, "Osmanlı yenileşme döneminde kılık kıyafete ilişkin reformların giysi kumaşlarına, süslemelerine, aksesuarlarına ve başlıklardaki değişimler"e etkisinin neler olduğu, Batı medeniyetinin getirdiği yeniliklerin giysi kumaşlarına, süslemelerine, aksesuarlarına ve başlıklara nasıl yansıdığı üzerinde durularak doğu ve batı medeniyeti arasındaki kılık kıyafet konusundaki etkileşim alınanlar ve vazgeçilenler açısından değerlendirilecektir.

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## **The Effect of the Young Turks Revolution on Religious Power Politics:**

### **The Case of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1908-1910)**

The aim of the paper is twofold: i) to critically assess the socio-political crisis within the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem that arose between the Greek hierarchy and the Arab laity concerning the implementation of a new regulatory framework of patriarchal operation, according to the Young Turks Constitution; and ii) to examine the subsequent internal conflict within the ecclesiastical bureaucracy and its ideological and political connotations.

The first question has deep historical roots (Katz & Kark, 2005 & 2007). From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards the Arab lay community demanded emancipation from Greek religious (and economic) control that was perceived as cultural imperialism. Their claim was rejected by the hierarchical apparatus in the name of the invented equation between ‘Hellenism’ and ‘Orthodoxy’, which was an expression of a ‘hegemonic’ strategy to maintain its institutional dominance.

The restoration of the Constitution (1908), following the Young Turks’ Revolution, afforded the opportunity for a more liberal modification of the religious administration with the participation of the laity in the decision-making process. The refusal of the hierarchy, however, which perceived any change as a threat to its absolute power and national composition, led to the Arab Orthodox uprising. The effort of Patriarch Damianos to proceed to negotiations was repudiated by the hierarchy and led to his dethronement by the Synod. Damianos, however, with the support of the Arab laity and its Russian protector managed to re-establish his authority, assenting to the adoption of the so-called Turkish Order (1910) that stipulated the establishment of a Mixed Council for the management of patriarchal affairs.

We provide a contextual historical account of the associated events, sketching out the social considerations, the cultural stakes and the political goals of the key players involved in these interconnected crises. This conflict was strongly influenced by the issue of administration/ownership of vast patriarchal land and properties, and by the broader process of nation-building and secularization within the Orthodox commonwealth in the late Ottoman period.

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## **Rhetorics of Hope and Fear, the Prophecies about the Ruin of the Ottoman Power and the Military Revolts against the Porte (Wallachia and Moldavia, 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

The paper addresses the role of the prophecies about the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the context of the military revolts that the tributary princes of Moldavia and Wallachia launched against the Porte during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The main assumption is that a cultural transfer was gradually operated from the Greek milieu in Constantinople and around – which preserved and cultivated the prophetic beliefs in the restoration of the Christian Empire – towards the tributary principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and from there to Russia that started to be regarded by the Greeks as the future liberator of the Orthodox people from Ottoman ‘tyranny’. This cultural and political legacy, whose main ideas were rooted in the Byzantine tradition, not only was continuously reworked under the impact of the immediate events (anti-Ottoman wars, crusading projects, etc.) but even contributed to the ideological preparation of these events, in

such a way that practically all the revolts against the Porte possessed a kind of a ‘prophetic background’. It was on this basis that the first attempts of Russia to fight the Ottoman Empire occurred and the image of Moscow as the Third Rome was planted and flourished within the Balkan Orthodox world. In this process, the role of the Greek emigrants as cultural mediators was considerable. The prosopographic analysis will try to consider it in a fresh light and emphasize the contribution some specific milieux and families had in the process of transmitting and re-elaborating the Byzantine prophetic legacy.

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### **Identity and Modernization Issues through the Eyes of an Employee**

In the late Ottoman Empire era different kinds of *salnames* (yearbooks) began to appear in order to register the different services of the Empire. *Vilayet salnameleri* is a category of the aforementioned which consists in a document compiled by registers of the Ottoman administrative mechanism in the *vilayets*. Those yearbooks contain various information related to domains such as: administration, education, army, population, regional production, revenues and expenses, etc. Assumably, the rather ‘boring’ bureaucratic task of those yearbooks’ renewal with itemized descriptions was assigned to employees.

However, during Abdülhamid’s period, in 1906-1907, in the *Vilayet salnamesi* of Salonica, just before the revolution of the Young Turks, the data on the *vilayet*, usually presented in tables, were flourished by texts. Adil, the assigned employee, seems to have rather enjoyed his mission! What does modernization mean to an Ottoman employee? Should a highly expressed need for development and modernization be translated as a will to break the barriers of the past?

At the same time, the creation of nation-states in the Balkans raises the question of identity in the area creating conflicts between ethno-religious groups. Each group strives to prove its dominant presence in the area by faulting population elements in order to assert rights for schools and religious temples. While the wind of changes blows in the Ottoman Empire, conflicts between Ottoman and Turkish identities are inevitable. Could this ‘wind of changes’ be depicted in an official document?

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### **Circulation of Commodities and Commercial Networks of Diyarbekir in the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

For four hundred years (from 1514 to 1918), cities, urban inhabitants and nomadic pastoralists, including the Kurds, the Turkmen and Arab tribes, demarcated the Asian frontier of the Ottoman Empire. On the eastern frontiers of the Empire, Kurdistan, a buffer zone between the Ottomans and the Safavids, was the crossroads of the overland commercial system linking the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean in the west and the Black Sea in the north. Within this region were several important trading and manufacturing cities, the most important of which was Diyarbekir. Being a centre of commerce, with a major cotton thread and cloth production as well as embracing a factory for refining copper, it was a ‘switch’ on overland trade routes, halfway between Istanbul and Baghdad. Although historians regard the ‘long 18<sup>th</sup> century’ (1680-1850) as a pivotal period in the Empire’s economic and political history, we still know all too little about the way in which the inter-urban commercial networks affected the regional economy as a whole during this period.

By focusing on the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century custom registers of the province of Diyarbekir, where the city of Amid was the capital, in this paper I will examine the circulation of commodities and inter-urban networks in the economic expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. My major research question will address the economic dynamism in this province and also the high interdependence between domestic and inter-regional commerce. By depicting a map of goods in Diyarbekir, I will show how this city had an essential and key position not only in imperial but also in the larger context of trade networks of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Metafordan İroniye: Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Metatarihsel Bir Yaklaşım**

Bu bildiride, 19. yüzyıl merkezli “Batılılaşma” anlatılarına karşı, Tanzimat reformlarını mümkün kılan zihinsel değişimi 17. yüzyıl Avrasya krizleri ile başlayan ve çeşitli yapısal dönüşümlerin gerçekleştiği “erken modern dönem”in sonucu olarak değerlendiren nitelikli ikincil kaynakların dinamik tarih tasavvuru takip ediliyor. Bu bağlamda 18. yüzyılın aykırı filozofu Giambattista Vico ve ondan etkilenen Hayden White’in insan zihninin değişmecesel doğasını merkeze alan poetik tarih kuramı “metatarih”in, erken modern dönemin bu dinamik yapısını anlamada yeni bir bakış açısı getirebileceği öneriliyor.

Vico, tarihin ve onu yaratan insan zihninin “ilkel-modern-ilkel” döngüselliğinde geçtiği aşamaları, dilin değişmecesel (mecazi) analizi ile oluşturulan bir model (metafor-metonimik-kapsamlama-ironi) uyarınca açıklar. Metafor (temsil edici, nesne-nesne, özdeşlik dili), metonimi (indirgeyici, parça-parça, dışsallık dili), synecdoche / kapsamlama (bütünleyici, nesne-bütün, içsellik dili) ve ironi (olumsuzlayıcı, öz-bilinçli, öte-değişmecesel) değişmecelerine dayanan bu kuram, kaçınılmaz bir şekilde anlatsallıkla temsil edilen tarihsel alanın bu dört değişmecenin hakim anlatı / söylem ve tarihsel bilinç kipleri olarak belirlediği örüntülerle oluşturulduğunu iddia eder. Hayden White anıtsal çalışması *Metatarih* (1973)’te Vico’nun bu değişmecesel modelinin üzerine Northop Frye, Stephen C. Pepper ve Karl Mannheim’in çalışmalarından yola çıkarak “sahneleme”, “argümantasyon” ve ideolojik ima” olarak belirlediği “kip”ler (modes) geliştirir.

Bu bildiride “devlet” kavramı merkeze alınarak, Vico ve White’in ortaya koyduğu kuramsal tarih / anlatı örüntüsü erken modern dönem boyunca değişen iktidar algısının değişmecesel analizi için kullanılıyor. Bu örüntü bağlamında 17. yüzyıl krizleri ile farklı iktidar odaklarınınca dağıtılan sultan-devlet özdeşliğine dayalı hanedan algısının, metaforik özdeşleştirmeden metonimik indirgemeye yönelik bilinç değişimi ile koşut olduğu ileri sürülüyor.

Bu iktidar odaklarının 18. yüzyılın ikinci çeyreği ile birlikte gayrişahsi bir devlet nosyonu üzerinde vardıkları geçici uzlaşma ise metonimik indirgemelerden, bütünü kapsamlamalı inşasına yönelik bilinç değişimi ile açıklanıyor. 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı modernleşmesinin başlangıcında ise II. Mahmud’un reformist yönelimleri ve hanedan merkezli / metaforik merkezleşme eğiliminin yarattığı kaçınılmaz ironiye dikkat çekiliyor.

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### **Suggestions as to the Localization of the Harbour of Ayasuluk and the Italian Settlement during the Aydınoğulları Dynasty under New Observations**

As known, the Harbour of Ephesus was silted up and became unoperational following the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. However, under the Aydınoğulları dynasty, various routes from the Black Sea coast,



and southern and central Anatolia met in Ayasuluk, a final destination of the Silk Road in Anatolia. Especially after 1337, Ayasuluk had one of the busiest harbours in the eastern Mediterranean, principally thanks to the *ahidnames* given by the Aydınoğulları to the Venetians and Genoese. Ceramics, coins and glass pieces from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which were uncovered in Ayasuluk excavations, form tangible evidence concerning trade from China to Italy. Besides, the records in Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* demonstrate the function of the harbour from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The right to conduct free trade, granted by the *ahidnames*, provided an important market particularly to the Italians. Leather, horses, livestock, potash from Kütahya, grains, rice, beeswax, cannabis, dried fruit and slaves were exported, while silverware, wine, soap and quality fabric were among the main imports. The harbour also played a significant role in military operations. Battleships were built in the shipyard for the Sakız (Chios) Campaign of Gazi Umur Bey. However, the exact location of the harbour and the shipyard in Ayasuluk has not been identified yet, though researchers have predicted several locations from Ania in Kuşadası to Pygela, and to Panormas in the Lake Alaman district to the north of the Pamucak coast. Such an important harbour must have had storage facilities, shipyards covering a large area, and there must be architectural proof.

The Venetians had their own consulate, court, churches, shops and houses in their settlement in Ayasuluk after 1337; the Genoese after 1351. This settlement was somewhere near the harbour by the sea, but the location also is not known precisely.

In this paper, the localization of the Ayasuluk Harbour and the Italian settlement in Ayasuluk during the Aydınoğulları dynasty will be discussed using visuals, written documents, geographical features, archeological data and architectural ruins.

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### **Le gouvernement de Chypre de la fin du 17<sup>e</sup> au début du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après le témoignage des consuls de France à Larnaca**

Les gouverneurs de Chypre et leur administration pendant l'époque ottomane ne sont connus que partiellement parce que les principaux fonds d'archives ottomans et européens, susceptibles de nous éclairer à ce sujet, n'ont pas été encore étudiés dans leur ensemble.

Une des sources importantes à ce sujet est la correspondance consulaire française. En effet, les consuls de France accrédités à Chypre devaient informer régulièrement les autorités françaises dont ils dépendaient, à savoir l'ambassadeur de France à Constantinople, le ministre de la Marine à Paris et la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, de tout ce qui se passait dans l'île. Leur correspondance, active et passive, étudiée systématiquement depuis la fin du 17<sup>e</sup> au début du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle nous permet de connaître les noms et les caractères des gouverneurs ottomans de l'île, la durée de leur mandat, leur attitude à l'égard des habitants chypriotes et des marchands étrangers et leurs exigences souvent abusives que la Sublime Porte désapprouvait.

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**‘Avret Gibi Qlduq Firār:  
Poetical Reflections of a 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Campaign to Hungary  
in a *Mecmū‘a***

The project ‘Early Modern Ottoman Culture of Learning: Popular Learning between Poetic Ambitions and Pragmatic Concerns’, conducted by Gisela Procházka-Eisl, Marlene Kurz and Hülya Hancı, which aims, amongst other things, at the critical edition and publication of seven *mecmū‘as* stored in the Austrian National Library, is a treasure trove of to date unknown texts, be they poetry, letters, or recipes of household remedies.

Within this rich material the subject of history plays a rather minor role, as it occurs in only one of the seven *mecmū‘as*, Cod.A.F.268. It contains some shorter texts in prose related to history, but also several poems. The poet ‘Abdī, with his *laqab* ‘Sarhoş’, wrote, amongst other poets (like a certain Fedāyī a century later), poems concerning battles, skirmishes, and flight from Hungarian battlefields. These poems were obviously of ‘private’ character and displayed criticism as well as self-criticism.

The paper at hand analyzes these poems, frequently in simple language, situated at the intersection of literature and history. It also deals with the question of the poem *as* a chronicle in contradistinction to the poem *in* a chronicle.

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**Doğu Anadolu Bölgesindeki At ve Koç Heykelli Mezar Taşları**

Türk kültürünü kavrayabilmek için at ve atlı kültürün bu kültür içindeki yerini ve fonksiyonunu değerlendirmek gerekir.

Tarihin en eski kavimlerinden biri olan Türkler, atı ehlileştirmenin avantajını kullanmış, hareketli bir hayat tarzı seçmişlerdir. Bu hareketlilik onlara Asya, Afrika ve Avrupa’da yüzyıllar süren bir hakimiyet sağlama kapılarını açmıştır. Moğolistan’dan Anadolu’ya kadar uzanan geniş bir coğrafyada bu hayatın tarihi izleri, koç (koyun) ve at heykelli ve motifli mezar taşlarında yaşatılmaktadır. Kutsallık kazanmış hayvanlar arasında yer alan atın Türk tarihinde önemli ve fonksiyonel bir yeri bulunmaktadır. Türkler, tarih sahnesine çıktıkları günden itibaren, eski Çin kaynaklarından son zamanlarda yazılmış diğer Doğu ve Batı kaynaklarına kadar, atlarıyla tanınmışlardır. Türk kültürünü oluşturan bütün unsurlarda at motifine rastlanması, onun oynadığı rolü ortaya koyar.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin Doğu Anadolu bölgesi içindeki illerinin birçoğunda at biçiminde veya at motifleriyle süslenmiş mezar taşları bulunmaktadır. Bunlara özellikle Tunceli ilinde sıkça rastlanır. At biçimindeki mezar taşları özellikle bu ilin Pekttek ilçesine bağlı Dorutay (Zeve) köyü ile Hozat ilçesinde görülmektedirler. Tunceli’de bulunan at şeklindeki mezar taşlarının bir bölümü Elazığ Müzesi’ne götürülerek koruma altına alınmıştır. Yine aynı ilin Aşağıdirik köyü ile, Ovacık ilçesine bağlı Karaoğlan bucağında da at biçimindeki mezar taşlarına rastlanmaktadır. Van’ın Muradiye ilçesine bağlı Esbireş köyünde de at heykelli mezar taşları bulunmuştur. Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Erzincan, Muş, Bitlis, Erciş, Adilcevaz, Ahlat ve Tunceli’de bulunan koç-koyun biçimindeki mezar taşlarında da at motifine yer verildiği görülmektedir. Azerbaycan’da da koyun-koç ve at motifli mezar taşlarına tesadüf edildiği gibi, Orta Asya’ya doğru da geyik, koç ve at heykelli veya motifli mezarlara rastlanmaktadır.

At biçimindeki mezar taşlarına kılıç, güneş kursu, tüfek, kütüklük v. b. motifler işlenmiştir. Bu motifler de atın öncelikle bir savaş aracı olduğunu göstermektedir. Tüm bu bilgiler bildirimiz çerçevesinde incelenecektir.

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## **The Arabs and the Ottomans: Confrontation and Accommodation in Ottoman Syria**

The theme of this paper is to explain how the Arab Syrians had related as Muslims to their Ottoman rulers who were Muslims like them but ethnically different from them. Several case studies put this relationship to the test, such as the imposition by the Ottomans of fees on marriage contracts, the application of interest on loans and credit, and the imposition of heavy taxation on the peasantry. The Syrian *'ulama* led the opposition by protesting against injustice, sending petitions to the Ottoman authorities, and even leading the people in revolt.

Alongside this confrontation, a process of accommodation between the rulers and their subjects was taking place. The chief institution in this process was the establishment by the Ottomans of the guild system which regulated the division of labor, integrated the religious communities within its ranks through a work ethic that gave precedence to merit over religious affiliation, and also benefited the Ottoman economy by imposing collective taxes on the guilds and monitoring the quality of their products. Mercantilist Europe did business with this economy based on the guild system and protected its privileges through the Capitulations.

When Europe changed from mercantilism into capitalism in the wake of the Industrial and the French Revolutions, it devastated the traditional economy and society of Syria that was based on the guild system. The disparity in wealth between an emerging local proto-bourgeoisie acting as agents to Europeans industrialists and the impoverished guild members, especially in the textile industry, caused socioeconomic riots in Syria in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottomans used the riots to press with the imposition of the Tanzimat that called for equality among all subjects. The Syrians used the riots to call for an Arab Renaissance movement.

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## **Le cadi en tant que *müfettiş* de *mukâta'a***

Parmi les multiples fonctions du cadi ottoman du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle figure le contrôle des *mukâta'a*, des unités fiscales affermées. Les cadis exerçant cette fonction étaient nommés *müfettiş* d'une *mukâta'a*. Les revenus des *mukâta'a* d'une province pouvaient être envoyés au fisc de l'Empire (*şart-ı hizâne-i 'âmire*) ou être gardés pour couvrir les dépenses locales. Une de ces dépenses consistait dans le paiement de la solde des soldats en garnison aux frontières de l'empire (*şart-ı kılâ'*). Or il existe un lien entre le système de l'affermage et le financement des forteresses frontalières.

La somme de la solde d'une certaine troupe était déduite des revenus d'une *mukâta'a* spécifiée et transmise à un envoyé nommé *havâle*. Un *havâle fermâni* adressé au *müfettiş* (normalement le cadi du *kazâ* où se trouvait la *mukâta'a* en question) spécifiait le montant de la solde, la période pour laquelle le virement était valable ainsi que la *mukâta'a* d'où provenait l'argent et le nom du *havâle*.

Le *cadi-müfettiş* confirmait le virement par une *hüccet* au dos du *havâle fermâni*. Klaus Schwarz (*Osmanische Sultansurkunden Untersuchungen zur Einstellung und Besoldung osmanischer Militärs in der Zeit Murâds III.*, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von C. Römer, Freiburger Islamstudien XVII, Stuttgart 1997) a établi le déroulement du processus à partir de la fondation d'une *mukâta'a* avec, parfois, la formation d'un consortium de plusieurs *mültezim*, jusqu'à la *hüccet* du *müfettiş*.

Nous allons d'abord donner un abrégé de ces faits et nous concentrer ensuite sur l'analyse des documents eux-mêmes, en nous fondant sur la publication de K. Schwarz. Outre les données

discutées par lui, nous allons donner une statistique des décisions des *cadis-müfettiş* en cas de problèmes et évaluer le rapport entre le contenu des *havâle fermânları* et les *hüccet* pour en tirer des conclusions sur les compétences des cadis en fonction de *müfettiş*.

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### **The Jewish Proletariat of Salonica during the Last Ottoman Century: History and Nostalgia**

Following a long process of social disintegration which took place within the Jewish community during the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 18<sup>th</sup> century, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jewish lower classes who found it difficult to express their discontent in political terms and negotiate their cut of the communal cake, transformed their stringency into a variety of changes in their social and religious behaviors. The most important change was the evasion of the tax on kosher meat, which became the main source of revenue once the rich managed to shake the direct taxes off themselves. With the deterioration of the schooling system, down went the attendance at synagogues and active participation in religious life.

The industrialization of the city from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century created new labor patterns which included the participation of children and women in huge and mixed workplaces, a phenomenon unheard of before. The end of the Ottoman era saw also the infiltration of the socialist movement into these workplaces. Based on published and unpublished Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish communal and private documents, as well as newspapers and journals from the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is argued here that the well-rooted portrait of the Salonican community as a religious and traditional one is in many ways a product of nostalgia to a paradise lost, portrayed by descendants of well-off families who left the city at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by the core of Zionist leaders who made Aliya in the 1930s, being the main source of knowledge about family and social life in Salonica, and by descendants of the port workers brought to take over the Arab stevedores in Haifa. Looking backwards to what had happened to those who stayed behind in 1943, they could not portray the lost past that preceded the flood, in other colors than those of Paradise lost.

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### **The Material Culture of Habsburg-Ottoman Diplomacy**

For a very long time research on early modern diplomacy has been concerned primarily with the analysis of actual political decisions established by diplomatic negotiations. In recent times it has concentrated on negotiation procedures including the increasingly complex diplomatic ceremonial. Historians try to analyze the various ways, in which envoys and their monarchs used symbolic strategies to accumulate social and cultural capital. But there is one dimension which should be analyzed more closely: the material side of diplomatic procedures. Early modern peace treaties, for example, were characterized by a certain material quality reaching far beyond their factual political relevance and even their potential symbolic significance as signs of power, superiority, wealth, etc. The same can be said about lodgings, clothing, food, gifts, etc., which Western envoys and Ottoman officials applied in international relations. All these artifacts with specific forms, functions and material qualities had an impact on the dynamics of negotiation processes. They were endowed with agency.

The paper explores the material culture of Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this case, two empires with different political systems, languages, religions, cultures, i.e. material cultures, interacted. Almost all envoys at the Sublime Porte stress the powerful impact of gifts and bribes for getting information, being granted an audience and forcing political decisions, especially since there was intense competition between envoys of different nations who were trying to promote the agenda of their rulers and their own interests, too. The task of an imperial ambassador at the Sublime Porte seems to have been a particularly trying one, because both empires had been engaged in military conflicts with each other for a long time. For that reason the emperors had to invest much more than other rulers, even though it took them some time to acknowledge this plain fact and adapt their diplomatic strategies to Ottoman political culture.

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### **Between Palace and Mosque:**

#### **The Role of the Sultan's Pavilion in Late Ottoman Architecture**

Like the Empire itself, Ottoman architecture is often held to have reached its full maturity in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the following period being one of slow, steady decline. While problematic in its entirety, such a characterization is particularly untenable in the case of sultanic mosques, which not only continued to proliferate in the later period, but which also began to incorporate highly novel and creative features that had not been part of the earlier 'classical' repertoire.

Among the most interesting and conspicuous of these was the royal pavilion, or *hiinkâr kasrı*, an elevated suite of rooms that communicated with the sultan's prayer loge inside the mosque and provided a space for royal repose and ceremonial. First appearing with the Mosque of Sultanahmet (1616), the pavilion evolved to become an increasingly prominent component of the royal mosque, eventually being transposed to the façade of the building, a model first seen at the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1778) and followed in almost all subsequent examples. This final arrangement curiously recalls that of certain Bursa-type complexes with royal loges, and though the resemblance would appear to be coincidental, it points to a shared concern for the conspicuous architectural display of the sultan's presence in the context of charitable foundations.

My paper will examine the conditions that led to the reemergence of this concern after it had been largely disregarded during the classical period, as well as the novel means used to address it. I argue that the development of the pavilion allowed the royal mosque to be successfully redefined for a new age characterized by growing artistic innovation, royal pomp, and public ceremonial, and that, far from being an instance of decline, this new kind of sultanic mosque was a highly successful and relevant response to the challenges of modernity.

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### **The Adana Incident of 1909 and the Muslim Refugee Question**

The Adana incident of 1909 is widely considered as an ethno-religious conflict between Turks and Armenians. So far, the discussions are centered on whether the incident was a nationalist intrigue of the Armenians or a premeditated persecution against them. These discussions often paid little attention to socio-economic factors in the given localities. The Adana province was one of the most rapidly commercialized agricultural areas in the Empire and one of the foci of the settlement of the Muslim refugees from the Balkans and Caucasus. These two factors had a

strong effect on Muslim-Armenian relations by the outbreak of the hostilities. Especially important was the growing dispute that arose after the Young Turk revolution over the restitution of the confiscated Armenian lands. Those lands had usually been given to the Muslim refugees, and restitution claims often led to hostile reactions among the refugee settlers. This is ascertained by the much-documented fact that the refugee settlers took the lead of the attacks on the Armenian population during the incident.

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### **Rumeli Demiryolları İşletmesi Kayıtlarına Göre 19. Yüzyıldaki Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Bir Bakış**

Osmanlı Devleti'nin modernleşme döneminden bahsederken hem ticari ve sınai gelişmenin, hem de haberleşme ve toplu taşımanın daha kolay ve serbest olduğu düşünülmelidir. Bu konuda demiryolu önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir.

19. yüzyılda Osmanlı toprakları üzerinde de faaliyete geçen demiryollarından özellikle Rumeli Demiryolları, Avrupa ile hem ticaret hem de haberleşme ve insan hareketlerinde modernleşme sağlayan önemli faktörlerden birisi olarak ele alınabilir. Rumeli Demiryolları, 19. yüzyılın son döneminde Osmanlı Devleti tarafından yabancı sermayeyle inşa edilmiş olan demiryolu hatlarından birisidir.

Bu bildiriye, yukarıda belirtilen konuya dair Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan Rumeli Demiryolları İşletmesi'ne ait belgeleri kullanarak bir yandan Rumeli Demiryolları hatlarının nasıl işlediğini takip etmek, diğer yandan da dönemin Osmanlı Devleti'nin modernleşmesi ve batılılaşması bağlamında sağladığı katkı ve ne ifade ettiğini belirtmek istiyorum.

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### **The Role of Textiles in Ottoman-Mamluk Relations, Politics and Religion**

The roles of textiles in medieval Muslim societies were manifold and went beyond their utilitarian nature. Sumptuous fabrics were used in royal protocol and supported political and religious statements. In terms of Ottoman-Mamluk relations, textiles were often used as diplomatic gifts imbued with political messages. Furthermore, woven items of an exceptionally sacred character, the *kiswa*, the sacred cover of the Kaaba in Mecca, and the *mahmal*, the ceremonial palanquin used to carry the cover to Mecca for the annual *hajj*, served as symbols of the political and religious authority of the Ottoman and Mamluk sultanates.

This paper will compare the role of textiles in Ottoman and Mamluk court life and ceremony based on contemporary sources and the evidence of chroniclers. It will examine fabrics exchanged as diplomatic gifts, the criteria for preferring certain textiles over others and the different messages they conveyed. A series of Ottoman religious fabrics, originally introduced by the Mamluks, will be discussed. Emphasis will be placed on the political and religious role of the *mahmal* and the *kiswa* in Mamluk and Ottoman societies; surviving examples will be examined in detail with a view to presenting their stylistic and technical evolution. By discussing the only surviving Mamluk *mahmal*, presently in Istanbul, and the earliest extant Ottoman *kiswa* – looking rather un-Ottoman in style – I will attempt to trace how Mamluk religious fabrics influenced their Ottoman counterparts. To this aim, unpublished textiles, mostly from the collection of the Benaki Museum in Athens, will also be used as comparative material.

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### **“Pleasure is a Private Business”:**

#### **A Preliminary Approach to Leisure in Ottoman Mentality**

During the last two decades, several new subjects have been added to the field of Ottoman studies: apart from the material realities, i.e. economic, social and political structures, now mental categories, which can be described under the term ‘mentality’, begin to form an object of research.

As a case study, I propose here leisure; to be more concrete, patterns that socially (i.e. through moral norms, cultural restrictions and model behaviors) define the disposition of one’s spare time. Emphasis will be given to the perception of time, as, for instance, in the common case when an author advises the reader on how he should divide the day to parts devoted to different activities. For the study of Ottoman conceptions of time, an analysis of three ‘leisure’ fields can be very helpful: namely, the function of coffeehouses, since they constitute a space of leisure and idleness *par excellence*; attitudes toward games and ‘vain’ occupations of every kind; thirdly, the special time of festivals, which crosses between the public and the private life, but also between working and leisure time. Different models of consumption vs. asceticism, loneliness vs. sociability, introvert vs. extrovert behaviour, were dominant among different ‘target groups’ and were exposed according to every author’s and expected audience’s social and/or ideological standing.

A wide array of sources, including moralist works, advice literature, historiography, ‘encyclopedic’ works, self-narratives (diaries, travelogues), collections of *ulema* and poets’ biographies, literature, etc., can be used in order to illustrate the patterns dominating leisure behaviour. The time-span of the study will cover late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, a period of deep transformations in Ottoman society and culture, and will try to follow the changes these transformations inflicted on traditional leisure patterns.

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#### **Looking for the *Fallahin***

The application of the 1858 Ottoman Land Code revolutionized the nature of landownership in Greater Syria, among other regions of the Ottoman Empire. Arabic source materials suggest, and in certain instances document, one of its principal consequences, namely the rise of a nobility of large landowners. But we know far less about the people who actually worked the land, that is, the *fallahin* of Greater Syria, owing to the fact that existing local Arabic literature devotes very little attention to that class of people.

To compensate for this state of affairs, to bring the *fallahin* into the picture, resort will be made to a close, but selective, examination of part of the daily and periodical Arabic press that concurrently, or shortly thereafter, proliferated in the various parts of Syria, but also in the Syrian owned papers which appeared in Cairo, in an attempt to identify, and analyze, material relating to the *fallahin* in particular or to agricultural life and practice in general. Once located, this material will be used to reconstruct modes of *fallahin* representation and their inscription in a discourse overwhelmingly produced by a body of journalists and other contributors who were not themselves *fallahin*.

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### ***Leblebidji Hor-Hor Agha, a Glorious Ottoman Peddler***

This paper will follow the fascinating history of an operetta composed in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century and the different phases its stage life went through until 1923, although this is only a part of its glorious stage life which continues even today.

As a play of Armenian authors, it became the favorite of the Armenian ‘millet’ with an aim to transmit encrypted messages of independence. While travelling in Greece, it affected dramatically music and theatre life there as it became the link between Western artistic and domestic traditional music and theatre. Mingling such elements, as well as beloved legend figures as Kōroğlu, it soon became so popular that its arias and duets could not be distinguished from the traditional songs of the Aegean.

After it was staged in Paris (1887), an adaption of it became a smash hit in London’s West End (121 perfs.). A French emigrant from Smyrna in collaboration with an English businessman thought a play from the East would be ideal for Victorian London. As musician partner they recruited a Greek composer, Napoleon Lambelet, who also knew the play from Athens. Among its spectators were George Bernard Shaw and James Joyce. The latter presented Molly Bloom in his famous *Ulysses* covered with a veil, a yashmak. Under this new title (*Yashmak*) the play served now as something more than the Orientalism that featured throughout 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. It had passed to the stage of Colonialism presenting Constantinople as a city of brutal inhabitants, where the ‘Gaiety Girls’ bring erotic sense and innovating feminist manners, which are adopted by the Sultan himself.

The play arrived in Vienna (1911) and, owing to Greek, Armenian and Turkish troupes, it became extremely popular throughout the Balkans.

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### **The Knowledge Networks of Abdulghani al-Nabulusi**

In 1693, Abdulghani al-Nabulusi, one of the major intellectuals of his time, set out on a journey from Damascus to Cairo to Medina and Mecca with the intended purpose to visit the friends of God, living and dead. His multi-volume travelogue and diary, written shortly thereafter, details his frequent conversations with friends, colleagues, and disciples often regarding the controversies of the times: opinions on coffee, tobacco, *sema*, *dhikr*, saints, and more studied the text as poems, conversations, and excerpts. These issues lay at the heart of intellectual and religious debates that appeared throughout the Ottoman Empire in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that is often termed the Kadızadeli movement. Given that al-Nabulusi was a frequent and active participant in these debates from his home in Damascus, this paper attempts to reconstruct his intellectual network by looking at his myriad connections with scholars in both Rum and the Arab lands. It uses his travelogues as well as compilations of letters to see with whom he corresponded. It then traces these scholars in biographical dictionaries. In particular it looks at how he built his own network of followers and disciples by analyzing *ijazas*. While a traditional *ijaza* generally attests to verified knowledge of one book, Nabulusi and others in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century were also using ‘total *ijazas*’ which initiated followers into the entire corpus of scholarly production of the issuing author. By tracing the members and content of this network of scholars, this paper begins to tackle the topic of knowledge exchange and dissemination in the Ottoman Empire and attempts to cast the Kadızadeli movement as an intellectual conflict rather than just an Istanbul-centered, class-based movement.



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### **Transgression of Law Regarding Church-Building during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century: The Case of Lesbos**

A few years ago the authors carried out a parallel research consisting, on the one hand, of studying Ottoman building permits regarding Christian churches on Lesbos island and, on the other, of the architectural imprinting and documentation of the various phases of these churches. This research project offered the possibility to understand the framework within which permits were accorded and restoration was supervised and controlled at the churches of the island. The comparison between the actual measurements of the existing buildings and the dimensions referred to in the building permits, offers interesting information on the amazing evolution of church-building during the late Ottoman period.

Through the documents of the building permits one can describe, on the local level of Lesbos, the issues of implementing the legal framework both on the part of the Ottoman authorities, and on that of the Christian community, at a regional centre of the Ottoman Empire.

The transgression of the relevant legislation attested during the restoration of the churches causes the emergence of certain questions:

- What was the attitude of the Ottoman authorities regarding the issuing of permits, the supervision and the control of the construction works?
- How did these transgressions contribute to the formation of certain features of the architectural type of three-apsed, timber-roofed basilicas which is widespread in this period?

It is these questions that the paper aims at answering in an attempt of interdisciplinary approach of a certain aspect of Ottoman history.

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### **Locating Ottoman ‘Minorities’: Reappraising the Context of ‘Majority’**

Debates raging among Ottoman historians and historians of the early Turkish Republic seek to identify the origins of large-scale animosities that could account for the massacres of Armenians and ‘Greeks’ at the end of the empire. Moreover, decades of historiography have insisted that linguistically-based affiliation determined Ottoman (dis)loyalties long before the demise of the empire. While some argue that hostility toward ‘minorities’ began many decades before World War I and embedded divisions necessarily led to the birth of a Turkish Republic incapable of inclusivity, others insist that it was only with the Balkan Wars that Ottoman subjects imagined themselves as a collective in opposition to internal ‘others’.

This paper will intervene in these debates along two lines. First, it will argue that both the debate about religious minorities and the question of CUP Turkification must be viewed together as phenomena reflecting the changing nature of – and expectations for – state structures within a global context. Second, it will approach late Ottoman history by explicitly reading backward from the first decades of the Republic. My research on border areas during the interwar period suggests that the hardened collective identities on which these arguments have been based were not yet predominant in non-urban formerly Ottoman areas by the 1930s. If the collective identities used to explain the events of the late empire were still not evident in the 1930s, how can we understand the massacres of the last decade of the empire and the ‘Arab revolt’ against Ottoman rule?

Combining historiographical analysis with research in the local press and French, British, American and League of Nations archives, this paper seeks to reinterpret the experiences of late-Ottoman ‘minorities’ by placing them within specific contexts, framing events within what Makdisi has labeled a ‘culture of sectarianism’, and embedding them in contemporary European notions of the taxonomies of identity.

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### **Tripolitarians, Cyrenaicans and their Empire: Political Strategies and Networks in Ottoman Africa**

In 1835, imperial troops started to occupy the autonomous province of Trablusgarb, and, for the first time, the region which later became Libya was to be administered directly according to rules laid down in Istanbul. The process of incorporation into the emerging modern Ottoman state, however, was slow and troublesome because many established political structures and agreements of the autonomous Qaramanli régime with a plethora of local powers had to be renegotiated. Even considerable effort and investment in the poor province did not lead to complete and direct rule over the territory, but the Ottoman state managed to become the most important single player even in remote parts. Remarkable successes notwithstanding, the Ottoman civilising mission stood in marked contrast to conditions on the ground, as large parts of Trablusgarb continued to be administered with minimal interference by imperial authorities.

Nevertheless, it is insufficient to draw a dichotomic picture because precisely this relative weakness strengthened the negotiating capacity of local power leaders and brokers, and several of them allied themselves permanently with the imperial administration, so that any division between ‘Libyans’ and ‘Ottomans’ is devoid of any analytical value. This contribution will study the way in which local political actors built networks with imperial officers and utilised administrative and political structures of the empire to achieve their own goals. Special attention will be paid to the rhetorics and strategies of argumentation that were employed in grievances and petitions especially from lesser towns and rural areas of Tripolitania, Fezzan and Cyrenaica.

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### **The Shape of Early Ottoman Edirne**

Very little has been written about the development of the city of Edirne in the 14<sup>th</sup>-to-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, from the time of its conquest by the Ottomans. Modern interpretations of Edirne in this early Ottoman period have focused largely on the conquest itself and various individual structures, most notably the imperial mosques, and most especially among them, the Selimiye. Any attempt to understand how the city was evolving falls foul of these outstanding moments and monuments, overshadowed and distorted by them.

The paper proposed here will return to the newly conquered city and study the succession of monuments constructed in Edirne, the identity of their founders and the relationship of their locations to the city as it already existed. Together with the sultans, a large number of beys and their households contributed structures that added significantly to the urban landscape and marked the expanding parameters of the city. They describe a somewhat different center of gravity and pattern of movement than what we may anticipate by observing the contemporary city. The old road from the east into the city led directly to the heart of the commercial city and not to the foot of the Selimiye. Moreover, the banks of the Tunca emerge as a vibrant artery in flow of people and goods.

By removing later structures from the city space, and then ‘rebuilding’ in this manner, the aim is to learn how Ottoman Edirne came into being in the city-space that was Byzantine Adrianople. The evidentiary basis for this project includes the buildings themselves, inscriptions, descriptive and documentary texts.

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### **The Ottoman-Russian Definition of Identity: An Early Modern International Law of Naturalization?**

One of the fundamental elements of the modern global legal order is that all of a state’s citizens, regardless of their rights domestically, share a common nationality when they go abroad. This is at odds with the porous frontiers, informal migration policies, and uneven and constantly renegotiated state-subject relationships which were the foundation of early modern states such as the Ottoman Empire, but the transition has rarely been explored in depth.

I argue that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Ottoman and Russian Empires jointly constructed a modern definition of ‘nationality’ which affected the legal place, and the practical experiences, of Russian subjects within the Ottoman Empire. For centuries, vast numbers of Russians had come to the Ottoman Empire, freely or by force, and many assimilated.

But Ottoman-Russian agreements gradually adopted and modified the terms of the previous Capitulations, creating a new legal regime under which Russians came to bear an inherent, legal ‘Russianness’, regardless of their religion. The Ottomans, in effect, defined an immigration and naturalization policy.

Going beyond treaties and negotiations, I examine these consequences for individual Russian subjects – soldiers, servants, serfs, and Cossacks. Some claimed their freedom; others were condemned to return to serfdom or military service. This approach, combining legal and social history, is made possible by the diverse nature of my sources, including the archives of the Ottoman Başbakanlık, the Imperial Russian Foreign Ministry, and the British Foreign Office, as well as a variety of published treaties, chronicles and travel accounts.

I close by considering the implications of this study for our understanding of international law. Did the Russians and Ottomans foreshadow modern debates? Or did they chart a different path, one closed off as western European international law became the global norm?

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### **Individus et familles dans l’espace urbain de Smyrne (fin XVIII<sup>e</sup> – début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)**

Ce sont les histoires de vie d’habitants de Smyrne à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et durant les premières décennies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ainsi que les réseaux de relations qu’ils nouent au quotidien, qui vont nous permettre d’interroger, avec un nouveau regard, l’espace urbain de cette ville, son fonctionnement, les modalités de coexistence qui y sont possibles entre ses habitants, par delà leurs diverses appartenances (ethniques, confessionnelles, nationales), par delà aussi la division en quartiers séparés apparemment réservés aux membres d’une même communauté. Ils vont nous permettre aussi d’approfondir les usages différenciés qu’individus et familles font de cet espace pour leur résidence, leurs loisirs, leurs activités professionnelles. Le cadre d’une ville plurielle telle Smyrne est intéressant à plus d’un titre car durant cette période, les modalités d’utilisation de l’espace urbain par ses habitants commencent progressivement à changer.

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## **Kuramsal Kaynaklar Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek: Max Weber ve Osmanlı Tarihyazımı**

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarındaki “devlet-toplum”, “merkez-çevre” paradigmalarının kuramsal kaynağı olan Max Weber’in geleneksel otorite ve patrimonyalizm kavramsallaştırmalarının, Osmanlı tarihçiliğine etkisi sorunsallaştırılacaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda ilk olarak, hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun klasik dönemini açıklamak hem de Osmanlı tarihiyle yakın dönem Türkiye tarihi arasındaki sürekliliği göstermek için bir analiz aracı olarak kullanılan, Weber’in geleneksel otorite ve patrimonyalizm kavramları ele alınacaktır. Ardından, Weber’in modelinin, klasik döneme ilişkin Osmanlı tarihyazımıyla olan paralellikleri gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Sonrasında da Weberyen modelin, esasında çarpık ve bağlamından kopartılmış bir Weber okumasının ürünü olduğu savunulacaktır.

Weberyen modele göre, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu patrimonyal çıkarların yeniden üretilmesine yönelik bir toplumsal ve yönetsel örgütlenmeye sahiptir. Bu modelden müphem klasik döneme ilişkin Osmanlı tarihi anlatısı, siyasal egemenliğe sahip olan ve olmayan zümreler arasında mutlak bir ayırım, siyasal egemenliğe sahip zümrenin her türlü kişisel çıkardan azade biçimde devletle özdeşleşmesi, siyasal sistemin dışında bırakılmış zümrelerin dikey bölünmüşlüğü ve devletin ekonomik alandaki tam hâkimiyetine dayanan bir iktisadi yapı üzerinden şekillenir.

Sözü edilen anlatının uzantıları ise malumdur: Batı’da krallar, lordlar ve diğer siyasal güçlerin çoğulluğu mevcutken; uzlaşmaya dayalı bir sözleşmenin var olmadığı Osmanlı-Türkiye tarihinde patrimonyal yönetimin/“merkez”in, tebaa/“çevre” üzerinde mutlak denetimi ve kontrolü söz konusudur. Ayrıca, Avrupa’da gücünü pazar ilişkilerinden ve özel mülkiyetten alan iktisadi faaliyetlerle uyuşacak tipte kültürel ve davranışsal niteliklere sahip bir sivil toplum oluşurken; “merkez”in “çevre” üzerinde mutlak denetiminin geçerli olduğu Osmanlı örneğinde ticarete ve ekonomik çıkarların gözetilmesine pejoratif anlamlar yüklenmiş, Batı’dakinden tamamen farklı bir değerler sistemi ortaya çıkmıştır.

Oysa Osmanlı-Türkiye tarihi çalışmalarındaki “devlet-toplum” paradigmasına kaynaklık eden Weberyen modelin, esasında sorunlu bir Weber okumasının ürünü olduğu söylenebilir. Osmanlı tarihçiliğinin Weber okumasına mündemiç deformasyonlardan ilki, problemlili “ideal tip” okuması ve dolayısıyla patrimonyalizm ve geleneksel otorite kavramsallaştırmalarının, tarihsel gerçeklikte kavramsal saflığında bulunabileceği yanılsamasına ilişkindir. İkincisi ise zamanının ve toplumunun insanı olan Weber’in akademik ve entelektüel üretiminin, siyasi görüş ve faaliyetlerinden soyutlanarak incelenmesinden kaynaklanır.

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## **The Jewish Dockers of Ottoman Salonica: Professional, Ethnic and Political Identities in a Period of Political Turmoil**

The paper focuses on the Jewish dockers of Ottoman Salonica. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the loading-unloading between ships and docks in the port of Salonica was dominated by Jewish manpower. This dominance should be considered, first of all, in relation to the pre-industrial regulations of the Ottoman labor market. Work on the docks was operated by veteran guilds of Jewish laborers (registered according to ethnic or family affinity) who managed to distribute all the specific spheres of work among themselves (according to the *gedik* principle).

They demonstrated a high standard of professionalism (emulating the *hisba* value) and created a well-organized welfare system. These outdated regulations still maintained their validity in spite of the legal abolishment of the guild system (1860) and the emergence of the industrial labor market. The Jewish dominance on the docks was based on hundreds of years of demographic predominance in the city combined with cooperation with the Ottoman ruler.

At the end of the Ottoman period, the dominance of the Jewish dockers benefited from the political turmoil of that time. Against the background of the Macedonian Question and the Western semi-colonialism of Macedonia, the Jewish dockers should be seen as part of an ethnic group which clearly defined itself as supporting the preservation of the Ottoman regime in the southern Balkans. As such, the Ottoman regime counted them as a loyal and useful element in maintaining its interests in the docks, and in exchange came to their aid when modernization of the infrastructures might have thrown many of them out of work. The paper is based upon British diplomatic reports, travelogues, post WWII memorial literature in Hebrew, and Greek press from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Mahmoud Tercüman comme une source pour l'histoire médiévale hongroise**

Mahmoud Tercüman (ou Terdzsüman) est un historien turc du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'origine bavaroise. Il s'est converti à l'islam et est devenu le traducteur et diplomate pour sultan Soliman le Magnifique. En 1543, un livre à Székesfehérvár est entré en ses mains et il l'avait traduit en turc. Le livre est connu sous le nom *Tarih-i Üngürüşz*, ou *L'histoire des Hongrois*. On suppose que c'est le *Gesta* sur l'origine des Hongrois. Jusqu'à présent, il y en a trois éditions et traductions en hongrois, ainsi qu'une bilingue, avec quelques notes, mais, en dépit de cela, il n'est pas tellement utilisé et bien connu. En outre, les données fournies par Tercüman ne sont pas si bien analysées. Il n'y a pas d'édition critique détaillée de l'œuvre, avec les commentaires nécessaires et les comparaisons avec d'autres sources.

Le but de ma communication est de fournir un nouvel éclairage sur ce travail, d'analyser les informations que Mahmoud Tercüman donne sur l'histoire médiévale hongroise, aussi d'expliquer les méthodes et tenter d'identifier les sources de *Tarih-i Üngürüşz*. Les influences différentes des autres chroniques seront soulignées, ainsi que des renseignements très précis pour cet auteur et son œuvre historiographique. Il y a des parallèles très intéressantes avec quelques autres sources médiévales hongroises, par exemple, avec le *Chronique illustré*, où on trouve quelques légendes traditionnelles. Le *Tarih-i Üngürüşz* est une source intéressante pour les relations byzantino-hongroises et pour la conquête ottomane de la Hongrie. L'origine des Hongrois donnée dans cette histoire du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle n'est pas seulement compatible avec d'autres sources, mais aussi avec des idées modernes de la soi-disant conquête hongroise de la patrie double.

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### **The Province of Sivas at the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the province of Sivas was inhabited by – in absolute numbers – the largest Armenian population in any of the six provinces (*vilâyet-i sitte*), as the eastern Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire with Armenian populations were called since the Congress of Berlin (1878). However, the percentages of the Armenian population (approx. 15%

in *Sivas vilâyeti*) were higher in the provinces of Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Erzurum and Van. Educationally and economically the Armenians were in general superior in comparison with the Muslim population, not least due to the support of Protestant missionaries and other religious groups.

The relations between Muslims and Christians (mainly Armenians) underwent a change after the Treaty of Berlin when European powers demanded more rights for the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. These demands encouraged Armenian organizations in their fight for 'national independence', to incite resistance among fellow Armenians against (what was perceived as) Muslim domination and to provoke foreign intervention. The militant actions of these organizations failed and led to indiscriminate reprisals by the Muslim population. Although the state tried to subdue atrocities in some cases, it proved not only unable to gain control of the situation, but also added fuel to the fire by certain measures such as the establishment of the *Hamîdîye* regiments. The combination of these factors set off a spiral of violence which resulted in the pogroms of 1894-1896 and left the Armenian population in the province shattered.

How did the Ottoman authorities, in particular the local administration, make sense of the unrest and what were the measures with which it hoped to restore peace and order? The paper will address these issues on the basis of British and Ottoman documents as well as narrative sources.

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### **The Theatrical Performance of Peace: Entries of Habsburg Grand Embassies in Constantinople, 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

In early modern times, relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy were not only characterized by a series of cruel wars, but also by intensive efforts for conflict containment and peace, as more than 65 peace agreements or truces illustrate. Inherent parts of this peace process were symbolic acts. In this context a decisive role was played by grand embassies, temporary and very costly diplomatic missions, on which Habsburgs and Ottomans agreed in peace negotiations. In contemporary eyes they were peacekeeping missions. One high point was the solemn entry of these embassies – mostly some hundred gorgeously appareled people – in Constantinople. It was a massive spectacle, which quite a number of inhabitants, Ottoman dignitaries and diplomats of other powers viewed. Therefore, the theatrical performance was given particular attention. The procedure of this act, which lasted several hours, was scripted and was the result of frequently difficult discussions.

In the center of attention of the Habsburg diplomats and their Ottoman companions were symbolic signs (constitution of the festive procession, clothes, flags, banquets, etc.) and actions (playing of music, body language, etc.). The paper illustrates different cultural references of these signs and actions and their instrumentalization in the peace process, above all gaps in knowledge of the other as well as uncertainty and ambiguity of signs. Clothes, e.g., symbolized position and wealth of the participants as well as their ruler, but they also symbolized vassality, submission and claims to power. Flags and standards could both illustrate friendship and be used as deliberate provocations. Music could demonstrate the conviction in the superiority of civilization.

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### **Circulating Images: Ottoman Painters, Travel Books, Overtones**

Ambassadors, diplomats, travelers arrived in the Ottoman territory as of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They have eternized their experiences in their illustrated or non-illustrated travel books. Publication of reports, surveys and memoirs concerning the oriental countries matched up with the encyclopedic tradition of the Enlightenment. These expeditions increased the desire for accumulation of art works among the bourgeoisie of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. The historical geography of the Ottoman Empire became increasingly important due to researches on antiquity, classical Greek culture and the tradition of the Grand Tour. Socio-historical details of everyday life were also important for colony-seeking France and England whose scientists, soldiers and missionaries tried to document these items.

In this survey, based on the engravings of the publications in question, the interaction between Europe and the Ottomans in the art of painting will be re-examined. It will be demonstrated that the visual archives which are the sources of the Ottoman types to pattern the travel books of the European travelers have been presented by the Ottoman painters themselves and such images have spread around the whole of Europe; the same types have been produced again and again for a variety of purposes. It will be argued that one of the sources for the changing stories of such unchanging types were the workshops of Ottoman Greek painters in Istanbul. For instance, one such local painter, Konstantin Kapıdağlı, is an Ottoman artist who integrated the Greek, Turkish, Christian, Muslim, European and Iranian cultures by internalizing the traditions with his own culture, religion and visual language. He not only maintained strong bonds with his religion and ethnic origin, performing icons and wall paintings in Orthodox religious buildings, but also created impressive artworks for the palace of a Muslim-oriented society. Ottoman types spreading around Europe were copied for many years in his studio and reproduced by many Europeans, and were thus used both in travel books and on canvas.

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### **A Cartographical Memorial of Tatars' Raids on Muscovy**

The Military Archives (Krigsarkivet), part of the National Archives of Sweden, was founded in 1805 and keeps military records and collections of maps and plans from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the present times. Among about one million maps, there is a number of maps and plans with reference to Ottoman/Tatar/Polish/Cossack/Russian relations.

The paper deals with a manuscript map, drawn and coloured by hand, entitled *Ryssland – Russia*. The midpoint of the map is the 'Kingdom of Muscovy with the borders marked with a red line'. All the topographical names are written in Arabic letters. The map is equipped with a cartouche, written in Ottoman Turkish, which begins with the words:

*Anno Domini 1653 Mehmed Keräy, son of the khan Sälâmet Keräy, using the road(s) shown on this map, reached the foothold of the Moscow throne, (and) burned (it) down with fire. [...] The Moscow tsars have surrendered, Tsar Petro also did it, but later on they did not (surrender any more). [...]*

The map measures 110x84 cm. The depicted territory is large, from the White Sea to the north to the Azov Sea to the south, the city of Kazan to the east and, along with many other places, the cities of Kiev, Smolensk and St. Petersburg to the west. Among the cities located on this map, there is St. Petersburg, founded in 1703. By analyzing the text within the cartouche, we can more or less precisely guess when the map was drawn. One could presume that it was between the year of the foundation of St. Petersburg (1703) and the time when the Ottomans

ruled over the Azov fortress (1712-1737), but before the Swedish defeat in 1721 and presumably before Tsar Peter's death in 1725.

Turkish cartography is a relatively unknown subject. Putting aside the language of the cartouche and the alphabet used to depict the place-names, does this map have a Turkish provenance?

This is just a sample from the rich Swedish collections. All of the records are available to the public according to the Swedish principle of public access to official documents and they are waiting to be discovered and examined.

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### **Ottoman Perceptions of the Military Reforms of Tipu Sultan and Şahin Giray**

The Ottomans were certainly not the first Muslim polity to experiment with Western-inspired military reforms in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Şahin Giray, the Khan of the short-lived independent Crimean Khanate, as well as Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, who ruled over the Kingdom of Mysore, undertook serious military reform along Western lines with a certain degree of success. The Ottomans had mixed feelings about these rulers and their endeavors. They regarded Şahin Giray as a puppet of the Russian tsarina, Catherine II, and detested his military reforms as a means of Russianizing the Tatars. Conversely, they admired the very same military reforms undertaken in Mysore and held the Indian envoy sent to Istanbul in great respect. This paper will contrast the Ottoman discourses on these two cases of Western-inspired reforms with a view to throwing light on the repertoires of contention in Ottoman political debates of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. While the Ottoman reformers suffered a great deal from harsh criticism based on religion and tradition, they did not hesitate to accentuate the very same criticism against Şahin Giray. This indicates that what was at stake was not so much upholding religion and tradition as real political objectives. Religion and tradition supplied the critics with a powerful language and meaningful terminology, thus constituting the repertoire of contention for different political factions.

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### **Approcher la configuration de la violence dans l'espace urbain (Adana au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)**

Cette étude portera sur les cas de violence exercés sur les corps (attaques armées, coups, blessures et meurtres) dans la ville d'Adana au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est à partir des registres des cadis de la ville (qui contiennent entre autres documents, des minutes de procès, des constats et plaintes) que nous allons observer les cas de violence concernant ce genre d'atteints au corps. Nous nous intéresserons surtout aux violences entre personnes mais aussi aux violences collectives (lors des insurrections ou bien lynchages) à titre comparatif.

Lors de l'analyse de ces cas, nous allons, d'une part, essayer de qualifier la « nature des liens » entre les acteurs (i.e. la victime et l'agresseur), en tenant compte des données relationnelles repérables. D'autre part, nous essayerons d'identifier et de qualifier les lieux (quartier résidentiel, lieu de passage ou espaces périphériques et agricoles) et le temps (nuit ou jour) des violences.

Partant, nous essayerons d'approcher comment certain types d'actes violents pouvaient se déployer dans l'espace urbain – de cette ville de taille moyenne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Par cette



démarche, nous tenterons de savoir si certain types de violence pouvaient être intrinsèquement liés à certains espaces ou temporalités.

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**The Forgotten Kadızade:  
Kadızade Mehmed İlmi  
and the ‘Sunnitizing’ Sufi Preachers of Rumeli**

This paper explores an early stage in the formation of the Kadızadeli movement in the 1620s and 30s, when several different piety-minded groups were putting pressure on the Ottoman court to restore the power of the central state through a campaign of social and moral regulation. Among them were a group of Sufi preachers, who had been playing vital roles as agents of Sunnitization in the European provinces of the empire since the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. This much we know through the work of such historians as Nathalie Clayer. What is much less known and understood, however, is the cross-over between this group of ‘Sunnitizing’ Sufi preachers and the circles of Birgivi-li and later Kadızade-li followers during the third and fourth decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In this paper, the cross-over between these groups is demonstrated through a study of the religious and especially political writings of the elusive Sufi preacher, ‘Sofyalı’ Kadızade Mehmed İlmi (d. 1631-2). Frequently confused with Kadızade Mehmed of Balıkesir (d. 1635), the namesake and early leader of the Kadızadeli movement, İlmi Efendi was actually his immediate predecessor at the prestigious post of preacher at the mosque of Aya Sofya, and, like him, a strong advocate of the Birgivi reform agenda. At the same time, however, İlmi was also a Sufi sheikh with affiliations to the Halveti, Nakshbendi and possibly the Melami-Bayrami orders. Even though his Sufi identity is virtually unmentioned in the works of political advice he submitted to Murad IV, this paper will connect some of the themes he addresses in these tracts to the political tracts penned by other ‘Sunnitizing’ Sufi preachers during this period.

Through a codicological analysis of the manuscript compilations in which İlmi’s writings appear, this paper will also shed light on the religious and social networks in which these texts circulated. Finally, some thoughts will be offered on how these networks contributed to the conflation of İlmi’s identity with that of Kadızade Mehmed of Balıkesir during the later decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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**Development Policy and Social Changes  
in a Suburban Area of Mongolia:  
Application of DiMSIS-EX to Anthropological Research**

As the issue of sustainability of the environment and natural resources has become more serious on a global scale, the balance between economic development and environmental preservation will be a major topic in pastoral societies that have maintained an unstable natural environment of arid areas. Further, after seven decades of socialism, Mongolia adopted a market economy in the early 1990s. During this period of transition, the pastoralists settled and semi-settled in the suburban areas of the capital city (Ulaanbaatar) and secondary cities (Darkhan and Erdenet). Previous studies have attempted to understand the present state of the pastoralists by investigating each household’s economic activity and social relationships. They have emphasized that the pastoral cooperatives (*negdel*) were dismantled, and the pastoralists have been dependent on each

of their life strategies. However, on the basis of my previous research, I realized that the pastoralists continue to raise livestock according to the rules and norms of the socialist era. This presentation examines the transformation of pastoral society during Mongolia's transition from a socialist to the market economy by investigating the relationship between land use and agro-pastoral policy from the 1960s to 2000s in Khaliun, a suburban area of north Mongolia. Accordingly, the study employs DiMSIS-EX (Disaster Management Spatial Information System-Expansion) to analyze the information obtained from documents and field data. Furthermore, in this presentation, I will discuss the possibility of employing DiMSIS-EX in historical and anthropological research.

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### **Balkanlarda Bir Modernleşme Örneği: Rusçuk**

Osmanlıların Balkanları ele geçirmelerine kadar Bulgarların Ortaçağ Tuna kalesi hüviyetinde olan Rusçuk, 1388 yılında Türk hakimiyetine girdikten sonra hızla gelişmiş, daha 16. asırda, nakliye, ticaret ve askeri açılardan, bölgenin son derece hareketli bir merkezi halini almıştır. Seyyahların izlenimleri ve Rusçuk Şeriyeye sicillerine göre şehir, 17. yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde tersanesi ve limanı ile askeri sevkiyat merkezi olma özelliğinin yanında Müslümanlar ve diğer milletler için gümrüğü ve ticaret potansiyeli ile de cazibe merkezi olmuştur.

18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına gelindiğinde Osmanlı-Rus savaşlarından dolayı kalede yeni savunma sistemi inşa edilmiş, şehrin etrafı surlarla çevrilmiştir. Şehrin yıldızı özellikle Mithat Paşa'nın Tuna Valiliği sırasında parlamış, bağımsız bir Bulgaristan vücuda getirilmesi fikrinin önüne geçilmesi amacıyla adil ve müreffeh bir idare oluşturulması yolunda adımlar atılarak Balkanlardaki Osmanlı modernleşmesi buradan başlatılmıştır.

1864 yılında çıkarılan "Vilayet Nizamnamesi"ne göre Rusçuk, Vidin ve Niş eyaletleri birleştirilerek Tuna Vilayeti kurulmuş ve Rusçuk bu vilayetin merkezi olmuştur. Şehirde Türk ve Bulgar gençlerinin eğitim göreceği okullar faaliyete geçmiş, vilayet matbaası açılarak eğitim görenlere Bulgarca ve Türkçe materyal temin edilmiş ayrıca Tuna adıyla ilk resmi vilayet gazetesi ve Tuna Salnamesi neşredilmiştir. "Islahhane" adı altında sivil teknik okullar açılmış, asayişin sağlanması amacıyla karakollar kurulmuştur. Halkın isyanına neden olan vergi konusuna da el atılarak vergi türlerini hafifleten ve toplanmasını kolaylaştıran düzenlemeler getirilmiştir. Yol ve köprü yapımının hızlandığı bu dönemde, bir İngiliz şirketine ihale edilen Rusçuk-Varna Demiryolu 8 Kasım 1866'da trafiğe açılmıştır. Tarımın gelişmesi ve daha çok ürün sağlanabilmesi için boş araziler tarıma kazandırılmış ve Avrupa'dan tarım makineleri getirilmiştir. Bu iyi niyetli çalışmalara ve gayretlere rağmen Balkanların maruz kaldığı iç ve dış tehditlerden Rusçuk da nasibini almış 1877-78 Rus Harbi ve sonrasında ağır hasara uğramıştır. 21 Şubat 1878 Edirne mütarekesi ile boşaltılan şehrin 1880'de kalesi ve tahkimatı yıkılarak Bulgarların eline geçmiştir.

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### **A Recently Discovered Painting of Mehmet Ali Laga: 'Sadabad Sefası'**

Military painter Mehmet Ali Laga (1878-1947), who lived in one of the most important eras of Turkish history, a period of most active and radical changes, namely, during the transition from Monarchy to Republic, has a privileged place in Turkish art in terms both of his art and life.

Mehmet Ali, while working in a variety of painting techniques, like most of the military painters, chose to make landscapes, interiors, and still life, instead of painting figurative compositions, of which he made very few. Although he served in Gallipoli and the Balkan Wars, still he avoided painting figurative war scenes. In stylistic terms, Mehmet Ali is included in the ‘Çallı Generation’, and his ‘impressionist’ approach can be evaluated on this basis. Laga’s ‘Fun in Sadabad’ (1318/1902) gains importance, because it has significant differences in relation to his other pictures, considering the painter’s style and range of subjects. This painting, not yet printed in any art book, can be considered an interpretation to an Orientalist painter’s tableau. The painting in question is Polish orientalist painter Stanislas Chlebowski’s (1835-1884) ‘Kağıthane’ (1875). Under the influence of famous French Orientalist painter Jean-Leon Gérôme, Chlebowski came to Istanbul, where he spent the brightest years of his career, creating his own style and working for 12 years in the palace for Sultan Abdulaziz. How to look at and evaluate these paintings extending a line backwards from Laga to Chlebowski and even Thomas Allom (1804-1872)? What kind of personal and artistic relationship can be established among these painters and their styles? Furthermore, what is the role of these paintings parallel to other pictures, engravings, and photographs of Sadabad or Kağıthane? What can be said, for instance, about Aziziye Mosque – which is partially seen in these paintings – a work of architects Balyan brothers; or what about the people of that time and their sense of entertainment? These topics will be addressed briefly in this paper.

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**‘Seseya’:**

### **Representation of Theseus by the Ottoman Mufti of Athens in the Beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

In the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Mahmud Efendi, the jurisconsult (mufti) of Athens, resided in the city during his 27-year-long office. Moreover, in 1738 he began to write a history of Athens that he entitled *Tarih-i Medinetü’l Hukemâ* (History of the City of Philosophers), which has a unique copy today preserved in the Topkapı Palace. One of the most important features of this 291-folio ‘treasure’ is its pages on Theseus. From the folio 13b onwards, Mahmud Efendi narrates Theseus, whom he calls ‘Seseya’, in detail. After his death, on 41a, Mahmud Efendi goes on with the War of Troy and the construction of Venice, then lists the rulers of Athens chronologically beginning with the son of Theseus. When we read the story of ‘Seseya’, we notice that Mahmud Efendi did not narrate every affair and happening in his narrative, but instead selected some of them.

However, this preference may not have been totally his, but possibly that of Grigoris Sotiris and Theophanis Kavallaris, two priests from the Holy Monastery of Kaisariani, who assisted Mahmud Efendi in his composition of the manuscript. Within this context, I would like to raise questions like whether the emphasis on Theseus can be read as the early steps of Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821) or not. Is it possible to connect Mahmud Efendi to the later Philhellenic attitudes? Additionally, in this presentation, I would like to pay attention to the Ottoman-Islamic, even mystic-Sufi, genre in which Mahmud Efendi clothes Theseus, so that Theseus turns into a character like those found in *nasihatname* literature rather than a mythological one, and the legend metamorphoses into a different form.

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## **The Economic and Social Structure of the Sudiremi Subdistrict in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Sudiremi subdistrict was located to the northwest of Konya. Its center, Sille village, is 8 km away from Konya. This place is impressive, because Sille has been a major residential center in various historical periods, including the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it still was a busy residential center with Rum population. In other words, it was a region of both Christians and Muslims, who had political, social and economic relations with each other. In this paper, I wonder what the nature of these relations was. Which insight determined the direction of these relationships? In addition, during this period, very important political events occurred in the Ottoman Empire, and both Christians and Muslims experienced very rapid change; in the face of these circumstances each religious community gave different responses in Istanbul. The question of how they behaved to each other and their attitude to people from different religious and cultural backgrounds will be dealt with. Moreover, economic structures and financial relations in that period will be scrutinized.

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## **17. Yüzyıl Trabzon’unda Ekonomik İlişkiler Bağlamında Müslüman-Gayrimüslim İlişkileri**

Sosyal yaşamın önemli yönlerinden bir tanesi kentli nüfusun birbiriyle olan ekonomik ilişkileridir. Bu tür bağlantılar etnik, dini veya kan bağı yoluyla oluşan ilişkiler kadar önemlidir. Bu çalışmada bu konu Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri yardımıyla irdelenmeye çalışılacaktır. Kullanılacak olan kaynaklar şerhiye sicilleridir. Çalışma alanı ise 17. yüzyılda Trabzon bölgesidir. Bu belgeler yardımıyla Müslümanlar ile Gayr-ı Müslimler arasındaki ekonomik ilişkilere odaklanılacak ve bu karşılıklı etkileşimin oluşturduğu sosyo-ekonomik bağlar üzerinde durulacaktır.

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## **Neither Muslim Nor Christian: Crypto-Christians of Trabzon (1856-1924)**

It is now known to the scholars of Ottoman history that there were several crypto-Christian groups in different corners of the Empire. Despite their spatial, cultural, linguistic and religious variations, what deemed these groups akin was their narrative of having pursued religious dualism for an unknown period of time under Ottoman Muslim rule. In the wake of the 1839 and 1856 edicts, when the Ottoman sultan was made to abolish the Apostasy Law under immense British pressure, Ottoman officials were troubled by the news of several crypto-Christian groups appealing for official recognition of their hidden creed. Out of these, two Greek-speaking crypto-Christian communities of Trabzon origin, a province in north-east Asia Minor, on the Ottoman-Russian border, gave the longest and most resilient struggle to be recognized as Christians. For Greek nationalists, these dualist communities symbolized the uprising of an enslaved Greek ethnîe. For the Ottoman government and later on Turkish nationalists, this was a case of apostasy-cum-treason in the midst of homeland.

Positioning itself against nationalist narratives and based on documents from Ottoman, British and Greek archives, and missionary archives, this paper will first reconstruct the microcosm of crypto-Christianity as it was experienced by the miners of Trabzon and then explore the dynamics and implications of their struggle for recognition as Christians. In so doing, this paper attempts to answer two fundamental questions: At what point and why living a crypto-Christian life became neither desirable nor tenable for these miner communities? It is the contention of this paper that answers to these questions will not only offer insights into the complexities of ethno-religious identities in the pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Empire, but also into their re-definition within the changing internal and external dynamics and processes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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### **Corsair Diplomacy between the Netherlands and Ottoman Algeria: Treaties and Documents from the Netherlands Archives**

This year we celebrate 400 years from the start of relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire and, as a part of it, the Regency of Algiers. The young Dutch republic, which declared its independence from Spain in 1581, was seeking support against the Spanish subjugators. And, thus, the Netherlands found in the Ottoman Empire and especially the autonomous Regency of Algiers a natural ally against the common Spanish enemy.

In 1509 Spain, after expelling the Jews and Muslims of Granada, crossed the Mediterranean and invaded the coast of North Africa. In 1516 Algeria became an autonomous region which was formally part of the Ottoman Empire. But the regency obtained the right to develop its own foreign policy as long as it was in line with the Ottoman foreign policy. As a consequence, Algiers could make peace treaties with European powers. One of the most important allies against Spain was the young Dutch republic. Algeria and the Netherlands shared the heritage of being seafaring nations, and exchanged much knowledge and many people.

Between 1612 and 1816 this very special relationship produced some 12 peace and friendship treaties between Algiers and the Netherlands. More specifically, treaties were signed in 1612, 1617, 1622, 1662, 1680, 1708, 1713, 1726, 1757, 1760, 1794, and 1816. The originals of all these treaties are preserved in the National Archives of the Netherlands.

The Dutch-Algerian treaties mainly dealt with peace and trade, and they are very important because they contain unique material for the diplomatic history between a Christian and a Muslim nation. These treaties also contain a regulation and codification of sea law as it developed between the Mediterranean corsair states and northern trading nations like the Netherlands.

In my contribution I will present a survey of these treaties with a special emphasis on specific regulations of trade and privateering and how to solve quarrels between the two nations.

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### **Some *Hüccets* from the Patmos Archives Issued by the Cadi of the Imperial Fleet**

Four documents from the archives of St John monastery on Patmos have been identified as *hüccets* issued by the Cadi of the Imperial Fleet (*el-kazi bi-donanma-i hümayun*), dating from between 1618 and 1734. These are the docs no. 7-30 (1618), 31-32 (1725), 30-63 (1734), and 31-27 (1734). As a type of *hüccet* which has received little, if any, attention so far, the aim of the

present paper is to subject this small group of surviving original *hüccets* to a diplomatic analysis with the intention of earmarking the distinctive elements in arrangement, style and formular of these documents as well as in the notations of the *şühudulhal* and the devices employed by the *kapudanpaşas* for their endorsement. Following the diplomatic analysis, an attempt is made to relate certain formal elements (such as the addition, on the reverse of the documents, of the *kapudanpaşa's* instruction or *buyruldu* to put the *cadi's* ruling into effect) with the specific position of the *Cadi* of the Imperial Fleet *vis-à-vis* the office of the High Admiral.

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### **Making of a Provincial Writer**

Tlgadintsi (Hovhannes Harootiunean) was one of the early provincial authors of modern Ottoman Armenian literature. He was a native of Kharpert (Harput, a neighborhood of Elazığ today), a cosmopolitan Ottoman city in east Anatolia. Tlgadintsi not only wrote short stories and plays, but also produced essays for national newspapers and journals. His contemporaries in Istanbul praised his writings and, in this way, he became almost a member of the national intellectual elite. In this paper, I aim to understand the making of a provincial writer in the age of nationalism. By analyzing Tlgadintsi's literary work and Kharpert represented, I endeavor to develop a different perspective to reevaluate the emergence of modern literature in the Ottoman world which is generally accepted as a 19<sup>th</sup>-century phenomenon original to Istanbul.

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### **20. Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Mahkeme Kararlarında Ahlaki Gerekseler**

Hukuki yargılama, farklı hikayelerin hakimiyet mücadelesidir. Tarafların, şahitlerin, iddia makamının hikayeleri, diğerleri üzerinde hakimiyet kurma amacıyla yargılama sahnesine çıkar. Galip gelen hikaye, daima, hakim'in hikayesidir. Diğer hikayelerin avuntusu, ancak, hakim'in hikayesine diğerine göre daha fazla etki etmek olabilir.

Hakim hikayesini, diğer hikayelere dayandırır. Eğer diğerlerinin yaptığı tahkiye (hikaye etme) ise, hakim'in yaptığı yeniden-tahkiyedir. Yeniden-tahkiye fiili görünüşte diğer hikayelere bağımlı ise de, hakim'in otoritesi yeniden-tahkiyeyi sürekli serbestleştirmeye çalışır. Tahkiye ve yeniden-tahkiye ilişkisi, bağımlılık-bağımsızlık ilişkisidir.

Her hikaye bir değerlendirmedir. Her hikaye, hikaye edenin gözünden ve değer yargılarından nasibini alır. Değer yargısız hikaye yoktur. Yeniden-tahkiyenin bir iddiası ilk hikayelerin anlatıcılarının değer yargılarını ayıklamak iken, yeniden yazılan hikaye, ayıklanamamış değer yargıları yanında, hakim'in değer yargılarını barındırır.

Yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, her alanda olduğu gibi, belki de öncelikli olarak, hukuk alanında Osmanlı ile ilişkisini kopardığı iddiasındadır. Muasır devletler seviyesine ulaşmayı hedefleyen Cumhuriyet, hukuk kurallarını değiştirerek, temel değer yargılarını da değiştirdiğini düşünmüştür. Ne var ki, hakim'in hikayesindeki değer yargıları, hukukun değil diğer hikaye anlatıcılarının ama asıl olarak da hakim'in değer yargılarıdır.

Bu tebliğ, 20. yüzyıl Türkiye'sindeki yüksek mahkeme kararlarına özellikle cinsellik ve ahlak ilişkisi çerçevesinde bakarak, hakim'in değer yargılarının, sanılanın aksine Osmanlı ile olan bağına işaret etme imkanı sunmayı hedefliyor. İncelenen kararlarda hakimlerimiz, hukuk kurallarının dile getirmediği ahlaki yargıları açıkça dile getiriyorlar. Kimi zaman cinsiyet değiştirenlere acıyor, kimi zaman anneannesine ilgi göstermeyen bir neslin ortaya çıkması

nedeniyle hayıflanıyorlar. Asıl önemlisi, bu yargılarını, kurdukları hükmün gerekçesi olarak sunuyorlar.

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### **Figural Coins of the Artuqids from the *Kuva-yi Milliye* Museum in Balıkesir**

In the coin section of the *Kuva-yi Milliye* Museum in Balıkesir there is a display of a group of copper coins from the Artuqid period. These coins, minted in the name of the ruler of the Mardin branch of the Artuqids (1108-1409 AD), have different types of figural depictions on their obverse and reverse sides. These interesting types include: the bust of a crowned figure, a crowned figure shooting an arrow at an imaginary creature with an open-mouthed dragon in the place of its tail, a rounded face, and two crowned busts that are side by side. The Artuqid coins were influenced by the coin system of the other powerful state culture in Anatolia, the Byzantine, and its iconography, but their astrological beliefs are also reflected on their coin types. On the coins minted in their names in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Artuqids, who are believed to have combined various types of coin depictions with astrological motifs, contributed their distinctive value to coin iconography in Anatolia. In this paper, a group of coins from the Mardin branch of the Artuqids will be evaluated on the basis of their style and artistic quality.

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### ***Hüccet* à signatures multiples dans le fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos**

L'existence de *hüccet* à multiples signatures-formules (pour reprendre l'expression créée par A. Velkov) est un phénomène qui a déjà été noté, mais dont la signification n'a pas été étudiée systématiquement à ce jour, du moins à ma connaissance.

C'est pourquoi, à l'occasion de la publication avec Elizabeth Zachariadou et Gilles Veinstein du catalogue des vingt deux premiers dossiers du fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos, je me suis penché sur cette question en profitant de ce que je disposais d'un corpus à la fois assez restreint pour être abordé aisément et assez abondant pour être significatif. En effet sur 250 *hüccet* relevées, 31 portent la signature de plus d'un *cadi* ou *nâ'ib*.

Je me suis donc attaché à chercher les raisons de ces multiples signatures, par l'analyse des formules constituant ces signatures, mais aussi en profitant de ce que la cohérence propre au fonds permet de repérer des noms de *cadis* ou de *nâ'ib* et de connaître certaines affaires et leurs rebondissements.

Il n'a pas toujours été possible de trouver une solution à notre problème. Mais plusieurs pistes sont apparues. Sans se contredire entre elles, elles amènent à considérer que la réponse à la question n'est pas unique. Au total, l'examen des signatures-formules laisse supposer des pratiques d'avalisation en droit – hypothèse qu'on était en effet tenté de faire *a priori* –, ainsi que de renouvellement de validation, mais il semble qu'il faille également envisager d'autres possibilités, comme des avalisations pour copie ou des validations sur le terrain, à l'occasion de l'application sur place d'un acte émis par le tribunal.

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**The Question of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's *Vaqf*  
in Aleppo and Antioch:  
The Importance of *Vaqf* in the Northern Syrian Lands,  
the 16<sup>th</sup> Century**

The identification of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as the founder of one of the great Ottoman *vaqfs* established in Aleppo remains largely unacknowledged. His was truly an extensive *vaqf*, reaching into four quarters of the city and including two truly major commercial complexes. Foremost among its buildings was the largest khan in the city, the New Khân, later to become known as the Khân of Customs.

Native historian of Aleppo Kâmil al-Ghazzî presented the provisions of this *vaqf* in his *Nahr al-dhahab fî târîkh halab*, naming its founder as Mehmed Pasha ibn Jamâl al-Dîn Sinân, correctly identifying Sokollu's father, but failing to make the connection to Sokollu. Al-Ghazzî noted that this *vaqf* had come to be known by the name Ibrahim Khan after the *tughra* on its *vaqfiyye* naming Sultan Mehmed ibn al-Sultan Ibrahim Khan, but eventually Jean Sauvaget and others came to identify the *vaqf* as one founded by Ibrahim-Khan-zade Mehmed Pasha in 1574.

This paper will establish the evidence that points to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as the founder of this *vaqf*, as well as a *vaqf* that he established in Antioch. His *vaqf* in Aleppo and Antioch, along with his well-known *vaqf* in nearby Payas, provide further evidence of his strategic vision and general interest in commercial infrastructure.

The paper also examines what might be seen as the 'acquisitive' nature of Lala Mustafa Pasha's *vaqf* in Syria, whose *vaqf* support came from a very considerable number of villages located in the *livâ* of Damascus, these village lands having previously constituted Imperial Domain. This stands in contrast with Sokollu's *vaqf* in Syria, which might be seen as largely self-sustaining.

Last, the paper offers an overview of the weight and importance of *vaqf* in the northern Syrian countryside in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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**The Art of Misunderstanding:  
French Ambassadors Translating Ottoman Court Ceremonial**

French diplomats in the Ottoman Empire constantly complained about the disloyalty of the interpreters. They questioned the dragomans' ability and willingness to produce faithful translations of their speeches and frequently pointed at linguistic misunderstandings when they had to exculpate themselves for another diplomatic setback. Yet on official ceremonial occasions such as audiences, nonverbal communication was even more important than the verbal message since it contained implicit statements about mutual perceptions and relations of power. Time, space, gestures, facial expressions and dresses, all acquired meaning on the diplomatic stage; they became nonverbal signs that were arranged due to the rules of court ceremonial. It was the ambassador's task to decode these signs and to translate the Ottoman court ceremonial to his superiors.

Now, while some of these signs could easily be understood by the French, others remained perfectly opaque and produced misunderstandings. In some cases, the French presumably preferred to misunderstand the symbolic message implied by the Ottomans and rather interpreted it in a way that suited them; indeed, since the Ottoman court ceremonial was designed to express the sultan's claim to universal power, it posed a serious challenge to the French, who at the time



of Louis XIV tried to enforce French hegemony on the rest of Europe. Translating the Ottoman court ceremonial was therefore a delicate intercultural exercise. Taking some examples from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, this paper will investigate how the French diplomats managed to save face and yet endure the symbolic humiliations they had to suffer at the Ottoman Porte. While in verbal communication misunderstandings could threaten the outcome of a diplomatic mission, in symbolic communication, this paper argues, such misunderstandings could sometimes be a precondition for success.

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## **Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformlar Şekilde Mi Yoksa Özde Mi Değişim Getirmiştir**

Mustafa Kemal'in "buna şapka derler" diyerek 1925 Ağustos'unun son günlerinde başlattığı ve 25 Kasım 1925'te TBMM'nin onayıyla yasa halini alan şapka olayı, aslında kökleri 18. yüzyılın sonuna, III. Selim dönemine kadar uzanan bir evrimin son adımı olmuştur.

II. Mahmut'un 14 Haziran 1826'da başlattığı reformları, Osmanlı toplumunu Asyalı geleneklerden koparmak suretiyle, Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye adını almıştır. Söz konusu bu yenilikler Osmanlı devletinin kapılarının sonuna kadar Batı medeniyetine açılmasını sağlayan bir başlangıç olmuş ve Batı etkilerinin Osmanlı'ya girmesinin önünü açmıştır.

II. Mahmut'un askeri alanlarda yapmış olduğu reformlardan sonra, genellikle yüzeysel ve dış görünüşle sınırlı kalan pek çok konuda Batı taklit edilmiştir. Giysilerde Avrupa'ya yaklaşmakla birlikte başlıkta tam tersine, Mısır Valisi Mehmet Ali Paşanın askerlerinin kullandığı "Fes" giydirilmiştir. Modern Osmanlı'nın, dış dünyaya kendisini "tam bir Batılı" olarak göstermek istemediği, o dönem ileri gelenlerinin fotoğraflarında görülebileceği gibi, doğu - batı sentezinin birlikte yer aldığı görsellerde de açıkça görülebilmektedir

Ancak Batılılaşma denilen gelişme genelde yüzeysel kalmış derinlere inememiştir. Batılılaşma, ani değişimden dolayı doğru algılanma fırsatı bulamamış, Batının neyini alıp neyini bırakacağız ikilemi, farklı kültürler arasında sıkışıp kalmış kararsız insanların doğmasına neden olmuştur. Osmanlıların yenileşme döneminde gerçekleştirilen reformların etkisi ile her şeyden önce Batılılaşma yönünde önemli değişimin yaşandığı bir dünyada, klasik dönemde bile yerleşik uygulama haline getirilmemiş olan Müslim - gayri Müslim arasındaki kılık kıyafet ayrımına artık yer olmadığı açıkça ortaya konmuştur. İkinci olarak ise modernleşmeyle birlikte türdeş bir toplum yaratma sonucunda benzer yaşam koşulları oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Meydana gelen değişiklikler başlangıçta zihniyetin izin verdiği ölçüler içinde yerleştirilmeye çalışılırken, zamanla yeni modalar, yeni zihniyetlerin cemiyet içinde kök salması neticesini vermiştir. Artık Osmanlı kendi tarzını kaybetmiştir. Batılılaşmak adına başlayan yüzeysel değişiklikler Tanzimat aydınının kafası ve sahip olduğu zihniyet onu, "kültür verici" kimliğinden tecrit ederek "kültür alıcı" seviyeye getirmiş, bu yüzdende "taklit mekanizması" yaratıcılık kimliğini donuklaştırmıştır. Bu çalışmada; söz konusu reformları kullanarak medeniyetini değiştirmeye çalışan bir toplumun, kültüründen ne kadar ödün verebildiği ve dış görünümünü ne kadar değiştirebildiği, giysiler kullanılarak anlatılmaya çalışılacak ve bu reformların toplumun farklı kesimlerinde ne şekilde algılandığı üzerinde durulacaktır.

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**Ethnic Solidarity in the Wider Ottoman Empire Revisited:  
*Cins* and Local Political Elites  
in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Moldavia and Wallachia**

While Moldavia and Wallachia are generally acknowledged as parts of the Ottoman ecumene, Ottomanists rarely investigate the internal political space of both Danubian Principalities. At the same time, the scholars of early modern Moldavia and Wallachia rarely endeavour to involve the internal dynamics of the Sublime Porte's political scene. This creates a structural gap between those two research fields which can obscure the mutual influences between those two layers of political activity. As I will try to show, ethnic solidarity between political actors is such a case.

The aim of this paper is to present the interrelation between Moldavian, Wallachian and Ottoman political structures and actors in terms of ethnic solidarity. While the classic approach to the problem of ethnicity presented by I. Metin Kunt has proven viable, one should extend the survey beyond the borders of Ottoman administration *sensu stricto*. This is the case of Albanian boyars in the Ottoman Empire and Moldavia. By tracing parallelly the changing fortunes of the Albanian faction in the Sublime Porte and the rise of Albanians in the Danubian Principalities, I will argue for including the political space of the latter into the wider context of Ottoman politics. The changing fortunes of the Albanians within the empire's state apparatus influenced the changing position of the Albanians within Moldavian and Wallachian politics.

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**Amr's Odyssey:  
Pirates, Slaves, and Islamic Law in the Early Modern Mediterranean**

At some point in the tense twenty years preceding the 1645 Ottoman invasion of Crete, a Muslim merchant traveler known to us only as Zeyd and his Christian slave, 'Amr', boarded a ship bound for the port-cities of the North African littoral. En route, the vessel was intercepted by Maltese pirates, and the Muslim passengers and crew piled into a lifeboat and abandoned ship, leaving Amr to his fate. What followed was a tragic story of ephemeral freedom and a long, torturous journey, as Amr slowly made his way back to his homeland in *Rus* only to be recaptured by marauding Tatars and returned to slavery in Ottoman lands. Now a piece of contested property, Amr's former master, Zeyd, and his new owner, Bekr, fought in court over who had ownership rights to Amr and requested a *fetva* from the *şeyhülislam* Zekerıyyazade Yahya Efendi (in office, 1622-1623, 1625-1632, 1634-1644) to decide the matter.

This paper uses the story of Amr's odyssey, encapsulated in a particularly detailed 17<sup>th</sup>-century *fetva*, to explore the legal problems rising maritime violence in the early modern Mediterranean posed for Ottoman jurists and judges and the ways in which they responded to them. Whether ships or slaves, capture at sea often led to complex ownership disputes once property was recovered and returned to Ottoman territory in different hands, with decisions resting on the question of whether and how the line between *darülislam* and *darülharb* was crossed. However, cases like Amr's allow for more than just a closer look at Islamic legal theory in practice – approached creatively, they have the potential to greatly enhance our understanding of the experiences of ordinary slaves and seafarers in the early modern Mediterranean.

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### **Ottoman Mentalities and Attitudes: Loyalty, Religion, Ethnicity**

The present paper discusses Ottoman mentalities and attitudes as seen in Arabic and Turkish (and several Hebrew) official documents, biographies, chronicles and religious writings in the Turkish and Arab provinces in the writings of bureaucrats, scholars, Sufis and travelers. The period surveyed is from the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The Ottoman identity: Loyalty to the dynasty and the state was widespread and natural, especially under the rule of Süleyman Kanuni that created stability, security and justice. It is important to note that this attitude included the predominantly Turkish-speaking center of the Empire, as well as the Arab provinces.

The staunchly Muslim and Sunni character of the dynasty and the state's institutions played a crucial role in the population's identification with the state. The Ottomans emphasized this policy, since they were the leading Muslim power against the Shi'i heretics and the Christian infidels.

The Jewish communities appreciated Ottoman religious tolerance and the economic opportunities which they enjoyed under Ottoman rule.

The majority of the Ottoman subjects at the center and in the Arab provinces were Sunni Muslims. Nevertheless, religious differences and nuances existed along ethnic and linguistic lines. The variations between Turkish and Arabic Sufism best support this observation. A notable example is Ibn 'Arabi, the famous Andalusian mystic, who was more popular among the Turks than among the Arabs.

Ethnicity in the vastly diverse population of the Ottoman Empire was of utmost importance. Differences between Arab and Turkish culture and temperament created tensions and misunderstandings, although these were not yet expressed politically. The fact that the rulers were mostly Turkish-speaking further complicated matters. It was quite possible, even common, to be loyal Arabic-speaking subjects of the sultan and at the same time to dislike the janissaries, the Ottoman governor, or the Istanbul appointed qadi.

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### **Lifting the Veil of Darkness: Nightlife and Nocturnal Order in the Late Ottoman Empire**

It is often supposed that before the arrival of Western forms of nightlife, nighttime in the Ottoman Empire was a socially-dead period. Arus Yumul, for example, argued that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman ruling class "introduced nightlife into a society where night-time sociability was practically non-existent". In this paper I would like to offer a corrective to such notions. My discussion will focus mainly, although not exclusively, on Istanbul and trace both continuities and change in Ottoman nighttime realities from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. I will argue that while the night was certainly a time of introversion clearly distinguished from daytime, it was never without its own life, which called for unique mechanisms of order. Both the infrastructure of nocturnal order, and the forms of nightlife it allowed, gradually changed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As the big cities were flooded with migrants and refugees, new mechanisms were required to maintain nocturnal order.

It was in this context of nocturnal policing that the earliest form of street lighting was introduced to Istanbul in the mid 1840s. Yet from the very start, public lighting was identified not only with the practical needs of the police, but with more general ideals of urban order and civilization. Indeed, within a few decades a new mode of nightlife emerged in the artificially lit

boulevards of big urban centers. In sharp contrast to earlier modes of nightly conviviality, the new type of nocturnal socialization derived much of its meaning from its very publicity. In some upper and middle class circles *to be seen* at night was no longer a shame, but rather a social asset. In some upper and middle class circles, public nightlife was becoming an integral part of a new lifestyle that marked those who partook in it as thoroughly ‘modern’.

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### **Ottoman Subjects on the European Operatic Stage during the Long 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

During the long 18<sup>th</sup> century, from the 1680s to the 1820s, there were a great number of operas composed and performed in Europe on Turkish subjects, featuring Ottoman characters and Ottoman scenarios – of which Mozart’s *Abduction from the Seraglio* became the most celebrated, while many others were forgotten. This paper will sample some of these works to consider how Ottoman power was represented in musical-dramatic form, and what it signified when it was composed to music and sung on stage by European performers. These figures of power ranged from historical Ottoman sultans like Bayezid I, Mehmed II, and Suleiman II, to fictive pashas and beys embedded in romantic or farcical situations.

The larger project seeks to recover this lost repertory of operas about Turks, to set their performance history in the context of European-Ottoman relations, and to analyze how the figure of the singing, performing operatic Turk (sung and performed by a European artist) encourages us to reevaluate Orientalist models of relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Focusing especially on operatic culture in Venice, Milan, Vienna, Paris, and London, I am trying to integrate musical materials with the more literary concerns of cultural and intellectual history, and to explore the dramatization of difference and resemblance between Europe and Turkey. The paper will attempt to present particular operatic moments in the ongoing context of European-Ottoman relations from the treaty of Carlowitz to the Greek war of independence.

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### **Osmanlı Kırsalında İki Kaynak İncelemesi: Notariaka ve İlam (Sakız Adası Örneği)**

Osmanlı kırsalını anlamaya yönelik çalışmalar, Osmanlı tarihi araştırmalarını her geçen gün daha ileriye taşımaktadır. Kongrede sunulacak bu tebliğde Sakız adasına ait kadı ilamları ile Noter kayıtları karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısı ile değerlendirilip Osmanlı kırsalına yönelik bir inceleme yapılmaya çalışılacaktır. Her iki kaynak doğrultusunda, Osmanlı dönemi kırsalındaki sosyal ve ekonomik yapının durumu, yönetsel sistem, kırsalın merkezle ve idari yapı ile ilişkileri konularına açıklık getirilmeye çalışılacaktır. Bu kaynaklardaki, alım-satım, borç, evlilik, boşanma, miras konularındaki uygulamalar, bu uygulamalara yerel yapıdaki faktörlerin etkileri ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır. Bütün bu bulgular, Sakız Adası özelinde incelenerek Osmanlı tarihi araştırmalarına küçük bir kırsaldan katkı sunulmaya çalışılacaktır. Ayrıca Sakız’ın nüfusunun Rumlardan oluşuyor olmasıyla Osmanlı gayrimüslim cemaatinin sosyo-ekonomik yapısına yönelik de bir çalışma yapılmış olacaktır. İncelediğimiz kaynaklardan elde edilen veriler çok yönlü incelenerek bu verilerden hareketle kırsal yapıdaki durum üzerinde tartışılacaktır.

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### **Palestine in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Politics of Trade and Power**

In this paper I want to highlight the career and achievements of Dahir al-‘Umar, perhaps Palestine’s first ‘capitalist’ – for the way he plowed large parts of his surplus income back into the economy – or at least the ruler-entrepreneur (rather than merchant-prince), who before anyone else understood how a commercialized agricultural sector and an integrated peasantry combined with capital investment in development would bring unprecedented prosperity to Palestine and its people and secure for himself the unrivalled leadership of, first, the Galilee and then of most of Palestine.

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### **Other Histories, Other Stories and Ottoman Art**

The formation of Ottoman art and architecture has different sources as every other artistic phenomenon. One source that is not looked at generally in an objective way is that of the ‘Mediterranean’ features of Ottoman art. The first scholar to focus on these features has been Doğan Kuban. He has demonstrated that certain architectural elements, like the use of arcades, come in fact from a re-use of Roman architecture rather than a continuation of Byzantine architecture as forwarded by many European art historians, especially in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Doğan Kuban differentiated what comes through the continuing work of Byzantine craftsmen within the Ottoman society and the architectonic elements coming from the Mediterranean Roman architecture.

In fact, the presence of Venetian and Genoese colonies within the Ottoman historical geography and the formation of special neighborhoods with Ottoman settlements have not been taken much into account nor has the possible transfer of architectural knowledge through these communities. This transfer could be in both directions as well.

Art historians do not always have the richness of archival documents at hand to follow up such issues. Therefore examination of architectural works and architectural details can be used as elements to reconstruct the visual environment of Ottoman settlements. This paper will try to compile those ‘Mediterranean’ elements of the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries both in Ottoman and Italian works, raising the question of the limits of acculturation between the two communities and the formation of a visual environmental culture.

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### ***Gedik*: Asset Ownership and Labor Relations in Early 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Istanbul**

The form of the ownership of capital assets is crucial to understanding social relations of production. This paper aims to study how ownership of the capital assets was defined and contested in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul with a special emphasis on its potential implications upon the rights of human capital (labor) over productive opportunity.

The study is motivated by the recent work on a particular institution, which provided extensive documentation about the ownership and transfer of capital assets in various trades and crafts during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. This institution known as *gedik*, which enabled master

craftsmen to control and transfer their rights to workplace, has been primarily studied with a focus on its original rationales (i.e., guild members' desire to limit outside competition) and its implications for the relations between the foundations (*ewqaf*) and the guilds (i.e., the guild's ability to curb rent increases). This study approaches the question of *gedik* from a different angle. Examining a large number of contracts that deal with *gedik* transfers and partitioning (i.e., fragmentation of *gedik* into multiple shares) located in the court registers, we aim to shed light on the nature of ownership and management in the urban workshop and discuss its implications for the rights of human capital in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul.

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### **Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Taşrada Öğretmen Eğitimi: Diyarbakır Örneği**

Osmanlı'da öğretmen yetiştirme çabalarının başlangıcı Fatih Sultan Mehmed dönemine kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu dönemde, Eyüp ve Ayasofya medreselerinde, sıbyan mektebi muallimi olacaklar için genel medreselerden farklı bir program öngörülmüştür. Fakat Fatih'in bu yenilikçi teşebbüsü kendisinden sonra devam ettirilmemiş ve 1848'e kadar öğretmen yetiştirmeyle ilgili hiçbir gelişme yaşanmamıştır. Bu tarihte, rüşdiye mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirmek üzere İstanbul'da 'Dârümuallimin'; 1868'de ise sıbyan mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirmek için 'Dârümuallimin-i Sıbyan' adlı okullar açılmıştır.

Maarif Nezareti, daha başlangıçta öğretmen yetiştirme işine önem vererek bir taraftan merkezde açılan darümualliminleri ıslaha çalışırken, diğer taraftan da taşra okullarının öğretmen ihtiyacını karşılamak için vilayetlerde de birer "Dârümuallimin-i Sıbyan" açma işini ele almış ve 1875 yılından itibaren vilayet ve sancak merkezlerinde bir ve iki yıllık 'Dârümuallimin-i Sıbyan'lar açılmıştır.

Diğer vilayetlerde olduğu gibi, Diyarbakır'da da öğretmen yetiştirme alanındaki ilk adımlar 1880'li yıllarda atılmıştır. 1881'de inşaatı tamamlanan Diyarbakır Darümuallimin-i Sıbyanı, 1882 yılında açılarak eğitimdeki yerini almıştır. II. Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra muhtemelen 1910 yılında, darümualliminin rüşdiye şubesi de eğitime başlamış ve 1912'ye kadar devam etmiştir. Zaman zaman talebe sayısı azalan ve I. Dünya Savaşı yıllarında bir süre askeri hastane olarak kullanılan mektep, 1918 yılına kadar aktif bir şekilde eğitime devam etmiştir. 1918'den sonra üç yıl kapalı kalan okul, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında yeniden öğretime başlamıştır.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışmada; Osmanlı modernleşme döneminde merkezde ve taşrada açılan ilk öğretmen yetiştirme okulları ve öğretmen yetiştirme politikası ana hatlarıyla özetlenecektir. Ayrıca, bu dönemde Diyarbakır'da açılan 'Darümuallimin-i Sıbyan' ve sonradan eklenen "Darümuallimin-i Rüşdiye" şubesi, öğretmen ve öğrencileriyle, arşiv belgeleri ışığında detaylı olarak tanıtılacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra, söz konusu okulların, başta Diyarbakır olmak üzere çevre illerdeki modern ibtidai ve rüşdiye mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirerek bölgenin eğitim düzeyinin yükseltilmesi üzerindeki olumlu tesirleri değerlendirilecektir.

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### **Population and Settlement in the Sudiremi Subdistrict according to the 1844 Census**

Sudiremi, which was one of the subdistricts (*nahiye*) affiliated to the district (*kaza*) of Konya in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is located in a semi-mountainous area to the west of Konya. Sille, which was the

subdistrict's center, was one of the settlements where non-Muslims had lived in large numbers all along.

In the context of the 1831 and 1844 censuses, separate records were kept for the Muslims and non-Muslims who lived in Sudiremi. From these records, which were quite well-kept, information about the number of households, the male population, the occupations of household heads, the demographic make-up and the distribution of ethnic groups by neighborhoods and villages can be obtained. Furthermore, on the basis of this data, it is possible to determine and demonstrate on a map the borders of the subdistrict and its population density, or prepare age graphics by dividing the population into age groups.

It is observed that Sudiremi, which did not receive much immigration from outside during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, suffered from constant emigration. Muslims, who generally preferred Izmir, engaged in occupations such as pottery, portage, farming and the service sector. Non-Muslims, on the other hand, who preferred to migrate to cities such as Eskişehir, Ankara, Mersin, Bursa and Nazilli, were mostly merchants. It is also observed that some of them belonged to the class of small business-owners such as grocers, street vendors or tailors.

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**“Let’s Go Get Our Uniforms at St. Gotthard!”:  
Decision-Making, Intentionality, and ‘Grand Strategy’  
in Early Modern Europe Revisited**

‘Grand strategy’ is a phenomenon used extensively in the context of modern state. However, its widespread application by scholars to decision-making mechanisms of early modern empires is arbitrary, anachronistic, and erroneously reconstructive. It is so, because one remains skeptical about the reaches of administrative rationality and pre-calculated policies of early modern empires in a world shaped by unpredictability. Indeed, early modern inter-state relations necessitated quick military responsiveness and intervention in continental scale, and ruled out engineering of any grand strategies. Although these are well-known traits of early modern warfare, they need to be reinstated in a new context, in light of and as response to the recent grand strategical narratives by scholars such as Edward Luttwak, Paul Kennedy, John LeDonne, Geoffrey Parker, and Gabor Agoston.

Within this regard, my paper will shed light onto two problematics. Firstly, it will debunk anachronistic assumptions woven into grand strategical approaches to the Ottoman decision-making mechanism and major military undertakings in southeastern Europe in 1660-1740. The Ottoman campaign to Vienna in 1683, for instance, was poorly planned and recklessly carried out. In fact, regardless of the consequences of the decisions they made, not only the Ottoman decision-makers but also the contemporary Habsburg and Russian Empires exhibited examples of decision-making that were grand strategical in outlook, yet overly ambitious in practice.

Besides, by projecting the modern notion of ‘grand strategy’ onto the so-called early modernity, scholars have reconstructed rational pre-modern states that possess awareness and attentiveness in a grand scale, in particular in issues regarding warfare. These rational states then play the role of prelude to the modern states, which make use of sources rationally, or ‘effectively’, another concept use of which has been highly problematic in the context of early modernity. This is the second problematic my paper will deal with.

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**Atpazari Seyyid Osman  
in the Political Turmoil of the Late 17<sup>th</sup> Century:  
An Arabic Sufi Text's Potential as a Historical Source**

Atpazari Seyyid Osman (d. 1691) was a Celveti Sufi sheikh of late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul. In the aftermath of the coup (fall 1687) staged by the rebelling troops who came back from the northern frontier, there was a great disorder in Istanbul. As the state dignitaries failed in toppling the 'zorba' regime, artisans of the city rose in rebellion, but their claims were turned down by the state officials of the Topkapı Palace. They were recommended to bring someone from among the *seyyids* or *ulema* to represent them, and in this capacity was the role of Atpazari Seyyid Osman.

Atpazari's role and position look a little different when examined from Celveti Sufi materials. Especially a treatise written by his disciple İsmail Hakkı, *Temamü'l-Feyz*, provides interesting details and insiders' viewpoint that are not found in the usual chronicles by Silahdar or Sarı Mehmed Pasha. At the end of his treatise, İsmail Hakkı gives the description of his seven visits to his sheikh, which is full of conversation with him. Truly, there are elements of self-aggrandizement or blind worship by a close disciple in this treatise. It does seem that the sheikh was somewhat overestimating his political influence, if he was not consciously exaggerating. However, the text also reveals that in terms of attitude he was more on the side of the palace and advising the Sultan in order to appease the angry crowd than representing the latter, although he succeeded in acquiring their trust. It gives a valuable vantage point where we can probe the Sufi's self-consciousness of his role as a go-between. This case underlines the need to make use of diverse sources other than regular chronicles and state documents.

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**An Introduction of the Spatial-Temporal GIS 'DiMSIS-EX'  
and Its Application for the Recovery and Restoration Process  
after Large Disasters in Düzce City:  
Construction of the New Residential Area and Traffic Network**

In order to contribute to the improvement of regional safety, we have developed a spatial temporal information system under the concept of a risk-adaptive regional management information system (RARMIS). This system can be characterized as follows: (1) Coordination between normal and emergency functions; (2) Integrated database for handling spatial-temporal data; (3) Implicit topological data descriptions. In this paper, technical matters about the spatial-temporal GIS DiMSIS-EX and its applicability for not only disaster prevention but also a broader kind of analyses and daily tasks of local governments will be explained at first.

Then, the case study of Düzce city will be mentioned as an example of the application of DiMSIS-EX. At the relatively earlier time after the earthquake, it was decided that a new residential area would be developed in the suburbs of the city, and 50,000 people would emigrate there. Because the road condition was not so good, however, we tried to check whether the traffic capacity between the new residence area and the city center was sufficient or not. More specifically, we surveyed traffic volumes and found that no serious traffic jam occurred, but it took about 45 minutes between the two districts. So we suggested a new trunk road was needed



and also, using vacant lots in the city, small but many parking lots might be constructed. Now the new trunk road has been realized and it takes only 6 minutes to move between the two districts.

Turkey is one of the large earthquake-risk prone countries and many cities have been damaged by earthquakes and reconstructed. Normally, it would take a considerably long period of time for recovery and reconstruction. So, the reconstruction strategy in Düzce is one of the milestone examples Japan has to learn about. To understand the long-term effects of reconstruction, investigations are made on how citizens' life style and minds are changed towards the earthquakes.

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### **The Economic Structure of the Sudiremi Subdistrict in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century**

It is well known that agriculture was the most important economic activity in pre-industrial times. Therefore, the organization of agricultural activity, the quantity and quality of the agricultural lands, the variety of agricultural products, and matters like the determination of productivity and the amount of products provide the basis of a rural region's economic activity. This information is important so long as it can be correlated to a period's social and political developments. Within this frame, after the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the population pressure caused the agricultural field to decrease and shrink in the whole of the Mediterranean basin and in the Ottoman geography. Therefore cultivation of different products besides barley and wheat was necessary. The production did not increase parallel to the population, therefore the price of agricultural products increased. The balance between supply and demand was interrupted. This situation was one of the causes of social disturbance in the Ottoman state from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

While the information given above can be generalized for the whole Ottoman geography in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we will focus on the Sudiremi subdistrict, which consisted of 20 villages and belonged to the *kaza* of Konya in the *sancak* of Konya in the *eyalet* of Karaman. In this respect, general information from other districts of the Ottoman Empire will be taken into consideration and compared, so as to pinpoint their resemblances and differences in relation to a district in central Anatolia.

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### **Revisiting Early Ottoman History**

Studies in Ottoman history have developed well and vigorously during the last thirty years. New aspects have been explored, new problems have arisen, new material has been found (e.g., in numismatics), new archives have been examined. The new studies have caused a need to re-examine the old historical works – from Hammer up to now – under the light of new writings. This seems especially true with respect to the early Ottoman history which in the 1970s went through lively discussions to decide whether to adhere to or reject theories about the foundation of the Ottoman state. Although we have not yet managed to reach a consensual solution in regard to this fundamental problem, we realize that various secondary and even marginal problems have been met with convincing answers.

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### **Habsburg Merchants as Suppliers of Ottoman Troops at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

In the wake of the conquest of Ottoman Hungary by the Habsburgs many merchants who were subjects of the Habsburg Empire arrived and settled in the border zones of Slavonia, Syrmia and the Banat. In spite of several Ottoman-Habsburg wars fought during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these merchants succeeded in establishing trade relations with their partners within the Ottoman Empire. Their activities in the border areas gained a further dimension when, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Sublime Porte was forced to permit Ottoman commanders in northern Serbia and Bosnia to purchase military equipment and food supplies from those Habsburg merchants. Due to the chaotic internal situation and especially the outbreak of the Serbian uprising in 1804, the Porte had not been able to provide the troops deployed in northern Serbia with sufficient amounts of weapons, ammunition and food. The purpose of this paper is to show the scale and components of this trade by making use of evidence contained in archival records preserved in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi).

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### ***Lügat*: A 15<sup>th</sup>-Century Four-Language Dictionary. A Content Analysis**

*Lügat* (= dictionary) is the initial word of the title page of two 15<sup>th</sup>-century four-language manuscripts (Istanbul, Nos 4749 and 4750) in Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Serbian language in equal horizontal lines colored in black, red, green, and orange, respectively. The textbook contains a collection of phrases and sentences forming questions-answers thematically. Despite their great similarity, the manuscripts are not completely identical – they differ in the number of leaves, often the Serbian translation differs lightly, and, finally, sometimes the Arabic text does not overlap completely. Moreover, there is no evidence clarifying their precise dating. Both of them are written on both sides and every leaf contains 16 lines divided into four groups, each one corresponding to one of the above-mentioned four languages.

The rich decoration of the manuscript No. 4750 suggests that it was owned by a personality belonging to the Ottoman elite and, more precisely, to the Sultan himself. A. Caferoğlu, who investigated *Lügat* linguistically, suggests that it was in the possession of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481), who – as we know – was acquainted with the Serbian language, spoken by his Serbian stepmother Mara. However, according to W. Lehfeldt, who edited and translated the same manuscript (No. 4750) in German, probably it was used by Serb and/or Greek converts to Islam.

Since a content analysis of *Lügat*, as far as we know, has not been attempted by modern researchers, we are intended to try it, motivated mainly by a historical/social/cultural interest in the Balkan phenomenon of multilingualism during the Ottoman period. Through the thematic categories relating to the most important topics of everyday life (i.e. market, professions, farming, *savoir-vivre* advices to children, learn/memorise the Koran, etc.), we try to trace the significance and the function of *Lügat* as an *instrumentum* – if not a textbook – for language learning as well as an excellent evidence of East-Balkan osmose.