23rd SYMPOSIUM OF THE COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DES ÉTUDES PRÉ-OTTOMANES ET OTTOMANES

SOFIA, BULGARIA
11–15 SEPTEMBER 2018

ABSTRACTS

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PANEL ABSTRACTS

1. **Panels and the panel abstracts 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 second section.**

Mustafa ALTUNBAY (başkan), Aslan KANSIZ,
Burak SELVİ, Saim Çağrı KOCAKAPLAN

XVIII. YÜZYILDA OSMANLI'DA İSTİHDÂM, EMEK VE SERVET

Genel hatlarıyla bakıldığında XVIII. yüzyıl klasik düzenin tam olarak değişim/ dönüşüm yaşadığı dönemi ifade eder. XVII. yüzyılda giderek derinleşen idarî, askerî, iktisadî ve içtimaî değişim süreci, ülkenin gerek doğu ve gerekse batı hudutlarında rakiplerine karşı daha önceden sürdürdüğü üstünlük siyasetini de sona erdirmiştir. Osmanlıların yeniden yapılanma öncesinde yaşadıkları en mühim yıkım, şüphesiz 1683'te Viyana Kuşatması ile başlayıp 1699 yılında Karlofça Barışı'yla sonlandırılan Kutsal İttifak savaşlarıdır. Yaklaşık 16 yıl süren savaşlar serisi sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti, Orta Avrupa sahasındaki topraklarını tam anlamıyla kaybedip Tuna – Sava hattına kadar gerilemiştir. Üstelik savaş esnasında Bosna ve Rumeli toprakları önemli ölçüde Habsburg işgaline maruz kalmış ve mevcut düzen bu durumdan büyük oranda zarar görmüştür. Osmanlı Devleti, XVIII. yüzyıl başlarında kayıplarını telafi etmek gayesiyle askeri ve iktisadi alanlar başta olmak üzere bir takım teşebbüslere girişmiştir. Bütün bu siyasi arka planın yanında devlet düzenini yeniden sağlamak adına bir takım faaliyetlerde bulundu. Aralarında madenlerin verimli bir şekilde kullanılması, kale tamirindeki istihdamların ve gümrüklerin yeniden organizasyonu gibi tedbirler yer almaktadır.

Bu bağlamda birinci tebliğde Balkanlar'da özellikle Klasik Dönemde gayet verimli olup, sonraki dönemlerde teknoloji geriliğinden ve ehl-i örfün aşırı taleplerinden dolayı atıl hale gelen Kratova maden sahasının XVIII. yüzyılın başlarında yeniden ihya edilmesi konu edilmiştir. Öncelikle Kratova madeni rezervlerinin layıkıyla işletilebilmesi için dağılan madencilerin bir araya getirilmesi, işleminin nasıl gerçekleştirildiği, sahada yapılan keşif sayesinde açılan yeni kuyularda çalıştırılmak üzere 1.380 civarında madenci reayanın Kratova ve çevre kazalara bağlı 113 köyden belirlenmesi işlemleri arşiv kaynakları yardımıyla açıklığa kavuşturulmaktadır. İkinci tebliğde XVIII. yüzyılda Anadolu'da gelir getiren önemli bir maden sahası olan Karahisar-ı Şarkî şap madenlerinin devlet kontrolünde idaresi, istihdam edilen 500'ü aşkın madencinin durumu, mukataa halinde işletimi, üretim boyutu ve sağlanan gelir hususları arşiv kaynakları ışığında irdelenecektir. Ayrıca Karahisar-ı Şarkî'de üretilen şapların "örü" adı verilen satış alanlarında hangi kurallar dâhilinde gerçekleştirildiği konu edilecektir. Üçüncü tebliğde XVIII. yüzyıl başlarında Kafkasya sahillerinde önemli bir müstahkem mevki olan Sohum'da yeniden inşa edilen kalenin fonksiyonunun yanında, inşa süreci için gerekli tedarikin nasıl gerçekleştirildiği ve çalışacak işçilerin nerelerden geldikleri üzerinde durulmaktadır. Sohum kalesinde konuşlandırılacak askerin sayısı ve onlara yönelik tayinatın durumuna ilaveten, 1723–1729 yılları arasında tamamlanan kale binası içindeki ek binalara da değinilmektedir. Son tebliğde ise XVIII. yüzyılda İstanbul Gümrüklerini yöneten gümrük eminleri arasından seçilen

örnekler üzerinden, yüksek gelirli bu mukataayı idare eden bu kişilerin mesleki kariyerleri, servet durumları ile gerek devletle gerekse üçüncü şahıslarla olan borç-alacak ilişkileri ele alınmaktadır. Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda gerçekleşen devasa ticaretin kayıt altına alınması ve vergilendirilmesi gibi büyük ölçekli bu iş yükünü üstüne alan eminlerin Osmanlı mali yapısı ve devlet teşkilatındaki konumları, bunun yanısıra şahsi ekonomik özellik ve ilişkileri Osmanlı arşivlerinin muhtelif fonlarından elde edilen belgelerden hareketle incelenmektedir.

Edith Gülçin AMBROS (panel leader), David Selim SAYERS, Petr KUCERA, Hülya ÇELİK, Benedek PÉRI

ON THE RELEVANCE OF OTTOMAN LITERATURE TO THE WRITING OF OTTOMAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

It is, of course, a fallacy to regard literature as an imitation of society, like the so-called "reflection theory" does. This "theory" simplistically asserts that literature reflects social reality. Although literature does –or rather may– imitate society, it does so **selectively**, emphasizing this, ignoring that, falsifying the other. Literature is not simple imitation of facts but also creation or production of "facts". Therefore, literature cannot be regarded as positivist evidence for sociological hypotheses. Literary evidence must be qualified and quantified differently than evidence of an empirical nature. It must be qualified differently because it cannot be **reduced** to a statement of concrete facts. And it must be quantified differently because the language constructs of individuals cannot be grouped and numbered as concrete facts can. On the other hand, the individual *narrativization* of socially relevant concrete, abstract, or concrete-abstract phenomena (e.g., rebel uprisings, fear of death, and construction of gender, respectively) affects the formation of public opinion (after having been affected by it) and this chain of cause and effect has wide-ranging social and cultural implications.

Various literary genres have various ratios of faithful imitation to production of reality (ratios of mimesis to poiesis). These ratios vary with time and place. The five papers in this panel deal with different aspects of literary interpretation that may be of assistance to the writing of Ottoman social and cultural history. Their temporal and topical range is quite wide, including classical high-culture (*divan*) genres, early modern urban short fiction, and modernistic 19th century high-brow *Edebiyat-ı cedide* literature. The topics relate to various socio-cultural phenomena such as notions of gender, a depressive atmosphere, the reaction to natural disasters, the consumption of wine and drugs, and a pragmatic approach in dating events. Together these papers hopefully emphasize the assumption that when we perform an attentive reading of literary texts – even of those that seem to be following only the rules of art and aesthetics or are dominated by

the ludic principle – and place them into their proper socio-historical context, we might learn much more about the spirit of the era, the history of emotions, or the collective consciousness than from "factual" sources.

Kalliopi AMYGDALOU, Sotirios DIMITRIADIS (panel leaders), Aleksandar SHOPOV, Pinar AYKAÇ

CONTESTED OTTOMAN HERITAGES: GENEALOGIES

Ottoman heritage has met with diverse fates in the post-Ottoman world, which have significantly conditioned its study. Many material remains (buildings, gardens, archaeological objects) have triggered heated national, regional and international debates, testifying to their relevance for contemporary societies of the former Ottoman lands. Often, their original complexity is suppressed and they are recruited into simplifying political narratives. This session deals with the histories and genealogies of such contested Ottoman material objects in different national contexts, aiming to explore the historical context in which they were initially created, and to bring forward new findings that can inform the debates related to their preservation.

In some cases, these heritages are threatened with disappearance, such as in the case of the market gardens (*bostanlar)* in Istanbul and other agricultural and urban spaces. Through the study of their history, Aleksandar Shopov invites for a re-examination and expansion of 20th-century definitions of cultural heritage. In other cases, these spaces face the exactly opposite fate – governments proceed to re-evaluate, restore or reconstruct them *en masse*, producing a wave of revivalism of the Ottoman past at an urban scale, such as in the case of Istanbul and Thessaloniki, the latter being studied by Sotiris Dimitriadis. Elsewhere, specific buildings are assigned symbolic capital on behalf of a whole city, like in the case of the Hagia Sophia churches in Istanbul (Kalliopi Amygdalou), Iznik, Vize and Trabzon (Pinar Aykaç). Nostalgia, claims to 'multiculturalism' but also pressures of the construction industry are opening ways to the reconstruction of 'palimpsests' while also creating distorted narratives of the buildings and spaces involved.

This panel will ask, how these seemingly diverse practices (of elimination, restoration and reconstruction) are connected, and how they can help us open new debates in the historiography, and new discussions on cultural heritage? How can rigorous historical analysis protect these contested sites from the monopolisation of their meanings? In order to understand these new interventions and assess the current reshaping of the Ottoman cultural heritage, one has to explore the genealogy of meanings these spaces had at various points in the past. The papers are founded on a strong historical analysis, while also connecting to contemporary debates in different cities.

Antonis ANASTASOPOULOS (panel leader), with Stefanos POULIOS and Yannis SPYROPOULOS, Yücel TERZIBAŞOĞLU, Demetrios PAPASTAMATIOU, Canay ŞAHIN, Andreas LYBERATOS

ÇIFTLIKS IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Çiftlik is a term that describes different types of landholdings and forms of landownership in the course of Ottoman history. This panel focuses on the 18th and 19th centuries and on *çiftlik*s as a form of landownership where the person(s) who either de jure or de facto controlled the land did not coincide with those who tilled it or worked in it in other capacities such as stockbreeders. The *çiftlik*s that we discuss might or might not be market-oriented, intensive-labour farms, but this is eventually irrelevant, since what actually connects the conceptualisation of *çiftlik*s in all five papers of the panel is that *çiftlik*s are seen as relationships of economic and political inequality in connection to the land, the major source of wealth in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states until well into the 20th century. The papers of the panel cover the Balkans and Anatolia, and are evenly distributed in terms of chronology. The paper which introduces the panel looks at the broader picture and draws attention to an important theoretical and methodological issue, namely if the view that small peasant households persisted in the Balkan and western Anatolian *çiftlik*s in the 18th and 19th century, thus obstructing the reorganisation of agrarian relations in them, is correct. The other four papers still revolve around the relationship between big landownership and peasant households, but focus on particular case studies: one paper on Thessaloniki and the other on the nearby district of Veroia in the 18th century, the third one on the district of Canik in the middle of the 19th century, and the last one on Bulgaria right after it gained its autonomous political status. By bringing to light different types of sources, but, more importantly, by proposing new interpretations and by making important methodological points about the information that the sources provide, while also maintaining a unity of scope, the five papers of the panel seek to address the issues of the nature of *çiftlik*s and of the problems which were associated with their management and socio-political implications in the Ottoman and former Ottoman lands during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Yusuf Alperen AYDIN (başkan), Özgür ORAL, M. Sait TÜRKHAN, Özgür KOLÇAK

ERKEN MODERN OSMANLI AHİDNAMELERİNİN DOĞASI: DİPLOMASI, TİCARET VE DEVLETLERARASI HUKUK

*Ahidname*ler, ticaret sözleşmeleri ve barış antlaşmaları olarak erken modern Akdeniz dünyasının en kapsamlı ve girift hukuk metinleri arasındadır. *Ahidname* metinleri, Osmanlı siyasi dünya kavrayışının bir neticesi olarak tek taraflı metinler suretinde formüle edilseler de, en geç XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren ahidname metinlerinin devletlerarası karşılıklı pazarlık ve gün geçtikçe karmaşıklaşan diplomatik vasıtalarla üretildikleri söylenebilir. Bu manasıyla ahidname metinleri, Ortaçağ siyaset felsefesinin hükümdarın şahsına bağlı patrimonyal hanedanlıklarından erken modern dönemin bürokratik merkeziyetçiliğine giden yolun hukuki çerçevesinin bir temsilini vermektedir. Bu görüşün temellendirilmesi için ahidname metinlerine iki düzeyden yaklaşmak elverişli olmaktadır. Buna göre, Osmanlı devletlerarası hukukunun kavramsal çerçevesini çizen metinler, bir yönleriyle XVII. yüzyılla birlikte bağırlarından yeni kavram ve terimler doğuran mümbit hukuk *mecmua*ları halini almışlardır. Öte taraftan, bir yandan doğası gereği tarihsel bir süreklilik hissi veren *ahidname*ler, özellikle ticari konulardaki anlaşmazlıklar söz konusu olduğunda muamelatta zaman ve mekâna göre farklı pratik şekiller almaktaydı. Bu, esas itibarıyla Osmanlı hukuk sisteminin devletlerarası ve milletlerarası ilişkileri düzenlemede içine kapalı olmaktan ziyade canlı bir arayış içinde olduğunun göstergesidir. Bu sebeple ahidnamelerde genel hatlarıyla çizilen ilişki biçimlerinin tikel örneklerde ampirik çalışmalarla sınanarak tahlil edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu panel kapsamında ahidnamelerin devletlerarası deniz hukukunun oluşumunda oynadığı tarihi rol izah edileceği gibi, XVIII. yüzyılda Halep'te İngiliz tacirlerin yaşadığı fiili zorlukların çözümlenmesi üzerinden Osmanlı hukuki nosyonlarının somut örneklerde nasıl uygulandığı ve değiştiği incelenmektedir. Keza Garp Ocaklarının Venedik Cumhuriyeti'yle ticari ilişkilerini sürdürmek üzere XVIII. yüzyılda oluşturduğu hukuki mevzuat, ahidname geleneğinin bölgesel sınırlarının tayini hususunda önemli bir araştırma meselesi ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Ahidname maddelerinin somut düzlemde neye tekabül ettiklerini araştırmak, XVII. yüzyılda Avusturya Habsburgları ile Bab-ı Ali arasında akdedilen sulhnamelerin yeniden yorumlanmasına da katkıda bulunmaktadır. Osmanlı sarayı ve Hofburg arasında el değiştiren ahidname/Ratifikation metinlerinin Habsburg mukim elçileri ve Viyana ve İstanbul arasında gidip gelen fevkalade elçilerin yürüttüğü diplomatik işlemlerin çerçevesini belirlediği doğru olmakla beraber siyasi düzlemde farklı anlamlara gelebilecek bazı üstünlük iddialarının diplomatik antlaşma metinlerine ve bununla ilişkili uygulamalara sindirildiği görülmektedir. Siyasi mücadelenin üstü örtülü bir biçimde yürütülmesi, diplomatik teamül ve teşrifatın rafineleşmesine yol açtığı gibi diplomatik temasların sıklaşmasına bağlı olarak erken modern bürokratik yapıların gelişimine kendi zaviyesinden katkıda bulunmaktadır.

**Gülhan BALSOY (panel leader), Cihangir GÜNDOĞDU,
Başak TUĞ, Murat DAĞLI**

ROAMING AND RUMORING SUBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE: MARGINALITY RECONSIDERED

In the last decades, new developments in history writing have done much to include previously excluded topics in historians' craft. Various schools in social history, gender studies, and the "cultural turn" drew historians' attention to seemingly marginal subjects, from mentally ill to underground literature. New questions along with new theoretical perspectives expanded history's horizon.

This first presentation will focus on the stray dogs and the attempts of their deportation and annihilation. The stray dogs, which before had wandered the streets and public squares freely and without any systematic intervention, were identified as another problem group whose existence was seen as a public nuisance, a potential threat, and a risk to the city's order and public hygiene. However, rather than focusing on a human-animal divide, this presentation will focus on the shared experiences by underrepresented animals and humans alike. The second paper, on the widowed destitute females, will follow from this point. In the Ottoman usage, 'widow' is not merely a woman who lost her husband but rather a destitute woman who does not have a house, a family, or any protection. By looking at the most underprivileged of all – the destitute women lacking families, houses, and any kind of social protection – this presentation will investigate who were seen as respectable Ottomans and who were not, and hence discuss the links between urban visibility and vulnerability.

The third paper will turn its attention away from the marginal actors in the urban space but focus on bodily vulnerability especially in relation to sexual violence. It aims to search the boundaries of marginality by exploring the definitions of illicit sexuality and sexual violence in the early decades of the *Tanzimat* era. Looking at legal minutes and records of interrogation, the paper aspires to trace how Ottoman subjects utilized various legal means. The final paper will contribute by also examining the literary strategies and social practices of common people in contexts of historical crisis such as financial panic, social mobilization, or political upheavals.

In sum, this panel will bring together dogs and widows to understand the desired and undesired forms of visibility and will question literary, legal and social practices of the vulnerable in times of crises. By doing this, this panel aspires to contribute to the developing field on the roles of marginal actors in historical process.

Stephan CONERMANN (panel leader), Alexander BAUER, Caspar HILLEBRAND

WAS WUSSTE EIN OSMANISCHER SULTAN VOM RUSSISCHEN REICH? BERICHTE UM DIE GESANDTSCHAFT VON MUSTAFA RASIH NACH ST. PETERSBURG (1793/94)

In dem 1792 zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Russland abgeschlossenen Frieden von Jassy (osman.: Yaş) wurden Russland die im Dezember 1788 eroberte Festung Očakov sowie der Küstenstreifen zwischen Bug- und Dnestr-Mündung am Schwarzen Meer zugesprochen. Gleichzeitig erkannte das Osmanische Reich noch einmal eine Annexion der Krim vom Jahre 1783 an. Artikel 10 des Vertrages zwischen den beiden Großmächten sah vor, dass jede Seite im Anschluss an die Verhandlungen zur Festigung der Beziehungen eine Delegation an den Hof des anderen entsenden sollte. Beauftragte die Zarin Katharina II. den späteren Feldmarschall Kutuzov (1745–1813) mit dieser Aufgabe, so entschloss sich Selim III. den zum *beylerbeyi* von Rumelien ernannten Mustafa Rasih Efendi (st. 1804/05) nach St. Petersburg zu schicken. Ende Januar 1793 reiste die osmanische Delegation aus Istanbul nach St. Petersburg ab. Nachdem man sich mit der russischen Gegengesandtschaft am 4. Juni 1793 am Grenzfluss Dnestr getroffen hatte, fand der Einzug der osmanischen Mission in der Hauptstadt im Oktober 1793 statt. Zwar empfing Katharina II. Mustafa Rasih und seine Begleiter, doch wurde im Laufe des nächsten Jahres wenig Konkretes erreicht. Da die russische Seite auf ihrer Forderung nach Auslieferung auch der zum Islam übergetretenen Kriegsgefangenen beharrte, verließen die osmanischen Gesandten die Ostsee unverrichteter Dinge bereits Anfang Februar 1794. Nach seiner Rückkehr legte Mustafa Rasih dem Sultan zwei Berichte vor: ein von seinem Sekretär Seyyid Abdullah verfasstes *sefâretnâme*, das die Reiseroute und den Verlauf der Mission beschreibt, und ein *arîza*, das seine eigenen Beobachtungen zur russischen Politik und Gesellschaft enthält.

Diese beiden Texte bilden den Ausgangspunkt des dem Panel zugrundeliegenden Forschungsprojekts. Neben der philologischen Erschließung steht hier die Frage des Informationsgehaltes für den Machthaber des Osmanischen Reiches und seine Ratgeber im Vordergrund. Dies erfordert eine Einordnung in die Geschichte der osmanischen Gesandtschaftsberichte im 18. Jahrhundert vor dem Hintergrund der osmanisch-russischen Beziehungen sowie eine Einbettung der Texte in den zeitgenössischen multikulturellen Kontext in Istanbul. Darüber hinausgehend werden in dem Projekt aber auch russisch- bzw. deutschsprachige Berichte von Teilnehmern der russischen Gegengesandtschaft in den Blick genommen – neben Briefen Kutuzovs an Katharina II. und führende russische Staatsmänner sowie an seine Familie sind dies die Augenzeugenberichte von Heinrich Christoph von Reimers (Text erschien in St. Petersburg 1803) und Johann Christoph von Struve (Gotha 1801).

Die drei Vorträge des Panels widmen sich jeweils einer dieser drei Textgruppen, kontextualisieren sie und gehen auf narrative Strategien sowie Möglichkeiten der Gegenüberstellung mit den anderen Texten ein.

M. Fatih ÇALIŞIR (panel leader), Mehmet ÖZAY, Nia DELIANA, Mehmet Şakir YILMAZ, Serkan KEÇECI

BETWEEN THE ASIA MINOR AND ASIA MAJOR: UNTOLD STORIES OF THE AGENTS OF CHANGE

While the diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations of the Ottomans with the Western states and empires were well-documented, less attention was given to their relations with the Eastern world. This panel aims to explore the untold stories of certain individuals and groups who played important roles in enhancing and sustaining diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties between the Ottomans and Qajar Iran, the Mughal Empire, and the Sultanate of Aceh.

Konstantin GOLEV (panel leader), Oleksandr HALENKO, Szilvia KOVÁCS, Ishayahu LANDA

THE CUMAN-QÏPCHAQS OF WESTERN EURASIA: A TURKIC TRIBAL NOMADIC COMMUNITY IN THE SHADOW OF THE MONGOL CONQUEST

The Cuman-Qïpchaqs were a heterogeneous tribal community with a predominant Turkic pagan nomadic culture. At different stages of its development it included also a number of para-Mongol and perhaps some Iranian clans, as well as elements of earlier tribal confederacies, such as the Pechenegs and the Uzes. In the mid-11th century, the advancing Cuman-Qïpchaq tribes established their hegemony over a vast steppe space stretching from the Irtysh to the Danube, which was dominated by them until the Mongol Conquest in the first half of the 13th century.

Similarly to the later Tatar tribes, but with a more decentralized political structure, the Cuman-Qïpchaq controlled the Crimean peninsula and vast parts of its sedentary zone in particular. This brought them into contact with the Saljūqs of Rūm, who tried to extend their power over the Crimean town of Sudaq. Later on, in the course of the Mongol Invasion many Cuman-Qïpchaq refugees entered Anatolia through the Balkans or the Near East, finding asylum both in the Rūm Sultanate and the Nicaean Empire. What is perhaps even more important, many Cuman-Qïpchaqs remained in their native Ponto-Caspian Steppes under the sway of the Chinggisids, where they were among the most important elements in the newly emerging steppe Turkic ethnic groups, such as the Crimean and Volga Tatars, Nogais, Uzbeqs, Qazaqs and others. Thus, the

research of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the peoples from the Ponto-Caspian Steppe requires a better understanding of the little studied Cuman-Qïpchaq history in the Mongol and pre-Mongol period.

The scarcity of the preserved sources that is immanent for the history of the steppe peoples, combined with the vast chronological and geographical dimensions of Cuman-Qïpchaqs' activities requires the application of the "holistic approach" (promoted in the last decades by Prof. Thomas Allsen in the Mongol Studies) in the research of their past. Thus specialists in different fields such as Classical, Slavic, and Islamic Studies, and Chinese history are joining their efforts in a multidisciplinary panel that aims at the investigation of various aspects of Cuman-Qïpchaq history, through the research of sources of very diverse background. The first paper will discuss the possible identification of a Cuman-Qïpchaq chief, buried in the famous Chingul Tumulus. The second presentation will examine the representation of the Cuman-Qïpchaq in one of the main domestic sources of their westernmost sedentary neighbor, the Kingdom of Hungary. The third paper is focused on the development of the Cuman-Qïpchaq diaspora in Yuan China, while the last one will offer an overview of the Cuman-Qïpchaq role in the slave trade before and after the advent of the Mongols.

Kenan İNAN (başkan), Sebahittin USTA, Turan AÇIK, Miraç TOSUN

OSMANLI TRABZON'UNDA DEVLET VE TOPLUM (XVII.-XVIII. YÜZYIL)

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun "Klasik Çağ"ı olarak nitelendirilen 1300-1600 yılları arasındaki dönem, İmparatorluğun bilhassa merkez teşkilatının tedricen mütekâmil bir vaziyete kavuştuğu sürece işaret etmekteydi. İmparatorluk, kozmopolit şehirlerden (mahrûse) müteşekkil ülkesini (Memâlik-i mahrûse-i şahâne) bütün tebaanın korunması ve toplumsal yapıdaki dengenin (erkân-ı erbaa) muhafazası (adalet) şeklinde ifade edilebilecek bir siyasal muhteva ile idare etmişti. Bununla birlikte XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ve XVII. yüzyılda tabii sınırlara ulaşılması, transit ticaret imkânlarının kaybedilişi, Amerikan gümüşü ve enflasyon, ateşli silahların üstünlük kazanması, nüfus artışı ve işsizlik gibi nedenlerden ötürü Osmanlı Imparatorluğu bir "buhran/kriz" dönemine girmişti. XVII.-XVIII. yüzyıllarda söz konusu krizi aşmak için devlet bir takım tedbirler almaya çalışıp yeni oluşan şartlara uyum sağlamaya gayret etmişti. Tüm bu girişimler Imparatorluğun ömrünün XX. yüzyılın başlarına kadar uzanmasını temin etmişti.

Bu bağlam içerisinde panelde 4 tebliğ üzerinden Imparatorluğun XVII.-XVIII. yüzyıllardaki "kriz" dönemi ile somut bir düzlemde (Trabzon) nasıl başa çıkmaya çalıştığı irdelenmektedir. Zira imparatorluk merkezinin bu krizi atlatma çabalarına dair nispeten iyi bir literatür vücuda gelmiş iken taşrada bu sürecin nasıl şekillendiğine dair henüz yeterli ölçüde çalışma yapılmadı. Bu sebepler tahtında

ilk tebliğde idareci zümreden kaynaklanan kanunsuz, fazla veya bahane üreterek halktan vergi toplama uygulamalarına dair sicillerden elde edilen veriler devletin ve halkın buna karşı göstermiş olduğu reaksiyon bağlamında ele alınarak ne tür çözümlerin önerdiği araştırılmaktadır. İkinci tebliğ ise imparatorluğun tarihinde bir dönüm noktası olan 1683 yılında İkinci Viyana Kuşatmasıyla başlayan ve 1699 Karlofça Antlaşmasıyla biten savaşların en mühim gerekliliği olan nakit ihtiyacının karşılanması hususunda Trabzon'un fonksiyonunu gün ışığına kavuşturmaktadır. 1686-1687 yıllarında Trabzon'un ileri gelenlerinden "karz" yoluyla elde edilen 10.000 kuruşun hangi mahallelerden ve kimlerden toplandığı tespit edilerek devletin bu yüzyılda İmparatorluğun "tedarik sistemi"nin işlevselliği tartışma konusu edilmektedir. Üçüncü tebliğde ise taşranın meşruiyet zemininde merkezî hükümete bağlı yerler haline getirilmesinde çok ciddi fonksiyonları olan Osmanlı ulemasına mensup olan müderrisler tanıtılarak fonksiyonlarının XVII. yüzyılda herhangi bir değişim geçirip geçirmediği ve bu durumun müderrislerin sosyoekonomik dünyaları ile bir ilgisinin olup olmadığı üzerinde de durulmaktadır. Panelin dördüncü ve son tebliğinde ise XVIII. yüzyıl ortasında Trabzon valiliği görevinde bulunan bundan önce iki defa da sadrazamlık yapan Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın idare etme yöntemi hakkında bilgiler verilmektedir. Ali Paşa'ya sunulan arzlar ve bunların sonrasında üretilen buyruldular devlet mekanizmasının en üst düzeyinde bulunmuş bir valinin yönelimlerini belirler. Ali Paşa'nın Trabzon'daki idare tarzı, karşılaştığı problemlere getirmiş olduğu çözümler, özellikle de eşkıya gruplarıyla olan mücadelesi bildirinin ana çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır.

Evangelos KATAFYLIS (panel leader), Sara Nur YILDIZ, Vera-Simone SCHULZ, Buket KITAPÇI BAYRI

MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ENCOUNTERS IN THE 14TH CENTURY: EXCHANGE, CONFLICT AND CROSS-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, THE BLACK SEA AND BEYOND

By the beginning of the 14th century, the Ottomans had taken the Byzantine territories of Anatolia and large parts of Eastern Europe under their control. Apart from territorial gains in the Balkans, this military advance also resulted in many interactions, intermixing and eventually conversions. However, the relationship between the Ottomans, Byzantines and Latins was not merely restricted to military conflict, as several authors have used much ink to explain. The daily interaction between the Ottomans and the Byzantine State shifted the former towards a more open, rich and entangled cultural milieu, despite the latter's military and political dominance.

Our panel presentations confirm that Ottoman rulers adopted a policy of cohabitation rather than constant confrontation with Christians. One distinctive

social-economic practice was enslavement among Muslims, Latins, and Eastern Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean, which had a further impact on these processes of intermixing, as Yıldız will explain in her paper. Fitting within the sphere of Ottoman enslavement, Katafylis's presentation will shed light on Gregory Palamas's captivity (1354) and participation in two theological meetings initiated by the Ottomans. In his paper, Katafylis will examine both Palamas's imprisonment condition and the Ottomans's interests to organise these theological meetings. Following these theological encounters, Schulz will discuss transcultural artistic encounters between Italian merchants and the Islamic world of the Mediterranean. Focusing on the miniatures of the Cocharelli codex, her paper will touch upon the artistic meetings of people, artifacts, visual formulae, including flora and fauna. Building on Schulz's paper, Bayrı concentrates on the symbolic role of the exchange of food as a means of cultural information as well as the various food-related points of contact between Turcomans and Byzantines, through the account of *Danişmendname*, a Turkish-Muslim heroic epic.

Overall, the panel seeks to shed new light on the 14th century in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea and beyond as a period characterised by gradual assimilation and adaptation processes, and marked by a high degree of flexibility in literature, art and architecture, in visual and material culture. With papers ranging from intellectual history and theology to transcultural meetings through food, artistic encounters as well as the role of slave trade, we investigate these links, suggesting that they point to much more flexible medieval concepts of identity than is often recognised. The papers aim to contribute to a clearer conception of the period in the Eastern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe.

**Florian RIEDLER (panel leader), Vladimir ALEKSIĆ,
Tatjana KATIĆ, Dragana AMEDOSKI,**

**THE ISTANBUL-BELGRADE IMPERIAL ROAD:
A VERSATILE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK FOR OTTOMAN POLITICAL,
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY**

The theme of this panel is the major route traversing South East Europe from Istanbul to Belgrade that existed since antiquity and still is an important traffic axis today. The panel's four papers examine political, social and cultural developments from the 14th to the 19th century that are closely connected to the route, its infrastructure and its organisation as an Ottoman imperial road. The case studies demonstrate the significance of the route for the development of the Ottoman Balkans in general and especially for the road's middle part stretching from Niš to Sofia. The imperial road as a continuing factor provides the opportunity to tell regional history from a long-term perspective that links the different periods

of Ottoman history. V. Aleksić examines the region's special administrative structure in the 14th century that was due to its geostrategic position at the frontier of the Ottoman zone of expansion that followed the course of the route into neighbouring Serbia. T. Katić is interested in the population structure of the villages along the road from the 14th to the 17th century that was characterised by small-scale migration. The urban development of Pirot, a town that became an important station on the road, is in the centre of D. Amedoski's paper. Finally, F. Riedler focuses on the 19th-century infrastructural modernisation of the road, particularly the building of macadamised highways where carts could circulate, to judge the route's significance in the late Ottoman period.

Far from offering just a unique regional perspective, all the phenomena observed in the papers can easily be compared to other parts of the empire. Moreover, the panel's theme provides insight into the general development of Ottoman territorial administration and governance. The great importance of the route for Ottoman expansion and preservation of power was reflected in the elaborated institutional arrangements and building activities that maintained the route.

**Marinos SARIYANNIS (panel leader), Güneş IŞIKSEL,
Ethan L. MENCHINGER, Maria SHUSHAROVA**

OTTOMAN PERCEPTIONS OF WORLD AND NATURE

The panel aims to discuss Ottoman notions and belief systems concerning nature and the supernatural. What is really important in terms of social history is to see the field described as "supernatural" as an especially constructive vantage point to watch the interplay of different layers of culture representing varying social groups: thus, one may presuppose the existence of a "popular" or folk culture, as well as a Sufi culture, both slanting more towards a "magical" worldview, while *ulema* circles would seek to interpret (or, alternatively, reject) such traditions within a very rational and strict framework of ontological hierarchy. Neither is this narrative static and unaltered in time: from the mid-17th century on we may discern the rise of a more scientific view connected with an artisanal and mercantile culture by the early 18th century.

The panel will seek to explore this diversity and form an agenda for future research. Paper no. 1 will set some general observations and directions, focusing on the possible categorizations of the "supernatural" by different social and intellectual groups. Paper No. 2, as a point of departure, describes the homologies between the self-image of the administrative apparatus and the cosmological hierarchies prevailing in 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman *Weltanschauung*, thus showing that the image of the cosmos had a direct relation with the sociopolitical imaginary. In the same vein, Paper No. 3 analyzes the course of perceptions on cosmic order in

the later part of pre-Tanzimat Ottoman thought; more particularly, the "natural" and "miraculous" in the Ottoman world as they appear in contemporary *ulema* culture, focusing on the theological literature on causality and the sometimes violent early modern debates over God's custom, miracles, fatalism, and the limits of freewill. Finally, Paper No. 4 addresses the supernatural itself, namely magic and sorcerers, through a very 'natural' source, namely bureaucratic petitions and real-life accusations, in order to explore how such distinctions might be used in social and political conflicts.

Through their different topics, the four papers of the panel show that the conceptions about nature, the supernatural, the religious and more generally the limits of knowledge may contribute a lot to the study of Ottoman mentalities, but also Ottoman society and its representations of the world.

Özlem SERT (başkan), Eda ÇEKİL, Sümeyye HOŞGÖR, Işık DEMİRAKIN, Burak ONARAN

OSMANLI İSTANBULU'NDA BIR KADININ AYAK İZLERI

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemi kent tarihi yazımında kadının görünürlüğü, çoğunlukla sıradan bir kadının empati kurabileceği verilerden yoksun imgelerden oluşur. Saray hayatında bulunan çoğunluğu cariye kadınlar hem hukuki statüleri ile hem de toplumsal hiyerarşide bulundukları konum ile yaşam tasavvurlarımızın uzağında bir konumdadırlar. Oysa tarih yazımında da tarih belgelerinde de görünürlükleri sınırlı olsa da toplumsal hiyerarşinin farklı noktalarında bulunan "sıradan" pek çok kadının ayak izlerini kentte takip etmek mümkün. Bu, kaynaklara bakış açımızı derinleştiren metotlarla yaklaşmayı, değişik kaynak türlerini bir araya getirmeyi gerektiriyor. Farklı alanlardan araştırmacıları bir araya getirerek İstanbul'da yaşayan bir kadının hayatını tasvir etme fikri, böyle doğdu. Bu çerçevede farklı araştırmacıları bir araya getirecek ortak bir kurgu oluşturuldu:

Çalışmaların ortak noktası, İstanbul'da yaşayan ve Müslüman kimlikli kurgusal bir kadın karakterin yüzyıllar içinde yaşadığı değişimdir. Yani çalışmaların paylaştığı ortak zeminlerden biri bu karakterin İstanbul'da yaşayan Müslüman bir kadın olması iken diğeri bu karakterin zaman içerisinde yaşadığı değişimlere odaklanmasıdır. Bu çerçevede Nahide, bazen XVI. yüzyılda orta halli bir ev hanımı, bazen bir kelleci bazen XVIII. yüzyılda ulemadan birinin kızı bazen de XIX. yüzyılda Beyoğlu'nda alışveriş yapan bir kadın olarak karşımıza çıkabilir. Bazen yürüdüğü kaldırımın, yemek pişirdiği kabın, dokuduğu halının, bazen de giydiği giysinin gündelik hayatın izini sürebilmemiz için taşıdığı anlamlar vardır ve ona ait her şey değişimin takip edilmesine vesile olacaktır.

Bu çerçevede, gündelik kent hayatının akışındaki başkalaşımlar, kent yaşamında önemli dönüşümlerin yaşandığı üç bağlamda tasvir edilecek. Özlem Sert, üretimin

kent çeperinde ve kentlerde ev içinde örgütlendiği tarım ve hayvancılıkla iç içe olan yaşam ritminde kadınların yapıp ettiklerini, bir işler takvimi olarak sunarken Nahide Hanım'ın zaman algısına gireceğiz. Eda Çekil XVI. yüzyıl sonundan XVII. yüzyıla kentin kimi zaman ticaretin ve üretimin artması ile kimi zaman ise güvenlik nedeniyle kırsaldan yaşanan göçle büyümesi sürecinde kadınların üretim faaliyetlerinde yeni edindikleri rolleri sicil belgeleri ve seyahatnamelere odaklanarak Nahide Hanım'ın kent coğrafyasını haritalayacak. Sümeyye Hoşgör, XVIII. yüzyıl Galata Sicillerindeki tereke kayıtları ışığında kadınların giyim eşyalarına odaklanarak Nahide Hanım'ın maddi kültürlerindeki değişimi betimleyecek. Işık Demirakın XIX. yüzyılda kadın kimliğindeki değişimi, kadının yeni giyim kuşamıyla alışveriş mekanlarındaki görünürlüğünde yaşanılan değişimleri seyahatnameler ve anılara odaklanarak sunacaktır. Aynı dönemde kadının hane içerisindeki değişimi ise mutfakta kimlik oluşumunu merkeze alan Burak Onaran'ın Nahide Hanım'ı bir kimlik aşçısı olarak görmemizi sağlayacak sunumu ile tartışmaya açılacaktır.

Amy SINGER (panel leader), Yavuz GÜNER, Selim S. KURU, Satoshi KAWAMOTO, Kayhan ORBAY, Gürer KARAGEDIKLI, Tamir KARKASON, Eyal GINIO, Pınar ODABAŞI TAŞCI

IN SEARCH OF OTTOMAN EDIRNE: A CONTINUING PROJECT

Ottoman Edirne has attracted increasing attention on the part of scholars since the beginning of the 21st century. The so-called second capital of the Ottoman Empire seems a natural target for historians' energies, but Edirne was remarkably little on anyone's research agenda, despite being continually among the largest Ottoman cities in Europe, the chief rallying place for the army departing westward on campaign, home to a large and well-forested imperial palace, and always possessed of a mixed population of Muslims and minorities. Perhaps because more accessible today, the city's long history as an imperial center, and the diverse and extensive source-base available for its study have all brought it into scholarly focus.

CIEPO panels in 2012 ("From Byzantine Adrianople to Ottoman Edirne"), 2014 ("New Perspectives on Ottoman Edirne") and 2016 ("Ottoman Edirne: Shaping the City on the Ground and in Imagination") highlighted the emerging history of Edirne. Continuing this project in 2018, this double panel is proposed for the category "Ottoman Urban History". It offers a spectrum of specific and empirically-grounded insights about Edirne while also providing case studies for issues in Ottoman urban history more generally. As previously, the goal of the panel is to showcase new research, while reinserting Edirne into the writing of Ottoman history across the imperial timeline.

The papers pick up familiar urban themes – spatial organization, markets, architecture, imperial rule, intellectual trends, Ottoman minorities – from new perspectives. Güner explores the early development of Edirne's market space under the Ottomans. Singer looks at the implications of Edirne as a military center as reflected in the local slave market. Having studied poetic praise for Bursa and Istanbul, Kuru now considers the praises of Edirne. Kawamoto explores Ottoman palatial architecture in the pre-Tokapı era. Orbay focuses on Edirne's premier monument, but for the impact of its extensive endowed properties, not for its glorious architecture. Spatial organization is again the focus, but at the provincial level in Karagedikli's paper. Known as a center of Muslim learning, Edirne is now revealed by Karkason as an important center of the 19th-century Jewish Enlightenment movement as well. Even as Edirne lost population and weakened physically in the early 20th century, Ginio demonstrates its ongoing, even growing symbolic importance. Odabaşı Taşçı offers a counterpoint to Ginio's paper by pointing to the symbolic importance of Edirne remaining Ottoman.

Gül ŞEN (panel leader), Claudia RÖMER, Christiane CZYGAN, Suraiya FAROQHI (discussant)

PROMINENT TEXTS, OVERLOOKED ASPECTS: ON THE INTERACTION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY AND LITERARY STUDIES IN THE 16TH – 17TH CENTURIES

This panel deals with pre-modern historiographical and literary texts. The aim is to analyze literary features of some prominent text corpuses from the 16th and 17th centuries. The literary qualities of these texts deserve more attention by a close examination of how the themes, language and style are combined through the text. These analyses in the texts provide at the same time insights into the literary and cultural conventions of their time.

The three papers of this panel attempt to apply a variety of approaches from literary studies for a reinterpretation of these well-known sources of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The first paper of the panel is an in-depth analysis of syntactical features of Muṣṭafā Bostān's *Süleymānnāme* and their combination with stylistic elements, together with a comparison with two other prominent historical accounts, Celālzāde Muṣṭafā's *Ṭabaḳāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül-Mesālik* and Kemālpaşazāde's *Tevārīh-i āl-i ʿOsmān*. The second paper deals with the first Ottoman court chronicle of Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, discussing this well-known historical source as a subject of literary studies. Applying narratological methodology, the deep structure of the text and its various stylistic features will be revealed. These will be connected to the question of style in the historiographic genre.

The third paper of the panel investigates the popularity of Sultan Süleymān's poem collections, especially by searching his *Third Divan* in the court registers (*kadı sicilleri*). By analyzing selected poems, and the variants that can be found in the *Third Divan* which is preserved in Hamburg as an unedited manuscript and contrasting versions in later collections, it will be demonstrated how theme, style and language are combined in a specific way to enhance the poetical and aesthetical effect.

In conclusion, the presented themes and results will be summarized and discussed by the panel discussant.

**Hajnalka TÓTH (başkan), Gábor DEMETER,
Éva SZEPESINÉ SIMON, Adrienn PAPP**

HABSBURG VE OSMANLI İMPARATORLUKLARI ARASINDAKİ SINIR BÖLGESİ – MACARİSTAN'DAKİ OSMANLI EĞEMENLİĞİ

Panelde tebliğleri sunulan Macar araştırmacıların konuşmaları Macaristan'daki Osmanlı eğemenliğini, onun özelliklerini ve konunun farklı kaynaklarını gösterirler. Tebliğler Osmanlı eğemenliğinin tarihi, yani Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun tarihini çeşitli taraftan (ekonomik, askeri, mimari, diplomatik), daha çeşitlibilim alanı yönünden ve farklı metotlar sistemleriyle incelirler.

Macaristan'da feth edilmiş topraklarda Osmanlı hükümetinin yerleşmesi ve organize edilmesi uzun süre tarihsel araştırmaların merkezidir. Gábor Demeter'in konuşması Macaristan coğrafi bölgelerine dair iktisadî kaynakların (ruznamçe, tahrîr vet tapu defterleri) bilgilerini sabit hale getiren dijital bilgi temelinin oluşturulmasını ve faaliyetini gösterir. Bilgilerin dijital analizinden sonra Osmanlı hükümeti (yerleşmesinin) oluşmasının ve değiştirmesinin uzamsal ortaya çıkarılmasına da imkan verir. Bu sistem emrimize hazır bilgilerini daha fazla bakış açısından incelenebilmektesiyle yeni araştırma yollarını açabilir ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun başka alanlarında da yeni bir yöntem gibi uygulanabilir.

Éva Simon'un Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Macaristan'daki „sınırsızlığı"-yle uğraşan tebliği söz konusu bilgi temelinin kullanılmasıyla bir örnek gösterir. Osmanlı Devleti ve Macar Krallığı (yani Habsburg İmparatorluğu) arasında akd olunan barış antlaşmalar sınırlarını belirledi, ama gerçek sınır çizmesi haline hiç bir zaman gelmemiştir. Sancaklara ait defterlerde bulunan bilgilerin temelinde belirlemiş idarî sınır askerî sınırıyla hiçbir zaman örtüşmemiştir, ayrıca onlar Osmanlıların vergilendirme sınırıyla bile örtüşmemişlerdir. 1566 yılından itibaren Osmanlıların Macaristan'da vuku bulan askerî genişlemesi durakladıysa da iktisadî dokümenler ve onların üzerine kurulan veri tabanı vergilendirme sınırını işaretleyen bürokratik araçlarının XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlıların gelişmesi stratejisinin göstemesine imkan verirler.

Adrienn Papp'ın tebliği Macaristan'daki Osmanlı hükümetinin merkezi olan Budun, ya da Budun vilayetinin İstanbul ile olmuş ilişkisini mimarî açısından gösterir. XVI. yüzyılın ortası Osmanlı mimarlığının klasik dönemiydi ve vilayetlerin mimarlığı da merkezden kararlaştırılarak yönetilmiştir. Macaristan'da da devlet tarafından atanan bir başmimar çalışmıştı, bu halin sayesinde buradaki yapılar yerli özelliklerini göstermeyen tipik Osmanlı binalar olarak vücude gelmişler. Bu mimari miras Osmanlı eliteden gelen ve Macaristan'da Osmanlı eğemenliğinde önemli bir rol oynamış olan Sokollu ailesine bağlı oluyormuş. Aile tarafından inşa ettirilmiş yapıların karşılaştırmalı incelemesi Budun vilayeti ile İstanbul'un ilişkisini aydınlatıyor.

Panelin son tebliği XVIII. yüzyılın başında gelişen Habsburg–Osmanlı sınır sorunlarını inceliyor. 1699 yılındaki Karlofça Antlaşmasından dolayı iki imparatorluk arasında işaretlenmiş sınır çizgisi gerçekten Osmanlı genişlemesine engel çıkartmıştır. Osmanlılar Macaristan'daki topraklarının büyük parçasını kaybettiler. Hajnalka Tóth konuşmasında bir yandan bu sınırın Habsburg hükümetine karşı Rákóczi Ayaklanması sırasında ne gibi şartları altında kalabilmesinin sorununa cevap arar, çünkü isyancılar Osmanlılardan yardım ümit ettiler; öte yandan ama, iki imparatorluğun sınır sorunları ortaya çıktığında işlemeye başlamayan çözme mekanizmini ve onun XVI. yüzyılından beri XVIII. yüzyılına kadar süren değişmelerini inceler.

Nicolas VATIN (panel leader), Elias KOLOVOS, Michael URSINUS
LE NÂ'IB OTTOMAN EN CONTEXTE MÉDITERRANÉEN / THE OTTOMAN NÂ'IB IN A MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT

Le *nâ'ib* est un personnage relativement peu étudié et pourtant particulièrement intéressant pour qui s'intéresse au fonctionnement de l'office des *cadi*s ottomans. Alors que ceux-ci étaient des étrangers dans leurs circonscriptions et n'y demeuraient en poste que quelques années, voire quelque mois, leurs subordonnés les *nâ'ib* étaient en général des locaux et conservaient leurs fonctions pendant d'assez longues périodes. Ils étaient de ce fait mieux introduits dans le pays où ils officiaient, pouvaient y avoir des réseaux personnels et le cas échéant jouer le rôle de spécialistes de telle ou telle partie d'un *ḳaẓâ*, ce que donnent parfois à entendre leurs signatures, quand ils s'y définissent comme « substitut [*cadi*] dans la *naḥiye* de X » (*el-müvellà hilâfeten bi-naḥiye* X), ou (en l'absence du terme *naḥiye*), « substitut [*cadi*] à X ».

L'hypothèse de travail de l'atelier que nous proposons est que le contexte méditerranéen renforce ces spécificités des *nâ'ib* ottomans, dans un contexte où les difficultés de circulation et les particularités insulaires (isolement, influence de notabilités locales chrétiennes) doivent influer sur leur activité et leur rôle.

C'est dans cet esprit que les trois communications envisagées se proposent d'aborder la fonction du *nâ'ib* et ses relations particulières avec la société locale, à partir d'une documentation inédite insulaire, à Patmos (ou autour de Patmos en fonction des intérêts du monastère de Saint Jean), à Andros et Syros, soit en couvrant plusieurs siècles (fin du XVe-mi-XVIIe siècle, fin XVIe-XVIIIe siècle), soit en se concentrant sur un *nâ'ib* actif à Patmos dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle.

**Michał WASIUCIONEK (panel leader), Liviu PILAT,
Constanța VINTILĂ-GHIŢULESCU**

PERIPHERAL HYBRIDITIES AT THE IMPERIAL FRINGE: MAPPING LOCAL IDIOMS AND OTTOMAN INFLUENCES IN THE EARLY MODERN DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES

In spite of the fact that the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia belonged to the Ottoman political ecumene for over three centuries, until recently Ottomanists and students of Romanian history have more often ignored each other rather than engaged in a productive dialogue. For both sides, the relationship between the Sublime Porte and its tributaries could be boiled down to the juridical status of Moldavia and Wallachia and their diplomatic and military encounters with the Ottoman polity. In comparison, little attention has been paid in modern scholarship to less tangible and state-centric aspects of these centuries-long entanglements, such as sociability, cultural idioms, and identity. In short, apart from the realm of high politics, the relationship between Moldavian-Wallachian and Ottoman societies presents itself in essentialist terms, with no cultural or social middle-ground in between. However, as the studies brought together in the proposed panel set out to show, this is not the case, and a meaningful engagement between the students of Ottoman and Moldavian-Wallachian history provides new perspectives on the social and cultural interaction between the Ottoman center and the imperial peripheries.

Three studies comprised within the proposed panel span across the early modern period, from the mid-16th to the late 18th century, focusing on social and cultural interaction between Moldavian-Wallachian models and cultural blueprints originating from the Ottoman imperial center. At the same time, however, all papers attempt to escape the binary juxtaposition of center/ periphery, instead couching these two poles within the wider context of trans-imperial and trans-cultural networks that extended across the "well-protected domains" and beyond. As they demonstrate, the Danubian principalities' position at the frontier of the Ottoman space and their embeddedness into a variety of networks produced a provincial culture and society that combined

peripheral and imperial characteristic and was characterized by constant cultural code-switching and hybridization. In this way, they offer a new perspective on the processes in the early modern Ottoman periphery.

Benjamin WEINECK (panel leader), Nevena GRAMATIKOVA, Ali CAPAR, Faruk YASLIÇIMEN

NON-SUNNI MUSLIMS IN THE OTTOMAN STATE: MODES OF INTERACTION BETWEEN 'CONFESSIONALISATION' AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRAGMATISM

This panel brings together papers on various non-Sunni Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and the early 20th century. It sheds light on different spheres in which these communities interacted with the (local) Ottoman state. As such, the panel challenges dominant historiographical paradigms that represent the history of non-Sunni communities, such as Bektaşis, Kızılbaş-Alevis, Nusayris and Twelver Shiites, in the Ottoman Empire through a lens of persecution or conflict.

The first paper engages with theological conceptions of divine man as mirrored in the *vilayetname* of Otman Baba, written in the 15th century. Situated before the "age of confessionalisation", this paper emphasizes the development of distinct Kızılbaş-Bektaşi theological and thereby argues for an own niche these communities occupied in the Ottoman Empire.

The second paper draws on administrative Ottoman sources, such as *tahrir-*, petitioning- and *kadi* court records, in order to come to terms with the relationship of the Kızılbaş-Alevis in Anatolia and the (local) Ottoman State. While recent research has come to emphasise Ottoman attempts to sharpen its Sunni-minded imperial ideology and to discipline its flock from the 16th century onwards, the Kızılbaş-Alevi subjects appear in the sources treated as widely accommodated to the Empire's administrative apparatus. Such a finding hints at the need for critical assessment of local conditions, which may serve to unpack historiographical paradigms developed with a perspective on the 'imperial center'.

The third paper takes issue with the role of the Nusayris in the local Tanzimat-era *meclis*es. While these *meclis*es enabled the Nusayri representatives to exercise a considerable degree of agency, they were also frequently contested as illegitimate members, which hints at a difficult implementation of Tanzimat-ruling in this context. The last paper's setting is the very late Ottoman Empire *post* 1908: taking the stance of the *Committee of Union and Progress* on the Shiites as an example, the paper inquires the *CUP*'s religious policies in Iraq, where Shii teachers and judges were frequently employed in state institutions.

Albeit neat comparison across the individual papers is hardly possible due to the lack of a *tertium comparationis* in time and/or geographical proximity, the panel provides inductive spotlights on how these groups arranged themselves with and within the Ottoman State. In doing so, the panel emphasises the historical contingency of differing measures of accommodation at work—a perspective that urges us yet again to sensitively analyse the language and historicise the relation of confessionalised discourse on the one hand and administrative pragmatism on the other.

Eunjeong YI (panel leader), Rossitsa GRADEVA, Svetlana IVANOVA, Madoka MORITA, Eyal GINIO (discussant)

OTTOMAN URBAN SPACE AND INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Confessional developments within the individual communities and their impact on the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims are essential for the understanding of the fabric of Ottoman society. Recently, there has begun a lively discussion on the "confessionalization" of the Ottoman society and the hardening of religious viewpoints. Meanwhile, the socio-economic aspect of interreligious relations is still largely understudied. Aiming at complementing the current state of research, we propose to look at them in more comprehensive ways, namely focusing more on the real-life conditions and situations in which Ottoman urban dwellers were and moving beyond the religious and ideological aspects of interreligious relations more specifically in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The panelists will deal with various relevant issues such as *mahalle*s' structure and administrative arrangements that made Muslims more visible, expulsion of non-Muslims from Muslim *mahalle*s, non-Muslim immigration to cities and concordant changes in the composition of urban population, non-Muslim immigrants' conversion to Islam, and immigrants' incorporation into urban communities but also developments within the Muslim communities. We are interested in pursuing questions such as: 1) How did times of crisis, such as war, rebellion, and famine affect urban life and Muslim-non-Muslim relations? 2) What facilitated non-Muslims' settling and living in Muslim *mahalle*s and what made them impossible at other times? 3) What were the factors that made religious identity important for common people?

This panel will have four presenters: R. Gradeva's presentation will be about expulsion of non-Muslims from Muslim *mahalle*s in various Ottoman cities over the two centuries and beyond. M. Morita will examine internal dynamics of mixed *mahalle*s of 18th-century Istanbul where both Muslims and non-Muslims were present. E. Yi will explore Christian population's increase in the 17th century

and its possible aftermath in interreligious relations. On the basis of two case studies from Svishtov and Vidin, on the Danube, S. Ivanova offers an insight into the thought world of local Muslim communities and considers the impact of the *serhad* on local Muslim society, raising also the question of whether this can be considered (re-)confessionalisation. We expect that this panel will start a meaningful and productive discussion on interreligious relations in Ottoman urban society that involved both tension and resilience.

PAPER ABSTRACTS

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İMPARATORLUĞUN "EFENDİ"LERİ: XVII. YÜZYILDA MÜDERRİSLERİN OSMANLI ŞEHİR HAYATINDAKİ FONKSİYONLARI

"Efendi" unvanlı ulema, İmparatorluğun kozmopolit şehirlerinin (mahrûse) *ehl-i örf* ve *ehl-i ticaret* ile birlikte önemli bir bileşeni idi. Merkezî hükümet tarafından atanan ulemanın en önemli fonksiyonu, sünnî İslam'ın kurumsal bir zeminde temsili ve icrasıydı. Bu şekilde şehirler, merkezî hükümetin meşruiyet düzeneklerine dâhil edilmekte ve İmparatorluk toprakları, padişahın iktidarının görünür olduğu bir ülkeye (*Memâlik-i mahrûse-i şahâne*) dönüşmekte idi. Bununla birlikte ulema hakkındaki çalışmalar genellikle İstanbul ve diğer büyük şehirlerle sınırlı kalmış, taşradaki küçük şehirlerde ulemanın bu muhitlerin birer Osmanlı "imparatorluk şehri" (mahrûse) hâline gelmesindeki fonksiyonları üzerinde pek durulmamıştır. Yine XVII. yüzyıla gelindiğinde artan sayılarda ayân ve eşrâf içerisine giren ulemanın sosyal ve ekonomik hayatına dair de yeterli ölçüde malumat bulunmamaktadır. Anadolu'da *kadızâde*, *müftizâde*, *müderriszâde* ve *hatibzâde* gibi adlar taşıyan birçok *ayan* ailesi bulunmaktaydı. Naima'nın "sosyal sınıfların en şereflisi" ve "sosyal ve ekonomik hayatın en yüksek noktasında" olduklarını söylediği ulemanın mikro ölçekte şehirde icra ettikleri fonksiyonları, bunun yanında sosyo-ekonomik zeminlerinin ortaya konulması Osmanlı şehirlerinin muhtevasının anlaşılmasında önemlidir. Bu istikamette tebliğde, effendi unvanlı Osmanlı uleması içerisinde *müderris*lerin şehir hayatındaki fonksiyonları, mikro ölçekte veri temin eden *şer'iye sicilleri* üzerinden takip edilmeye çalışılacaktır. Bu iş için mekân olarak Trabzon ve bunun yanında karşılaştırma yapabilmek amacıyla da Amasya şehri belirlenmiştir. *Müderris*lerin fonksiyonlarında herhangi bir değişimin olup olmadığını anlamak için de zaman olarak XVII. yüzyıl temel alınmıştır. *Medrese*lerde tedris vazifesi ile iştigal eden, kimi zaman *nâiblik*, *müftülük* ve *mütevellilik* yapan, kadı mahkemesinde vücuda getirilen meclislerin önemli figürleri ve *şühûdü'l-hâl* arasında sıkça karşılaşılan *müderris*lerin muhakkak aynı zamanda birer sosyal ve ekonomik hayatları bulunmaktadır. Babalarının ve kardeşlerinin hangi meslek erbabından olduğu, şehrin genelde hangi muhitinde oturdukları, ne tür mülklere sahip oldukları, girmiş oldukları borç-alacak ilişkileri gibi konular da bu tebliğ kapsamında değerlendirilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

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THE *SHAHNAMEH*, THE BOOK OF KINGS, IN THE OTTOMAN COURT OF THE 16TH CENTURY

The *Shahnameh* is one of the most important literary works in Persian culture. Due to its portrayal of kings and their rule, it became highly associated with rulership, and therefore Turkish and Persian rulers of Greater Iran utilized it to convey messages of power. To this end, they produced magnificent manuscripts of the *Shahnameh*, including carefully chosen miniatures meant to symbolize the connection between themselves and Persian rulers and heroes of old. Likewise, the Ottoman sultans and members of the elite viewed it as a source of legitimacy. The epic gained popularity in the Ottoman court due to the spread of Persian culture following the conquest of Constantinople: the official histories of the sultans were written in the style of the *Shahnameh*, and many manuscripts of the epic reached the court as gifts or were specially purchased by the elite.

In recent years, there has been growing interest in official historical works of the Ottoman court, as well as diplomatic gifts given to the Ottoman sultans, and the collection of Persian manuscripts by the Ottoman elite. However, seldom have these subjects been examined in the context of the influence of Persian culture over the Ottoman elite and the legitimacy of the empire's rulers. This paper aims to examine the *Shahnameh*'s role in the Ottoman court in the 16th century, and explain how it became an important symbol for the sultan's legitimacy as an imperial ruler. This will serve to demonstrate the significance of Persian culture in shaping the identity of the Ottoman court in the 16th century.

To explain how the *Shahnameh* may have fulfilled this role, I will analyze texts written in the 16th century by the *şehnameciler*, the Ottoman court historians, and specifically the *Şehname-i Selim Han*, which chronicles the history of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574). I will show how the official chronicling of the history of the sultans, heavily influenced by the *Shahnameh*, asserted the legitimacy of the sultan and the elite. Moreover, I will trace the history of one *Shahnameh* manuscript produced in Iran at great expense by patronage of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76), that was later bestowed upon Selim II, and kept thereafter in the Ottoman palace for many years.

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XVII. YÜZYILDA TAŞRANIN BELGELERE YANSIYAN SESİ: ATIK ŞİKÂYET DEFTERLERİNE GÖRE DİYARBEKİR EYÂLETİNDE İKTISADÎ KRİZ VE ETKİLERİ (1650-1700)

Osmanlı siyasal, sosyal ve iktisadî sisteminde keskin bir değişimi ve dönüşümü ifade eden XVII. yüzyıl, yeni karşılaşılan güçlükler nedeniyle kriz dönemi olarak da adlandırılmaktadır. İmparatorluğun yüz yüze kaldığı bu krizlerden en önemlisi belki de iktisadî problemlerdi. Dünya ticaret yollarının değişmesi, Amerikan gümüşünün sebep olduğu enflasyon ve fiyat artışları, uzun süren başarısız seferler, *timar* sisteminin yozlaşması, nüfus artışı, Celalî isyanları ile sâir eşkıyalık hareketlerinin neden olduğu karmaşa, güvensizlik ve istikrarsızlık iktisadî sistemin sarsılmasında temel etmenlerdi. Peki, bu siyasal ve iktisadî sarsılma taşraya nasıl yansıdı? Bu sarsılmayı takip etmek için en kullanışlı kaynaklardan biri şüphesiz *Atik Şikâyet Defterleri*'dir. Zira bu dönemin sosyal ve iktisadî yapısını içeren yakınmalar ve istekler buraya kaydedilmişti. Dolayısıyla XVII. yüzyıl sosyo-ekonomik tarihi için en önemli arşiv belgelerinden biri, günümüze kadar pek fazla değerlendirilmemiş olan *Atik Şikâyet Defterleri* koleksiyonudur. XVII. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Mühimme Defterleri'ne kaydedilen şikâyetler için yeni bir defter formu oluşturuldu. Böylece taşradan merkeze yazılan şikâyetler *Mühimme Defteri*nden ayrılarak buraya kaydedildi. Bu değişimin sebebi sadece bürokratik gereksinimler mi, yoksa bu dönemdeki toplumsal krizlerin neticesi miydi?

İktisadî darlık sonucunda eyalet valileri ve sancak idarecileri halkı vergi ve sair sebeplerle sıkıştırdıkça sıradan Sulatan tebaaları sorunları ve şikâyetlerini had safhaya ulaştırdı. Nitekim yerelde sorunlarına çözüm bulamayan halk, çareyi merkez divânında aradı. *Divan*a yazılan yakınmalar ve devlet merkezinin bu sorunlara çözüm bulma pratiği *Şikâyet Defter*lerindeki kayıtlardan tespit edilebilmektedir. Dolayısıyla *Şikâyet Defterleri*'nin incelenmesi ile İmparatorluğun adalet mekanizmasının işleyiş tarzı da ortaya çıkmaktadır. Böylece toplumsal düzen ve devlet-reaya ilişkilerinin ne yönde seyrettiği sorusuna cevap bulunabilmektedir.

Bu çalışmada 1650-1700 arasındaki yılları ihtiva eden 30 adet *Atik Şikâyet Defteri* sistematik olarak taranarak verilerin detaylı incelenmesi sunulmaktadır. Bu taramadan elde edilen veriler ile birlikte dönemin arşiv belgelerindeki diğer bilgilerle Osmanlı taşrasına yansıyan gelişmeler Diyarbekir *eyaleti* ışığında irdelenecektir. *Atik Şikâyet Defterleri*'ndeki kayıtlardan tespit edildiği üzere, taşradan merkeze ulaşan şikâyetlerin nitelik ve niceliğinde artış olduğu açıkça görülmektedir. *Divan*a yazılan şikâyetler çoğunlukla borç meseleleri, aşırı

vergiden şikâyet ve diğer iktisadî çatışmalardı. Şikâyetlerin bazıları eyalet valisi ile sancak idarecileri arasında iken önemli bir kısmı ise sancak idarecileri ve devlet görevlileri ile sivil halk arasındaki ilişkilere ışık tutmaktadır. Bu veriler incelenerek şikâyetlerin içeriği, sebepleri ve idarî-toplumsal etkileri tespit edilebilmektedir. Neticede bu süreçte meydana gelen gelişmelerin ortaya çıkardığı iktisadî krizin izleri sürülerek İmparatorluk politikalarının ve yeni gelişmelerin taşraya nasıl yansıdığı Diyarbekir özelinde görülmektedir.

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THE EARLIEST OTTOMAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN THE NIŠAVA RIVER REGION (1385-1402)

The major political events that took place in the Nišava river region in the late middle ages were influenced by its exceptionally good geographical position. Namely, this region was part of the transversal main road (*Via Militaris*), which connects Asia with the European continent. At the end of the 12th century after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, it became the border region between Serbia and Bulgaria. The Serbian state conquered the Nišava River region in 1330, but after a few decades its authority was challenged by the advancing Turks. Numerous case studies on cities such as Serres, Skoplje, Bobovac, Kruševac and others, clearly indicate that the invaders frequently and very skilfully established a complex patchwork of territories located deep inside the territory of their vassal states during the early stages of their progress in late 14th and 15th centuries. These Ottoman enclaves usually consisted of strategic points along the main Balkan land routes and were inhabited by soldiers and civilian settlers.

In this paper I am going to explain the structure of Ottoman military organization in the Nišava river region between the Ottoman conquest of Sofia and Niš (1385 and 1386 respectively) and 1402. I suggest that these two cities and the surrounding areas had a special legal status within the Ottoman state organization similar to the other examples mentioned above. To be more precise, one may presume the presence of high-ranking Ottoman military dignitaries (border warlords) commanding local troops with the task to politically and militarily control the neighboring vassal state and to prepare the future Ottoman advance. The paper will reconstruct the situation in the Nišava river region from the available historical sources such as chronicles and travelogues and compare it to the literature on the other frontier areas.

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THE NOVEL "LES JANISSAIRES" BY ALPHONSE ROYER AS A PREDECESSOR FOR THE BIRTH OF MODERN TURKISH AND BULGARIAN PROSE OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The objective of the paper is to prove the prevailing influence of European popular novel on the Ottoman literary context of the Tanzimat era by comparing two seemingly contrasting novelettes – "Yeniçeriler" by the Turkish writer Ahmet Midhat Efendi and "Neshtastna familia" by the Bulgarian writer Vasil Drumev. By means of the method of the entangled histories I will describe the channels of transfer that allow a comparison between these two works, which up to now have been usually regarded through the lenses of the respective national canon. The comparison between them stems from the fact that their authors share a commonly spread notion of the "janissaries" that was fueled by Western European literary sources, such as the French novel "Les Janissaires" by Alphonse Royer, published in 1842. This historical novel has been translated in five languages – Greek, Bulgarian, Karamanli, Romanian and Armenian, and has been read widely in the Ottoman territories between the 1840s and the 1870s. The innovative character of my presentation will be to delineate the way the French novel has influenced the novelettes of Ahmet Midhat effendi and Vasil Drumev in terms of genre, style and list of characters.

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EFENDİ VE KÖLE: XVII. YÜZYILIN İLK YARISINDA OSMANLI TRABZON'UNDA EFENDİLER VE KÖLELERİ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİLER

Kendinden önceki Müslüman devletler gibi kurumlarını İslami esaslara göre biçimlendiren Osmanlı Devleti'nde kölelik, belli kurallar içinde varlığını sürdürmüştü. Esir pazarlarından satın alınan köle ve cariyelerin kullanıldıkları yerler ve onların yaptıkları hizmetler değişiklik göstermekteydi. Osmanlı Devleti'nde devletin istihdam ettiği köleler dışında, reayanın tasarrufunda bulunan köleler de oldukça fazlaydı. Köleler ve efendileri ile ilgili bilgileri bulabileceğimiz ana kaynak bulundukları dönemin mahkeme kayıtlarını içeren, *kadı defterleri* de denen, *şer'iyye sicil defterleri*dir. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun idari ve iktisadi açıdan en önemli eyaletlerinden biri olan Trabzon'un 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830 numaralı beş adet *şer'iyye sicil defterleri* incelenerek köleler ile ilgili kayıtlar tespit edilmektedir. 1628/1644 yıllarına tekabül eden bu defterlerdeki kayıtlarda köleler ve efendileri arasında nasıl bir ilişki olduğuna

ve bu ilişkileri belirleyen faktörler ve konunun mahkemeye ne şekilde yansıdığı anlatılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

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XVIII. YÜZYIL BAŞLARINDA KRATOVA'DA MADENCİ KÖYLERİ

XV. yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren Osmanlı Balkanları'nda sistemli biçimde devlet kontrolünde madencilik faaliyetlerinin sürdürüldüğü işlek sahalardan biri de Kratova maden ocaklarıydı. II. Mehmed döneminde Sidrekapsi sahası örneğinde olduğu gibi, bölgeye yönelik özel maden kanunnameleri yayınlanmış ve üretilen gümüşün bolluğundan ötürü burada bir darphane tesis edilmişti.

XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren ülke genelinde kendini hissettiren idari, askeri, ekonomik ve toplumsal dönüşüm, madencilik sektörünü de derinden etkileyip Kratova ve Sidrekapsi gibi maden üretim sahalarında gerilemeye yol açmıştır. Öyle ki gerek maden çıkarım ve arıtımındaki teknolojinin yenilenememesi, gerekse bu sahalarda devletin temin ettiği muafiyet esasları dairesinde vazifelerini sürdüren *"Madenciyan Taifesi"*'ne karşı istismarlar, söz konusu sönükleşmeyi adeta tetiklemiştir. Ayrıca XVII. yüzyılın sonlarında ortaya çıkan Kutsal İttifak savaşları esnasında neredeyse Kratova'ya kadar ilerleyen Habsburg kuvvetleri bölgedeki madencilerin dağılmasına, sahaların harabeye dönüşmesine ve üretimin sekteye uğramasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

Karlofça Barışı sonrasında devlet denetiminde yeniden yapılanma aşamasına giren madencilik sektörünün canlandırılması için seçilen sahalar arasında Kratova da yer almıştır. Özellikle 1703 yılından itibaren kuyu ıslahı, arıtma tesisleri inşası gibi bir dizi işlemler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Aynı zamanda sayıları 7'yi aşan verimli rezervlere sahip yeni kuyular açılmıştır. İstihdam için tecrübeli madenciler, eski muafiyet esasları gereğince yeniden temin edilerek tahrir edilmiştir. Sadece Kratova değil, buraya yakın idari birimler olan Koçana, Kumanova, İştip, Eğridere ve İvranye'den, ezici çoğunluğu Slav kökenli olan 1000'i aşkın madenci kayda geçti.

Osmanlı Arşivi'ndeki Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler serisine ait iki *defter* kayıtlarına göre *"Kratova Madenciyan Taifesi"* adı altında, 1710 ve 1715 yıllarında iki ayrı tahrir gerçekleştirildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Madenci tayin edilenler isimleri ve yaşadıkları köyleriyle birlikte kaydedilmiştir. Yukarıda bahsi geçen kaza ve nahiyelere ait toplam 113 köyden 1.380 civarında madenci bu tahrire konu olmuştur. Bu araştırmada madene bağlı köyler ve madenci tayin edilenler, çizilen grafik içeren haritalarla da desteklenmektedir. Ayrıca Cevdet tasnifi, Maden Mukataası ve Baş Muhasebe kalemlerine ait verilerde kullanılmaktadır.

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THE DICHOTOMY OF OTTOMAN CHRONOGRAM POEMS:
FACTS AND FICTION

This study reasons that chronogram poems (that is, poems with imbedded chronograms) have a dichotomous nature because they are partly factual and of material utility (they fix a date or dates) and partly poetry (of an epigrammatic, laudatory, satiric or commemorative nature). It argues that they have a strong ludic component (cf. Johan Huizinga's *Homo ludens* and its critique by E. H. Gombrich) and reminds that poetry is a social game that does not have a play-rule saying that it should narrate reality. Since it may reflect social realities in whatever way the poet chooses, the various "facts" found in poetry should always be verified through external evidence before being accepted as "mirroring reality" (more or less). The only component of a chronogram poem that may be expected to be correct is the date, and that refers only to the numerical information; even the wording of the date may alter reality since it, too, is poetry. The flip side of the coin is, of course, that the very nature of the alteration can inform the historical and societal discourse.

To see whether this reasoning is justified or not, we shall firstly determine the degree of play involved in various genres of chronograms (cf. also Thomas Bauer on Arabic chronograms). Secondly, the opinions of literary critics (mainly the writers of poets' biographies, *tezkire-i şuʿarâ*) will serve to pinpoint conventions. Thirdly and most importantly, the ratio of factual information to fictional (poetic) narration will be determined in a suitably large corpus of chronograms on historical matters concerning the people (such as the conquest of Gence and the measures taken against the Celalis) or individuals (such as death chronograms).

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URBAN HISTORY OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE IMPERIAL ROAD:
ŞEHIRKÖY IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD (15TH-18TH CENTURIES)

Pirot (Şehirköy) was a town located on the Belgrade-Sofia-Istanbul road, one of the routes along which Ottoman military forces had entered the Balkan Peninsula. After the Ottoman conquest the Slavic medieval settlement found itself in a new condition. The new religion introduced by the Ottomans in particular, changed profoundly the existing settlement which was intended to become one of the stations on the road. This position on the imperial road also contributed to an influx of settlers, dervishes along with a continuous flow of passengers, traders

and others. As a consequence, Şehirköy became a center of communication and experienced certain spatial transformation.

The aim of this study is to define the urban area of Ottoman Şehirköy in the period of 15th to 18th century. The socio-cultural configuration and spatial organization of the town's inhabitants, the arrangement of neighborhoods and its buildings will be in the focus of the research. Special emphasis will be given to population dynamics and confessional aspects. Apart from the residential area, the town's commercial part (*çârşı*) was the center of Ottoman Şehirköy. When the town became seat of a *kazâ* and a *nâhiye* with the same name the process of Şehirköy's transformation continued.

The paper is based on Ottoman archival sources, travel literature, visual and archeological evidence, with insights into aspects of political, economic and social history. Information is collected from *tahrir*, *vaqf*, and *cizye* registers and supported by a contextual reading of other archival documents. Using the mentioned sources I will trace how the proximity of the imperial road affected the urban context of Şehirköy. Finally, I will follow the phases in its urban development, the rising of new types of facilities, the most prosperous *vaqf*s as well as the persons who particularly influenced the look of Şehirköy.

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IN SEARCH OF THE URBAN PALIMPSEST:
ISTANBUL HAGIA SOPHIA'S *MEDRESE*

Using as a starting point the eminent reconstruction of the *medrese* of Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya), which was demolished in 1934, this paper aims first to dwell into the history of this multilayered site, and to draw connections between its various building phases with their political context in the Ottoman period. Subsequently, these findings will shed light onto the recent revivalist wave that has taken over Istanbul, which involves the construction of hundreds of replicas of Ottoman buildings.

Constructed after the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmet the Conqueror, Ayasofya mosque's *medrese* was soon abandoned (in 1479) and left to ruin, until another *medrese* was constructed in its place in 1847, by the Italian architects Giusepe and Gaspare Fossati. While others refer to this second construction as a 'restoration' of the old building, it was rather a completely new building, as only the foundations had remained from the original structure. Given that the Fossati brothers had also received permission by Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861) to restore the mosaics of the church-turned-mosque, their work can be perceived

as a restoration of the 'palimpsest' that Hagia Sophia was. Can the two architects' work be related to the context of the Ottomanist ideology that was pursued by the sultan at the time, in an effort to keep the empire together? And how can the study of this reconstruction, within its historical context, inform the debate of the reconstruction of the *medrese* today within the current political climate in Turkey?

Based on primary sources (Ottoman archives, contemporary surveys of the monument) and the existing literature (Edhem Eldem, Gülru Necipoğlu and others), the paper intertwines two themes, the history of the building with the history of its various appropriations, which still stir heated discussions today.

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"CHIFTLICISATION" IN THE 18TH-CENTURY OTTOMAN BALKANS: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ABOUT THE DISTRICT OF VEROIA

In his classical *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, Bruce McGowan was the first to draw attention to the district of Veroia (Ott. Karaferye) as an area with "a larger share of *chiftliks*" in the 18th century. Later research has confirmed this initial observation. The aim of this paper is to discuss landholding and, more particularly, *çiftlik* formation and distribution by using the information provided by the lists of local expenses (*masarif-i vilâyet defterleri*) that are to be found in the surviving *kadı* court registers of Veroia. These lists were not compiled in order to record landownership but so as to distribute the cost of various types of communal payments, fiscal and non-fiscal, among the local population. However, the listing of expenses was followed by their apportionment to the district's settlements in the so-called *tevzi defterleri*, which is where one may find information on landholding. More specifically, individual village entries include the names of landholders, who, quite frequently, may be recognised as members of the local elite and who sometimes possess land in more than one village. The serial nature of these lists of expenses and their payment-distribution appendices, especially when these sources are combined with other *çiftlik*-related archival material, allows us to draw a picture of landholding in the long term and observe the pace of expansion of control of the land by the few. At the same time, these lists raise significant methodological issues of interpretation that we intend to bring up in our discussion of our preliminary findings. The project from which this paper emanates, is implemented through the Operational Program "Human

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'CONCESSION HUNTERS', TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND POLITICS IN THE LANDS OF THE SULTAN: EARLY RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman railway development started in the second half of the 19th century and until the collapse of the Empire it was constantly dependent on foreign capital and know-how. Consequently, the introduction and the spread of this new technology became an important part of Ottoman politics. It should be pointed out that most of the researchers who touch upon the topic usually highlight the role of different figures of the Ottoman political elite or the influence which the Great Powers exercised upon the Sublime Porte. Yet, the present paper will focus on another key factor for the railway development in the lands of the Sultan which often remains understudied—the foreign capitalists and concessionaires.

Thus, the accent will be put on the activities of these so-called 'concession hunters' during the 1850s, since this was the period when they started to apply for railway concessions and emerged as important actors in the modernization of the Empire. These activities include:

- their role in the process of concession granting and their relations with different circles in the Ottoman political elite;
- their relations with different members of foreign governments;
- their social networks, their partnership as well as rivalries with other capitalists and entrepreneurs;
- their participation in other undertakings of similar type (e.g. bank or telegraph concessions) in the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Mediterranean during the 1850s.

In order to reveal the role of the foreign capitalists and concessionaires in the railway development of the Ottoman Empire several interconnected key studies will be drawn using a comparative approach. These are the projects of: the Leachy brothers; the Gisborne brothers; Henry Austin Layard and Joseph Paxton; the Barkley brothers.

The presentation will be based mainly on unpublished official and unofficial documents from Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, The National Archives, Kew, and the Central State Archives – Sofia. Newspapers and other published sources in English, Bulgarian and other languages will be used as well.

Our main point is that the 'concession hunters' played a central role in the Ottoman railway development, along with the Ottoman government and the Great Powers. In this line we shall challenge the traditional concept that the foreign capitalists' and concessionaires' actions were motivated only by the policy of certain Great Powers and shall outline their specific model of behavior.

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GREEK ORTHODOX NEIGHBORHOODS IN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL, 1821-1844

In the Ottoman capital, life was organized around the neighborhood (*mahalle*). The urban space was fragmented according to religious characteristics with different religious groups living in distinct neighbourhoods, organized around a religious centre such as a mosque, a church or a synagogue. This was particularly true for the historical peninsula, where state control was stronger, while the situation seemed to be more flexible in the settlements on the Bosphorus coast. According to 19th-century Greek scholars, the Greek Orthodox neighborhoods were situated close to the city gates of Istanbul proper. This, according to them, facilitated the commercial activities of these people and made fleeing easier in times of unrest. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that these places at the foot of the city hills were less appealing and thus left to the non-Muslims.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Greek Orhtodox neighborhoods were situated at Fener, Cibali and Balat, at Samatia and Langa and around churches that were close to the land wall to the west of the historical peninsula. Furthermore, Greek Orthodox people lived to the north of the Golden Horn at Haşköy and Galata as well as further to the north at Pera (Beyoğlu) and Tatavla. Greek Orthodox neighborhoods were also found in villages along the Bosporus and particularly on its western coast. The upper strata of the Greek-Orthodox people of Constantinople lived around the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Fener. This started to change progressively after the violent episodes that took place in 1821, and especially during the 1830s and 1840s characterized by the introduction of reforms and changes in economy, with Galata and Pera (Beyoğlu) growing as they attracted new entrepreneurs.

In this paper, I will try to present the topography of the Greek Orthodox neighborhoods in Istanbul putting under examination the above-described picture. In addition, I will try to show the size of these neighborhoods in the mid-1840s and to trace the changes that had occurred since the early 1820s. In this, I will use the data from population registers (*Nüfus Defterleri*) compiled during these decades by the Ottoman government for various purposes, focusing on

registers of 1821/ 1236 and of 1844/ 1260. With this paper I intend to contribute to the discussion on the urban network of the Ottoman capital.

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THE OTTOMAN COURT RECORDS (*SICILS*) AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN FINANCIAL SYSTEM IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

It is difficult to find a source that is more favored by the researchers in the study of Ottoman history than the Ottoman court records. These sources are used to study: urban life, modernization, tax practices, and the formation of some institutions created by the local population. Studies have been made about the history of books in the Balkans, about the history of the Church, and others.

This paper will use this documentation from several cities – Sofia, Rousse, Vidin, Dobrich and Silistra, which are stored in the National Library „St. St. Cyril and Methodius" and in the system of the Bulgarian state archives (Archives State Agency). It will offer preliminary data on the existence of numerous documents, entered into the corpus of the court books, which are extremely important for the study of the Ottoman monetary system during the 18th and 19th centuries, a period that is quite interesting because of the constant transformations of the Ottoman monetary system. It passes through the use of several „basic" coins – *akçes, paras* and *guruşes*, repeated debasements, reaching the adoption of the bimetal standard in 1844 and a fixed ratio between the gold *lira* and the silver *guruş*.

The *sicil*s contain numerous information about coins, prices and monetary policy, which is important for the understanding of the problems that have led to the frequent changes in the Ottoman monetary system over the period under consideration. We shall seek an answer to the following questions: the cash amounts stored among the citizens of five cities – Sofia, Vidin, Rousse, Dobrich and Silistra; the extent to which gold is distributed and the real and legal ratio between the price of gold and silver. There will also be a discussion of some theoretical questions – was money a tool for accounting calculations or it had a real presence in the markets?

A quantitative and qualitative analysis of the documents contained in the *sicil*s will be made. Registers of the estate of a deceased persons (*tereke defters*), *narh* lists (registers with state controlled prices), and orders from the central government (*ferman*s) that regulate the rates of the coins will be explored.

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AHIDNAMELERIN DENIZ HUKUKU'NUN TEŞKILINDEKI ROLLERI

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun esas gücüne denizlerde de hakimiyet kurduktan sonra ulaştığını söylemek aşırı bir ifade sayılmamalıdır. Özellikle XVI. yüzyılda bu durum iyice belirgin hale gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla aynı zamanda bir deniz imparatorluğu olduğu da ifade edilebilecek siyasi ve askeri bu gücün bazı denizleri sadece Osmanlı menfaatleri doğrultusunda yabancı devlet gemilerine kapattığı bilinmektedir. Bu cümleden olarak farklı derecelerde olmak kaydıyla Karadeniz, Kızıldeniz ve Marmara Denizi Osmanlılar tarafından birer kapalı deniz statüsünde görülmekteydi. Osmanlı tebaası olmayan tüccarların söz konusu bölgelerdeki faaliyetleri özel izne tabi kılınmaktaydı. Akdeniz'in durumu ise bunlardan farklılık arz etmekteydi. Zira Akdeniz, Osmanlıların Avrupalı siyasi güçlerle sürekli bir hakimiyet mücadelesi içinde bulundukları bir denizdi. Bununla birlikte siyasi ve askeri alandaki çatışma haline karşın Akdeniz'in farklı kıyılarında hüküm süren devletlerin tüccarları imkanlar elverdiğince ticareti sürdürüyorlardı.

Deniz hukukunun doğuşuna yol açan etkenlerden biri de erken modern dönemde Akdeniz'deki ticari temaslardır. Dolayısıyla Osmanlı ahidname metinleri de bu tarihin kayda değer belgeleri arasında yer almaktadır. Bu bildiride Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan *Düvel-i Ecnebiye* tasniflerindeki Venedik, Dubrovnik, İspanya ve Sicilyateyn Defterleri'ne temas edilmektedir. Bu defterlerdeki kayıtlar ışığında XVI.-XVIII. yüzyıllar arasında Akdeniz'deki siyasi hakimiyet alanları, deniz sınırları ve karasularının mahiyeti gibi bazı modern uluslararası hukukun tarihi temellerini oluşturan unsurlar değerlendirilmektedir. Bu cümleden olmak üzere Osmanlı Sultanlarının ahidnameler verdiği yabancı devletlerin gemileri ile denizlerde tesis edilen dostluk ilişkileri zikredilmektedir. Korsanlık faaliyetleri de Osmanlı deniz hukuku kapsamında ele alınmaktadır. Kale altı ve top altı gibi tabirler karasularının tayini konusunda yol gösterici kavramlar olarak hukuk metinlerine yer bulmuştur.

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THREE HAGIA SOPHIAS AS IDEOLOGICAL BATTLEGROUNDS OF ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION

This paper will discuss how the conversion of religious monuments is a manifestation of dominance of one group over another through the stories of three Hagia Sophias (in Iznik, Trabzon, and Vize). Converting Byzantine churches into mosques became a customary practice during the Ottoman period, as

symbols of Islamic ascendency, with Istanbul's Hagia Sophia among the best known. Unlike other converted churches, Hagia Sophia's name remained as Ayasofya Mosque, keeping its Byzantine memory alive. Similarly, the Hagia Sophias in İznik and Trabzon sustained their names, as the emblematic cities where the remnants of Byzantine past were still apparent. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, these monuments gained   another layer of symbolic value after their conversion into museums. Just like the minarets that had been added after the Ottoman conquest, now the secular Republic appropriated these monuments as the sign of the emergence of a secular Turkish state. In recent years, first Hagia Sophia in İznik and then in Trabzon were reopened as mosques after functioning as museums for decades. Meanwhile, Hagia Sophia in Vize, which had been left abandoned for many years, has already been reopened as a mosque without receiving much attention. The recent conversion of three Hagia Sophias into mosques glorifies solely the Ottoman past of historic monuments. Moreover, their recent conversion into mosques manifests the competition for dominance among early Republican and neo-Ottomanist ideologies, coinciding with the recent political climate in Turkey. This paper will focus on the transformations of three Hagia Sophias, which have been regarded as the ideological battleground from the Ottoman period until today. Concentrating on the conservation histories of these Hagia Sophias through archival research, the paper will reveal how these monuments have been the foci of contestation in different periods.

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WIDOWS AS MARGINAL ACTORS: GENDER, DESTITUTION, AND THE STATE

In this paper, I will examine a register of monthly stipends provided to the widows in the year 1284 (1867) that I recently unearthed at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. This register includes the names of over a hundred widowed women and the financial aid they received. In the Ottoman usage, widow is not merely a woman who lost her husband but rather a destitute woman who does not have a house, a family, or any protection. Thus, these women presumably lacked any protective social or familial bonds and had no means of earning their own bread. Yet, the register has a relatively early date which can be located at a transitional period from the Tanzimat to the Hamidian era – when centrally planned and administered institutions of welfare emerged. In very broad terms this study will try to examine the experiences of indigent women in the Ottoman towns and cities. This work will investigate the policies, practices, and institutions

for the relief of the female destitute. However, when looked closer, this study questions who were entitled to receive rights and who were deprived from them in a context when the relationship between the state and the society was under transformation and when citizenship rights were in the process of being formed and defined. By looking at the most underprivileged of all – the destitute women lacking families, houses, and any kind of social protection – I investigate who were seen as respectable Ottomans and who were not, and discuss the rationale behind changing governing practices.

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BALKANLAR'DA OSMANLI *SERHAD* KALELERİNİN FİNANSMANI (1450-1520)

Bu sunum, XV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından XVI. yüzyılın başlarına kadar olan dönemde (1450-1520) Balkanlar'da Osmanlı serhad kalelerinin finasmanı meselesini incelemektedir. Büyük oranda XV. yüzyıla ait mukataa, yoklama ve tahrir defterlerine dayanan bu çalışmada ilk olarak Osmanlılar'ın Macaristan'ın fethinden sonra Habsburglar'a karşı oluşturulan serhadden çok daha evvel işleyen ve bütüncül bir kale finansman organizasyonuna sahip olduğu gösterilmektedir. Sunumda çeşitli yıllara ait veriler ele alınarak serhaddeki askeri personelin sayısındaki değişim, savunmanın mali külfeti ve bu külfetin Osmanlı merkezi bütçesindeki yeri anlatılmaktadır. Bununla beraber, Osmanlıların sınır kalelerindeki garnizon kuvvetlerini finanse etme metotları ve yıllar içerisindeki değişim irdelenmektedir. Aynı zamanda sunum haritalar ve tablolar ile desteklenerek askeri tarih bağlamında Osmanlı serhad çalışmaları çerçevesinde XVI. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Habsburg çatışması üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Macar Krallığı'nın ilhakından ve Habsburg İmparatorluğu ile paylaşılacak yeni bir serhaddin kurulmasından çok daha öncesinde var olan Osmanlı sınır kalelerinin ve kale personelinin finasmanı meselesine ışık tutmaktadır. Halihazırda var olan Osmanlı sınır çalışmalarında kronolojik olarak öncül sayılabilecek bu çalışma XV. yüzyıl ve sonrası Osmanlı serhad politikalrına bütüncül bir şekilde bakmamızı da kolaylaştıracaktır.

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DAS OSMANISCHE REICH AUS RUSSISCHER SICHT: MICHAIL KUTUZOV IN ISTANBUL

Die im Frieden von Jassy (1792) zwischen Russland und dem Osmanischen Reich getroffene Vereinbarung, gegenseitig diplomatische Delegationen auszutauschen, stellte auch eine zeremonielle Manifestation der russischen militärischen Siege dar. Das imperiale Selbstbewusstsein des Zarenreiches sollte den Osmanen in der feierlichen Gesandtschaft vor Augen geführt werden, mit der Katharina II. den General und Kriegshelden Michail Goleniščev-Kutuzov betraute. Mit einer Entourage von 600 Personen hielt der russische Gesandte Einzug in Konstantinopel.

Katharina II. stattete ihren Gesandten mit Instruktionen zu zeremoniellen und politischen Angelegenheiten aus. Die Hauptaufgabe Kutuzovs sollte darin bestehen, den zeremoniellen Vorrang der russischen Kaiserin zu behaupten und die Erfüllung der Friedensbedingungen durch die Hohe Pforte durchzusetzen. Während seines achtzehnmonatigen Aufenthalts in Konstantinopel verfasste Kutuzov zahlreiche Briefe und Berichte an Katharina II., ihre Würdenträger und seine Gemahlin. Diese Dokumente wurden zwar in einer Quellensammlung ediert, aber bisher nicht eingehender betrachtet. Ein solches Unterfangen erscheint jedoch vielversprechend, zumal den Briefen Kutuzovs die Berichte seines osmanischen Pendants Mustafa Rasih Efendi gegenüberstehen. Das Projekt einer kommentierten Edition dieser Berichte macht sich zur Aufgabe, die beiden Quellenkonvolute einer vergleichenden und narratologischen Analyse zu unterziehen. Die Untersuchung der Briefe Kutuzovs soll nicht nur einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Beziehungen leisten, sondern auch Perspektiven für eine kulturhistorische Beschäftigung mit dem Thema eruieren. Ziel soll es dabei zum einen sein, die Berichte der beiden Diplomaten vor ihrem historischen Hintergrund zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen; zum anderen, die Sichtweise russischer hoher Militärs und Diplomaten auf das Osmanische Reich, Konstantinopel und die russisch-türkischen Beziehungen zu untersuchen – vertrat doch Kutuzov ein Imperium, das sich spätestens seit der Zeit Katharinas II. als „eine europäische Macht" begriff und sich im Laufe des Jahrhunderts an die orientalischen Diskurse in Europa anschloss.

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THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION, THE PATRIARCHATE AND THE LOCAL POWERS IN THE 18TH CENTURY: THE CASE OF STAVROPEGIAL MONASTERIES

Historiography on the 18th-century Ottoman Empire has been dominated by the issue of the empowerment of local committees vis-à-vis the Central State in relation to the economic and administrative transformation and the changing roles of local actors in the Ottoman society. On the other hand, recent studies on the Orthodox Ottomans clearly demonstrate the institutionalization of Orthodox establishments, especially the Patriarchates as part of Ottoman administration, by the 18th century. Many questions remain unanswered though as to the nature of the relations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Ottoman central administration and the local actors in the context of the Empire-wide developments of the 18th century.

One of the issues between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the local ecclesiastical figures concern the stavropegial monasteries (*patriklere mahsus manastırlar*). The stavropegial monasteries were not subject to local ecclesiastical authorities, but were directly dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This entailed the payment of certain taxes to the Patriarchate, and not to the local metropolitans. In my paper, I shall present the preliminary results of my ongoing study, focusing on the interplay between the central administration, the Patriarchate, the local bishoprics, as well as other local actors. My objective is to revisit the subject of the local committees vis-à-vis the central administration, and to incorporate the Ottoman Christians and their institutions into the mainstream Ottoman historiography. For this paper, I am going to use basically the *ahkâm ve berevât* registers from the Kamil Kepeci collection, *piskopos mukâta'ası* records (D.PSK) located at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, published Patriarchal registers and letters besides secondary sources which are mostly available in Greek.

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LES MONASTÈRES ET LEURS RÉSEAUX DANS LES TERRES BULGARES DANS LES REGISTRES OTTOMANS DU XVIe SIÈCLE

L'un des grands thèmes qui depuis longtemps est placé comme central dans l'historiographie mondiale et bulgare, axée sur les aspects différents de la domination ottomane dans les Balkans, en particulier – dans les terres

bulgares, est celui de l'Eglise orthodoxe. Et l'un de ses importants segments de recherche, traditionnellement discuté à cause de la variabilité des exemples qui le composent, est lié aux monastères comme des déposeurs légalement definis avec une partie de la propriété de l'église sur la base de laquelle est possible l'existence économique de l'Eglise dans l'état ottoman, et le réseau des monastères – comme une organisation fonctionnelle et territoriale – qui nous presente en grande partie le niveau macro de l'institution eccléssiastique, lié, en plus de tout le reste, avec la préservation de l'identité culturelle et religieuse.

L'objectif du rapport est de présenter l'information des registres d'inventaire ottomans détaillés et concis non seulement sur la géographie du réseau des monastères sur le territoire de la Bulgarie moderne au XVIe siècle en cherchant sa correspondence au réseau des villages, mais aussi de suivre et d'essayer d'expliquer la difference avec les donneés initiales sur celle-ci dans ce type de documents.

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THE IMPACT OF THE TANZIMAT REFORMS ON THE ʿALAWITES (NUSAYRI) IN OTTOMAN SYRIA. A CASE STUDY

This paper will discuss how the Tanzimat Reforms (1839-1876) in Ottoman Syria impacted on the local Nusayri community and how these were perceived, internalized and made use of by the Nusayri themselves. During the Tanzimat period, several reforms on provincial administration, taxation, sectarian rights, and conscription were introduced. For example, local councils (*meclis*es) were formed at the centers of provinces. Their members were recruited from the local population, both Muslim and non-Muslim, which also allowed the Nusayris for participation in local administration. This paper inquires how the representation of the Nusayris in these local councils enhanced their agency in the late Ottoman State. Furthermore, it will investigate how these newly acquired possibilities for the Nusayris were received among Sunni and non-Muslim subjects, as there were opponents of granting the Nusayri equal rights among them. This also illustrates the reform's ruptures: Seemingly equal rights for all Ottoman subjects—regardless of their faith—were frequently tested by different actors and their implementation was handled differently according to time and space. Neither officially accepted as Muslim nor as non-Muslim, their testimonies were accepted, for example, in the Latakia court, while they were invalid in Hama. Later, however, members of the Nusayris (as well as Druzes) in Syria started to be accepted as Muslims, or, rather, were molded into "correct Muslims" in order to force them to military service. On the basis of both local Ottoman

sources, such as the late *şerʿiyye sicilleri* series, as well as sources produced in Istanbul (e.g. *tahrirat* and *tezkere* of the *meclis-i vala*) and traveller's accounts, the paper provides glimpses on the dynamic and ever-changing relation of the Nusayris with the transforming local Ottoman State and the former's changing arrangements with the Empire during the Tanzimat Reforms.

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BEYOND THE *TIMAR*: THE "OTTOMANIZATION" OF SPACE IN THE WESTERN RHODOPES DURING THE 15TH CENTURY

When referring to the 'classical age' of the Ottoman Empire, one of its defining institutions is the *timar*. However, the *timar* institution is but one aspect of how the Ottoman Empire organized the space under its rule, particularly in the Balkans. This paper will show that by the beginning of the 15th century, alongside the *timar*, a complex registration of various economic groups, such as salt and rice producers, shepherds, miners, private property holders, as well as diverse tax-exempt service-providing groups, re-organized the geographic and economic space of the Western Rhodopes, along the Via Egnatia road in eastern Thrace. This administration of the space is part of a process of 'Ottomanization', a process that systematically rearranges geographic, economic and lived space, to provide for the military and economic needs of the state, while simultaneously implementing its authority over the regions under its control. Through the use of a GIS-mapping program, this paper will map out the ways in which the Ottoman state 'Ottomanized' the Balkans, how that process of Ottomanization changed, both administratively and physically, such as through the disappearance of certain districts or through the loss of certain economic groups, and how this resulted in an 'Ottoman' space.

Finally, this paper proposes that a diverse administrative geography had been fully developed and administered under the control of the state, concurrently with the *timar* system, by the beginning of the 15th century, where urban and rural, merged with pre-modern industrial, and religious activity, were all registered and overseen by the Ottoman authorities. The administration and organization of various spaces of production, led to the 'Ottomanization' of the region, where the space was re-shaped to not only meet the needs of the state, but to spatially reflect its authority. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the evolution and complexities of Ottoman administration, over a period of a century, to demonstrate how detailed Ottoman tax registers, when approached differently, can reveal new information concerning the process of 'Ottomanization'. Furthermore, by viewing Ottoman administrative efforts as

creating a new spatial realm within the empire, we can draw some broader conclusions concerning administrative processes and their effects on physical space, in other geographical areas in the Balkans.

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JOHANN CHRISTIAN STRUVE UND HEINRICH CHRISTOPH VON REIMERS – ZWEI DEUTSCHSPRACHIGE BEOBACHTER DER GESANDTSCHAFT

Johann Christian Struve stammte aus einer Familie, die seit Langem sehr enge Kontakte nach Russland pflegte. Sein Vater trat 1755 in die Dienste von Herzog Peter von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, der 1762 als Zar Peter III. seiner Tante Elisabeth auf den russischen Thron folgte, und bekleidete in der Folge verschiedene Ämter in der russischen Administration, bis er 1799 zum Kaiserlichen Staatsrat erhoben wurde. Struve selbst arbeitete lange Zeit als Assessor am Kollegium für auswärtige Angelegenheiten in St. Petersburg. Im August 1791 beschloss der 25-Jährige, von Wien aus eine Reise auf die Krim zu unternehmen. Der Rückweg führte ihn in die russische Hauptstadt, wo er sich der Gesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel anschloss. Seine Erlebnisse veröffentlichte er 1801 bei der in Gotha ansässigen Ettingerschen Buchhandlung unter dem Titel „Reise eines jungen Russen von Wien über Jassy in die Crimm: und ausführliches Tagebuch der im Jahr 1793 von St. Petersburg nach Constantinopel geschickten russisch-kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft".

Ebenfalls ein Mitglied der kaiserlichen Delegation war der aus Reval stammende Heinrich Christoph von Reimers (1768–1812). Nach einem Studium in Göttingen und einigen ausgedehnten Reisen fand er eine Anstellung als Übersetzer bei demselben Kollegium für auswärtige Angelegenheiten in St. Petersburg, an dem auch Struve tätig war. In dieser Funktion nahm er auch an der Gesandtschaft teil. Nach seiner Rückkehr war er bis 1797 in seiner Vaterstadt als Gerichtsrat beschäftigt. In der Folgezeit überarbeitete er eine Reihe von Briefen, die er einem Freund während seiner Reise geschrieben hatte. Das dreiteilige Buch trägt den Namen „Reise der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Ausserordentlichen Gesandtschaft an die Othomanische Pforte im Jahr 1793: drei Theile: vertrauter Briefe eines Ehstländers an einen seiner Freunde in Reval: mit Kupfern und einer Karte" (St. Petersburg: Schnoorsche Buchdruckerei).

In dem Vortrag werden die beiden Berichte vorgestellt, kontextualisiert und auf ihre narrativen Strategien hin untersucht.

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PRESTIGIOUS MANUSCRIPTS, PRESTIGIOUS POETRY? TRACING MUHIBBI'S *DIVAN*S IN THE *KADI SICILLERI*

The preciously illuminated *Third Divan* of Sultan Süleyman, accomplished in 1554, is the oldest known poem collection of this prolific ruler-poet. Several years ago, the *Third Divan* was discovered in Hamburg, it presents a hitherto unedited manuscript. Under the pen name Muhibbi, Sultan Süleyman created thousands of poems which were collected in different divans over his lifetime and beyond.

Since the poems were used in different divans, we are able to trace the modifications between the poems in the *Third Divan* and later *divan* collections. With his later modifications of its editor, the poet Baki imbued the poems with his own stance, but these were probably approved by the Sultan, as Baki's steep career at court suggests. A certain popularity of Muhibbi can be deduced from their registration in the *Kadı Sicilleri*, which locates Muhibbi's *divan*s in some of Kadı's libraries. Although his combined role as ruler and poet might have fostered the appeal of Muhibbi's *divan*s and made the possession of one of his *divan*s particularly valuable, it is worth considering how Baki promoted Muhibbi's lyricism, transforming the prestigious manuscripts into prestigious poetry.

In the following paper I will explore Muhibbi's *divan*s that are registered in the *Kadı Sicilleri,* with special attention to the variations in selected poems that occurred between the *Third Divan* and later collections. As I will show, both rhyme and meter were modified to create a new harmony. Further, two outstanding poems of the *Third Divan* will be presented to shed light on the imagery and the innate lyrical charm of the *Third Divan*.

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AN OTTOMAN PHYSICIAN AT THE COURT OF SHAH JAHAN: HAKIM MEHMED B. AHMED OF EDIRNE (D. 1680) AND HIS MEDICAL WORKS

Research on the Ottoman-Mughal relations in the 17th century still lacks studies shedding light on interactions in the fields of science and medicine. This study which concentrates on the life and works of Hakim Mehmed b. Ahmed of Edirne (d. 1680), an Ottoman physician who traveled to India and became the chief-physician to the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (d. 1666, r. 1628-58) is one of the first steps to uncover this intriguing chapter in Ottoman and Mughal history. Hakim Mehmed b. Ahmed left behind a number of works in several fields

including Islamic law, mysticism, and medicine. He, along with his medical treatises and translations, compiled a voluminous medical dictionary, *Qāmūs al-Etıbbā'* (Dictionary of Physicians) at around 1677 and presented it to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV (d. 1693, r. 1648-87) and the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683, 1676-83 in office). Using his life at the Mughal and Ottoman courts and his medical works as a case study, this paper aims to document the transfer of knowledge and expertise between the Ottomans and the Mughals in the second half of the 17th century and to explain how this interaction influenced their respective scientific and medical traditions.

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KAMUSAL ALANDA İSTANBULLU KADININ GÖRÜNÜRLÜĞÜ; NAHIDE HANIM İSTANBUL SOKAKLARINDA

Osmanlı toplumunda kadının kamusal alanı kullanmadığı, toplumsal hayata dahil olamadığı, pencereden dahi bakamadığı yönünde yaygın bir kanı vardır. Bu kanı, Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde kadının varlığının nadiren rastlanması oluşu ile desteklenmektedir. Ancak devlet görevlilerinin, devlet için faydalı olan "mühim" meseleleri kaydettiği unutulmaktadır. Mühim olan, seferlerin devamını ve ülkede refahı sağlayacak olan hazinenin doluluk oranıdır. Buna bağlı olarak vergi veren bireyler itina ile kayıt altına alınmaktadır. Öte yandan sokakta ekmek satan, fahişelik yapan, dilenen, camiye giden herhangi bir birey devlet nezdinde kayıt altına alınamayacak kadar "önemsizdi." Dünyanın en kalabalık şehirlerinden biri olan İstanbul'da vergi vermeden, mahkemeye gitmeden, mülk edinmeden yaşayan birçok insan olmalıydı. Bu kişi bir kadınsa herhangi bir suça karışmadığı sürece kayda girme ihtimali daha da düşüktü.

Nitekim 1513-1663 yıllarını kapsayan İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri ve döneme ait Mühimme Defterlerinin incelendiğinde kadına dair oldukça az kayda ulaşılmaktadır. Egzotik doğuda altın yaldızlı saraylara kapatılan kadınları merak eden batılı, elit erkeklerin (ve birkaç kadının) yazdıkları da sıradan kadınlar hakkında oldukça sınırlı bilgi vermektedir. Bu kaynaklara dayanılarak oluşturulan tablo, Osmanlı kadınının haremde tembellik yaparak geçen hayatının neredeyse tek eğlencesi olarak hamamları göstermektedir. XVIII. yüzyılda bunlara mesireler eklenmiştir. Peki, Nahide Hanım'ın hayatı sadece bunlardan mı ibaretti?

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemlerini kullanarak oluşturulan dönem haritası yardımıyla şehrin işleyişi içinde kadını görünür kılabilmektir. Belgelerden ve seyahatnamelerden faydalanılarak hazırlanan bu harita, şehrin işlek caddeleri, çeşmeleri, limanları, çarşıları, camileri hakkında bilgi verip tarihe mekân üzerinden bakılarak, kayıtlarda çoğunlukla görünmez olan sıradan bir kadının

kısmen görünür olması sağlanmaktadır. Bu bilgiler temelinde Nahide Hanım'ın sanıldığı gibi toplumsal hayattan tamamen kopuk olmadığı, uygun şartlarda ve zamanlarda şehir hayatına aktif olarak katıldığı ortaya çıkmaktadır.

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NATURAL DISASTERS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR THEMATIZATION IN OTTOMAN *DĪVĀN* POETRY

Being aware of studies focused on social life in Ottoman *Dīvān* poetry (for example Banarlı 1966 and Sefercioğlu 2002), I will deal in this contribution only with the treatment of natural disasters by Ottoman poets of the 15th to 17th century. One of the main questions will be if writing about disasters implies a social concern of the poets. To answer this question, I will investigate the treatment of several disasters mainly occurring in Istanbul and its environment – like the scarcity of barley, the great earthquake in Istanbul in 1509, or the freezing of parts of the Bosphorus in 1618 – by poets such as Necātī (d. 1509), Ḥayretī (d. 1534-5), Keşfī (d. 1538-9), and Neşāṭī (d. 1674).

As Ottoman *Dīvān* poetry is supposed to be regulated by fixed patterns and conventions, I will inquire whether the disasters were treated based on conventions and/or religious backgrounds and whether this topic's treatment in *Dīvān* poetry can be considered extraordinary.

I will position my contribution on the theories of social history which ask for the societal references of literary texts. In this vein I will postulate the supposition that natural disasters were generally treated more by poets who saw their literary production not only as an aesthetic concern but also as a matter of life (and death). This supposition can be consolidated by the great number of Ottoman court poets who did not write about disasters, which will be demonstrated statistically. Finally, I will compare the treatment of disasters by poets of Ottoman *Dīvān* poetry with the treatment by firstly, Turkish folk poets and secondly, poets writing in other languages than Ottoman Turkish but living in the same region.

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OTTOMAN ISTANBUL HOUSING TYPOLOGY: THE SAMPLE OF 17TH-CENTURY GALATA

This study aims at examining housing typology in Galata as part of 17th-century Ottoman Istanbul. It is based on the Shari'ah court records project which include "Istanbul Shari'a Records / Istanbul Court Records" published in 40 volumes

by İSAM and the "Social and Economic Life in Seventeenth–Century İstanbul: Glimpses from Court Records", edited by Timur Kuran. The Shari'ah records are the sources that reflect most closely society in the Ottoman Empire and this makes them the main source in this study. Likewise, Galata was chosen because of its big share in Ottoman trade in the 17th century.

The records which provide details of the typologies are records of home purchase and sale which abound in the *sicill*s as does information about how houses are expressed, what these expressions mean, the meanings of the words used when describing houses of different characteristics and dilemma of these expressions among these information. In addition, the records include location of the house, the neighborhood and the neighbouring estates (other real estate belonging to third people especially, roads, churches, schools, cemeteries …), the number of floors determining the cost of the house, rooms, kitchens, cellar, bathroom, storerooms, water wells or other secondary elements, whether it has a garden with fruit or other trees.

The above-mentioned sources are examined by considering the house sales records as the main aim of the study. It has been determined that 401 home sales records belong to Galata Courts among 2.647 ones in 17th Ottoman Istanbul home sales records. These records also include records that do not allow access to detailed information about the typology of the house sold. Other records except the above-mentioned are presented in detail and also in tables. Houses are evaluated by subjecting them to three different distinctions: in terms of neighborhood, the house characteristics and their prices.

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TRANSLATING AND TRANSMITTING THE SULTANIC JUSTICE: NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SULTANIC IMAGE IN A BOOK OF ETHICS TRANSLATED FOR SULTAN AHMED I

This paper aims to offer a literary-historical analysis of *Ahlâk-ı Sultân Ahmedî* (*Morals of Sultân Ahmed*), an early 17th-century Ottoman treatise on ethics prepared for Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617). This book was originally written in Persian in 1494 by Hüseyin Vâiz Kâşifî, a renowned Timurid scholar and intellectual, for Sultan Hüseyin Baykara (r. 1469-1506) and his son Ebu'l-Muhsin after whom it was named as *Ahlâk-ı Muhsinî (Morals of Muhsin)*. In around 1610, Sultan Ahmed I ordered a translation of *Ahlâk-ı Muhsinî* into Ottoman Turkish, a task which was completed, with some critical additions, in 1612 by Hocazâde Abdülaziz Efendi and named as *Ahlâk-ı Sultân Ahmedî*. I will attempt to provide a critical examination of this treatise on ethics particularly with respect to the

question of how such a translated book was used as a tool to create a powerful image of the Ottoman sultan at a time of crisis and change in the Ottoman imperial and dynastic establishment. My main contention is that the production of *Ahlâk-ı Sultân Ahmedî* should be understood as part of a much larger political agenda carried by Ahmed I, who, as a young and ambitious ruler, tried hard to present his reign and rule as a recovery from the turbulent years of wars and rebellions since the late 1590s.

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WHO IS GOSSIP FOR?

My paper seeks to elaborate on an elusive social practice, rumor. Rumor as a social phenomenon has received some attention from the historians but other social sciences and humanity disciplines such as anthropology, media studies, and economics have done more than history to take rumor seriously. This observation is also true for Ottoman history. My aim is to look at this apparently elusive social practice and reflect on the extent to which it is marginal to our understanding of various aspects of social, political, economic, and even intellectual transformations.

I aim to differentiate two important aspects of rumor: as a literary strategy and as a social practice. In the first instance, I ask the following with reference to a specific historical event, the regicide of Osman II: whether rumor is used as a literary or ideological device for the purpose of conveying a message by the historians; whether rumor functions in their histories as a strategy in order to relieve a particular group from the burden of responsibility, to convince the readers that the threat to the body politic was imminent, or to caution, not only the contemporary but also the future readers about the always present danger of rumor in the context of political crisis.

I then turn to some specific examples in which rumor seems to have played a role in either financial panics, social mobilization, or political upheavals with regard to different examples taken from Ottoman social, political and economic history. In these instances, the relevant questions are: which social groups rely on rumor, how does it spread, through what kind of media, which social groups rely on the power rumor for social and political mobilization, is it at all controlled and used strategically by political leaders?

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CEREMONIAL LAW AND VIZIERIAL POWER IN THE KÖPRÜLÜ ERA

This paper analyzes the *teşrifat kanunnamesi* of 1676, produced by the *nişancı* Tevki'î Abdürrahman Paşa, in the context of the Köprülü grand vizierate. It asks why the code was promulgated just at that moment, the transition between the vizierates of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed and Kara Mustafa, adopted into the family. It inquires into the relevance of surrounding events, such as the promulgation of a new land code (1673?) and an imperial circumcision festival (1675). A comparison with the earlier ceremonial code, the "Kanunname of Mehmed II," reveals not a 90 percent similarity, as Akgündüz thought, but about a 75 percent dissimilarity. What is new about the new ceremonial code, and how does it differ from the older one? If the code of Mehmed II was heavily updated in the late 16th century, as Röhrborn's study seems to show (despite his conclusion that it was forged at that point), why was it not merely updated again in 1676? What are the main concerns of the *kanunname* and how does it depict Ottoman ceremonial? How does it compare with the *kanunname*s produced around the same time by Hezarfen and Eyyubî Efendi? And finally, what does it reveal about power relationships among the elite? The answer is, nothing we did not already know. However, its analysis illuminates the process by which the governing structure of the empire shifted to accommodate the depoliticization of the *timar* system and the loss of sultanic centrality to the exertion of power in the empire. Baki Tezcan told one part of that story, focusing on the Janissaries and the early 17th century. The dynamics of the Köprülü era are not well understood; the Köprülüs famously "halted decline," and we have not probed much more deeply than that. This paper contributes to a new analysis of their contribution to the reorganization of the empire.

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F. W. VON BAUER AND THE MAPPING
OF THE DANUBIAN MILITARY FRONTIER

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 the advance of G. A. Rumiantsev's First Army after its great victories at Riabaia Mogila, Larga, and Kagul was slowed by several factors, including the lack of adequate maps of southern Moldavia and Wallachia and the Turkish fortress line along the Danube. This problem was finally addressed by Lt General Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer (1731-1783), a talented engineer in Russian service, a hero of the Riabaia Mogila and

Larga battles, and author of a project to organize a Russian General Staff along Prussian lines. My paper argues that Bauer's surveying work facilitated the Russians' successful drive across the Danube in 1773 and that this surveying work informed the remarkably detailed map of Moldavia he published in 1781. The data he gathered for a similar map of Wallachia was published in his *Memoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie, avec un prospectus d'un Atlas géographique et militaire de la dernière guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomanne* (1778). My paper examines Bauer's work as a geographer to illustrate the increasing importance of Russian military technicalism in the 18th century. Bauer's Moldavian map is analyzed as a contribution to European knowledge of the geography of the Danubian military frontier. The paper concludes with speculation on whether Bauer's proposed Wallachian map was ever produced.

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CAN ONE SPEAK OF A MEDITERRANEAN INTELLECTUAL OF THE 19TH CENTURY?

Pursuant to the idea of the emergence of a Mediterranean intellectual during the course of the 19th century, this contribution studies the intricacies of infrastructural networks and more personal connections between individuals, currents of thinking and educative processes put into operation by political authorities within the Mediterranean basin, i.e. concerning, in particular, public education. Without minimizing the specificities which are characteristic of different nation-states and empires within the region, the end question of this research: presupposing that there was a certain common intellectual space which emerged in the Mediterranean during the 19th century up until the years

immediately following the First World War with the demise of European and Middle Eastern empires, how can this question be defined and studied within the context of cultures in movement?

While the ultimate intention of this research on the 19th-century Mediterranean intellectual is to work towards a comparative perspective on the above questions across the Mediterranean regions with a time span from the 18th century (taking the years running up to the French Revolution and its immediate cultural impact within the country and beyond as well as similar movements in the Mediterranean, i.e. the Balkan and Greek independence movements) to the aftermath of the First World War as an endpoint with the end of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, this presentation will focus on public education created for both girls and boys as a conduit of the emergence of the 19th century Mediterranean intellectual.

An initial focus for the study of public education in the 19th century, which is a defining feature of that century, will be put on the public schools of the Ottoman Empire with a view towards developing a comparative perspective around the Mediterranean including the Habsburg Empire as a power having an impact in the Mediterranean. Gender plays an important role here and will be taken into consideration in this study: a recent publication on the question: C. Fayolle, 2017, *La Femme nouvelle. Genre, éducation, révolution (1789-1830),* Paris, Éditions du CTHS, will be taken into consideration.

Another aspect of this question, fundamental in its horizontal and vertical impact in society and which is a critical factor in the emergence of the 19th-century Mediterranean intellectual and his/her impact in cultures in movement: the pervasive presence of local, regional and international newspapers leading to a multivocality and reciprocity of intellectual expression within the Mediterranean.

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ACEH TO OTTOMAN: THROUGH THE NETWORK OF TAMIL MUSLIM MERCHANTS, 1840-1878

Aceh was infamously known as the only Islamic political entity in South East Asia that entailed its political link to the Ottomans. Despite abundant records on this connection between Aceh and the Ottomans traced back as far as the 16th to the 19th century, narratives on the agents that contributed to the ties establishment skip the attention of most historians in this field. Particularly in the first half of the 19th century, prominent wealthy merchants of Tamil origins were employed by the Sultanate of Aceh for a diplomatic mission to Istanbul where it relied mostly on the established network of Indian commerce stretched from Aceh to Malacca

Straits and across the Bay of Bengal. This occasion occurred in the alignment of the expanding territorial threat from the Dutch that was claiming sovereignty over the southern areas of Aceh Sultanate. Through utilizing corresponding letters and newspapers from the period, this paper examines the role of Tamil Muslims from Southern Part of India by focusing on two prominent figures called Sidi Muhammad who died presumably in the 1870s and Muhammad Ghauts tasked as a diplomat in 1848-1850. It investigates the mercantile network of the Indian community in Aceh, Penang, Strait Settlement, and Coromandel Coast that help channeling these two emissaries to Ottoman. It is expected that this paper will contribute to an additional explanation on the agent identity and political channel development between Aceh and the Ottoman in the respective period.

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TOWARDS A NEW INTERPRETATION OF SOURCES: OTTOMAN ACCOMMODATION IN THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM – DATABASE-BUILDING AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF VISUALIZATION IN GIS

The accommodation of Ottomans and the organization of their rule in the newly conquered areas has been in the centre of interest of researers for a long time, but was difficult to investigate. Our project – aimed at collecting available archival data, organizing them into a systematic database (transcribing them from Ottoman language) and also visualizing them using GIS methods – offers plenty of methods to analyze the spatial and temporal pattern of prograding Ottoman rule in the zone of 'double taxation' with the aid of scripts specified to illustrate key phenomena. Using this instrument the analysis can be extended from local to regional level. The database contains the data of 5 *sanjak*s, 30 *defter*s (including *ruznamçe*, *tahrir* and *tapu defter*s), 12,271 *timar*s or other estates between 1540-1580. The variety of sources offers diverse aspects of analysis. The scripts provide facility to visualize and analyze the extent of the administrative area (*nahiye, kaza*), name of the beneficiary of estates, their predecessors and successors, their movement during their career, the reasons for donations, year of donation, the value of tax assigned, the number of subjected *reaya*, tax per capita – and also the territorial differences regarding these, as well as changes in time. The base map serving for visualization of phenomena with spatial pattern contains all settlements of the Kingdom of Hungary, including castles, towns, oppids, villages, *mezraa* and monasteries, rivers, main routes, Hungarian estates, and others.

In this presentation we try to show how this combined system works, as well as highlighting some new results that put the question of Ottoman accommodation into a new context and could not have been achieved without this new instrument of comparative research.

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TEZGAHIN İKİ YANI: NAHİDE HANIM ALIŞVERİŞTE

Anılarında 1850'lerin İstanbul'unu anlatan Ubicini, Pera'dan söz ederken vitrinlere bakan birkaç Müslüman kadın olmazsa bölgeyi ikinci üçüncü sınıf İtalyan şehirlerinden ayıramayacağını yazar. Kendisi için yalnızca küçük bir ayrıntı olan bu durum aslında Osmanlı başkentinde sokakta daha görünür olmaya başlayan kadının kentsel mekândaki rotasının değişmeye başladığının da göstergesidir. XIX. yüzyılda Avrupa'dan ithal malların satıldığı dükkânların sıralandığı Pera, giderek artan sayıda şehirli ve Müslüman kadını da kendine çeker. Ancak Pera'da zaman geçirmek erkekler için de bir eleştiri konusu olabilirken, Müslüman kadınlar söz konusu olduğunda devletin doğrudan müdahalesini gerektirecek kadar ciddi bir sorun olarak görülür. Bu kadınların arabalarından inmeden alışveriş yapmaları için yapılan düzenlemeler ilerleyen zamanla birlikte dükkân sahiplerinin kadın "füruht memurları" ve terziler işe almalarına sebep olur. Dükkânlar, gazete ilanları ile Osmanlı kadınları için son moda Paris modellerinin ayrı salonlarda sergilenmeye başlandığını duyurur. Dolayısıyla kadının şehirde artan hareketliliğini kısıtlamaya çalışan önlemler aslında daha fazla sayıda kadının gündelik yaşama dâhil olmasına sebep olur.

Bu bildiri XIX. yüzyıl İstanbul'undaki yeni mağazaları, kadın çalışanlarını ve müşterilerini odağına alarak XIX. yüzyıl Osmanlısında kadının şehir içindeki hareket alanının ve tercihlerinin değişimi ile bunun yarattığı etkiyi inceleyecektir. Bildiride kadınlar tarafından kaleme alınmış anılardan ve dönemin gazetelerinden yola çıkılacak, hem bu kadınların kendi deneyimleri hem de artan görünürlüklerinin dönemin basınındaki yansımalarının bir karşılaştırması yapılacaktır.

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LIVES AND AFTERLIVES OF OTTOMAN PORT-CITY COSMOPOLITANISM

In the late 19th century, Ottoman port-cities developed a hybrid and cosmopolitan character, where European designs and styles where grafted onto "traditional" cityscapes, and Ottoman subjects of all and every creed mingled with resident and visiting Europeans. In ports across the Eastern Mediterranean, Ottoman

bureaucrats and business elites initiated a series of interventions aimed at "modernizing" the urban fabric. Their inspiration came from contemporary developments in Western European cities—and their motivation was certainly enhanced by the profit margins offered in the growing real-estate market. In the 20th century, the demise of empire led to the incorporation of these centres into the nation-states that succeeded the Ottomans, and the repression and erasure of their cosmopolitan heritage.

My paper will focus on the city of Thessaloniki and its Ottoman monuments, from the surviving examples of Ottoman classical architecture, to the eclecticist architecture of the late 19th and early 20th century. I intend to use the Ottoman archives in Istanbul as well as the late 19th-century cadastral records kept in the Greek state archives in Thessaloniki, to posit these landmarks within the context of late Ottoman urban life and local economy—record ownership, value, and use of space. I will also juxtapose the construction of a modern Ottoman city at the turn of the century, with the – often contested – preservation of the architectural heritage in contemporary Thessaloniki, as monumental sites of local historical importance. Through this effort I would like to comment on the "cosmopolitan port-city" both as an urban model of the late Ottoman period; and as a discursive site for contemporary local actors, who champion the preservation of classical and modern Ottoman buildings, and see the cultivation of the Ottoman past as essential in cultivating cultural capital, and enhancing their respective city's visibility as destination for tourists and investors.

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ORE-MINING SETTLEMENTS BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS SAKAR AND STRANDZHA, 15TH-16TH CENTURIES

In the whole process of mining, ore processing, transportation and production of metal products, a number of categories of population with special obligations participated. This, in turn, gives information about the division of labor and duties in mining and the service sector.

Undoubtedly, the most directly and permanently bound to the mining and the ore processing were the *madenci*, the *küreci* and the *kümürci*. The population of interest is the *kürecis*, who were engaged in the processing of the ore in the furnaces.

Based on unpublished Ottoman tax registers (*tapu tahrir defterleri*) kept at the Oriental Department of the National Library "St. St. Cyril and Methodius " – Sofia, Central State Archive – Sofia, and Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, with this paper we aim to locate the ore-mining settlements in the space between

the mountains Sakar and Strandzha, to establish the ethnic-religious origin of the miners in the settlements and outline the tendencies in their demographic development.

The ottoman tax registers from 15th-16th centuries used in this paper are as follows:

- Detailed register (*mufassal*), containing a list of the names of male heads of households, of single men and of widow families who inhabited the settlements in 890 AH/18.01.1485-06.01.1486 (BOA, TD 20);

- Detailed register (*mufassal*), containing a list of the names of male heads of households, of single men and of widow families who inhabited the settlements in 925 AH/03.01-23.12.1519 (BOA, TD 77);

- Summary register (*icmal*). It is a record of the total number of households, single males and widows, 937 AH/25.08.1530-15.08.1531 (BOA, TD 370);

- Detailed register containing a list of the names of heads of households, single males and widows, 978 AH/05.06.1570-26.05.1571 (BOA, TD 494);

- Detailed register providing information about the same 978 AH/05.06.1570-26.05.1571 (BOA, TD 498).

The main methods of research are the Cartographic and the Statistical Method.

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OTTOMAN CERAMIC IN ROMANIAN LANDS BETWEEN LUXURY AND DAILY OBJECTS

At the crossroads of two major trade routes that linked Europe with Asia, Romanian Countries have benefited from early oriental ceramic and also the Ottoman one. Information about these parts is provided usually by excavations rather than by written sources (custom registers, bequests, sheets of dowry or letters for exotic acquisitions). In the 1950s, Romanian archaeology provided for the first time information about Ottoman ceramic found in princely spaces in Suceava and Iassy. Others information comes from Bucharest and Târgovişte. But those discoveries were about artistic presence and oriental influences in rulers' courts while Ottoman material culture which influenced Romanian habits (in kitchen, table, clothes, jewelry etc.) is more complex and was surprising in many different ways in excavations.

Wallachia and Moldavia offer contradictory information: while in Moldavia the Milet's ceramics prevalence is abundantly reported in the Suceava area, Wallachia has such products qualitatively and quantitatively lower, located near the Danube and a few objects in its first capital, Târgovişte. Research is limited to princely courts

and complex conclusions cannot be drawn about other excavations from the cities or their surroundings. Sporadic research that mentioned unusual materials are too few to know the existence and fitting into the chronology of the Ottoman ceramics: Piatra Neamţ, Bacău, Târgu Trotuş, Hârlău and others. Equally rare is Chinese porcelain from the 16th and 17th centuries that is known to compete with Iznik ceramics. In Transylvania, the presence of Ottoman ceramics started from the second half of the 16th century and the 17th century. Even the Kutahya pottery has suffered in identification and registration for a part of Romanian Countries. Other problem seems to be association of Ottoman ceramic with luxury even when the products weren`t from that category. The discrepancies can be attributed to the poor research of the materials and implicitly to the knowledge of the Ottoman material culture, the confusion between the objects found and contemporary ones, or the lack of interest in the time.

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REAPPROACHING SOURCES: CATHOLIC CLERGY IN THE OTTOMAN CAPITULATIONS OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The objective of my paper is to reexamine the religious clauses inserted in the Ottoman capitulations granted to European states in the 17th century, focusing on stipulations regarding Catholic clerics. First granted to France in 1604, religious articles will also be obtained by Venice (1604), the Netherlands (1612), the Holy Roman Empire (1615), and in the later part of the century, by Poland (1678).

One method of analyzing how Catholic clerics were portrayed in capitulations is to compare the clauses granted to different European states. This will reveal that some of them were referring strictly to the monks in Jerusalem, while others to Catholic clergy in other areas or the whole Ottoman Empire. In this respect, a Habsburg treaty from 1618 describes a very particular issue from the town of Pecs, in Ottoman Hungary, as opposed to the general formulations usually found in other religious articles. The terminology used when referring to Catholicism and Catholic clerics is also very interesting when comparing the different *'ahdname*s and treaties.

A second comparison will be made with the stipulations of Islamic law. This reveals that the religious clauses inserted in Ottoman capitulations were not legal innovations, but were reiterating principles already stated in Islamic law. Articles regarding Catholics were simply introduced in the capitulations at the request of European ambassadors, wishing to stop abuses by local Ottoman authorities, as well as gaining more diplomatic prestige.

A very important aspect of this paper is the use of the Ottoman-Turkish texts of capitulations – a generic name under which I will examine *'ahdname*s, *nişan-ı hümayun*s and 'treaties' (with the Habsburgs, which were more or less bilateral). Because studies on Catholics and Catholicism in the Ottoman Empire mainly use translations of these texts, which are not always accurate and have led to erroneous interpretations in otherwise remarkable studies, it is necessary to revisit the Ottoman-Turkish texts. Crucial errors found in the most popular translations will also be highlighted. Since few original *'ahdname*s containing religious articles are available, manuscript or printed copies (Feridun Bey, *Mu'ahedat mecmuası*) will be the main sources of this study. Providing more accurate interpretations of the religious clauses inserted in Ottoman capitulations can help historians of other backgrounds to better research the question of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.

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XVIII. YÜZYILDA DİYARBEKİR'DA BİR OSMANLI VEZİR PAŞASI VE BURADAKİ MASRAFLARI

XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlı tarihi hakkındaki çalışmalar oldukça sınırlıdır. Bu dönem XVII. yüzyılın devamı olarak düşünülmektedir. Gerilemenin devam ettiği görülmektedir. Padişah III. Ahmed döneminde ve "Lale Devri" olarak adlandırılan süreçte batılı manada yenileşme çalışmaları yapılarak gerileme durdurulmaya çalışılsa da başarılı olamamıştır. Bu yüzyıl idarî, ekonomik ve sosyal açıdan düzenlemelerin yapıldığı dönem olarak görülmektedir.

XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren ülke yönetiminde vezir rütbesindeki paşaların çoğalması sonucunda bunların ünvanlarına uygun görev bulma zorluğu ortaya çıkmış ve bazı sancaklar bu paşalara "arpalık" olarak verilmiştir. Ispanakçızade Vezir Hafız Mustafa Paşa da aralarındaydı. Ergani ve Keban maden eminliği, Erzurum ve Çorum muhafızlığı, Bağdad, Basra ve Diyarbakır valiliği yapmış bir Osmanlı vezir paşasıdır. 1 Zilkade 1189 (27 Aralık 1775) yılında Diyarbakır Valiliği'ne atanmıştır. Diyarbakır Osmanlı döneminde idarî, askerî ve kültürel bir merkez olmanın yanısıra ekonomik sahada da önemli bir yere sahipti. Osmanlı hakimiyetine 1515 yılında geçmiştir ve o dönemden itibaren "Paşa Sancağı" olmuştur. Çalışmamız Vezir Mustafa Paşa'nın hayatı, Osmanlı Devleti'nde yaptığı idarî görevleri ve Diyarbakır valiliği sırasındaki harcamaları hakkındadır. Paşa harcamalarının hesabını bir defterde tutmuştur. Bu çalışma incelenen dönemde idarî yapıdaki değişikliğin taşraya nasıl yansıdığıdır. Ispanakçızade Vezir Hafız Mustafa Paşa'nın Diyarbakır'daki faaliyetleri de ayrıntılı olarak verilerek taşra özelinde dönemin siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal hayatı aydınlatılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

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THE HUMAN IMPROVEMENT AND THE HUMAN MARGINALIZATION: THE OTTOMAN APPROACH AND THE WEST EUROPEAN INFLUENCE (1839-1876)

Throughout the centuries all smaller or greater European countries and the Ottoman Empire sought to cultivate the high moral values of their subjects. Until the turn of 19th century, the main vehicle for imbuing good behaviour was the school education in moral and ethics, and the more or less restrictive attempts of the Church or of the Muslim religious body. The French Enlightenment and Liberalism brought new approaches towards the didactic and the human improvement. In the 1840s-1860s the Ottoman elite adopted several of them, along with the ideas of the best Muslim educators, and kept on informing the Sultan's subjects about the West European approaches towards the moral perfection, human improvement and the management of the marginalizing tendencies. The Ottoman elite was fascinated by Victor Hugo's miserable characters, since they vividly pictured the darkest and deepest level of the human marginalization, the ways to human improvement, the charitable human nature and the effects of good social governing.

My paper seeks to analyze the Tanzimat approach towards the moral education, the human improvement and the reasons for marginalization in the Ottoman society. It attempts to trace the West European influence on the management of the actual Ottoman educational problems. The paper draws on sources such as newspaper and journal articles, the translation of Telemach and the extended overview of the Victor Hugo's novel "Les Miserables".

My interest is provoked by a series of articles and treatises on the Ottoman attempts at human improvement and at prevention of social marginalization in the decades before 1876. The perception of the Tanzimat period is dominated by the view about the pioneering initiatives towards the socialization of the marginalized paupers and prisoners, launched by some provincial governors. However, in the 1840s–1870s all provincial educational and socializing attempts originally result from certain steps of the Sublime Porte simultaneously influenced by the West European and Islamic concepts.

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EVALUATION OF RECORDS BELONGING TO BULGARIAN ENTREPRENEURS LIVING IN THE MODERNIZATION-PERIOD BURSA

As a result of new immigrants' participating in the workforce and the central government's regulations after 1878, the economic life of the Province of Hudavendigar revived. In this process, the entrepreneurs coming from Bulgaria contributed to the change occurring in the developing sectors such as textile, agriculture and transportation. There were three important Bulgarian men of letters who visited Bursa between the years of 1879 and 1909. Nikola Nachov (1879), Vasil Kunchov (1899) and Peter Daskalov (1909) visited Bursa and its vicinity, recorded their fellow countrymen's way of life and made valuable observations. Their visits did not remain limited to the city, but they also traveled to such important districts of the *sanjak* of Bursa as Karacabey, Kirmasti, Inegöl and Yenişehir and left valuable information about the socio-economic situation there. During this period masses of immigrants from Caucasia and the Balkans were settled in the region, agricultural life revived, commercial activity was observed and the people met such modernization elements as postal-telegraph services, railway, roadway, phaeton, opening of new schools.

Nikola Nachov is an intellectual whose travel notes were published (Bursa Trip) in 1934. In this context, he wrote about the people's socio-economic status and gave valuable information about the commercial order. Vasil Kunchov undertook an active role in Bulgarian education system in Macedonia. Kunchov's travel notes related to the vicinity of Bursa were published (Asia Minor) in 1899. Vasil Kunchov made valuable observations in relation to olive cultivation and sericulture, which were the mainstays of the region. He also analyzed the social structure and the economic status and examined the demographic structure of Bursa. His data related to the Armenian community in Bursa is of genuine quality. Peter Daskalov, the editorial director of *Vecherna Poshta* (*Evening Post*), came to Bursa with the committee of the Sofia Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1909. In his series of articles (A Glance at Anatolia), he dealt with the social structure of the district of Bursa and Bulgarian immigrants and commercial life and left detailed information about the exhibition including the industrial structure of the city Bursa.

Our paper is aiming to analyze the information given by these Bulgarian sources about social and economic developments against the backdrop of the changes between 1879 and 1909. The relevant data from the Hudavendigar Provincial *Salname*s (M.1878/H.1278- H.1325/M.1909) including the official records about the demographic status, agricultural life, production and trade will be used to

verify and complement the Bulgarian sources. Records belonging to the English, the French, and the Italian consulates in Bursa will be used with the same purpose. There are other travelers who visited Bursa in the mentioned period: Marie de Lunnay Bonkowski (1880) left information about the markets, people and clothes, agriculture, trade and industry and schools of Bursa; Clement Imbault Huart (1881) provided information about the transportation substructure and the rural life; Paul Lindau (1898) – about the demographic structure, production, trade and daily life; as well as the Ottoman observers: Ibnu'l-Celal Sezai (1888) with information about social relations, daily life places and cultural life; Hasan Taib Efendi (1895) – about population, the neighborhoods and the schools; Mehmed Ziya (1896) – the transportation substructure, the daily life and the rural areas; Fatma Fahrûnnisa Hanım (1895) – about the daily life, the agriculture and the demographic structure.

Within the scope of the study our aim is to examine the extremely important information left by the three Bulgarian sources about the social and economic situation in the city of Bursa and its district along with the other sources of the period. Hence, this study will also bear methodological quality.

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A NOMAD 'MUKATAA' REGISTER OF THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

One of the aspects of the Ottoman bureacracy was that the decisions taken by the *Divan* were recorded in various kinds of registers. It is noteworthy, in particular, that at the beginning of the 16th century the decisions emanating from the *Divan* were recorded in registers called '*Ahkam Defter*s'. The orders decided upon in the *Divan* and implemented by various echelons of the bureaucracy were recorded according to the date and since these types of registers were not specialized they can be called *prototype* registers. This situation indicates that at the beginning of the 16th century the bureaucracy had not yet become specialized. It is only as of the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, that the bureaucracy began to become specialized and, in this regard, new registers such as *Mühimme, Maliye Ahkâm* and *Rüus* were established. The duties related to these new registers were spelled out and the orders that were to be implemented by the respective echelons of the bureaucracy were recorded in them.

One of these series of registers were those written by secretaries assigned to the *Başmukataa Kalemi*, which was probably set up in the middle of the 16th century and whose infrastructure and duties were finalized in the 17th century. This *Başmukataa Kalemi* was known as the *Mukataa-i Evvel Kalemi* and it focused

on mines, piers, salt and rice field revenues and taxes in Rumeli. Orders and regulations related to revenues and taxes were recorded and preserved there and the secretaries assigned to this bureau wrote down the orders, purviews and writs of the revenue-tax collectors and other personnel. A register (*defter*) concerning the Yörüks, who lived a nomadic life, was one of these registers, which are mostly classified as Kâmil Kepeci and have the *Bâb-ı Defteri*, D.BMK code at the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives. This register forms the basis of our paper.

This register (*defter*), which is found in the Kâmil Kepeci collection, contains orders from 1135-1141 (1722-1729) concerning revenue-tax matters of nomadic groups known as *Yörük* in Anatolia, who were subject to 'mukataa' revenues and taxation. In this regard, in our paper we shall try to take up and explain the following matters: the diplomatic characteristics of the orders sent based on the records in the register; the identities of those who were subject to the 'mukataa' and their relations with the central administration; the particular names of the regions where the Yörük lived; disputes that occurred between the *Yörük* and others who were subject to the 'mukataa'; the attitude and actions of the central administration with regard to these disputes; and whether or not the Yörük, who had a traditional lifestyle, were able to adapt to the 'mukataa' system. Consequently, in the framework of the 'mukataa' system and its implementation, relations between the *Yörük*, who lived a nomadic life and who were an important element of the Ottoman community alongside the settled populace, and both those who were involved in the 'mukataa' system and the central administration, will be better understood.

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THE AMBIVALENCE IN THE LEGAL CONCEPTS GOVERNING GROUNDWATER AND WELLS IN THE COMMENTARIES TO THE *MECELLE*

The *Mecelle* shows a unique ambivalence with respect to the legal norms governing access and use of groundwater and wells. Groundwater on the one hand and wells on the other hand were governed by different and, in their effect, incompatible legal concepts. This ambivalence is particularly apparent in articles 1235 and 1194 of the *Mecelle*:

Article 1235 states that „water flowing under ground is not the absolute property of any person." Article 1235 was a special application of Article 1234 whereby "water, grass and fire" were "free goods". Free goods could not be the individual property of anyone – at least not until they were appropriated properly.

In contrast to this, Article 1194 privatized the access to wells on the basis of individual property. According to the article "whoever owns a piece of land in absolute ownership is likewise owner of what is above and what is below it." The article exemplified this concept with respect to wells: "He (i.e. the owner) may … dig wells as deep as he wishes."

The *Mecelle* did not resolve what appears to be a discrepancy between common property and private property approaches to natural resources. In this paper I will argue that this ambivalence in the legal norms in the *Mecelle* was a reflection of the fundamental ambivalence characteristic for the late Ottoman Empire: the ambivalence between continuation of the traditions of the empire versus reform and transformation of state, society and economy.

Articles 1234 and 1235 of the *Mecelle* codified a basic concept of traditional Ottoman natural resources law. The concept of "free goods" was deeply anchored in Ottoman Islamic law. In contrast to this, the far reaching privileges of proprietaries with respect to anything "above and below" their property was a modern concept of resource allocation and utilization that was newly implemented in many legal systems in the 19th century and swept all the way into the *Mecelle*.

The analysis draws on legal commentaries of the *Mecelle* by Ottoman jurists such as *Mirat-i Mecelle* by *Mesud Efendi*, *Ruh ül-mecelle* by *Resid Pasa* and *Ali Haydar`s Dürer ül-hukkam* to elaborate on the background of this discrepancy and the legal arguments around it. The commentaries show that the Ottoman legal scholars were well aware of the discrepancies evolving from the different and, in effect, competing legal concepts applied to groundwater, respectively wells. However, in general, they continued to argue along the lines of traditional Ottoman law.

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IN SEARCH OF TWELVER SUNNIS: APPROPRIATION OF TWELVE IMAMS IN THE 16TH-CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Recent scholarship on Ottoman confessionalization has emphasized how the Ottomans were becoming zealously Sunni beginning with the 15th century. Even though the Ottoman state was becoming so in its policies against the rival Safavids and the "problematic" *Qizilbash* populations in Anatolia, there is little evidence that suggests that the Ottoman society was becoming militantly Sunni during this period. A significant feature of the Ottoman Sunnism, as it is experienced by the broader society, including intellectuals, was strong *ahl-al-baytism*. *Ahl-al-baytism* denotes the love and reverence shown towards Ali Ibn Talib, the fourth caliph and first imam, and his descendants (the rest of the twelve Imams)

among the Sunnis. In the contentious and seemingly sectarian milieu of the 16th century, Ottoman intellectuals and scholars continued to propagate love of Ali Ibn Abi Talib and his descendants to an extent that they rewrote their lives and appropriated their legacy. Based on the accounts of the early Islamic history and the biographies of the twelve imams written by the Ottoman historians, scholars, and litterateurs of the age, this paper will explore the idea of Twelver Sunnism in the Ottoman Empire in the context of the sectarian 16th century to demonstrate the complex character of the Ottoman Sunnism and the strong *ahl-al-baytist* strand within it.

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XX. YÜZYIL BAŞLARINDA İSTANBUL BULGAR CEMAATI: YERLEŞİM, NÜFUS VE EKONOMİ

Bulgarların İstanbul'a yerleşmesinin XIX. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde başlamasına rağmen yüzyılın ortalarına doğru İstanbul ekonomik hayatında önemli bir konuma ulaşmışlardır. Cemaatin kalabalığı ticaret, esnaflık ve abacılık gibi zanaatlar yoluyla gittikçe artmış ve İstanbul Bulgarları Bulgar Kilise Hareketinin de öncüleri olmuşlardır. 1870'de Bulgar Eksarhlığının kurulmasıyla birlikte ayrı bir Ortodoks millet olma hakkı edinen Bulgarlar diğer cemaatler gibi kendi cemaat teşkilatlarını kurup Osmanlı devletinin nüfus ve vergi kayıtlarına Bulgar olarak kaydolunmaya başlamışlardır.

Cemaatin üyeleri ve ekonomik faaliyetleri hakkında birkaç çalışma yapılmışsa da Osmanlı arşiv kaynakları henüz layıkıyla incelenmemiştir. Bu bildiride yeni Osmanlı nüfus kayıtları ve diğer belgeler değerlendirilerek İstanbul Bulgar cemaatinin XX. yüzyıl başlarındaki yapısı, yerleşim yerleri, meslekleri ve benzeri özellikleri daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde ortaya konmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu şekilde İstanbul Bulgar Cemaati ile ilgili seyahat raporlarındaki veya anılardaki tahmini rakamlar ve verilerin yerine Osmanlı devletinin resmi kayıtlarının verdiği bilgilerden faydalanarak durumu daha net bir şekilde ortaya konmuş olacaktır.

Bunun yanında Bulgar cemaatinin İmparatorluk başkentinin sosyal ve ekonomik hayatındaki rolü ve konumu da değerlendirilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

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1835 YILINDA SİLİSTRE SANCAĞINDA ESNAF VE DÜKKANLAR

1826 yılında Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın kaldırılmasından sonra ihtisab işleri ve vergisi ile ilgili bir düzenlemeye gidilmiştir. Bu kapsamda yerel idareciler ve esnaf temsilcileri

nezaretinde şehir ve kasabalarda faal olan dükkân, han, hamam, meyhane, değirmen gibi iş yerlerinin sayısını tespit amacıyla sayımlar yapılmıştır. Sayımların bir sureti kadı sicillerine kaydedilmiş bir sureti de İstanbul'a gönderilmiştir. Bir takım farklılıklar olmakla beraber defterlerde her bir esnaf zümresinin dükkân sayısı ile pazar ve panayırlarda satılan emtia ve bunlardan alınacak ihtisab vergisi miktarı tutulmuştur.

II. Mahmud dönemindeki bu esnaf sayımı Silistre Sancağı kazalarında 1835'de yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada bahsi geçen sayım kapsamında Silistre Sancağına bağlı Rusçuk, İslimye, Aydos, Karinâbâd, Yanbolu, Şumnu, Cuma-yı Atik, Osmanpazarı, Hezargrad, Varna, Hacıoğlupazarı, Babadağı, Maçin, Hırsova, İsakçı ve Tulcı kazaları ile nahiye ve köylerde faal olan esnaf zümreleri ve sahip oldukları dükkân sayıları karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Böylece XIX. yüzyılın ortalarına gelirken Rus işgaline uğramış ve ciddi hasar görmüş olan Silistre kazalarındaki ekonomik duruma, esnaf ve ticarete dair genel bir değerlendirme yapma imkânı elde edilmiş olacaktır.

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ŞEHBENDERİN BİR GÜNÜ: KAZGANCIZÂDE ÖMER AĞA'NIN VİYANA'DAKİ HAYATI ÜZERİNE GÖZLEMLER

Osmanlı diplomasi tarihinin derkenarında kalmış figürleri arasında en önemlilerinden birisi Lale Devri'nde Viyana'ya şehbender/ konsolos olarak gönderilen Kazgancızâde Ömer Ağa'dır. Ömer Ağa, 1725'te Bâbıâli tarafından Pasarofça Antlaşması'na ek olarak imzalanan ticaret muahedesinin altıncı maddesine dayanarak Habsburg başkenti Viyana'ya şehbender olarak tayin edilmiş. 11 Temmuz 1726'daki kabul töreninden sonra resmen görevine başlamıştır. Bu tarihten itibaren İstanbul siyasetindeki değişimlere paralel olarak 1732'de geri çağrılana kadar altı seneden uzun bir zaman diliminde Ömer Ağa, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu şehbender unvanıyla Viyana'da temsil etmiştir. Şehbenderliği süresince antlaşmanın kendisine tanıdığı ticarî meselelerdeki söz hakkını siyasî/ diplomatik konulara doğru genişletmek isteyen Ömer Ağa'nın bu tutumu Viyana'da başta Hofkriegsrat olmak üzere saray çevrelerinde de rahatsızlık yaratmıştır. Bu rahatsızlığın sonucunda şehbenderin İstanbul'a geri çekilmesi için Bâbıâli nezdinde Habsburg elçileri girişimlerde bulunurken Viyana'da da Ömer Ağa'nın hayatını güçleştirmek için bazı tedbirler alınmıştır. Kendisine verilen tayinatın azaltılması Osmanlı şehbenderini büyük oranda Habsburg İmparatorluğu'nda ticaret yapan Osmanlı tüccarına borçlanmasına mecbur bırakmıştır. Bu hamleye karşılık olarak Ömer Ağa, Adriyatik limanlarında ve Osmanlı sınırındaki Habsburg şehirlerinde bir konsolosluk ağı kurmak

istemiştir. Ömer Ağa'nın bu isteklerinin kabul görmediği gibi, Habsburglara iltica talebinde bulunan Mısır memlûklerinden Çerkeş Bey'in mektuplarının ele geçirilerek Bâbıâli'ye bildirilmesi Viyana'nın tavrını sertleştirmesine yol açmıştır. Bu olay üzerine Hofkriegsrat'a bağlı bir istihbarat ofisi kurularak Ömer Ağa'nın faaliyetlerinin yakından izlenmesine karar verildi. Şehbenderin her hareketi takip edilip günlük raporlar başında Habsburgların eski İstanbul elçisi Michael Tallmann'ın bulunduğu ofiste değerlendirilmiştir.

Bu tebliğde ele alınan Ömer Ağa'nın Viyana'daki günlerinin Avusturya Devlet Arivleri'nde mahfuz bu raporlara ve Wiennerisches Diarium'daki ilgili haberlere dayanarak tanıtılmasıyla birlikte gündelik hayatına odaklanılmaktadır. Ömer Ağa'nın kalabalık maiyetiyle ikamet ettiği konağındaki yaşamı anlatıp burada kimlerle temas kurduğu ve nasıl bir hayat sürdüğü sorularına cevap aranmaktadır.

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A TOOL OF LEGITIMACY: SULTAN MEHMET REŞAD'S TOUR TO EDIRNE (OCTOBER 1910)

The 1908 revolution and the adoption of the constitution undermined the sultanate's authority and forced Mehmet Reşad, the first constitutional sultan, to adapt to substantial shifts in his public image. One of the main tools used by the palace were well-publicized public visits, mostly to places in and around Istanbul, but also to major cities in north-western Anatolia and the Balkans, the traditional core areas of the sultanate. The aim was to promote a sense of nostalgia for the Ottoman golden age. One of the sultan's first visits following his coronation was to Edirne (October 1910), the second Ottoman capital.

By using reports published in the Ottoman press and memoir literature, this paper aims to discuss the sultan's ability to create his own sphere of action and to fill it with substance and meaning. Among the major aims of his tour to Edirne, I would argue, was to project the sultan's authority and connection to the Ottoman golden age. To achieve this aim, his visit to Edirne focused on three types of sites that together conjured the messages of religious piety, imperial legacy and grandeur; the inclusive boundaries of Ottoman community and citizenship; and modernity. The one-week visit included conducting the *selamlik* prayer in the Selimiye Mosque and frequenting other places connected to the history of the sultanate. It also served him to conduct official audiences with local officials, as well as with representatives of the different religious groups. Offering donations to selected targets and presenting gifts to local senior officials

and leaders likewise played an important role in the visit. Thus, the sultan's visit to Edirne reflects his impetus to promote and publicize some traditional merits of the sultanate – piety, benevolence and justice.

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FROM KINGS OF THE SLAVES TO SLAVE KINGS: THE CUMAN-QÏPCHAQS AND THE INTERCONTINENTAL TRADE WITH "HUMAN COMMODITY" IN THE 11TH – 13TH CENTURY

The Cuman-Qïpchaqs dominated the steppes of Western Eurasia for almost two centuries roughly between mid-11th and mid-13th century when the advancing Mongol tūmens brought the political collapse of this heterogeneous ethno-tribal community. Following the general nomadic pattern in the region, during the entire period of their domination in the Pontic-Caspian steppes the Cuman-Qïpchaqs were actively engaged in slave trade. Ironically, even before the appearance of the Mongols many Cuman-Qïpchaqs found themselves on the slave markets, while in the course of the Mongol expansion many more of their fellow tribesmen shared the same fate.

The present contribution focuses on the development of the slave trade in Western Eurasia under the Cuman-Qïpchaqs trying to outline its scale, commercial networks, clients and as far as it is possible – the ethnic composition and cultural background of the captives. A survey of the sources from the period of the Mongol expansion will seek to answer whether the advance of the Chingissids brought changes in the dynamics of the slave trade, in its supply routes, commercial networks, and clients as well as in the ethnic and cultural composition of the slaves.

Various sources will be critically analyzed and compared with this goal: the Persian sources (Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, Jūzjānī, Rashīd al-Dīn, etc.) will be juxtaposed to the Rus' chronicles (Laurentian, Hypatian, and others), the Byzantine and the Western Latin accounts (Acropolites, Papal letters, the Traska Annals, and others), the Mamlūk sources (Ibn Shaddād, al-Nuwayrī, and others) as well as to the Rūm Saljūq historian Ibn Bībī, the early Ottoman author Yazıcızāde ʿAlī. Such a thorough study of the slave trade in this vital period has not been conducted so far and it can provide comparative material for the development of this phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire.

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MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS IN THE OTTOMAN TOWN: LIVING TOGETHER, LIVING APART, 17TH – 18TH CENTURIES

The neighbourhoods as the smallest unit of an urban settlement where the inhabitants engage in a day-to-day contact attract the attention of an increasing number of scholars. Subject to their experience with one or more cities in a specific period, students of the Ottoman cities would describe the neighbourhoods as religiously homogeneous or mixed, although *defters* might be occasionally misleading. Indeed, in many of the cities the situation was dynamic: neighbourhoods could be Muslim or non-Muslim at one point but emerge as mixed at another. In the course of time whole confessional groups changed their residential location, new groups settled among the rest or would carve their corner of the urban territory. Various factors contributed in this respect – migration, property transactions, plague or conflagration, war or uprisings, natural disasters.

This paper discusses attempts of Muslim neighbourhoods in Ottoman cities (rarely villages) to expel 'others', mainly Christians, but also Jews and Gypsies, on account of preserving the religious purity of their residential quarter and of other moral arguments, to prevent non-Muslims from settling among them and eventually gaining numerical majority. It 'maps' the cases traced so far in the Balkans, in Anatolia, in the Arab parts; identifies the grounds referred to in the process and the authorities' response to the claims; offers case studies (Sofia, Bursa); analyses the phenomenon against the backdrop of confessional trends in the Ottoman empire at the time. Thus it will contribute to the debate on the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims on the micro-territory of the *mahalle* during this period.

The paper is based on documents from *mühimme* and *şikâyet defters*, mainly from the 17th and early 18th centuries (unpublished material) but also on a variety of *kadi* documents, *fetvas* and narratives.

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OTMAN BABA VİLÂYETNÂMESİNDE İNSAN VE TANRI ALGISI (ERKEN OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE "HERETİK" ALGISINA DAİR)

Gayri-Sünni dini-tasavvufi edebiyatının önemli bir eseri olan Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi erken Osmanlı dönemin siyasi ve dini atmosferini keşfetmek ve analize etmek için çok değerli bir kaynaktır. 1483 yılında yazılan eser zikredilen ruhani önderin hayatına dair anlatılar içermektedir. Anlatı 15. yüzyılın başına denk gelen olaylarla başlamaktadır ve uzun süre içinde gelişen hadiseleri içermektedir. Ondan Otman Baba ve onun takipçileri ile Osmanlı yönetimi (hem padişah, hem yüksek rütbeli Osmanlı yöneticileri ve daha aşağıdaki rütbelerde bulunan) arasındaki ilişkiler hakkında bilgiler almaktayız. Bu eser, 15. yüzyılda Azerbaycan ve Doğu Anadolu'dan Balkanlar'a uzanan manevi alanda gizlenen belirli dini fikirleri hakkında bir bakış açısı vermektedir. Otman Baba tarafından vaaz edilen ve bu topraklarda Türk-Müslüman toplulukları arasında taraftarlar bulan bu fikirlerin bir kısmı, Şeriatçı dini yöneten temsilcilerin tarafından *„Bida't", "Küfr", "Zındıklık"* gibi tanımlanmaktadır. Bunlardan biri, Horasan mistik geleneğinin karakteristiği olan „Ene-l Hak" ifadesinde formüle edilen Tanrı ve İnsan arasındaki Birlik düşüncesidir. Bu fikrin önde gelen propagandacıları Bayezid Bistami, Mansur el-Hallac, Seyyid Nesimi'dir, ama vilâyetnâmede gördüğümüz gibi bunların arasına Otman Baba'yı ve eserin yazarı Küçük Abdal'ı da dahiledebiliriz.

Eserin yazarı Küçük Abdal Otman Baba'nın sözleri ile ve kendi argümanları ile İnsanın Hakikat Noktası ve Tanrının Halifesi olduğu fikrini savunmaktadır. *Ene-l Hak* kavramı *Vilâyet (Kutsallık)* kavramı ile sıkı bağlamda sunulmaktadır ve buna göre aziz gökte ve yeryüzünde *Hakikat* dışında başka hiçbir şey görmemektedir ve o anda Tanrıya "dönüşmekte" ve Allah'la bir olur. Bu birlik *Vahdaniyet (Vahdet)* gibi tanımlanmaktadır. Bu noktada dünyadaki her şey onun üstün emri altındadır. Yazar, bu düşüncenin *"Küfür"* olarak algılandığını yazar, ancak o bu suçlamayı reddeder ve söz konusu fikir gerçek inancı temsil ettiğini savunmaktadır.

Metinde Otman Baba'nın aynı zamanda Hz. Musa'nın, Hz. İsa'nın ve Hz. Muhammed'in gizemi olduğu ve onlar onun bedeninde yine ortaya çıktığı iddiasını savunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte o Hz. Alinin bir tezahürü gibi gösterilmektedir. Tebliğimizde farklı yerlerde ortaya konan ve formüle edilen İnsan ve Tanrı kavramını ana hatlarıyla sunacağız. Metinden bunu gösteren örnekler verilecek ve bunlar dini ve sosyal çevresi bağlamında analiz edilecek.

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THE STATE AND THE STRAY DOGS IN LATE OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: FROM UNRULY/MARGINALIZED SUBJECTS TO SERVILE FRIENDS

In the early 19th century, canine populations of the Ottoman capital city constituted both one of its urban anxieties and one of its wonders: they were often described with admiration and caution in official accounts and in travelers' narratives. Whereas dogs and other free-wandering animals like cats and birds constituted indispensable nonhuman actors in the urban environments and rural landscapes of the early modern Ottoman Empire, in the 19th century, the capital's stray dogs increasingly came to be viewed by the state and its bureaucratic institutions as a 'problem' group. Within this milieu, the stray dogs, which before had wandered the streets and public squares freely and without any systematic intervention, were identified as another problem group whose existence was seen as a public nuisance, a potential threat, and a risk to the city's order and public hygiene (*sıhhat-ı umumiye*). The modern bureaucratic response to the stray dogs in the 19th and early 20th centuries would be one of deportation and annihilation.

In most of the studies that tackle the deportation of Istanbul's stray dogs in the 19th and 20th centuries, the event has been explained mainly with reference to a human-animal divide – that is, humans are seen as targeting only and exclusively dogs. However, the experience that the stray dogs underwent in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire was a rather nuanced one, which involved several actors, concerns and processes, and shared experiences by underrepresented animals and humans alike. My talk will situate the systemic efforts to annihilate the stray dogs within the wider picture of Ottoman modernizing reforms in the 19th century. I argue that all of the modern processes and concerns which contributed to the increasing isolation and marginalization of dogs from the public ran parallel to other modernizing reforms and in the long run resulted in the casting of alternative roles for and imaginations of dogs, as police dogs or pets.

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ERKEN OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE EDİRNE ÇARŞISI'NIN MEKÂNSAL GELİŞİMİ

Osmanlı kentlerinin karakteristik özelliklerinden biri, bölgesel yol ağlarının kesişiminde yer almasıdır. Yerleşimin merkezinde ise Bedesten ve Ulu Cami etrafında biçimlenen, çeşitli esnaf gruplarının imalathaneleri, dükkanları ve hanlardan oluşan çarşı yer almaktadır.

Farsça "dört yön" anlamındaki "Çar'su" kelimesinden gelen çarşının fiziki varlığı kelime anlamına uyan bir şekilde kentin ana yollarının kesişme noktasında veya yakınında oluşmuştur. Türk kentleri için karakteristik olan yolların çarşıya doğru yönelmesi, kent planının merkez tanımında ticaret yapılarının önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Çarşı, Osmanlı döneminin ekonomik hayatının fiziki olarak merkezini oluşturmanın yanısıra Osmanlı toplumunun sosyo-kültürel yapısının bir yansıması olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Öyle ki, çoğu zaman farklı etnik kökene ve dinlere mensup insanların ayrı mahallelerde yaşadığı Osmanlı kentlerinde çarşı merkezi kentte yaşayan herkesin kullandığı heterojen bir yapıya sahiptir.

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı döneminde Edirne çarşısı ve ticari dokusunun fiziki gelişimi anlatılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Çalışmada günümüze ulaşabilmiş yapıların yanısıra varlıkları arşiv belgelerinden tespit edilen, ancak günümüze ulaşamayan ticaret yapılarının kent haritası üzerine kronolojik olarak lokasyonu sunulmaktadır. Bu yolla Osmanlı kent kurgusunun fiziki olarak temel belirleyicisinin ticari yaşam olduğu ve Edirne'de yaklaşık 600 yıl süren Osmanlı hâkimiyeti boyunca gerçekleşen hiçbir fiziksel büyümenin çarşı merkezinin devamlılığına engel olmadığı görülmektedir.

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THE TOWN AND THE DISTRICT OF MELNIK IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The town of Melnik (Menlik) was not among the Ottoman central cities or towns in the Balkans, but after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 it became one of the important towns in the region. Particularly in the context of the Macedonian Question the name of Melnik was one of the most mentioned towns and the district of Melnik was one of the centers of Yane Sandanski, the leader of the leftist faction of the IMRO. The district of Melnik has been the research topic of a number of Bulgarian and Greek historians, but the history of this district during the 19th century has not been researched in detail.

In my paper on the basis of Ottoman archival sources I will try to deal with the development of the town and district of Melnik in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, its population structure, economic situation, toponymy as well as its position in the political developments. Among the sources that I use are Ottoman population census registers which have been catalogized recently, the property registers (*temettuat defterleri*) from the mid-19th century, archival material explaining the administrative structure of the district, tax registers showing the economic situation in it and others.

I will try to explain why and how the district of Melnik became one of the centers of the armed movements (committees) towards the end of the 19th century, drawing attention to the administrative, social and economic reasons for this development.

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THE QIPCHAK PRINCE WHO DEFEATED THE CRUSADERS AT ADRIANOPLE IN 1205

The rich and non-looted burial of a nomadic prince, excavated in Southern Ukraine in 1981, provides many objects, which reveal the identity of the deceased man as the commander of the Qipchaks in the famous battle of Adrianople in 1205 between the Bulgarians under the command of tsar Kaloyan and the crusaders, led by the first Latin emperor Baldwin I. The appellation Κοτζᾶς (<tr. Koca), reported by Niketas Choniates for the Qipchak commander, is reminiscent of the title "the grand (the oldest) prince", by which were known only few most prominent Qipchak princes, mentioned in the ancient Rus' chronicles. One of them was Yurii Konchakovich, whose activities were in fact attested for the first time in 1205 (he married off his daughter to the son of the grand prince of Rus' Vsevolod). This very prince led the Qipchak resistance against the Mongols in 1223 and had survived the defeat at their hands to be buried in keeping with the traditions his people.

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CHIEF HAREM EUNUCH PIOUS ENDOWMENTS (*VAKIF*) ALONG THE BLACK SEA AND THE DANUBE

This paper examines pious endowments (*vakıf*s) established along the Black Sea coast and on the Danube River by the Chief Eunuchs of the Ottoman imperial harem. Although they were technically personal endowments, all were connected to the pious foundations for the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina (*Evkâfü'l-Haremeyn*), of which the Chief Eunuch was superintendent. All these foundations consisted of religio-educational institutions funded by commercial operations. They date to the very first Chief Harem Eunuch, Habeşi Mehmed Ağa (term 1574-91), who founded an entire town, known as İsmail Geçidi (modern-day Izmail), in the Danube delta in what is now Ukraine, where the Danube flows into the Black Sea. Roughly 120 years later, his successor Hacı Beşir Ağa (term 1717-46) encompassed most of the Danube delta in an

endowment that provided for a fortified lighthouse with a local garrison at the delta's easternmost point, in Sünne (today Sulina), Romania, to guide ships entering the Black Sea from the Danube with grain for the imperial capital. The endowment deed also provides for grain warehouses and other commercial facilities.

Farther inland, Hacı Beşir founded a *medrese* at Sistova (today Svishtov), on the Danube in what is now Bulgaria. This institution, also supported by commercial establishments, included a library stocked with seminal works of Hanafi jurisprudence. In a town far away from the imperial capital, and even from the provincial capital Sofia, the majority of whose inhabitants were Orthodox Christians, this *medrese* must have represented a vital link to the official Ottoman religious establishment, while its library provided a critical infusion of Hanafi texts. This is consistent with Hacı Beşir's religious foundations elsewhere in the empire, but in a frontier region, it gained added importance.

These foundations clearly did not exist in isolation from each other. Hacı Beşir Ağa was aware of Habeşi Mehmed's foundations. The foundation deed for his Danube delta endowment even provides for funds for İsmail Geçidi, thus demonstrating that *vakıf* could be used to supplement pre-existing foundations.

Collectively, these pious foundations emphasized the Ottoman presence in the western Black Sea – eastern Danube area, a critical frontier region facing the enemy Habsburgs to the northwest and the enemy Russians to the northeast. In addition, they shored up state-sponsored Sunni Islam of the Hanafi legal rite, providing local Muslims far from the imperial and provincial capitals with the foundations of legal and theological education.

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DAS RUSSISCHE REICH AUS OSMANISCHER SICHT: MUSTAFA RASIH IN ST. PETERSBURG

Der Vortrag beleuchtet zwei osmanische Berichte über die Gesandtschaft Mustafa Rasih Efendis an den Hof der russischen Kaiserin Katharina II., die 1793/94 in Erfüllung der Bedingungen des Friedensvertrags von Jassy erfolgte: Der eine, verfasst vom Gesandtschaftssekretär Seyyid Abdullah, behandelt den Ablauf der Reise und der diplomatischen Mission. Der andere enthält die Beobachtungen des Gesandten selbst zu Politik und Gesellschaft des Zarenreiches, zu wichtigen und einflussreichen Personen und zu verschiedenen Aspekten der petrinischen und katharinäischen Reformen, die für Sultan Selim III. im Hinblick auf seine eigenen Reformvorhaben von großem Interesse waren. Diese beiden Texte wurden bislang kaum untersucht. In den wenigen Behandlungen wird meist

nur von einem einzigen Text ausgegangen. Zwar wurden sie im Rahmen von zwei Masterarbeiten in die lateinische Schrift übertragen, doch sind diese Bearbeitungen für die Forschung nur bedingt brauchbar. Das hier vorgestellte Projekt hat daher eine kommentierte Übersetzung zum Ziel, die durch eine Analyse der Erzählstrategien im Text ergänzt wird. Darüber hinaus werden die Berichte aber auch in Beziehung zu zwei anderen Textkonvoluten gesetzt: zum einen die Briefe des russischen Gegengesandten Kutuzov, zum anderen die Reiseberichte zweier deutschsprachiger Teilnehmer an dessen russischer Gesandtschaft. Die Gegenüberstellung dieser drei Textgruppen als Ego-Dokumente ermöglicht nicht nur eine bessere Einordnung in den historischen Kontext, sondern auch eine vergleichende Auswertung der jeweiligen Sichtweisen und der Informationen über den Anderen, welche die jeweiligen Autoren ihren Adressaten „zu Hause" übermittelten.

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XVIII. YÜZYILDA OSMANLI'DA KADINLARIN GÖSTERİŞÇİ TÜKETİMİ; NAHİDE HANIM'IN MADDİ KÜLTÜR DÜNYASI

Osmanlı dünyasında maddi kültürde yaşanan değişim, yalnızca batılı literatürün önerdiği şekliyle XVII. yüzyıl sonunda Avrupa'da üretim alanında yaşanan gelişmeler ve "tüketici devrimi" ile esas olarak açıklanmaktadır. Halbuki bu değişimi İmparatorluğun XVIII. yüzyılda içinden geçtiği toplumsal sürecin organik bir uzantısı olarak değerlendirmek de mümkündür. Mesela XVIII. yüzyıl boyunca İstanbul'un kent ortamında yaşanan hareketlenme toplumun bir araya gelme biçimlerini etkilemiştir. Bu durum elitlerin olduğu gibi toplumun diğer kesimlerinin de maddi kültür varlıklarında bir değişim yaşanmasına sebep olmuştur. Yani kent ortamında farklı toplumsal kesimlerin farklı biçimlerde bir araya gelmesi sosyalleşmeyi arttırarak gösterişçi tüketimi de tetiklemiştir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma XVIII. yüzyıl Galata sicillerindeki tereke kayıtları ışığında toplumsal hayatın bir parçası olan kadınların yaşadıkları değişimi, sahne önü ve sahne arkasında kullandıkları giyim eşyalarına odaklanarak sosyalleşmelerinin izini maddi kültür varlıkları üzerinden sürmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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COUNTING THE SHEEP: SHEEP-BREEDING AND SHEEP-BREEDERS IN THE LATE 16TH- AND THE EARLY 17TH-CENTURY BALKANS ACCORDING TO THE OTTOMAN *ADET-I AĞNAM* REGISTERS

Sheep in the Ottoman Balkans are mainly associated with Istanbul's meat provisioning and the so-called *celepkeşan system* whose organization and evolution is analyzed by numerous studies. To satisfy the lamb consumption needs of the capital and the army the state engaged certain administrative apparatus that had to control a social network and local capital of appointed provincial sheep dealers (*celep, celepkeşan*) and sheep drovers (*sürüci*). Furthermore, studies on butcher (*kasap*) organization in Ottoman Istanbul reveal that the sheep provisioning involved social groups and capital outside the *celepkeşan* system which were sometimes from the farthest corners of the Empire.

The present paper aims to look beyond this state-arranged system of sheep provisioning by focusing on animals' raising and the persons directly engaged in this process – the sheep-breeders. The analysis is based on the unexplored source of the Ottoman sheep tax registers: *adet-i ağnam defterleri*, from different zones of the Balkans, in the course of the late 16th and the early 17th century. Apart from their purpose, compilation method and a set of shortcomings, the extended (*mufassal*) version of these documents provide substantial versatile quantitative data on human and nonhuman aspects of sheep-breeding. The collected figures of a series of such surveys will provide a relatively veracious notion of the number of sheep raised over different parts of the Balkans and their fluctuations through different years of registration. Thus, the intensification of sheep-breeding would be also connected with the changes in the local ecology in terms of the shrinkage or the expansion of pastures at the expense of forests and arable lands. Documents also shed light on the social group of sheep-breeders who inhabited numerous settlements across the Empire and their stratification according to the flocks they owned. These were the actual persons who operated with the common village pastures *(mera')*, state and private grazing areas in order to gain control and more power on the natural resources' use. Moreover, a comparison between the data from *celepkeşan* and *adet-i agnam* registers carried out at around the same time will enrich our understanding of the number of sheep sent to Istanbul and actually raised in the provinces. Besides, this juxtaposition would allow us to discuss the semblances and differences between the social groups of sheep-breeders and *celep*s in the Ottoman Balkans.

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THE CRAFTSMEN OF RUSÇUK IN THE MID-19ᵀᴴ CENTURY: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, SOCIAL STANDING AND PROPERTY

Applying a micro-historical approach, in this paper I will try to portray a social and professional group, that of the craftsmen, in one of the main cities of Ottoman Rumelia – Rusçuk. The paper will first trace the growing variety of professions practiced by the local craftsmen and the main characteristics of their economic performances. It will further try to reconstruct the composition of the craftsmen stratum in the city. The contribution is based mostly on primary sources – unpublished *kadı* registers (*sicil*s) of Rusçuk from the 1840s and 1850s and registers of the Bulgarian community in the city concerning the collection of the *temettuat* and *bedel* taxes and the size of the vineyards, owned by the members of the community. Other sources, such as memoirs, correspondence, newspapers and travelogues are also used. On the basis of an analysis of the registrations of transfers of property (inheritance matters, sales and purchases of immovable property and others) in the local *sicil*s, the study will present the components and values of the craftsmen's movable and immovable property in the mid-19ᵗʰ century in comparison with those of the rest of the urban population and thus try to evaluate not only the internal hierarchical stratification of the group but also its location into the local social structure. The paper will thus try to contribute to the study of macro-historical problems such as urban social structure and social mobility in the late Ottoman Empire, the transfer of new European savoir-faire into the Ottoman provinces and the adoption of modern ways of life by the urban population.

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A MELĀMĪ READING OF THE ḤALVETĪ DISCOURSE. MYSTICAL CORRESPONDENCE OF ʿABDÜLMECĪD-I SIVASĪ (1563-1639) AND ʿABDULLĀH-I BOSNAVĪ (1584-1625)

The atmosphere of intolerance and religious conservatism during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-1687) brought two prominent Ottoman mystics to the opposite sides of an ideological dispute. Ḥalvetī sheiks ʿAbdülmecīd-i Sivasī and Münīrī Belġrādī were bitterly attacking dervish orders divergent from the strict line of the Sunni-Hanafi sharia, mainly Melāmīs/Ḥamzevīs. On the other side, the period coincides with the time when the heterodox Melāmī branch of

the Bayrāmī order strived to improve its standing with the state and religious authorities after the chain of persecutions of its protagonists İsmā'īl-i Ma'şūķī (1538), Ḥüsāmüddīn-i Anḳaravī (1557), and Ḥamza Bālī (1573).´Abdülmecīd-i Sivasī wrote a 49 *beyt* long *qaşīda* dedicated to´Abdullāh-i Bosnavī, the most prominent Melāmī sheikh of the time, who responded with a 74 pages long epistle named *Jilā l-'Uyūn*, being a kind of an extended commentary of the verses. Both scholars being deeply influenced by the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī, the epistle in a subtle way elaborates the question of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the framework of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Using the two existing manuscripts (both in Aya Sofya), the author of the paper aims to cast some light on the work, the ethical views of its author, and to the intellectual and mystical entourage of the time and the place.

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XVII. YÜZYILIN İKINCI YARISINDA TRABZON'DA KANUNSUZ VERGİ TOPLAMA VE HALKIN REAKSİYONU

Osmanlı Devleti'nin sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi tarihi açısından XVI. yüzyıl sonlarından başlayarak XVII. yüzyılın tamamında devam eden bir takım sorunlar ve bunlara bağlı köklü değişikliklerin devletin sonraki zamanlarını ciddi şekilde etkilediği fikri geniş bir literatür tarafından desteklenmektedir. XVI. yüzyıl sonlarında ve XVII. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde devam eden devletin alışık olmadığı uzun savaş yılları Osmanlı devlet adamlarını askeri ve mali sistemde farklı çözüm arayışlarına itmiştir. Askeri alanda ateşli silahlara sahip asker ihtiyacı kapı kulu ocaklarına bağlı asker sayısını artırırken sarıca ve sekban uygulaması geçici bir çözüm olarak uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Artan mali kaynak ihtiyacı geleneksel toprak sistemini zorlayarak iltizam sisteminin daha geniş çapta uygulanması sonucunu doğururken devlet vatandaşa ek olağanüstü vergi uygulamaları ile müracaat etmek zorunda kalmıştır. XVII. yüzyılın genel karakteristiği haline gelen avarız vergileri düzenli vergiye dönüşerek halk üzerinde oldukça olumsuz etkiler bırakmıştır. Osmanlı bürokratları devletin içinde bulunduğu durumdan kurtulması için değişik eserler vasıtası ile çözüm reçeteleri sunarken çözülme veya bozulmaya gerekçe olarak sultanın Müslüman reayasının kullara tahsis edilmiş askeri sınıfına geçerek burayı işgal etmiş oldukları sonucuna varmışlardır.

XVII. yüzyılın bir diğer karakteristiği de merkezin taşra üzerindeki kontrolünü kaybetmesidir. Osmanlı Devleti kontrolün tekrar sağlanması için taşrada kapıkulu ocaklarına bağlı asker sayısını artırmış, ancak bu askerlerin zamanla taşra hayatının bir parçası haline gelerek uğraşmamaları gereken üretim faaliyetlerine el atmalarını, sonraki zamanların ilk eşraf ve ayan örnekleri haline gelmelerini

engelleyememiştir. Geleneksel sistemde taşra hayatının üç temel ayağını oluşturan ve bir diğerini dengeleyen kadı, müftü ve beylerbeyi arasındaki güç dengesi bozulmaya başlamış. Sonuçta halk kimi zaman bu yöneticilerin keyfi ve zamansız uygulamaları ile sıkıntılı zamanlar geçirmeye başlamıştır. XVII. yüzyıla ait Trabzon mahkeme kayıtlarında yöneticilerden kaynaklanan kanunsuz vergi toplama, fazla vergi toplama veya bahane üreterek halktan vergi toplama uygulamalarına dair bilgiler mevcuttur. Halk bu uygulamalar karşısında mümkünse bir ocaklı haline gelerek vergiden kurtulmayı denemiş, değil ise yine yöneticilere başvurarak sorunlarına çözüm bulmaya çalışmış, bulamadığı zamanlarda ise evini köyünü terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Bu bildiride bahsedilen uygulamalar ve halkın bu uygulamalara olan reaksiyonu hakkında bilgi verilerek Trabzon örneğinde XVII. yüzyılın Osmanlı taşra hayatına kısmen de olsa ışık tutulmaya çalışılmaktadır.

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"TEAM-BUILDING" OF A CRAFT CORPORATION OR OF AN ISLAMIC MYSTICAL BROTHERHOOD?

On the basis of a concrete case study from the kadi documentation of Svishtov (1780) and similar material from Vidin (18th century) the paper looks into the mentality of local Muslims. It discusses the infiltration of rituals and ideas of mystic Islam in the practices of guilds (*esnaf*) and whether this could be identified as (re-)confessionalisation of the life of the local communities under the impact of the specific local factors, that is, the movement, as of late 17th century, of the Ottoman *serhad* on the Danube.

Basic document: In 1780, the *ustabaşı*s and elders of the *esnaf-i huruf* of the town of Svishtov declared in court that from olden times whenever they wanted to give *destur* to their *halife*s they would gather in a place identified as *desturgâh*, situated between Svishtov and the village of Tekfur. During a military campaign the *desturhane* was ruined. As part of the renovation procedure the court had to ascertain that the nearby monastery, also of olden time, was located at distance from the *desturhane* and to issue the permission (*izin*). The paper explores the multiple meanings of the words used in the document and whether they could be read as an expression of the typical rituals of the guild associations and at the same time as adherence to *fütüvvet* and mystic rituals.

My observation of the situation in another town on the Danube, Vidin, offers essential parallels to the general frame of the Svishtov case. During the 18th century we see there also multiple manifestations of the growing role of Islam in the local thought world.

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HER ŞEY YERLİ YERİNDE (EVERYTHING IN ITS PLACE). ON THE OTTOMAN REPRESENTATIONS OF HIERARCHIES

During the final quarter of the 15th century, with the emergence of a palace culture – one may even speak of a courtly culture, if not a court society – Ottoman administrative and political, and thus normative, representations of society take a new shape. In this, not only the elaboration of a *qanunname*, prepared by the learned chancery members but also the integration of theosophical considerations into these administrative and political schemes have an important part. In this paper, our intention is to demonstrate the homologic similarities between the representations of celestial hierarchies and their sublunar effects which were in circulation in the Ottoman lands during the 15th-16th centuries with the contemporaneous reified ideals of Ottoman society. An initial step in the analysis of these patterns, is the clarification of ascending positions (*maqam*) in both of these hierarchical orders which operate under the auspices of divine oikonomia (*tedbirat-ı ilahi*). The accounts of 16th-century ceremonies are analysed here in order to emphasize the ideal of *maqam* in the reordering and consolidation of military, administrative and palatial hierarchies.

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NETWORKING ACROSS *DAR AL-ISLAM*: ILYASH COLCEAG PASHA OF HOTIN AND HIS POLISH NETWORK

Collecting information, and building networks are the most important tasks of diplomacy. This holds true for cross-confessional and cross-border diplomatic networks in the borderlands, where as a rule networking was harder due to confessional and linguistic differences. Borderland diplomacy supported high diplomacy and often tended to be more prolific and better informed, due to far-reaching networks based on long-established contacts across the border. People on both sides of the border used to interact on a regular basis with actors and informers from the other polity.

This paper focuses on the cross-border network of an Ottoman Pasha Ilyash Colceag. A mercenary in Ottoman service, Colceag converted to Islam and made a career in the local Ottoman administration. Colceag built an impressive cross-border and cross-confessional network within Poland-Lithuania. Based on his example, I argue that Ottomans networked with Polish nobles on a regular basis

and that these networks facilitated reciprocal exchanges of information and intelligence. I advocate this argument by providing a comprehensive analysis of the intensity and extent of Colceag's network of Polish informers in the 1730s. Colceag's network consisted of a profound cast of actors reaching from provincial and central ruling elites to simple soldiers, provincial noblemen, noblewomen and even Catholic priests that exchanged letters with the Ottoman pasha on a weekly basis. The case study of Colceag's network is based on two conserved manuscripts of his correspondence in the vernacular.

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ANADOLU'DA BİR MADEN SAHASI: XVIII. YÜZYILDA KARAHİSAR-İ ŞARKÎ ŞAP MADENLERİ

Eskiçağlardan itibaren tıp, kuyumculuk, dericilik, tekstil ve boyacılık alanlarında kullanılan şap madeni, Osmanlı Devleti'nde nadir bölgelerde üretilmekteydi. Bu bölgeler Kütahya'daki Gedüs ve Rumeli'deki Maruniye ile birlikte, araştırmaya konu olan Karahisar-ı Şarkî'den ibarettir.

Ortaçağlardan itibaren Karahisar-ı Şarkî şap madenleri, bölgede hâkimiyet kuran Selçuklu ve Akkoyunlu devletleri tarafından işletilmiştir. Maden sahası, II. Mehmed devrinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin eline geçmiştir. Sağladığı büyük gelir sayesinde Osmanlı Devleti tarafından son derece özen gösterilen maden sahası, devlet kontrolünde idare edilerek, mukataa şeklinde yapılandırılmış, ardından emanet, iltizam ve malikâne usulleriyle işletilmiştir.

Karahisar-ı Şarkî madenlerinde çalışan işçiler, devletin tanıdığı vergi muafiyetleri dairesinde yöre halkından seçilmiştir. Böylece madene bağlı 22 köyden, Rum ve Ermeni ahali arasından seçilen kalifiye elemanlar, madenci olarak tanımlanmıştır. XVIII. yüzyıl kayıtlarına göre 580'i aşkın madenci, cevher çıkarım ve arıtımında istihdam edilmişlerdir. XVIII. yüzyılda Karahisar-ı Şarkî'de Tamzara, Killik, Çorak ve Görüce olmak üzere dört sahada cevher çıkarılmaktaydı. Saf halde çıkarılan cevher, kasabada inşa edilen şaphanede çeşitli işlemlerle arıtılmaktaydı. Yıllık 3.800.000 akçe düzeyinde olan Şaphane mukataası gelirlerinin önemli bir kısmı, Kafkasya'da bulunan Ahıska ve Azgur kalelerindeki muhafızlara maaş olarak ödenirken, kalanı hazineye gönderilmiştir.

Karahisar-ı Şarkî'de üretilen şap, tamamen devlet kontrolünde belirgin şartlar dâhilinde satışa sunulmuştur. *"Örü"* olarak isimlendirilen *"satış alanları"*, özellikle XVIII. yüzyılda sıklıkla sorun teşkil etmiştir. Osmanlı Devletinde mevcut üç şap üretim tesisinin, devlet tarafından belirlenen satış alanları mevcuttu. Karahisar-ı Şarkî şaphanesinin örüsü, Tokat ve Halep şehirlerinin oluşturduğu hattın doğusunda ve güneyinde kalan bölgeleri, yani Tokat, Halep, Şam, Erzurum,

Arabistan, Kudüs, Trablus, Beyrut, İskenderun ve İskenderiye gibi merkezleri ihtiva etmekteydi.

Karahisar-ı Şarkî şap madenlerinin idaresi, madenci reayanın durumu, üretimi, satışı ve yapılan yolsuzluklar gibi birçok konuya açıklık getirmek için Osmanlı arşivindeki vesikalar kullanılmaktadır. Özellikle Cevdet tasnifi (Darphane ve Maliye) ve Maden Mukataası Kalemi belgeleriyle, Kamil Kepeci ve Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri bu kaynakların başında gelmektedir.

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NEW CONSTRUCTIONS, RE-CONSTRUCTIONS AND THE USE OF SPACE IN THE (NEW) OTTOMAN IMPERIAL PALACE IN EDIRNE DURING THE REIGN OF MEHMED IV (1648-1687)

This paper, part of a doctoral dissertation project, concerns the new constructions, extensive reconstruction activities, and the use of space by the Ottoman sultan and court in the imperial palace (*sarây-ı cedîd-i âmire*) of Edirne during the reign of Mehmed IV. Preliminary research in the Prime Minister's Archive in Istanbul, based on a series of account registers, architectural survey books (*keşif defterleri*) and lists of objects and furnishings made and purchased for use in the palace rooms, highlights two particular phases of concentrated construction activity: that which was undertaken by the queen mother Hatice Turhan Sultan in the harem section of the palace in 1661-1662, which included the building of new apartments for Mehmed IV, the arrangement of a set of new gardens on the palace grounds, and the construction of at least two garden pavilions (1), and the building of the "Sarrâchâne" pavilion and the palace of Akpınar immediately at the heels of Mehmed IV's victorious return from the Polish campaign of 1672 (2). The existing literature on the palace relies heavily on the seminal, yet non-academic work of Rıfat Osman Tosyevizâde, completed prior to 1933 and published in 1957; as such, the current cumulative scholarship on the palace suffers from a certain ahistoricity: what is currently known of individual buildings which once made up the (new) Edirne Palace complex is, with a few exceptions, derived from a set of primary sources dating from a wide span of time periods, relying most heavily on archival, narrative, archaeological and visual material dating from the late-18th through the early 20th century. Keeping this in mind, by combining information derived from previously un- or little-used archival material with contemporary Ottoman and non-Ottoman narrative sources, this paper hopes to make a contribution to the refinement and the historicizing of the scholarship on this palace by focusing on a specific period in its history, that of the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-1687), whose sultanate marks not only the

beginning of the Ottoman court's long sojourn in Edirne in the second half of the 17th century, but also near-constant architectural construction and repair activity in and around the imperial palace.

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THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IN THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL GAME, 1770 − 1802

The arrival of the Russian fleet under Alexei Grigoryevich Orlov in Mani in 1770, triggered an era during which the loyalties of the Greek-Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire seemed more uncertain than ever. The imperial rivalry between the Russian and Ottoman empires, translated into a battle about the Greek-Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire. Russian success gave vent to concerns over the loyalties of Greek Orthodox populations of the Balkans in the minds of Ottoman officials.

In the period following the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768 − 1774, the Ottoman central officials, and Sultan Selim III himself, started to have new expectations from the Patriarchs of Constantinople. According to various *hatt-ı hümâyuns*, some of which include the notes of the Sultan, the Patriarch was expected to follow his flock closely, preach for loyalty to Ottomans and have his metropolitans alert the Ottoman government of possible "mischiefs."

The imperial rivals of the Ottomans were not limited to the Russians, and the game was not always defensive. The Ottoman Empire became an active participant in the French Revolutionary Wars, as early as 1797, when it started sharing a border with the French. The brief imperial ambitions of the Ottomans in the Adriatic included, in fact required, the participation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The support of the Patriarchate was necessary to gain the hearts of the Greeks in the Ionian Islands during and after the operations. The Ottomans made sure to recruit it.

Of course, the French Revolution, especially with Napoleon's operations in Italy, meant a new source of rivalry, real or imagined, over the loyalties of Greek Orthodox populations. Ottomans were aware of the connotations of *liberté*, which to them meant "living without rulers" and independence for subject peoples as attested by various reports of the governors of Morea, the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the minutes of discussions with foreign ambassadors in Istanbul.

This presentation will attempt to explore Ottoman attempts to utilize the Ecumenical Patriarch's spiritual power in late 18th century, making use mostly of

the *hatt-ı şerif* collection in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. It builds on and hopes to contribute to the works of Paraskevas Konortas, Elif Bayraktar Tellan and the literature about the development of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's role in the Ottoman system. At the same time, it will build on the works of Kahraman Şakul concerning Ottoman activity during the French Revolutionary Wars.

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CITY AND HINTERLAND IN EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN THRACE: THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE EDIRNE DISTRICT IN THE 17TH CENTURY

This study analyses the Edirne district in the 17th century, during which the city of Edirne witnessed a fascinating spatial and demographic enlargement due to the fact that the Ottoman Sultans preferred to reside there instead of in Istanbul, for almost half a century. The demographic rise and accompanying spatial dispersion of the city imposed certain requirements on the city which must be examined in order to comprehend better the city's position in Thrace in the 17th century. The increasing demands of the city affected not only the internal organisation of the city, but also reshaped the administrative organisation of its hinterland. In this regard, based on the tax surveys of the 17th century as well as Muslim court registers, the present study aims at understanding the city's role in the organisation of and integration with its rural surroundings in the period under scrutiny. It argues that the Edirne district underwent a process of expansion to include a larger region in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It further argues that this process reached its apogee toward the end of the 17th century, by which time the city had included adjacent towns and villages under its administrative and jurisdictional control. This was a direct result of the political importance the city gained during the long period of imperial residence there.

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LAND PROBLEMS IN THE 18TH-CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE CASE OF ANTAKYA, 1700-1750

The 18th century is considered a period of transformation for the Ottoman Empire. The land system and the land-based production are among the institutions that underwent changes during this period; 18th-century Ottoman Empire was for a long time identified with the idea of "chaos" in the field of land law; recent studies try to understand how Ottoman Empire managed to survive the troubles of this transformation process. It is possible to question the application and the

practice of land law "by the book" in any period. In the 18th century, the social and economic change in the Ottoman Empire came probably to such a point that the difference between theory and practice became more evident. It could be assumed from the legal documents that the old mode of production was preserved to a large extent. However, in the same documents, it is also possible to see that a different kind of arrangement became popular between those who had an interest in the land: sharecropping. This paper aims to concentrate on land law problems in Antakya as a case study for understanding the dynamics of this arrangement. The city advanced with production based on gardens and vineyards, and it was a place where sharecropping was used as a credit method as already observed in the Ottoman history studies. The focus of this study is basically to understand the framework of this process, and to study the cases in which sharecropping was a possible key to hold land for people of different socio-economical background. Who had access to the land in 18th-century Antakya? Who, among those who had access to the land, could make a claim to the court? Was the plaintiff (or the defendant) always the same person who made the agricultural production? How those who had access to the land define their own rights? All of these questions, combined with the considerable change seen in product during the first half of the 18th century, lead us to consider the possibility of sharecropping. The main sources for the study are the court records of Antakya between 1700 and 1750. The cases could be an evidence that even in the small units of land, the process which transformed the peasant to workman was quite a possibility.

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"SEEKERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT": THE JEWISH INTELLIGENTSIA IN EDIRNE DURING THE HAMIDIAN ERA

In this paper I shall examine the emergence and activities of *Dorshei ha-Haskalah* ("Seekers of the Enlightenment", Edirne 1879-1890). The association's activities included a reading lounge, publications, evening classes for the young and old, and tutoring initiatives for poor boys studying crafts. Although the association exerted considerable influence, it has received very little research attention to date. The microhistorical discussion of this association will paint a portrait of the Jewish intelligentsia in Edirne during the Hamidian era.

Dorshei ha-Haskalah had its origins in a group of four young Jewish men, headed by Abraham Danon (1857-1925). At its peak, *Dorshei ha-Haskalah* had 200 Jewish members in Edirne, and some 100 youths from the poorest sections of

the association in the city participated in its vocational training projects. Greek-Orthodox supporters of the Enlightenment sometimes attended its meetings.

The association printed books at the government press in Edirne, and published a biweekly historical periodical on Ottoman Jewry in Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish, entitled *Yosef Da'at/El Progreso* (21 issues, 1888-1889). The periodical was closed on the orders of the Hamidian censorship office. My portrait of the association will draw on diverse sources: its newsletter, including its detailed regulations; its published works; and detailed reports submitted by its heads to the Hebrew press in Europe.

The activities of *Dorshei ha-Haskalah* reflect the complex self-definition of young members of the rising Jewish bourgeoisie in Edirne in the Hamidian era, as local "Edirnelis", Sephardi Jews, and Ottoman citizens. These young Jews remained faithful to Jewish tradition while at the same time embracing European Enlightenment. Their adoption of Enlightenment themes was partial, conscious, and critical, reflecting their self-agency.

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THE KING IN CHAINS: IMRE THÖKÖLY, TRANSYLVANIA, AND THE ELITE OF OTTOMAN HUNGARY

One of the events of the wars in Hungary at the end of the 17th century that found the strongest resonance in contemporary newsletters and pamphlets was the incarceration of Imre Thököly by Ahmed Pasha, the *beylerbey* of Várad in 1685. This action led to the imminent fall of the Ottoman tributary state of Upper (or in the Turkish terminology: Middle) Hungary (Orta Macar), established only three years before with the *ahdname* of Sultan Mehmed IV and ruled by Thököly. Western European prints repeatedly presented with sarcastic commentaries the absurd situation that the existence of this short-lived state was actually ceased due to the action of Ottoman dignitaries, who allegedly should have been interested in its maintenance for the greater glory of the sultan. My paper, based upon contemporary correspondence, mostly in Hungarian and only partly published will address the question largely untouched by previous literature: how the relationship between the anti-Habsburg movement that raised Thököly into his high position and the dignitaries of Ottoman Hungary developed during the years of the rebellion and what causes led to this decision of Ahmed Pasha that eventually proved to be fatal for Ottoman supervision over Northeastern Hungary.

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OTTOMAN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES IN CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM THEOLOGICAL MEETINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY: THE ENCOUNTER WITH GREGORY PALAMAS

In the 14th century, the constant Ottoman military expansion into Byzantine territories in Asia Minor introduced a new era of broad political, social and religious interaction between the Ottomans and the Byzantines. Under these intensified direct contacts, several Christian-Muslim theological meetings took place. One of the first encounters of that period was with Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), the Archbishop of Thessaloniki. While being held captive by the Ottomans in the cities of Bithynia region (1354-1355), Palamas sent a pastoral *Epistle* to his flock in Thessaloniki in which he described the three theological discussions he had engaged in, with political and religious representatives of Islam.

Focusing on the first two meetings initiated by the Ottomans, this paper addresses the following questions: What motivated the Ottomans to take part in these theological meetings? To what degree did the Ottoman territorial advances have an effect on the theological encounters? Finally, how were the ideologies and attitudes of the conquerors and the conquered shaped during a time when the Byzantine Empire was losing more and more ground to the Ottomans? A study of Palamas's *Epistle* contributes to an enhanced historical perspective, as it sheds light on the political and religious understanding of the Ottoman Empire through the conquest of its first footholds in Asia Minor in the mid-14th century.

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MANAGING THE CONSTANTINOPLE ROAD: INFRASTRUCTURE, SECURITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY ALONG THE ROUTE NIŠ-DRAGOMAN (15TH – 17TH CENTURIES)

The route from Constantinople to Buda which passes through the valleys of the rivers Maritsa, Nišava, Morava and Danube was one of the major long-distance trade route in the Ottoman Empire and the main military road in the European part of the empire from the 15th century onwards. Therefore, it was regularly maintained and secured by the Ottoman authorities. All of the state's measures taken in order to ensure a good functioning of the road had an impact on its look as well as on its immediate natural environment. However, these measures also had far-reaching consequences on local settlements and their population

which have hitherto not been dealt with in detail. The aim of my research is to determine how the Ottoman administration of the road influenced its cultural and demographic landscape. Through an examination of the Ottoman cadastral surveys, registers of outgoing orders of the Ottoman Finance Department, travelogues and other available sources, it is possible to explain the development of the road infrastructure and the security system as well as their effects on local population, its social status and mobility. Although the number of the *derbent* villages as well as *menzil*-stations, *han*s and *karavansaray*s and their position on the road were established by Olga Zirojević in her monograph on *The Tsarigrad Road*, their impact on small-scale migration has not been studied yet. My presentation will be focused on the section of the Constantinople road that follows the upper course of the river Nišava, precisely the Dragoman-Niš route. This section passed through an ethno-cultural region distinguished by its unique Torlakian dialect. The difference between the Torlaks and their neighbours is discernible in 16th-century Ottoman sources which opens up the opportunity to detect ethnic changes in the settlements along the road.

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EDIRNE: THE CRADLE OF OTTOMAN PALATIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE 15TH CENTURY

Our knowledge about early Ottoman palaces built before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 is still scant due to lack of evidence. As a result, the image of early modern Ottoman palatial architecture has predominantly been shaped by the only remaining example of the Topkapı Palace. Mehmed the Conqueror has been credited with the creation of both the great centralized empire and the novel palatial typology which crystalizes his imperial vision. However, an analysis of two palaces in 15th-century Edirne reveals a different picture of Ottoman palatial architecture. Major ceremonies and administrative affairs such as the imperial council, ambassadorial audience, janissary inspection and royal banquets, had already been performed in the colonnaded courtyard of the Edirne Old Palace in the early 15th century. This ceremonial courtyard was in fact the prototype of the central second courtyard in the Topkapi Palace.

Before the emergence of the ceremonial courtyard, a multistory belvedere was the major setting for court ceremonials and the dominant palatial typology in 14th-century Anatolia. In the Bursa Palace, for example, Bayezid I sat on a belvedere every morning to listen to petitions from the citizens. The Cihannuma tower in the Edirne New Palace built around 1450, is a rare existing example that belongs to the traditional building type, although it was juxtaposed by a ceremonial

courtyard as well. Several names given to the tower, such as the Privy Chamber, Council Hall, or Royal Treasury, reveal that this structure held multiple functions, which were later distributed to individual single-story buildings in the Topkapı Palace. These palaces in Edirne are significant to understand the evolutionary process of Ottoman palatial architecture as they display a transitional form that includes both a ceremonial courtyard and a multifunctional belvedere, preparing a model of more articulate palatial typology in Istanbul after 1453.

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BURSA ÖRNEĞİ ÜZERİNDEN ERKEN TANZİMAT'TA MERKEZİN TAŞRAYI ANLAMLANDIRMA ÇABALARINI DÜŞÜNMEK

1839 yılında ilan edilen Tanzimat Fermanı'yla beraber Osmanlı İmparatorluğu bütünsel bir reform hareketinin içine girmiştir. Yapılması istenilen/gereken değişimler için merkezi bürokrasinin bütüncül olarak yeniden düzenlenmesinin yanında, bu değişimin hem yönetimsel hem de ekonomik olarak taşraya aktarılması gerekiyordu. Bu nedenle Tanzimat'ın ilanının ardından İmparatorluk bürokrasisi taşradaki ticari ve zirai gücünün ne olduğunu anlamak ve eldeki gücü yeniden organize etmek için bu niceliklerin listesini yapmaya çalışmıştır. Sistematik bir dönüşümü gerçekleştirmek için 1844/45 yılında taşradaki kocabaşlar ve vücuh İstanbul'a davet edilip yapılan toplantıların sonucunda İmparatorluğun belirlenen yerlerinde İmar meclislerinin kurulması ve bu meclislerden bulundukları alanlarda yeni tahrirlerin yapılması kararlaştırılmıştır. İmar meclisleri, İstanbul'da alınan kararlar doğrultusunda 1844-45 senelerinde birçok taşra merkezinin emlak, arazi ve hayvanat sayımlarını yapmıştır. Bu sayımların hem nefs hem de kaza bakımından en detaylı biçimde yapıldığı yerlerden birisi de Bursa'dır. 1844 yılında Bursa'da yapılan tahririn (temettuat) bütününün sunduğu zirai, sınai ve mesleki zengin veri setleri, erken Tanzimat döneminde Osmanlı taşrasının ekonomik potansiyelinin ne olduğunun resmini çizmesi açısından araştırmacılar için büyük önem arz etmektedir. Veri setlerindeki tahmini rakamları daha sağlam bir zeminde düşünmek için, zirai alanda alınan öşürler, zirai üretimin değerlendirilmesi, sahip olunan hayvanlardan alınan ağnam vergisi ve hayvan sayısı, taşranın hayvan miktarının gözden geçirilmesi, kişilerin beyan ettikleri meslekleri de bölgenin sanayileşmesinin hangi noktada olduğunun belirlenmesi açısından incelenmektedir. Bunun yanında bu sunumda amaçlanan diğer nokta ise tutulan kayıtlara sadece bir ekonomik veri olarak bakılmaması olmaktadır. Bu tür bir kayıt tutma pratiğinin merkezden nasıl planlandığı ve merkezin bu planlamayla nasıl bir sonuca varmak istediği belirlenmeye çalışılmaktadır. Böyle bir çalışmayla hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Tanzimat'la beraber

şekillenmeye başlayan yönetimsel zihniyeti (governmentality) hem de taşraya yakından bakarak, taşrada merkez tarafından belirlenmeye çalışılan ekonomi-politiğin hangi süreçlerden geçerek oluştuğu anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

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BALKAN SAVAŞI AREFESİNDE SELANİK AYASOFYA CAMİİ'NIN RESTORASYONU

Selânik'te bulunan Ayasofya Camii, Bizans devrinde muhtemelen VI. yüzyılda kubbeli olarak inşa edilmiş olan bir kilisedir. Şehrin fethinden yıllar sonra İbrâhim Paşa tarafından 934 (1527-28) yılında camiye çevrilmiştir. Evliya Çelebi de 1078 (1667-68) yılında çıktığı seyahatte uğradığı Selânik'te en meşhur caminin Ayasofya-yı Kebîr olduğunu bildirmektedir. Asırlar içinde şehirde çıkan yangınların en büyüklerinden biri olan 1890 yılı yangını şehrin hem büyük bir kısmını harap etmiş hem de Ayasofya Camii çevresinde meydana geldiği için mabede de büyük ölçüde zarar vermiştir. Şehrin merkezinde bulunan çeşitli afet ve felaketlerde halkın barınma ve korunma mekanı da olan camii Balkanlardaki etnik hareketlilik ve devletin içinde bulunduğu zor şartlardan dolayı uzun yıllar kapalı kalmıştır. Restorasyonu için projeler hazırlanmış ve büyük paralar harcanarak Fransız mimarların projelerine göre cami Sultan II. Abdülhamid devrinde başlanan restorasyon Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad 1911 yılındaki Rumeli seyahatinde Selânik'e uğradığında ilk cuma namazını burada kılarak camiyi yeniden ibadete açmıştır.

Bu bildiride Cami'nin restorasyon süreci, keşif defterleri, mimar arayışları, mimarlarla yapılan yazışmalar, mali çözüm arayışları gibi bu zaman zarfında yaşanan olaylar devrin sosyal ve politik gelişmeleri ile birlikte ele alınıp her türlü olumsuz şartlara rağmen devletin tebaasına hizmetten geri kalmadığı bütün sorumluluklarını eksiz yapmaya devam ettiği vurgulanacaktır.

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SOKRAT ATRIDES: A TRANS-IMPERIAL GO-BETWEEN FOR THE SULTAN AND THE SHAH

Although the conventional European chronology of the war begins in 1914 and ends in 1918, the First World War period lasted longer for the Ottoman Empire and Qājār Iran, at least within their own national frontiers. On the eve of the war, Sokrat Atrides, one of the leading Ottoman ship owners and magnates in Istanbul, paid an unexpected visit to the ambassador of Iran, Iḥtishām al-Salṭanah Mīrzā Maḥmūd Khān, with the purpose of acquiring the citizenship of

Iran. Not only Iḥtishām al-Salṭanah but also the Ottoman central government surprisingly welcomed this request and not long after, Sokrat's new citizenship was confirmed by a special firman issued by Sultan Reşad on 10 March 1913. Sokrat's ships carrying the flag of Iran soon engaged in arms smuggling for the benefit of the Ottoman government. Based on this exceptional individual and his maneuvers, this paper aims to examine the role of an unusual track of diplomacy applied to Ottoman-Iranian relations on the eve of the First World War.

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LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE CHERIF KHALIL PACHA À CHOUMÈNE – ÉTAT ACTUEL DE SON FONDS MANUSCRIPT

La Bibliothèque de la ville de Choumène (Nord-Est de Bulgarie) a été fondée en 1744. Le «noyau» de son fonds a été posé par son créateur Chérif Khalil Pacha (mort en 1752). Tous les livres dédiés par lui portent sa note de donation à titre de *waqf* écrite en Arabe. Durant les années plusieurs habitants de la ville préfèrent déposer leurs livres à cette bibliothèque. On y trouve également un certain nombre de manuscrits appartenant à la Bibliothèque de la ville de Kyustendil. En tant que monument culturel d'importance nationale, le complexe de «Tomboul djami» (la Mosquée à coupole) y compris la bibliothèque de Chérif Khalil, se trouvait sous la protection du Musée historique de la ville. C'étaient les fonctionnaires du Musée qui ont contribué à l'augmentation de son fonds. En 1986 ce fonds a été déplacé à la Bibliothèque municipale de Choumène. Cette date marque la fin des acquisitions de livres.

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BONAPARTE'S EASTERN EXPEDITION (1798–1801): EGYPTIAN *ULAMA* AS GO-BETWEENS DURING THE FOREIGN INVASION

Shaping the administrative system of the seized territories Bonaparte followed the two level model which combined both French occupation authorities and local power structures. The traditional government institutions – *divan*s – were preserved not for retaining their usual broad powers but for legitimation of the colonial regime. The leading role in all *divan*s which functioned under French rule was assigned to high religious dignitaries – *ulama* – who replaced the deprived of their powers Mamluks. *Ulama* in general and sheikhs of the leading higher educational institution of Ottoman Egypt – al-Azhar – in particular were

considered the main local social power to be used as the backbone of the occupation regime. The first and the last, fourth, central *divan*s consisted only of ulama and they constituted the majority of deputies in the second and third Cairo *divan*s, thereby sharing with the conquerors the responsibility for what was going on in the country. Alongside with that the Islamic religious leaders became a sole mouthpiece for the Egyptian people of that time. Functioning as go-betweens and interconnecting Egyptians and the French authorities, the high clerics made desperate efforts to protect and promote the interests of their compatriots and restrain French from committing violence and lawless actions.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate various reasons behind the decision of the representatives of the Muslim religious elite to collaborate with the enemy though they were aware that their reputations could be tarnished if there was a failure of the French. I also intend to analyze the level of effectiveness of *ulama*'s activities as intermediaries between foreign power holders and local population. The paper will address the question of the new opportunities for the corps of *ulama* in the political sphere which opened up after the departure of the French troops.

Besides Ottoman Egyptian chronicles and French documents this paper is based on the materials of a very important but little-studied historical source, Le Diwan du Caire 1800–1801. It contains two Arabic manuscripts with detailed desction of the meetings of the fourth *divan* in November – December 1800 and June – July 1801. This data helps shed light on the multifaceted activities and initiatives of the *ulama* – members of the *divan* – during the final phase of the French campaign in Egypt.

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LOVE AFFAIRS AND FOOD: IDENTITY MARKERS
BETWEEN THE BYZANTINES AND THE TURKISH-MUSLIM GROUPS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA

This paper focuses on food/commensality and love affairs/marriage, which have symbolic roles in the social construction of self, as identity markers in the formation of a new group in Late Medieval Anatolia. The inquiry is conducted through the analysis of the Danişmendname, a Turkish-Muslim heroic epic, which was first compiled in the 13th century, narrating the military exploits of Melik Ahmed Danişmend (d.1104), a Turkish emir. By focusing on the social ambiance in which the activities of Melik Danişmend, his enemies and his companions take place in the narrative, it will be argued that rather than a Turcoman milieu,

the stories' social setting is the Byzantine provincial "aristocratic" milieu of the Komnenian and post-Komnenian periods. In this social environment, Melik Danişmend helps create matrimonial alliances between the daughters of the high "Byzantine aristocrats" and the lower Byzantine aristocrats and hence challenges the dynamics of the Byzantine power structure, which are dominated by strict hierarchical norms. His interference leads to the integration of the Byzantines into his group.

If love affairs and newly created matrimonial alliances serve as tools for the integration of the "indigenous" people into the newly formed group of Melik Danişmend, another recurring theme in the narrative, food and commensality, serve to separate this new group, "us," from "them". The detailed menus of the feasts of both the Byzantine aristocrats and those of Melik Danişmend and the emphasis on certain norms related with eating and commensality serve to implement set of dispositions that structure the boundaries of the newly founded group of Melik Danişmend. The paper aims to give a "new voice" to a well-known narrative by introducing especially the subject of food as an identity marker in the cross-cultural dynamics in the multiethnic and multi-cultural late medieval Anatolia.

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SEPARATISM OR COLLABORATIONISM:
THE LOCAL SYRIAN RULERS SEEKING RUSSIAN PROTECTORATE
DURING THE RUSSO-TURKISH WARS OF 1769–1774 AND 1787–1791

The actual Russian military-political presence in Syria recalls the events which happened there more than two centuries ago. During the war of 1768–1774 Russia became the first European country that invaded Middle East in Modern times and even for a short period of time occupied its part – the city of Beirut. The new Russian navy's Mediterranean expedition was organized during the next war of 1787–1791. One of its results should have been the separation of Egypt and the part of Syria from the Ottoman Empire based on secret agreements with the separatist-minded local leaders.

The structural crisis during the second part of 18th century loosened links between the center and periphery of the Ottoman Empire. The military and political pressure of the European powers, including Russia, forced separatist-minded regional leaders to look for allies abroad. The Palestinian ruler Dhahir al-'Umar al-Zaydani expressed the will to turn Syria into Russian protectorate during the war of 1768–1774. In 1774–1790 the Lebanese emir Yusuf Shihab,

who secretly confessed Christianity, addressed Tsarina Catherine the Great at least three times asking to take him under her *himaya*.

The position of the mentioned Middle East rulers was supported by the majority of their confidants, mainly Christians. As to their Muslim subjects from different ethnic groups, social levels and political parties, the elements of opposition were present only in the community of Maghribi mercenaries. The analysis of the attitude of both Syrian elites and other local social groups toward the collaboration with the European country hostile to the Ottoman state sheds light on their mentality and the principles of "friend-or-foe" identification system.

The lack of knowledge about the separatist policy of the Arab rulers during the Russo-Turkish wars of 1769–1774 and 1787–1791 can be covered by the analysis of the variety of sources from Moscow and St. Petersburg archives.

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İSTANBUL GÜMRÜĞÜNÜ KİMLER YÖNETİYORDU?: GÜMRÜK EMİNLERİNİN KARİYERLERİ, SERVETLERİ VE BORÇ – ALACAK İLİŞKİLERİ

İstanbul Gümrükleri, şehrin bölgelerarası ve uluslarası ticaretinin vergilendiği kurum olarak Akdeniz ve Karadeniz üzerinden gerçekleşen deniz, Balkanlar ve Anadolu üzerinden gerçekleşen kara ticaretini mali açıdan yönetmektedir.

Bu sayede oluşan büyük ölçekli devlet gelirlerinin yönetildiği İstanbul Gümrükleri, İstanbul Gümrük Emini Ağaların eliyle idare edilmektedir. İstanbul Gümrük Eminlerinin mesleki kariyerleri, servet yapıları ile devletle ve üçüncü kişilerle olan borç-alacak ilişkileri pozisyonları itibarıyla önem arzetmektedir. Mali teşkilat içerisinde kritik bir aktör olan Gümrük Eminleri, diğer taraftan da ticaret dünyası ile temas halindeydiler. Bu sebeple devlet-ekonomi ilişkisinin kesiştiği noktada görev yapan bu aktörlerin kariyer özellikleri, servet yapıları, ekonomik faaliyet ve ilişkileri incelemeye değerdir. XVIII. yüzyılda görev yapan İstanbul Gümrük Eminleri arasıdan seçilen örnekler üzerinden bahsedilen bu inceleme yapılmaktadır.

"İstanbul Gümrüğünü Kimler Yönetiyordu?: Gümrük Eminlerinin Kariyerleri, Servetleri ve Borç–Alacak İlişkileri" başlıklı bu tebliğde Topkapı Sarayı, Maliyeden Müdevver, Baş Muhasebe, Maden Mukataası, Kamil Kepeci ve Cevdet tasniflerinde ulaşılan belgelerden yararlanılmaktadır.

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MORE THAN "PRIVATIZATION" AND "DECENTRALIZATION": THE OTTOMAN FISCAL REFORM OF THE IMPERIAL POSTAL SYSTEM THROUGH FOUR *MENZIL DEFTERI*, 1690-1770

During the long 18th century, the vast Ottoman postal network served imperial couriers exclusively, providing lodging, meals, and horses as they delivered everything from imperial decrees and villagers' petitions to intelligence reports. Yet, there are few written records of post station operations until after the 1690s, when the Ottoman postal system underwent a fiscal reform that generated an unprecedented volume of paperwork concerning the everyday logistics of the imperial post. Among them was a new genre of financial registers called the *menzil defteri* (post station register) which compiled and organized the information in other newly-emerged genres of documents. In this paper, I focus on four *menzil defteri* from 1690 to 1770 and tell a simple story about the scribal standardization of one kind of fiscal procedure, albeit for a fundamental imperial institution. Yet, on a deeper, analytical level, this paper presents that transformational arc as a novel, illuminating perspective on the nature and limitations of the Ottoman state. I build upon the thorough and extensive studies of my colleagues who have worked on the Ottoman postal system, notably Colin Heywood's pioneering articles and his "privatization" thesis. Ultimately, I aim to review and elaborate upon Heywood's thesis to show that the postal system was neither "privatized" nor "decentralized". I will also discuss new ways of approaching and understanding the nature of the 18th-century Ottoman state and its power.

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SIYASİ MÜCADELENİN BİR VASITASI OLARAK DİPLOMATİK ANTLAŞMALAR: XVII. YÜZYIL OSMANLI-HABSBURG SULHNAMELERİNDE HEDİYE

1606'da Osmanlı ve Habsburg sarayları arasında akdedilen Jitvatorok antlaşması, iki devlet arasındaki diplomatik ilişkilerin devamı açısından Habsburgların bir defaya mahsus 200.000 guldenlik bir meblağı Osmanlı hazinesine teslim etmesini şart koşuyordu. Antlaşma metni, 1547 tarihli antlaşmada geçen yıllık haraç yükümlülüğünü kaldırmış olmakla beraber sulhnamedeki bu madde, Osmanlı devlet adamları tarafından Avusturyalı meslektaşlarını sıkıştırmak için başvurulan bir vasıta halini aldı. Habsburg daimi elçisi Johann Schmid, 1649'da

Bab-ı Ali ve Hofburg arasındaki barışı uzatmak için 40.000 gulden değerinde hediyenin Osmanlı sultanına takdim edileceğini kabul etmek zorunda kaldı. 1664 Vasvar antlaşması ise, bir kez daha Habsburg büyükelçisinin Osmanlı sarayına 200.000 gulden değerinde hediye getireceğini açıkça beyan ediyordu. 1649-1665 senelerinde Habsburg mukim elçiliğinde bulunan Simon Reniger ve 1663-64 savaş yıllarında fevkalade elçi olarak yollanan Philipp Beris ve Johann von Goess tarafından kaleme alınan raporlar, Osmanlı makamlarının antlaşmaya eklettikleri hediye maddesini nasıl algıladıklarına dair ipuçları sunmaktadır.

Bildiri metni Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde saklanan A.DVN.DVE 57/1 nolu defterdeki ahidname ve antlaşma metinlerinin yanı sıra adı geçen elçilere ait Viyana'da Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv'de [HHStA] muhafaza edilen raporların tarihi tanıklığına başvurmaktadır.

Keza ilgili sulhname maddesinin fiili düzlemde nasıl uygulandığı hususunda Topkapı Sarayı ve HHStA'da (Türkei I/138) bulunan hediye listelerinden istifade edilmektedir. Elçi değişimi vesilesiyle tertip edilen hediye listeleri, Hedda Reind-Kiel'in çalışmalarında gösterdiği üzere, Osmanlıların XVII. yüzyıl boyunca Viyana'ya diplomatik hediye olarak "hilat"ler yolladığını göstermektedir. Literatürde dağınık halde yer alan bilgilerin toplanması halinde, 1610 yılından itibaren bu uygulamanın mevcut olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Yine de, hediye değişimi sosyal antropolojinin aslen kültürel ve egzotik diliyle ele alınmaktadır. Bildirinin iddiası bakımından Osmanlılar ve Habsburglar arasındaki diplomatik hediye değişimi, siyasi güç dengesinin yorumlanmasında bir gösterge olarak da ele alınabilir. Bu bakış açısıyla Viyana'dan yollanan gümüş eşyaların eritilerek akçeye çevrilmesi ve Osmanlı hediye listelerinde 1699 Karlofça barışı sonrasında hilatlerin ortadan kaybolması gibi hususlar daha anlaşılır bir zemine oturtulmaktadır. Bu iddianın doğal uzantısı, XVII. yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlıların, o dönemin diplomatik teşrifat usullerinin elverdiği ölçüde, Habsburg saltanatı karşısında bir çeşit haraçgüzarlık ilişkisini devam ettirme hamlesi olarak yorumlanmaktadır.

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A MAN, A WOMAN AND LIVESTOCK CROSSING THE BORDERS OF THE *DAR AL-ISLAM*. A GLIMPSE INTO EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE *SANCAK* OF HOTIN IN THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY

The paper is based on the archive of the Ottoman province of Hotin, captured in 1739 by the Russian troops and today held in Moscow. Named after Ilyas Kolchak Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Hotin, this is the largest Ottoman provincial archives that have been preserved until the present day. Nonetheless, its holdings have remained un-catalogued and virtually untouched by the scholars.

The paper offers three case studies related to border crossing. The first one regards an Ottoman *timar* holder who deserted to neighboring Poland. The second case regards a woman who abandoned her husband in Poland and arrived to the Ottoman lands where she settled near Hotin and remarried. After three years, her former husband found her and forcibly demanded her return. As the second husband who was an Ottoman subject appealed to local authorities, they found themselves in a difficult position between the duty to protect a *zimmi* and the need to keep neighborly relations with Poland. Finally, from the third case we learn that due to frequent Russian incursions in Poland during the War of the Polish Succession, Polish nobles preferred to send their cattle over the Ottoman border, asking the Ottoman authorities to take care after their property until the Russian danger was gone. Apparently "the well protected dominions" offered a better protection not just to some humans, but to some animals as well.

The above three samples, based on the documents from the Hotin archives, give a taste of what can be found in this collection. Admittedly less detailed than the juicy cases from the Ottoman-Venetian frontier that were once studied by Cemal Kafadar and Eric Dursteler, they nonetheless provide fascinating insights into border realities of the Empire's yet another corner.

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NEW APPROACHES TO THE RURAL ECONOMY OF OTTOMAN CRETE (1650-1670)

Our paper aims to explore the shifting dynamics of the rural economy on the island of Crete during the transition from the Venetian to the Ottoman rule. Our research project aims to study unpublished or understudied Ottoman archival material with the help of the digital tools applied by new technologies such as the Geographical Information Systems (GIS).

Crete was one of the last objects of fierce antagonism between the Ottoman-Venetian confrontation and at the same time it was a point of strong interaction among Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Ottoman campaign for the conquest of Crete, which was then ruled by Venice, began in 1645. Conquest proceeded from west to east: two of the three major towns of the island were conquered in 1645 (Chania) and 1646 (Rethymno). By 1647 the whole of the island was under Ottoman rule with the exception of Candia and some minor islands-fortresses. After a 22-year long war, which was not continuous, the city of Candia surrendered in 1669.

Our analysis is based on the extant Ottoman tax registers of Crete. Up until now we have located in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşıvı (BOA) and we are going to present the data of three *mufassal* registers [BOA, TT 820 (1650), BOA, TT 825 (1670), TT 822 (1670)], which cover the entire island. With the data provided by these Ottoman registers, we will attempt to sketch the post-conquest span of agricultural activities, primarily the cultivation of grain, vineyard and olive in every settlement of the island.

GIS provides a powerful tool for geo-spatial analysis in history, offering advantages and new possibilities. Recently GIS techniques and applications have become popular in Ottoman studies. With the rapid development alongside the socio-historical computerization and the use of GIS, the integration of statistical information and geographic information sources has become an important part of the construction of a statistical system. In our case study after assessing the economic data we will construct a multi-layered and three-dimensional GIS model using latitude, longitude and altitude information. By making use of a multi-layered historical GIS application we will analyze, map, calculate, and compare the developments in rural economy of Crete. However our far-reaching purpose is not only to visualize or map the results of our analyses, but also to use GIS as a tool for geo-spatial analysis.

This paper is a first report on the findings of our research project titled "Rural Economy of Crete during Early Modern Period: A GIS Approach" held at Institute for Mediterranean Studies / FORTH.

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*NAIB*S AND *MÜVELLA*S ON THE ISLANDS OF ANDROS AND SYROS, 16TH TO 18TH CENTURY

In my paper, I will investigate the *naib*s who issued documents on the islands of Andros and Syros, in the Aegean Sea, between the late 16th and the 18th century. The island of Andros was the seat of a *kadi* from the late 16th century until the outbreak of the Cretan War in 1645. We even know that the sharia court used as an open court the roof of the Catholic church of the island of Andros. There is evidence that *naib*s frequently replaced the *kadi*s, who would not reside in a small island of the Aegean. In one case, we learn that the captain of a ship, resident of Kızılhisar (mod. Karystos) functioned as a *naib* when sailing to the island of Andros. After the end of the Cretan War, the island of Andros became a *nahiye* of the *kaza* of the island of Sakız (Chios). In this part of the paper, I will investigate the *naib*s sent from Chios to Andros during the 18th century. Finally, I will examine the indirect evidence showing that the Chistian elites of

the island of Andros might also have been involved in the office of the *naib*: one of the prominent Christian elite figures of the island around 1700 was using the nickname "Mouvelas", presumably from the Ottoman Turkish "müvella". The aim of the paper is to discuss, along with the papers of the other colleagues who participate in this panel, the complexities of the functioning of the Ottoman administration in the insular world of the Aegean.

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THE IMAGE OF THE CUMANS
IN THE *HUNGARIAN ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE*

The Cumans, a Turkic nomadic people which inhabited the Eurasian steppe and led a nomadic way of life, represented a major power in East Europe from mid-11th to 13th century. Reconstructions of their history are unavoidably based on written sources from neighboring peoples because Cumans have left no indigenous written documents. In general, the Old Russian and Byzantine Chronicles are the most reliable sources about their history. Mostly, the sources report their attacks on neighboring sedentary societies, thus they provide only little information on their lifestyle and social structure. Notwithstanding the fact that the Cumans were in contact with the Hungarian Kingdom from the end of the 11th century, they rarely appear in Hungarian sources before the 13th century. An exception of this trend is a narrative source, the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (14th).

Using a contextual analysis, I focus on the different aspects of the interactions between the Hungarians and Cumans in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, i.e. the image formed by the general and particular characteristics attributed to the Cumans in the latter source. Research questions that will be addressed in my paper are: What are the main features which are ascribed to the Cumans by medieval chroniclers of the Illuminated Chronicle? How are the Cumans represented by the Chronicle? Is the perception of the Cumans positive or negative? How accurate is the Chronicle about the Cumans?

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THE TERMINOLOGY OF SLAVERY IN THE CRIMEAN KHANATE THROUGH THE PRISM OF CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

The proposed paper will offer the first ever comprehensive analysis of the heterogeneous terms used in the Crimean Khanate to denote various categories of captives and slaves. The terms are culled from a variety of primary sources:

Crimean kadi registers (*sicil*), diplomatic materials, and chronicles; Ottoman regulations (*kanunname*) and custom-tax (*gümrük*) registers for northern Black Sea ports and Istanbul; diplomatic records of Muscovy/Russia and Poland-Lithuania; materials pertaining to the history of the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks; Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian chronicles and memoires; and contemporary travel accounts.

The Crimean Khanate (ca. 1449–1783), a post-Mongol Islamic state located in the northern Black Sea region, was drawn into the Ottoman orbit in the late 15th century becoming an Ottoman vassal in 1475. During the 16th–17th centuries the Khanate was the principal supplier to the Ottoman Empire of white slaves captured in Tatar and Nogay raids. According to most estimates, during that period up to 2 million East Europeans were trafficked across the Black Sea to the Ottoman slave markets. Tens of thousands more were utilized in the Khanate or made available for ransom and exchange back to their home countries.

The vocabulary of slavery and of the slave trade in the Crimean Khanate presented a rich array of terms. The terminology reflected the complex heritage of the Crimean Khanate and was a result of cultural exchange and accommodation to changed circumstances characteristic of post-Mongol Islamic states in general. On the one hand, the Khanate retained some old Turko-Mongol terms reflecting its pre-Islamic tribal legacy (e.g., *bikeç* = elite slave concubine). On the other, the Islamic influence, lately mostly from the Ottoman Empire, introduced terms of Arabic origin, in their Turkicized/Ottomanized forms (e.g., *esir*, *gulam*, *cariye*, *memluk*, *mevla*), to be employed primarily in legal contexts (e.g., in the *sicill*s). In both legal and non-legal contexts, terms derived from the slaves' own Slavic languages (e.g., *defke*/*devke* = girl; *kazak* = cossack, adult male; *kopna* = underage boy; *maruşka* = woman) were also used. The Slavic linguistic borrowings reflected the Khanate's geopolitical position on the East European steppe frontier. The terms attested in Ottoman *gümrük* registers for the slave traffic from Crimea and northern Black Sea ports present a distinctive regional mixture of Crimean Tatar and Ottoman designations for various gender and age categories. The paper will also re-examine the more ambiguous slavery terms attested in sources (such as *balaban*, *doğma*, *odaman*, *şirhore*).

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OF DEATH, SADNESS, AND SUFFERING:
HOW ROMANTIC IS *EDEBIYAT-I CEDIDE*?

From Tevfik Fikret's *Rübab-ı Şikeste* to Halid Ziya's *Mai ve Siyah*, the motifs of death, illness, suffering, and disillusion seem to be haunting the fictional worlds

of the *Edebiyat-ı cedide* period. The 'catastrophic nature' of this movement has been interpreted in terms of borrowing from European Romanticism, where disappointment, melancholy, despondency and discrepancy of reality and ideals induced a similar pessimistic worldview or *Weltschmerz*. Many scholars stress that it was the socio-political reality of the late Ottoman society – the stifling atmosphere of the Hamidian regime and the painful process of civilizational transformation – that nourished this 'culture of pain'.

The paper argues that this approach is way too simplifying and seeks for a deeper explanation for the melancholic nature of *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*. Based on a re-reading of its major texts (Cenab Şahabeddin's and Tevfik Fikret's poetry, Halid Ziya, Mehmed Rauf and Safveti Ziya's novels), the presentation will set the esthetics of these writings into the comparative framework of Romantic theory and tradition (leaning on Abrams' *The Mirror and the Lamp*). The underlying argument is that despite being influenced by the Romantic *weltanschauung*, these works display rather a strange blend of Realism and Romanticism, in which the condition of 'belated modernity' (G. Jusdanis) and the 'anxiety of influence' (H. Bloom) – Be part of the Western literary tradition and at the same remain original! – played a crucial role. The paper's aim is to reveal the guiding principles of this new poetics of 'death and suffering' which has both an esthetic dimension and reflects the social reality of fin-de-siècle Istanbul, vividly capturing the spirit of pessimism felt by many Ottoman intellectuals vis-à-vis the unattainable ideality of 'modern civilization'.

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URBAN ADMINISTRATORS TRYING TO MASTER THE COUNTRYSIDE: SAYYID AHMAD SHURA'I PASHA AND OTTOMAN DEBATES ABOUT POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND IMPERIAL GOVERNANCE IN YEMEN, 1872-1914

Drawing on primary sources in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and English, such as governmental correspondence, local chronicles, and journal articles, this paper explores the relations between urban centres and rural areas in Yemen during the second period of Ottoman rule (1872-1919) within the context of Ottoman imperial governance.

Historians of Ottoman rule during this period have often argued that the control that Ottoman soldiers and administrators exercised in the Province of Yemen hardly went beyond urban centres.

This interpretation is based in large measure on reports drawn up by Ottoman officials who framed the precarious nature of Ottoman rule over southwest

Arabia as the disconnect between urban centres and rural areas:

The latter, they suggested, could be understood as a conglomerate of mini emirates dominated by local landowners and tribal leaders who extracted revenue and by descendants of the Prophet Muhammad who arbitrated conflicts. Ottoman officials ventured into this rural world during military expeditions, but never established a lasting foothold there. Their influence remained confined to urban centers.

I argue that the case of Sayyid Ahmad Shura'i Pasha, a *sayyid* from Yemen's coastal plain (Tihama) and mayor of Hudayda from the mid-1880s until his death in 1909, suggests a more complex picture: while he headed the municipality of the province's principal port city, Shura'i Pasha was more than an urban administrator. Rather, he played a key role in Ottoman governance over the Tihama as a whole: Not only did he control the biggest tax farm of the coastal plain, as an army contractor he also supplied the 7th Army with foodstuffs and transport animals. Moreover, the pasha maintained excellent relations with the leaders of the Zaraniq tribal confederation and was therefore instrumental in negotiating safe passage for Ottoman supply convoys through their territory, thus helping ensure the lifeline of the Ottoman military from the coast to the garrisons in highland Yemen.

The Ottoman central government supported Shura'i Pasha against his local rivals and turned a blind eye on his collusion with Zaraniq slave traders. This, I argue, is a testament to the degree to which the Hamidian regime considered him crucial for maintaining a limited but vital degree of government control over Hudayda and the rural areas of the Tihama.

In introducing greater complexity into our understanding of Ottoman imperial governance in Yemen this paper also contributes to the growing body of scholarly work on late Ottoman imperial rule more generally.

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IN PRAISE OF CITIES:
THE TWO EARLIEST OTTOMAN TURKISH *ŞEHRENGIZ* TEXTS ON EDIRNE

The *Şehrengiz* genre became the rave among Ottoman literary circles in the early 16th century. The very first two *şehrengiz* texts were composed in around 1513 by two important Ottoman Turkish poets, Mesihi and Zati, whose works established the model for a new genre. These lengthy poems open with a mystical preamble on love and a series of around 40 quatrains that are dedicated to young men, apprentices, from the guilds of Edirne. The *Şehrengiz* genre has thus far not been investigated with respect to its content or its function. After its appearance, it

became a fad and then disappeared by the mid-17th century. More than sixty works appeared, dedicated to various Ottomans cities in the Balkans and in Anatolia. Apart from editions of some *şehrengiz*es without much commentary, Agah Sirri Levend's groundbreaking study (1958) that lists and identifies some aspects of those, and Barış Karacasu's important article (2007) about the publications on the genre, there has been almost no work on these short poems in *mesnevi* form and current work fails to evaluate adequately their relation to the cities or the craftsmen they praised. The paper employs an edition of Mesihi's text with references to various manuscript copies and two manuscript copies of Zati's text for a comparative description and close-reading of these two earliest *şehrengiz*es. It presents an explanation of what compelled these two poets to get involved in a poetic duel about Edirne during a visit by Sultan Bayezid II. The paper also explores how the poems can be read to reveal more information about the city.

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NEW DISPOSITIONS TOWARDS LAND USUFRUCT IN THE 18TH-CENTURY ANATOLIA: THE CASE OF KONYA AND ANTAKYA

Muzâra'a, or sharecropping, is a type of joint venture defined and systematized in accordance with the provisions of Islamic Law in the system of agricultural production in a particular region of an Abode of Islam. The Ottoman Empire as an utmost representative of the Islamic tradition, from the second half of the 17th century onwards, began to undergo changes in its agricultural system as well as in its institutions. Big farms or *çiftlik*s began to be formed and monopolized especially by the local magnates of the Empire since the *timar* system had been replaced with the tax-farming and long-term tax-farming systems respectively. This change in land usufruct practices had also its repercussions on small-scale landowners who lived in the 18th-century Anatolia.

The objective of this paper is to analyze dispositions of the landowners towards land usufruct in the localities of 18th-century Anatolia as three interrelated dimensions: (1) long-termed usufruct of fields and their appropriation under (2) the *muzâra'a* system by (3) the above-mentioned landowners. It will be illustrated that these new landowners, including women landowners, who bore the titles (*elkab*) of *seyyid*, *çelebi*, *kethüda yeri* and *beşe* and were formerly occupied outside the agricultural economics, from the 18th century onwards had begun to seek their fortune by investing in agricultural production through *muzâra'a* in their long-term disposable fields. Although commercialization of 18th-century Ottoman agricultural production phenomenon has been discussed extensively

during the 1980s, the changing interests of Ottomanists, from economic to cultural studies of the Empire, has resulted in a decline in the interest in the problems concerning commercialization in the 18th century. This justifies my intention to analyze the essence and extent of the application of the *muzâra'a* in the fields as a motivation to raise the labor productivity in the fields and thereupon, to get extra agricultural produce on the bsis of the *şer'iyye sicilleri* (court registers) and *fetva mecmuaları* (*fatwa* compendiums) of the 18th-century Konya and Antakya. I argue that the place of the *muzâra'a* in the arable lands would be clearly understood with respect to commercialization of agricultural produce in the 18th-century Anatolia and the discussion would be furthered and added a new dimension with the new findings of this paper.

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THE QIPCHAQS AT THE MONGOL COURT IN CHINA: THE CHINESE PRINCES AND THE MONGOL IMPERIAL SONS-IN-LAW (*GÜREGENS*)

The Mongol rule in China would not have been possible without the remarkable ability of the Chinggisids to address various power groups, build their legitimacy and strengthen the loyalty of their supporters in multiple ways. Indeed, one of the major characteristics of the Yuan rule was the very impressive ability to fuse together nomadic and Chinese political concepts, binding different support groups to the ruling Golden lineage. The concept, which stresses a clear division between the nomadic and the Chinese features of the Yuan dynasty, should, therefore, be changed with a much more nuanced analysis of the Mongol rule and their use of various legitimacy channels.

This paper will exemplify this statement, analysing the group of the Qipchaq military commanders, who rose to extreme power in the early 14th century. These Qipchaqs submitted to the Mongols during the times of Ögedei Khan (r. 1229-1241). Later they granted their support to Qubilai, the founder of the Yuan. Following the establishment of the Qipchaq Guard in 1286, one of their major representatives, Tuq Tuqa, son of Banducha, was appointed their commander. Two years after that, Tuq Tuqa was granted a very special grace of the imperial family, marrying a Chinggisid princess and thus becoming a part of the extended blood lineage of the Golden clan, a *güregen*. At the very peak of this lineage history under the Yuan one of its representatives was chosen to the adopted son of the Emperor Wenzong (r. 1328-1332) and de facto the most powerful personality in the military hierarchy of the dynasty.

The paper will trace the rise of the Qipchaq military elite under the Yuan Qipchaq representatives via the Chinese political hierarchies and their acceptance to

the traditional nomadic institution of the imperial sons-in-law. Based on the data gathered from the various Chinese sources, including the memorial tomb inscriptions of the Qipchaq lineages, the paper will use this case to exemplify the complexity of the Yuan dynasty's legitimacy, loyalty and identity building mechanisms.

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'ÇIFTLIK LANDS' IN AUTONOMOUS BULGARIA (1878-1908). A CASE FROM VARNA

The Berlin Congress of 1878 granted autonomy to the Principality of Bulgaria, placing however the new state under a system of international control in many aspects of domestic and foreign policy. The question of the land abandoned or temporarily left by Muslim refugees leaving Bulgaria before the advancing Russian army – land often occupied by Bulgarian peasants in what has been named "The Agrarian coup d'état" – arose as one of the major issues of domestic and international interest in the aftermath of autonomy. The decisions over the legal status and fate of these lands, comprised by holdings of various sizes, brought in contact and collision various interested political agents and social actors and had important political and socioeconomic consequences. The large estate (*çiftlik*) of Temel effendi near Varna, a property claimed by both Bulgarian refugees from Southern Thrace and the well-known Istanbul-based Bulgarian entrepreneur N.Tăpčileshtov, offers a very interesting case study. The aim of the paper is to provide a critical review of the state of the art on the question of the changes and transformation of land ownership in post-Ottoman Bulgaria and, taking Temel efendi's *çiftlik* near Varna as an example, to analyze the framework and the forces at play in disputes over land ownership in Bulgaria during this transitional period.

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REFORMS AND JUSTICE IN THE PROVINCES. THE VIDIN COMMERCIAL COURT IN THE LATE 1860s – THE EARLY 1870s

The paper will examine the everyday work of the Vidin commercial court in the late 1860s – early 1870s. More specifically it will try to clarify the profile of the judicial cases that were examined there (debt collection, bankruptcy, contract registration, surety and/or guarantee registration and others), the

ethno-religious profile of the litigants, the court's relationships with the local, provincial and central authorities, the relationships with the other commercial courts, as well as the personnel's turnover. The paper seeks to investigate the major legal shift that took place in the Tanzimat period in the field of commercial law both legislatively with the adoption of the French Commercial Code and institutionally with the establishment of the new commercial courts by focusing on the actual application of the reforms in one particular geographic area.

The main sources the paper is based on are two registers of the Vidin commercial court: one incoming and one outgoing register from the late 1860s and the early 1870s. They are supplemented by additional sources such as: the official yearbooks of the Danube *vilayet*, the official provincial journal "Dunav", as well as some additional documents issued by or addressed to the same court: court decisions, rulings, summons, registrations and other documents issued by the court, correspondence with the central, provincial and local administrative and judicial institutions and others.

The topic of the Tanzimat reforms in the field of commercial law has a considerable scholarly potential for, despite the abundant documental material, it is a relatively little researched problem. Previous studies focus mainly on the overall nature and the concrete dispositions of the new legislation. However, scholars have mostly neglected the problem of its application, the functioning of the new institutions and the merchants' actual use of the new legal instruments and opportunities. Analysing commercial courts' registers is a particularly suitable tool for filling this gap as it gives valuable information on the day-to-day activity of the new institutions, the extent of their impact on the economic life and business practices as well as their place within the reformed administrative and judicial systems of the empire. Furthermore, unlike the registers of the kadi courts which are a well-known and widely explored source, the registers of the new type of courts established during the Tanzimat era are still virtually unused source of Ottoman social, economic and legal history.

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CAUSE AND EFFECT IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

This paper takes causality as its subject – namely, how early modern Ottomans theorized cause and effect in the universe. Ideas of causality are an understudied part of the empire's intellectual history. However, they were clearly important both on a cosmic and human scale and in fields like theology, natural science, historical writing, politics, and others. Ottomans held various beliefs about causality, each with its own ramifications about the proper nature and ordering of

the universe. While most adopted a consensus view drawn from Mâturîdî-Ash'arî theology, there were also dissenters who went so far as to deny, respectively, human and divine causes. This paper will discuss major lines of thought and closely related ideas, like causes (*sebeb*, pl. *esbâb*), secondary causes (*esbâb-ı zâhire*/*esbâb-ı ma'neviyye*), will (*irâde*), divine custom ('*âdetüllah*), and the miraculous (*hârikul'âde*). I will also discuss widespread interest in causality in scholarly circles from the 16th century onward, including a spate of specialized treatises on the subject, and argue that this interest, while outwardly theological, was at the same time closely entwined with the empire's own early modern social and political transformations.

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*VAKIF*S AND THE POST-OTTOMAN TRANSITION IN BULGARIA (1878-1908)

The paper examines the fate of *vakıf*s in the modern Bulgarian state following its establishment on former Ottoman territories. Although this was one of the crucial issues involving the interests of the Bulgarian state, its Ottoman suzerain and Bulgaria's Muslim community it has remained neglected by scholarship so far. The Berlin Treaty (1878) envisioned the convening of a special Ottoman-Bulgarian commission within two years after its signing to resolve the issue of *vakıf* estates, as well as the appointment of an Ottoman Commissioner in Sofia part of whose duties was to assist with the matter. In spite of this provision no definitive settlement on the *vakıf*s materialized until after the Bulgarian declaration of independence in 1908. By this time, however, many *vakıf* properties and institutions supported by them had been obliterated or were no longer in Muslim hands. The paper explores the question of *vakıf*s in the context of several interrelated fields: Ottoman-Bulgarian diplomatic interactions, Bulgarian national economic discourse, and the modernization of Bulgarian urban space, whose purpose was to divest cities of their Ottoman character and remodel them along European patterns. Finally, the paper turns to the role of *vakıf*s for Bulgaria's Muslims. In comparison to the Ottoman Empire where the state became increasingly responsible for many of the institutions originally supported by *vakıf*s, such as schools or relief of the poor, for Bulgaria's Muslims *vakıf*s assumed crucial significance in their communal life. Thus, reform of the *vakıf*s and their organization, as well as preventing their obliteration or appropriation assumed a central place in the debates among the local Muslims.

The paper is based on Ottoman and Bulgarian archival and published primary sources, as well as sources produced by and reflecting the perspective of Bulgaria's Muslim community.

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EXCHANGE RATES IN THE 17ᵀᴴ-CENTURY OTTOMAN EUROPE AS REFLECTED IN TAXATION AND ASSIGNEMENT OF PREBENDS

Here I intend to present a random checking of examples taken from a group of poll-tax surveys, payroll registers and prebend assignement records in order to scrutinize closely some quite perplexing phenomena, i.e., the curious differences in the amounts of money to be paid per tax unit of *cizye*, then the meaning of terms such as „*gayr ez seb^cīn*" and „*sülsān üzere*". It turned out that in the first case the most likely answer would point toward a different approach to Muslim and non-Muslim *baştine* holders. In addition, this might reflect the widespread practice of doing transactions in foreign currencies instead of the Ottoman ones as well. In case of „minus seventy" versus the „full amount" the difference might mirror payments made either according to the nominal exchange rate of *akçe*s per *guruş* or depending on the real value. Finally, and with a safe level of caution, it could be argued that a „two-thirds timar" displays an analogous principle: at least in the 17ᵗʰ century, the diminished amount could bring even more than the prescribed one, provided that the *sipahi* had managed to receive his due in hard currency based upon the official exchange rate.

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NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNAL DYNAMICS IN 18ᵀᴴ-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Neighborhoods (*mahalle*) in Ottoman cities have been considered religiously organized autonomous communities and the smallest unit of urban administration. The conventional image of religiously homogeneous neighborhoods and the cellular composition of urban spaces have now largely been discredited, and recently scholars have become increasingly aware of the presence of internal dynamics at play within neighborhood structures. However, it still remains inexplicable as to how the actual workings of local communities overlapped or clashed with the layout of the city that the Ottoman ruling circles worked in.

This paper examines neighborhoods in Istanbul and explores how communal dynamics interacted with their involvement in administrative aspects, particularly in the 18ᵗʰ century, when recurrent revolts and deteriorated public order invited an expansion of state control over its subjects. I examine the court records of

Istanbul and focus on the cases that unfolded in a neighborhood and involved both Muslims and non-Muslims. These cases pertain to several issues, including the integration, ostracization, and identification of individuals.

My examination reveals a nested profile in the demarcation of neighborhoods. Intermural Istanbul administratively comprised 258 neighborhoods, each of which was formed around a mosque and led by an imam. Intriguingly, Christian and Jewish neighborhoods formed around churches or synagogues seem to have officially been annexed to mosque-centered neighborhoods. I argue that the subsumption of different religious communities under the encompassing leadership of an imam was a result of a pragmatic measure applied by the authorities during an urban security crisis in order to establish effective control over an urban population that was diverse in religion and origin and had increased geographical mobility and social fluidity. This unique phenomenon can be discussed against the larger backdrop of a structural change in legitimating Ottoman rule as well as the transformations undergone by state–subject relations during the 18th century.

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ORTHODOX BISHOPS, PRIESTS AND MONKS IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN THE BALKANS IN OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS FROM THE 18TH CENTURY

The paper is based on unpublished Ottoman documents from the "Piskopos kalemi" fund of the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul at the General Directorate of State Archives in the Republic of Turkey – patriarchal and metropolitan petitions (*arzuhal*s), collective petitions (*mahzar*s) and various type of Sultan's orders (*ferman*s, *hükm*s, and others), kadı reports (*arz*es) – the earliest of which dates from 1702 and the latest – from 1783. The study focuses on social and political conflicts at local level within the Orthodox dioceses in the Balkans in the 18th century, provoked by Orthodox clergy (metropolitans, bishops, monks, priests), most often with the participation of their parishioners and the local Muslim population. Many of the documents (mostly patriarchal petitions) register preventive measures against established offenses by "the community of the clergy", generally described as "disorders", "turmoil", "riots", and so on – all of them, to a large extent, a reflection of the social atmosphere and political situation in the Balkans during the first three decades of the 18th century. Special attention is paid to the collective petition of the *reaya* from the sancak of Vidin regarding the joint actions of the metropolitan of Vidin Simeon, laymen from Vidin and the Voivode of Wallachia during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1710–

1713. Another part of the documents provides rather provocative information on the formation of "robber gangs" by the Orthodox clergy, including both Laity and Muslims, as well as reports of single attacks, robberies, violence and even murders. The comparative analysis of the selected documents reveals specific acts of interference by the Orthodox clergy in social and political life in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century – a particularly dynamic and controversial period in the history of the Balkans and the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF HEZARGRAD IN THE 1840s

The paper will present new information on the socio-economic development of Hezargrad in the middle of the 19th century extracted from unpublished Ottoman documents – *temettuat defter*s.

This study will focus on Hezargrad's urban development and present information about the Christian population of the city and its social and economic status – households, incomes and taxes. The demographic structure of the city, the specificities of its territorial organization, professional structure and some details of the economic development of the Christian community in Hezargrad will be also commented. The study will present information about the general economic outlook of this town with a focus on the professional profile of the Christian population, the leading industries, and specific occupations.

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DYNASTY AS A FACTION

In the last quarter of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire had to deal with a variety of problems, including worldwide economic changes and multifaceted wars. The administration was forced to dramatically change its strategy to maintain its hegemony. Centralization was a main device that the empire used to cope with the changes of the period. As a result of centralization attempts, faction struggles emerged in the Ottoman Palace in late 16th century more often than in previous periods. The wars gave an advantage to factions as a means to suppress their rivals. The conquest of Eger (1596) was an important case that revealed the effect factions had on the decisions of the sultan and their rivalry to help secure their positions. Mehmed III was forced by the *ulema* to lead

the imperial army toward the Hungarian border even though one of the most powerful figures of the period, Safiye Sultan (the queen mother), was opposed to this decision.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of the factions on the decisions of the sultan. Particularly, I will shed new light on the structure of the factions and their relations with the Ottoman court based on the evidence of the hitherto unexamined documents kept at the Venetian State Archives. These are reports of Venetian ambassadors who informed the Senate regarding planned exploits of the factions routinely, official letters (*dispacci*), general reports (*relazioni*), and papers of the Council of Ten and the *Bailo a Constantinopoli*. Venetian documents will be compared with the Ottoman chronicles. These documents show how the Ottoman ruling élite secured their political and economic positions through the help of the instability, which the war had created. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how these factions forced the sultan into decisions to eliminate rivals.

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BEYOND THE MIDYE-ENEZ LINE:
RECLAIMING EDIRNE DURING THE BALKAN WARS

This paper explores the role of Edirne as a symbol of Ottoman territorial integrity and sovereignty during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Edirne had always been an important Ottoman urban center, especially in the European territories of the Empire, because of its proximity to the (later) capital, Istanbul, and its strategic location on the overland trade routes. It became a more significant urban center during the 19th century as the Ottoman Empire lost many of its European territories due to frequent wars and the rise of new nation-states in the Balkans. This experience gradually put Edirne at the western frontier of the Empire as the city was occupied by the Russian army in 1829 and during the Turco-Russian war of 1877-78.

During the Balkan Wars, Edirne was occupied by the Bulgarian army in March 1913 after a five-month-long siege. The Balkan Wars resulted in a major and final territorial loss for the Ottoman Empire in Europe, which included Eastern Thrace. Edirne was recaptured by the Ottomans during the Second Balkan War and became the only significant urban center remaining in the Ottomans' European territories and western borderlands. Throughout this turbulent time, first the loss and then the recapture of the city became focal points of public discourse. The members of the Young Turk Movement and the CUP leaders rallied for the recapture of Edirne after the city was retained by Bulgarians following the London Peace Treaty that ended the First Balkan War. I analyze

diplomatic and military correspondence from the Başbakanlık and Genelkurmay Archives to highlight the importance of Edirne for Ottoman territorial integrity and sovereignty, thereby showing how reclaiming the city by pushing west of the Midye-Enez line set by the European powers at the London Peace Conference became a priority for the Ottoman state.

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XVI.-XVII. YÜZYILLARDA KUZEY VE DOĞU BULGARİSTAN'IN SOSYO-EKONOMİK DURUMU

Makina öncesi üretim düzenine sahip olan dönemi aydınlatan arşiv kayıtları, seyahatnameler ve literatür bilgileri mevcuttur. Arşiv kayıtları bağlamında İstanbul'da Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde mevcut sancak kanunnameleri, menzil defterleri, tahrir defterleri ile Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi'nde bulunan Niğbolu ve Silistre evkaf defterleri zengin bilgiler içermektedir. Ayrıca Sofya'da bulunan SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library'de bulunan Samokov, Rusçuk, Dobruca, Silistre, Tırgovişte, Vidin, Köstence şer'iyye sicilleri de konumuzu bir başka yönden aydınlatmaktadır. Halil İnalcık, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, Bruce McGowan gibi özgün belgelere ve saha çalışmalarına dayalı olarak eserler vermiş olan bilim insanları da bize konumuzla ilgili bilgiler vermektedir.

XVI.-XVII. yüzyıllarda Doğu ve Kuzey Bulgaristan'ı bir araştırma alanı olarak seçmemizin nedeni, doğuda Karadeniz kıyısı boyunca kuzeye doğru uzanan "Sağ Kol Menzil Sistemi"nin varlığıdır. Aynı zamanda kıyıdaki iskelelerle de ilişkili bulunan bu yol ağının elbette sosyo-ekonomik yaşama, özellikle kültürel ilişkiler ve tarımsal ürünlerin pazarlanması bağlamında etkileri olmuştur. Kuzey Bulgaristan'da ise Tuna Nehri iskeleleriyle hem Balkanların kimi ürünlerini dış pazarlara ulaştırması, hem de XV.-XVI. yüzyıllarda Eflak'daki Braşov yoluyla Orta Avrupa'ya yönelmesi bakımlarından önemli gözükmektedir. Elimizdeki kayıtlar bölgede hem menzilci olarak kaydedilmiş, hem de köprücü veya derbentçi olarak vergilerden muaf tutularak hizmet veren Bulgar köyleri ile ilgili bilgiler içermektedir.

Sosyal tarih bakımından, incelediğimiz dönemin bir başka özelliği de yerli Bulgar halkı ile aynı mekanları paylaşan Müslüman, Yahudi, Hıristiyan ve Kıpti (Roman-Çingene, Müslüman Kıpti) toplulukların varlığıdır. Plevne gibi çeşitli kasaba ve şehirlerde Yahudi hanelerin önemli miktarda yer alması, İspanya kökenli bu topluluğun daha erkenden bölgede varlık taşıdığına işaret ediyor. Sicillerde ve şikayet defterlerinde farklı din ve etnik kimliğe sahip bu topluluklar

arasında, incelediğimiz dönemde bir arada yaşama kültürünü bozucu kayıtlara rastlanmaması önemlidir.

Özellikle Kuzey Bulgaristan'ın coğrafi koşulları hayvancılık yapılmasına uygundu. Arşiv kayıtlarında aba, keçe ve kebe gibi üretim dallarının önem kazandığını görüyoruz. Bu malların geniş bir alanda ticareti yapılmaktaydı. Karadeniz ve Tuna iskelelerine ulaşan mallar ile menzillere yönelen malların taşınması bağlamında Bulgaristan'ın yerli halkının deneyim kazandıklarını ve arabacılığın erken dönemde var olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bulgar abacılar ve arabacılar, zamanla Bursa'ya kadar Osmanlı piyasasına hakim olmuşlar ve zanaatlarında öncülük yapmışlardır. Kuzey Bulgaristan aynı zamanda Eflak ve Erdel kaynaklı deri, şap, tuz ve bıçak gibi ürünlerin Yergöğü iskelesinden iç piyasaya aktarıldığı bir alandı. Harşova iskelesi ise Güney Bulgaristan ve Batı Trakya yörelerinden pamuk ipliği ve pamuklu bezler, keten, safran (dericilikte boya maddesi), çuha gibi ticari ürünlerin Orta Avrupa'ya sevk edildiği alan olarak görülüyor.

Sunacağımız bildiride özgün materyale dayanarak, XVI.-XVII. yüzyıllarda Doğu ve Kuzey Bulgaristan'ın sosyo-ekonomik durumunu aydınlatmaya yönelik bilgiler vermeye çalışmaktayız.

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NAHİDE HANIM MUTFAKTA:
İMPARATORLUĞUN SON YÜZYILINDA BİR KİMLİK AŞÇISI

Mutfak kimliğimizin aslî ve kurucu bir parçasıdır. Bizi ötekilerden ayıran sınırların esnekliği yere ve zaman göre değişse de, yediklerimiz ve yemediklerimiz, pişirme ve tüketme biçimlerimiz dâhil olduğumuz toplumsal sınıfa, etnik ve dini aidiyetimize dair en önemli maddi kültür işaretlerindendir. Nahide Hanımı bu sunuşta bir kimlik aşçısı olarak düşünecek, onun yardımıyla tarz-ı cedid rüzgarlarının estiği, mobilitenin hızla arttığı XIX. yüzyıl sonu İstanbul'unda, elit Müslüman hanelerin mutfaklarında pişirilen, sofrada servis edilen kimliklerin izini sürmeye çalışmaktayız. Okuduğu gazetelerdeki, yemek kitaplarındaki reçetelerden, adab-ı muaşeret yazınından, sofrasına konuk olmuşların hatırlarından, o sofraları tasavvur etmiş dönem romanlarından, terk-i hayat ettiğinde tutulan tereke kayıtlarından hareketle Nahide hanımın mutfağını kurgulayacak, kozmopolit, batılı, Müslüman, Türk, emperyal, milli ve hatta kolonyal tatların üst sınıf Müslüman Osmanlı mutfağındaki terkibini kavramaya çalışmaktayız.

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AHİDNAMELER VE GARP OCAKLARI – VENEDİK İLİŞKİLERİ

Osmanlı Devleti'nin Venedik'e vermiş olduğu ahidnamelerde korsanlık meselesi ve özellikle de Ocakların korsanlık faaliyetleri kendilerine XVI. yüzyıl sonundan itibaren yer bulmaya başladı. Osmanlı Devleti, önceleri kendi tebaası olan korsanlar dolayısıyla oluşabilecek tüm zararları tazmin etmeyi kabul ederken, IV. Murad döneminde verilen bir nişandan itibaren, "kale altı" ve "engin" kavramlarının denizde bir sınır çizmek üzere kullanıldığını ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin korsanlık vakaları ile ilgili olarak kendi sorumluluk alanını böylece belirlediğini görmekteyiz. IV. Murad döneminde verilen bu nişan Osmanlı Devleti'nce bundan sonra verilecek olan ahidnamelerle birlikte yenilenecek ve Osmanlı Devleti ahidnamelerle istediği şekilde çözemediği meseleyi bu nişan ile çözmeye gayret etmekteyiz. 1718 senesinde imzalanan Pasarofça Antlaşması'nı müteakip Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin başvurusu üzerine deniz sınırı daha da ayrıntılandırılmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti böylece bu deniz sınırı dışındaki problemlerde ve bu problemler dolayısıyla Garb Ocakları ile Venedik arasında yaşanacak olan mücadelelerde taraf olmayacağını beyan etmiştir. Benzer bir durum 1733 tarihli Venedik ahidnamesinden sonra da yaşanmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti, bu nişanlarla tanzim ettiği sınırları Garb Ocaklarına kabul ettirmeye çalışırken, Garb Ocakları temsilcilerinin ise tebliğde detaylandırılacak muhtelif argümanlarla bu düzenlemelere karşı çıktıkları ve korsanlık faaliyetlerine ara vermedikleri görülür.

Venedik Senatosu, baylosu aracılığıyla korsanlığı engellemek için Osmanlılar nezdinde yapmış olduğu girişimlerden murad ettiği neticeyi alamayınca, 1763 tarihinden itibaren Garb Ocakları ile müstakilen antlaşmalar yapma yoluna gidecektir. Burada dikkat çeken husus, iki tarafın da Osmanlı merkezi idaresini devre dışı bırakmış olmalarıdır. Venedik Cumhuriyeti bu hususta Osmanlı merkezi idaresini bilgilendirme ihtiyacı hissetmezken, Ocaklar da yapmış oldukları bu antlaşmalarda Osmanlı Sultanına bağlılık ifadelerine yer vermedikleri gibi bu hususta merkezden müsaade yahut onay almaya gerek duymamışlardır. Bu durum, Osmanlı ahidnamelerinin bu örnekte işlevselliğini yitirdiği şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

Bu tebliğde, Osmanlı Arşivi'nde (BOA) yer alan Mühimme ve Düvel-i Ecnebiye kayıtları ile birlikte, Venedik Devlet Arşivi'nde (ASVe) yer alan Documenti Turchi, Carte Turche, Dispacci-Costantinopoli, Deliberazioni-Costantinopoli, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, Lettere dei Consoli (Algeri, Tunesi, Tripoli di Barbaria) ve Documenti Algeri, Tunesi e Tripoli arşiv serilerinde yer alan ahidname, sulhname ve nişan örnekleri; Osmanlı ve Venedik makamlarınca korsanlık meselesinin

nasıl görüldüğünü tespit etmeye imkan veren ahkam kayıtları ve baylos ve konsolosların korsanlık ve ahidnamelere dair izlenimlerinin yer aldığı mektup ve raporlarından hareketle Osmanlı ahidnamelerinin korsanlık meselesinin halli noktasında ne tür bir işlevselliği olduğu, hangi konularda yetersiz kaldığı, bu yetersizliklerin giderilmesi için ne tür düzenlemelerin yapıldığı ve Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin bu süreçte kendi çıkarlarını korumak adına ne tür adımlar attıkları meselesi ele alınmaktadır.

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THE SELIMIYE (1590-1650)

The *waqf* complex of Selim II in Edirne known as the Selimiyye left a series of account books enabling us to read its financial and charitable activities for the period 1590-1650. The *waqf* was one of the wealthiest in the Balkans and owed its large budget primarily to its rural holdings. Yet, it held a number of urban properties including a double-bathhouse, shops and storerooms in different market places of Edirne. Like the other large *waqf*s, the *waqf* of Selimiyye served as a redistributive economic institution and spent its huge budget on salary payments, monthly payments to beneficiaries, purchase of a wide range of items needed for daily operations, the repairs of its buildings and income-yielding properties. Thus, it pumped around a million *akça* in cash into the town economy each year. Its charitable services, urban properties, budget spendings of various kinds, employment capacity, salary and stipend payments placed the *waqf* indispensably into both the economic and the social life of Edirne. This paper, interpreting the *waqf* activities within the framework of its relationship and interaction with the town, searches for any reflections of local developments such as disasters and adverse weather events on the *waqf* balance sheets and for the changes and fluctuations in this relationship due to the poor financial performance of the *waqf*.

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REASSESSING OTTOMAN PRESENCE IN THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA REGION AND ATTEMPTS AT EXPANSION BEYOND, 1453-1699

After the takeover of the Black Sea during the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayazid II and conversion of it into the so-called "Ottoman lake" the Porte only rarely embarked on expansion north of the sea into the realm of the Crimean Khanate or beyond, into the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) borderlands of Lithuania-Poland or

into southern Muscovy. In the North Caucasus too, the Ottomans were content to have vassal principalities once they eliminated Muscovite influence there in 1605. Some historians, such as Alexandre Bennigsen and Mihnea Berindei, considered the Ottomans to be essentially uninterested in the lands beyond the empire's northeastern arc formed by the northern shores of the sea and the Caucasus Mountains, others, such as Halil Inalcik, maintained that the Ottomans were keenly aware of the balance of powers in the north and vigilant lest a major power there become too strong and upset this balance. I have maintained that once the Crimean Khanate was turned into an Ottoman vassal, the security and economic situation in the region was so ideal (in large part thanks to Tatar military presence in the steppes and supplying of slaves) that the Ottomans had no compelling motive to expand northward. (Of course Cossack land and sea raids in their 17th-century heyday practically undid this advantageous situation.) The few instances of military intervention or conquest in the northeast—most notably the Don-Volga campaign of 1569, Hotin campaign of 1621, conquest of Podolia in 1672, and the Chehrin (Chyhyryn) campaigns of 1676 and 1677— seem to have been mistakes that resulted in military disasters or at best, short term, tentative conquests. This paper seeks to look more closely at the reasons the Ottomans abandoned their non-expansionist presence in this region on the rare occasions that they did. Were there particular interests in the centre or periphery that were keen on expansion beyond the shores of the sea and rim of the Caucasus? Was long term expansion into the Ukraine and the North Caucasus and establishment of regular Ottoman rule unfeasible or impractical? What can we learn about Ottoman interests and the nature of their presence in this region from a scrutiny of the motivations for the above campaigns? With a detailed look at Ottoman presence in the Black Sea region and attempts at expansion beyond it, it is hoped earlier views of their policy in this region can become more nuanced or even altered.

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**BIOGRAPHY OF VIOLENCE: NAUM A. TUFEKCHIEV (1864-1916)
AND THE MAKING OF A RADICAL IN LATE OTTOMAN EUROPE**

This study charts the life of Naum A. Tufekchiev, a chemist who hailed from the Macedonian town of Resen, then under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Educated in Belgium, Tufekchiev participated in multiple assassination plots since the early 1890s against figures such as the Bulgarian prime minister and cabinet members, the Bulgarian ambassador to Istanbul, the Ottoman sultan, and Iranian Shah. A skillful chemist-turned-revolutionary, he not only designed his own hand grenades but also secured illicit transfer of weapons for a range

of revolutionary organizations such as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Young Turks, Macedonian revolutionaries, and the Bolsheviks. While Tufekchiev became an asset for various intelligence agencies at different times, he had also cultivated an ideological and materialist agenda of his own. By reconstructing his life story which had thus far remained largely anonymous, I hope to utilize Tufekchiev as a lens to understand the late trans-imperial politics from the late 1880s to the First World War. The goal is to reconstruct the life of a turn-of-the-century revolutionary figure that is layered, complex, and resistant to simple historical categorizations. In doing so, I would not only be challenging nationalist histories which had dominated the study of Balkan revolutionaries, but also re-assert the central roles played by such entrepreneurs of violence in the construction of identities in Southeastern Europe.

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TRANSFORMATION OF SHARECROPPING RELATIONS IN THESSALY DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

This paper analyses the transformation of sharecropping relations in Thessaly from c.1810 to 1880. Sharecropping was the main labour form in Thessalian lowlands, which was a region characterised by *çiftlik*s, i.e. estates larger than peasant family plots. This study compares sharecropping agreements of three different periods with different land regimes. The period of 1819-20 is analysed from confiscation records of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa's *çiftlik*s and reveals the relations among landlord (Ali Paşa family), *subaşı* and peasantry. The period of 1820-22 is deduced from account books of the Imperial Property (*Emlak-i Hümayun*), and focuses on the production relations while *çiftlik*s were entrusted to absentee superintendent (*nazır*) who controlled the land via *subaşı* and *kocabaşı*. Finally, an analysis of the archives of the *vakıf* of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan for 1863-1882 represents the sharecropping agreements in *vakıf-çiftlik*s of Thessaly during the second half of the 19th century.

Several aspects of the sharecropping agreements are taken into account, as the revenue-sharing ratios, bondage to the soil and to the landlord, debt bondage, cash rents and dues, and agreements on seed, house and plough. This paper aims at making a methodological contribution to the history of Ottoman rural economy by utilising different fiscal sources as a means of analysing the continuities and changes in the relations of production. It also anticipates proposing an institutional analysis of the transformation of Ottoman landholding and taxation regimes during the 19th century while it offers an in-depth examination of Thessalian *çiftlik* economy.

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RUMI CONNECTIONS: A DIASPORIC GROUP
IN DISTINCT GEOGRAPHIES IN ASIA

Asian nations have experienced significant migration periods over the course of history commencing from the early ages of their respective histories. The major human stocks initiating their migrations on the basis of various reasons exercised the mobility and caused cultural, political and religious interactions and changes in distinct geographies. Regarding this, a particular group, the *Rumi*s, who are identified as the seafarers and warriors in the Ottoman State, had an impact in the regions as a diasporic group exercising their professions from the West Asia through India and till Southeast Asia. This paper will briefly discuss the migrant issue of the Rumis which seems to have emerged in the early decades of the 16th century in the Asia Minor, and their travel for various reasons to the Indian Subcontinent and the Archipelago in Southeast Asia. The historical existence of the Rumis in these regions can be traced till the beginning of the 18th century. The mobilization of the Rumis is considered to have been initially based on the expansion process of the Ottoman State. Beyond this, it can be argued that the awareness of the relevant geographies, expansion of trade routes and the requirement of the skilled warriors by the sultanates adjacent to the Indian Ocean are the reasons for the smaller or larger group of the Rumis to have traveled by their own capacities under certain conditions. The Rumis who can be regarded as individual entrepreneurs have contributed to the acquaintance of the Ottomans with the relevant sultanates and their existence reveals connections, to some or larger extent, in the above-mentioned geographies.

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İDÂRE-İ MAHSÛSA VAPUR ŞİRKETİ'NİN ULAŞIM AĞI VE CBS TABANLI MEKÂNSAL ANALİZİ

Buharlı gemilerin Avrupa'da kullanımından kısa bir süre sonra, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da emsalleri gibi öncelikle donanmasını bu yeni teknolojiyle modernize etmiştir. Ardından ekonomik faaliyetlerde de buhar gücünden yararlanma yoluna gidilerek Tersane-i Âmire tarafından tahsis edilen vapurlar taşımacılık hizmetinde kullanılmaya başlanmış ve bu gelişmeyi de taşımacılık hizmeti veren Osmanlı Şirketlerinin tesisi izlemiştir. Nitekim Hazine-i Hassa adıyla kurulan, zaman içerisinde Fevâid-i Osmaniyye, İdâre-i Aziziyye ve nihayetinde İdâre-i Mahsûsa adıyla anılmaya başlanan şirket, Osmanlıda deniz taşımacılığı

maksadıyla kurulmuş ilk şirketlerdendir. Bugüne dek İdâre-i Mahsûsa hakkında yapılan en kapsamlı çalışmada[1] dahi yazar, Deniz Müzesi Komutanlığı Arşivi'nden istifade etme fırsatına erişememiştir. Oysa arşiv, tespit edebildiğimiz kadarıyla şirketin önceki dönemleriyle birlikte 13 farklı vapurunun 36 adet jurnalini barındırmaktadır[2] ki, jurnaller üzerinden bilhassa şirketin faaliyet gösterdiği güzergahlardaki yolculuklara dair çok daha ayrıntılı bilgiye erişmek, dahası bu bilgileri coğrafi bilgi sistemleri (CBS) teknolojisinin sağladığı yeni yöntemlerle analiz etmek ve haritalamak mümkündür.

İdare-i Mahsûsa Vapur Şirketi'nin ulaşım ağının ArcGIS programı vasıtasıyla haritalanarak mekânsal analizinin gerçekleştirilmesini amaçladığımız bu çalışmada takip edilecek metodolojinin aşamaları şu şekildedir:

Öncelikle, XIX. yüzyıldaki limanların bilgisine ulaşabileceğimiz tarihi haritalardan faydalanarak limanlar haritalanacak. Sonrasında, Deniz Müzesi Komutanlığı Arşivi'nde bulunan *Fenerler Risalesi*'ndeki[3] koordinat ve görünürlük verisi kullanılarak deniz fenerleri haritalanacak. Limanların ve deniz fenerlerinin haritalanmasının ardından deniz derinliği ve görünürlük datası kullanılarak vapurların denizde seyretmesine uygun bir koridor oluşturulacak. Ardından, İdare-i Mahsûsa vapurlarının jurnallerindeki bilgilerden ve oluşturduğumuz koridordan istifadeyle vapurların Akdeniz, Karadeniz ve Kızıldeniz'e uzanan rotaları çizilecek. Son olarak, tüm rotaların, oluşturulan diğer katmanlarla da (deniz fenerleri ve limanlar) birleştirilmesiyle İdare-i Mahsûsa'nın ulaşım ağının kapsamlı bir haritası meydana getirilecek ve şirketin faaliyette bulunduğu güzergahlardaki yolculuğun süresi, hızı ve kat edilen mesafenin karşılaştırmalı analizi gerçekleştirilecektir.

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[1] Sema Küçükalioğlu, "İdare-i Mahsusa, Kuruluşu, Faaliyetleri ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Etkileri," (Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1999.)

[2] **Malakof** (1860-1862, 1861-1862, 1861-1864, Ocak-Ekim 1863, 1864-1865, 1865-1866), **Kars** (1863-1864, 1864-1865, 1864-1865, 1864-1865, Haziran-Temmuz 1864), **Tuna** (1858-1860, 1860-1861, 1862-1863, 1861-1863, 1863-1864, Ağustos 1863-Ağustos 1864), **Hümâ-yı Tevfik** (1858-1859), **Ereğli** (1850-1851, 1861-1862, 1862-1864, 1864-1865, 1895-1896, 1863-1865), **Arslan** (12.4.1900-23.3.1901), **Şeref** (1861-1864), **Hasan Paşa** (1898-1900), **Dolmabahçe** (18 Kasım 1892-9 Temmuz 1894, 1897-1899), **Türk** (11.8.1894-16.5.1895), **Şerefresan** (1860-1863, 1865-1866, 1863-1865), **Edremit** (3 Kasım 1905-19 Mart 1907), **Canik** (24 Temmuz 1904-12 Mayıs 1907, 21 Kasım 1896-27 Ocak 1898).

[3] Fener Risâlesi; Bahr-i Sefîd, Bahr-i Siyah ve Marmara ve Boğazları, Bahr-i Azak, Bahr-i Ahmer, Bâb eL-Mendeb ve Arabistan'ın cenûb-ı sâhili ile Bahr-i Umman ve Basra Körfezi Fenerlerinin Ta'rifâtını şâmil risâledir. (Matbaa-i Bahriye, Mart 1327.)

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THE COST OF DEFLOWERING VIRGINITY: AN HONOR STRUGGLE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN LEGAL SYSTEM

This paper aims to read the social reflections of the new legal system implemented within the scope of Ottoman modernization efforts through the honor defense record of a young female complainant, Nefise, in Rusçuk (Ruse, Bulgaria). She filed a lawsuit against Ahmet, alleging that he had violated her in 1867. The paper primarily seeks to identify the social and official attitudes towards female virginity held by the male-dominated Ottoman state and Muslim society, which today is still a social taboo in certain communities. It also highlights the origins of modern virginity tests, which emerged within the rather ill-defined area between the private life and public sphere, implemented with the application of Western forensic medicine as a part of law enforcement. The crime of sexual assault against a virgin girl in the Ottoman Empire was regulated first time by the new Penal Code of 1858, thus the existence of hymen and importance of female virginity was also officially registered. The paper mainly focuses on providing a socio-legal approach to legislative reform attempts and modernization in medicine through analyzing the criminal cases sent to *Meclis-i Vala*; thus, it aims to find evidence regarding the place and role of chastity in the transformation of Ottoman society during the second half of the 19th century. The record of the proceedings referenced in this study also contains a wealth of information about the role of local Tanzimat local assemblies and the new trial practices.

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ÇIFTLIK OWNERSHIP IN CENTRAL MACEDONIA DURING THE 18TH CENTURY: AN OUTLINE OF THE MAJOR FEATURES OF LARGE LAND ESTATES AND THE PROFILE OF THEIR HOLDERS

In the 18th century, the hinterland of central Macedonia became a major locus of the *çiftlik* phenomenon and the transformation of production relations toward a sharecropping model. Still, the assorted aspects of this complex as well as rather fluid reality have yet to be studied systematically. In this respect, the paper aims at presenting the most important characteristics of the Macedonian *çiftlik* as a productive agrarian unit during the above mentioned century.

The present paper stems from a broader project on the socio-economic history of Thessaloniki during the 18th century through the *muhallefat defterleri* of the local shariat court. Seventy-five volumes cover the period 1697-1800 and offer a kaleidoscopic panorama of wealth distribution and social stratification

among the Salonicans. For the needs of the paper, *tereke*s containing *çiftlik*s among the property assets of the deceased have been selected and studied in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The analysis focuses on the main characteristics of these landholding units, in terms of both their content and their proprietors' economic standing. Thus, the constituent parts of these farms, their economic functions, monetary values, and development during the period under study will be presented. Moreover, the religious and other occupational affiliations along with gender characteristics of their owners will be discussed; finally, assorted economic and social hierarchies within this landholding population will be examined. In this respect, the correlation of the land estate values with those of the rest registered property items is an indispensable analytical tool.

Our ultimate objective is the comparison of our conclusions with those from other case studies which, on the one hand, will illuminate the landholding phenomenon, and, on the other hand, will delineate possible taxonomies, discrepancies and convergences between distinct versions of *çiftlik* ownership.

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THE *VILAYET* OF BUDA AND THE CENTER – ARCHITECTURAL CONNECTIONS

Buda was occupied by the Ottomans in 1541, in the classical period of the Ottoman architecture. It is known that during the Ottoman period of Hungary a chief architect worked in Istanbul, who determined the architectural investments in the Empire. Local chief architects were working in the *vilayet*s and one is mentioned in Buda, too.

There are well researched Ottoman buildings in Hungary: mosques, baths, *türbe*s. Most of them belonged to the Ottoman elite and we can find the connections to the center of the Empire. These buildings are typical Ottoman buildings, nearly without local elements. We can find the very close similar buildings in the center of the Empire. It is known that during the construction works models were used, sometimes a scale model was done, sometimes an existing building was named. If we can find the closest models for the Hungarian buildings we can have some idea about the intention of the builders.

The most active builders were the Sokollus, mostly Mustafa pasha, who was the nephew of the grand vizier Mehmed pasha. It is not surprising that the buildings built by the two pashas are in close relationship. The buildings of Mehmed pasha could be the models for the constructions works in Buda. In my presentation I

shall show these similarities and the consequences. The analysis is based on archaeological fieldwork and the examination of the buildings.

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**THE VILLAGE TRADERS IN THE RURAL SOCIETY AND ECONOMY
IN THE CENTRAL PARTS OF THE OTTOMAN BALKANS,
END OF THE 17TH – MID-18TH CENTURY**

Research on trade has shown that the main contingent of merchants originated from urban communities and operated on town markets and international markets. But considering that nine out of every ten of the Sultan's subjects in the Bulgarian parts were peasants, it is logical to assume that some of them made their living in the field of trade. Moreover, there were villages (e.g. Chiprovtsi, Arnavud Köy, Chervena Voda and others) whose economic profile was dominated by the activity of dozens of their inhabitants who traded in distant imperial and international markets. In this regard it is necessary to note that the engagement of peasants as professional traders and *kiraci*s in the economic life of the Ottoman Empire has remained poorly studied in the historiography on the subject.

This paper aims to draw an approximate portrait of traveling rural merchants and *kiraci*s (Christians and Muslims) who were involved in the commercial exchange both between the city and the village and between the different regions of the empire (the Balkans and Anatolia) in the 17th and 18th centuries. On the basis of individual case studies, it will reconstruct features of their family and property status. It will look at how their commercial activities were regulated, including the possibilities and constraints on travel within the Empire. The paper will explore the mechanisms of organized or individual travel by traders and their goods, their association and lending will be explored. Attention will be paid to the issue of road crime and violence and the measures taken by the authorities to ensure the safety of merchant caravans. The study is based on unpublished Ottoman sources – inheritance records of deceased merchants and *kiraci*s, litigation, partnerships and lending, tax records, Sultan's fermans, petitions and complaints, as well as published documents as laws, treaties, customs registers, travel notes, and others.

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THE RIVALRY OF CANNABIS AND WINE FROM AN OTTOMAN PERSPECTIVE. A RECENTLY DISCOVERED *ESRĀR-NĀME* IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

The *mundus significans* of classical Persianate literature as we have it at the end of the 15th century at the death of the last great classical poet, Jāmī (d. 1492), is extremely rigid, hardly accepting new elements into its system. Though non-traditional subjects like food, clothing or cannabis are met with in Timurid literary lampoons which provide the reader with a poetic snapshot of contemporary social customs and practices, they hardly ever appear in the focus of "serious" Persian literature. Persianate Turkish literary traditions as derived literatures are more lenient, give more space for poetic innovation and thus they tend to be more in discourse with contemporary social trends. The case of three literary texts focusing on the rivalry between two popular intoxicants, cannabis and wine seem to illustrate this point well. *Beng ü Čāġır* by Yūsuf Emīrī (fl. first half of the 15th century), *Beng ü Bāde* by Muḥammad Fuẓūlī (d. 1556) and the unknown author's *Esrār-nāme* (early 16th century) were composed in three different regions of the Persianate Turkish world, in Timurid Central Asia, in Safavid Iran and in the Ottoman Empire. The debates described in these texts have different outcomes, one ending in a draw, one with the victory of wine and one with the triumph of cannabis which seems to reflect Timurid, Safavid and Ottoman public opinion on wine drinking and cannabis consumption. Focusing on the recently found Ottoman *Esrār-nāme*, the present paper aims at exploring the Ottomans' views on cannabis consumption from a comparative perspective.

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BETWEEN PASTORAL AND AGRICULTURAL MODE OF SUBSISTENCE: A CASE STUDY OF AGRARIAN PROFILES OF THE YÖRÜK SETTLEMENTS OF OTTOMAN ANATOLIA AND RUMELI

The emergence of the Ottoman state and its transformation into an empire was a long-going process which, as researchers' open-ended interests show, included the formation of Ottoman elites, administrative and military transformations, demographic changes, and the formation of the imperial economy. The Ottoman "economic mind" was both the base and a framework of all these complex and multilayered processes throughout the centuries.

The present case-study aims to shed light on the process of adaptation of the semi-nomadic groups of the Yörüks in parts of modern Eastern Upper Thrace and compare the agrarian profile of the Yörüks' village in Thrace to the agrarian profile with the parallel demographic pattern in parts of Ottoman Anatolia. It is based on Ottoman detailed tax registers (*tapu tahrir defters*) of 15th and 16th centuries containing data on lands included in the *miri* land regime and providing information on the cultivation and taxation. We will use also information on the above mentioned topic preserved in travellers'accounts and Ottoman codes of law from the period. The comparison will be made by: 1) reconstructing the agricultural production in both territories; 2) defining the number and quantity of different agrarian productions showing each agrarian production as a tax portion of the total tax revenue from the village rather than as cash revenue. The parallel between the agrarian profile in some villages of Ottoman Rumeli and Anatolia will shed light on some important issues like: the influence of the local environment on the Yörük colonization on Thrace – was it closer to the environment in Anatolia?; the process of reclamation of agrarian land and the role of the Yörüks in it; reveal the agricultural mode of subsistence of the Yörük settlements coexisting with the pastoral mode and what provoked their engagement mostly in agriculture?

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AN OTTOMAN BEY OR A CHRISTIAN KING? JACOB HERACLID'S MULTIPLE CORONATIONS AND THE OTTOMAN-HABSBURG CONFLICT IN THE MID-16TH CENTURY

The scope of the paper is to investigate the mutability of Moldavian enthronement ceremonies and the Habsburg-Ottoman rivalry in the region in the mid-16th century, focusing on the reign of the Moldavian Prince Jacob Heraclid, known in Romanian historiography as Despot Vodă (1561-1563). A Greek adventurer with an impressive biography, Heraclid, in spite of his short reign, was officially enthroned three times: in January, March and April 1562. This quick succession of ceremonies was caused by the political position of the principality, squeezed between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, as well as the precarious position of the ruler himself, who had managed to capture the throne with Habsburg support, but was recognized by the Porte in March 1562. The shifting political position of Heraclid was reflected not only in multiple enthronements, but also in their forms: while in January 1562 he was crowned as a Christian king, merely three months later he received the insignia of power from Ferhad Pasha during a ceremony that followed Ottoman practices. By employing the concept of

the economy of power and drawing on the Moldavian, Ottoman and Western descriptions of the ceremonies, the paper elucidates the differences between them, focusing on symbol and objects employed in each iteration. In doing so, it examines the way in which different ceremonial idioms – western, Moldavian, and Ottoman – intersected with the complex political situation in the region.

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RECONNECTING OTTOMAN EUROPE: INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *ORTA KOL* IN THE 19TH CENTURY

For the Ottoman state one of the main axes to project power in the Balkans was the route from Istanbul to Belgrade. Important as a line of communication and as an avenue for military deployment throughout the centuries, in the 19th century the Ottomans had to adapt this route to the technological innovations in transport and infrastructure to sustain its function. This paper focuses on the construction of macadamised highways that, well into the second half of the 19th century, represented the most advanced infrastructural technology to ease overland transport. In contrast to railways that were build in the Balkans only in the 1870s, as yet the modernisation of the Istanbul-Belgrade road has not been examined in a systematic fashion.

A first attempt to modernise the Ottoman road network was undertaken in the 1840s at the beginning of the Tanzimat. The leading politicians and bureaucrats increasingly became aware of the central importance of transport for the Ottoman economy. However, due to high costs it proved impossible to upgrade the route; even the important stage from Istanbul to Edirne could only be modernised piecemeal. Two decades later Midhat Pasha undertook a second attempt to reintegrate the land connection in Ottoman Europe on the central route. While he was governor of Niš and later of the Danube Province a central issue of his administration was the modernisation of connections with the outside but also with the Ottoman centre. This also included the Istanbul-Belgrade route where under his administration finally a connection by stagecoach was introduced.

To reconstruct the Ottoman efforts to modernise traffic, transport and infrastructure this paper uses the documentation of the Ottoman central archive, in particular the *Irade* collection as well as the documents of the Supreme Council (*Meclis-i Vala*) which was responsible for infrastructure projects in the provinces. The overall aim of the paper is to examine the significance of the route in the 19th century by looking at infrastructure planning and development. In question is how the route was adapted to a changing conception of imperial space that was tied to technological as well as ideological developments.

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16TH-CENTURY OTTOMAN HISTORIOGRAPHERS' ART REVISITED: WAS MUṢṬAFĀ BOSTĀN A GOOD STYLIST?

Historians look at sources mostly from their particular, professional point of view. Literary historians view texts from purely literary viewpoints. Linguists do not often turn their attention to Ottoman texts. However, whatever the purpose of a text, its composition, its linguistic features, and its value as a literary text deserve to be considered for their own sake.

The aim of this paper is to investigate whether there are major stylistic differences between Muṣṭafā Bostān (1498-1569) and other, possibly more prominent, 16th-century Ottoman historiographers, in particular Celālzāde Muṣṭafā (ca. 1490/91-1567), or Kemālpaşazāde (1468-1534). Differently from previous discussions on Bostān's work and style (e.g., Römer 1992 and 1997), we will neither follow a literary nor a philological/morphologic approach, nor will the focus be set on history writing in its own right (Şahin 2013).

This paper will be centered on syntactical features and their combination with stylistic elements. In particular, an analysis of the following characteristics of *inşa* prose or *divan nesri* will be attempted: how elaborated passages with intricate rhymed parts and such in a more simple style are following each other, the way right-branching and left-branching subordinate clauses are used, and how they are combined with periodic chain sentences. In order to be able to compare these three authors in an ideal way, sections on the same events will be chosen from each of the three texts. Comparing the range of years the three selected texts cover, this will be feasible especially with regard to the earlier years of Süleyman's reign. The following manuscript and editions will be analyzed: Bostān, *Süleymānnāme* (ÖNB H.O. 42a); Petra Kappert, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymân Kânûnîs von 1520 bis 1557 oder Ṭabaḳāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül-Mesālik von Celālzāde Muṣṭafā genannt Ḳoca Nişāncı* (1981) and Şefaettin Severcan, *Tevârîh-i âl-i Osmân*, Defter X. (1996).

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NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE IN FUZULI'S *BENG Ü BADE*

The comparison (σύγκρισις) of two persons or two things that argue for supremacy is so old in world literature as Homer is at least. In the Turkish literature this genre is called *münazara* and has a long tradition in both eastern and western literary idioms. One of the most well-known works of this kind is

Fuzuli's *Beng ü Bade*, which is written in the literary schema of *mesnevi*. It is a satirical story of controversy between wine and hashish, two substances that have the pleasant quality to influence the human nervous system in a relaxing way. In this battle they are not alone, but each one has its own court and officers. They are presented as kings with their courtiers. A series of descriptions and stories told by the main 'persons' along with the minor roles of their followers create a narratively interesting concept. In this paper I will try to describe the sophisticated narrative technique used by the author, with which he succeeds in creating a high-quality literary work.

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CREATING AN AGENDA FOR THE STUDY OF OTTOMAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATURE AND THE SUPERNATURAL

One may discern three categories of phenomena and systems of ideas, which help us understand how different groups of Ottomans perceived the cosmos beyond its natural, everyday course: (a) the strange wonders, seen mainly through the *ajaib* literature and representing human awe against the inexplicable; (b) the miraculous and demonic, seen through folklore legends and hagiographies, representing an uncontrolled supernatural; and (c) the fields of magic/occult, representing the preternatural or, in other words, a supernatural that may be explained and controlled by human agency – although not by just anyone. The intertwining of popular beliefs with Sufi culture and with ulema and independent/artisanal scholarship made specific phenomena being 'pushed' in different categories according to social groups and historical periods; it is exactly this procedure that may prove a very fertile target of research. On a more general level, the themes of rationality and irrationality may be studied under the light of the Weberian idea on the "disenchantment of the world". On the other hand, another debate has been going since the early 1990s, focusing on the comparison with 18th-century Enlightenment and stressing innovation, individuality and the sole authority of reason; however, one might argue that even "revivalist" (or "pietistic") movements such as the 17th-century Ottoman Kadızâdelis were characterized by a rationalist trend in various aspects. One may see this process as a conflict between a Sufi culture, which during the 17th and 18th centuries seems to have considered everyday life more enchanted than ever, and a "puritan Islam", which by putting emphasis on the individual and thus attacking the belief in miracles contributes to "disenchantment", whereas an artisanal and mercantile culture was using increasingly scientific tools. The field of "supernatural" and "preternatural" phenomena constitutes an excellent opportunity to watch and analyze the interplay of these cultural actors.

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FACTS AND FICTIONS OF GENDER IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN CITY

The relevance of literature to history goes beyond the historical processes we may find revealed in literary texts. It also lies in the literary conventions that inform all written (and many non-written) texts at our disposal about the past. On the one hand, we should recognize the limits of how much facticity can be imposed on a literary text being "mined" for historical purposes. On the other, though, we must also abandon the naïve notion that non-literary texts provide us with factual information that is not selected, ordered, and presented according to literary considerations.

This paper offers an example of how "factual" and "fictional" sources can be brought into dialogue to offer a more comprehensive approach to cultural history. It uses a combination of legal (e.g., court records) and literary sources (e.g., urban short fiction) to explore the issue of gender in the urban, early modern Ottoman Empire. In so doing, the paper demonstrates how the well-established genre conventions of "factual" sources can lead to an overly rigid and monolithic view of the past, and how this handicap can be countered by the study of more free-wheeling literary texts on the same topic.

In the realm of gender history, the paper argues, "factual" sources provide us with a useful catalogue of types such as the *levend* (a sexually predatory male adolescent) and the *mebun* (an adult male "passive homosexual"). But while these types offer a good entry point into the early modern Ottoman gender world, they create an illusory stability of norms, roles, and relationships. It remains up to "fictional" sources to break through this stability and explore the possible ways in which norms could be negotiated, roles combined, and relationships networked.

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THE COCHARELLI CODEX, GENOESE OVERSEAS OUTPOSTS, AND THE GLOBAL TRECENTO TRANSCULTURAL ARTISTIC DYNAMICS IN THE 14TH CENTURY

In the 14th century, Italian merchants were actively involved in long-distance trade both within and far beyond the Mediterranean. They built up trading outposts in distant lands, communicated with local and other foreign communities, and they were engaged in acquiring, exchanging and selling multiple goods. While these

dynamics have been much in the center of historical scholarship, particularly that of economic history, they used to play a much more marginal role in the discipline of art history until very recently when the discipline opened up to a trans-Mediterranean, global horizon.

Focusing on transcultural interactions between Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Islamic world, this paper seeks to shed new light on transcultural artistic encounters in the 14th century. The Cocharelli codex, commonly ascribed to Genoa and dated to the first half of the 14th century, is a key object in this regard. Comprising a unique set of miniatures which represent both the Ligurian port city itself as well as visual elements from the Eastern Mediterranean and regions beyond, the codex negotiates the encounter of people, artifacts, visual formulae, even flora and fauna. This paper will analyse these multi-layered artistic negotiations of proximity and distance. It will discuss the micro-, meso-, and macrocosmos approaches, the stratifications of the local and the global, played out by the artist in the miniatures in a transcultural perspective. And it will explore the artistic dynamics, which are evident throughout the folios, experiments with various modes of representation, with diverse subjects, styles, processes of artistic transfer and a new curiosity towards lands beyond the sea.

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WHAT TO EAT AND HOW TO BEHAVE: GUIDES TO MODERN LIVING IN THE PORT-CITY OF BEIRUT IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Veering away from matters political, this presentation aims to address issues largely overlooked in the literature, but becoming much more evident recently thanks to consumer and culinary studies, having to do, as it were, with the kitchen, by looking at gastronomical patterns and/or recipes, and how to comport one's self in a society being reshaped by incorporation into a capitalist global order. The society in question relates to the rising commercial hub of Beirut at the dawn of the 20th century dominated by a new class of trade intermediaries, commercial agents and secondary capitalists and the counsel they received about the food they ought to eat and the manner of conducting themselves in line with civilized standards and norms developing at the time or being borrowed from abroad. To attain that end, two books, practically unnoticed in the literature, will be surveyed and analyzed, carrying the liberally translated titles, *Ladies' Memento and Chef* and *Norms and Customs relating to Visits, Banquets, Marriages and Deaths as Practiced by Cultured Peoples*. In the studies of rising economic agglomerations, as in the case of Beirut at the time indicated, statistics invariably

prevail. This intervention, among other things, seeks, first, to introduce ordinary, but upwardly motivated, people, their appetites, their forms of etiquette and modes of relaxation into the literature as well as, second, reflecting on the state of mind which motivated a person, himself experiencing a changing world, to write a guide to food, ethical norms and styles of conduct and behavior.

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XVIII. YÜZYILIN BAŞLARINDA KAFKAS SAHİLLERİNDE OSMANLI TAHKİMATLARI: SOHUM KALESİ

Kafkasya sahilindeki Sohum, bir Ceneviz kolonisiyken II. Mehmet zamanında fethedilmiş, ardından yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı-Safevi mücadelesinin odağında kalmış ve 1578'de kesin surette Osmanlı topraklarına katılmıştır. Araştırmaya konu olan Sohum Kalesi'nin yeniden inşa faaliyetleri Sultan III. Ahmed döneminde, reform çağı olarak bilinen Lale Devri'nde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kale'nin tahkim edilmesindeki amaç, bölgedeki hâkimiyeti güçlendirmenin yanında Abaza eşkıyalarının saldırılarını engelleyerek emniyetini sağlamak olmuştur. Ancak daha sonraki dönemlerde artan Rus tehdidi sebebiyle Kalenin fonksiyonu daha da ağırlaşmış ve XVIII. yüzyılın sonlarında Rus saldırılarına karşılık verebilecek nitelikte kalede ilave tahkimatlar inşa edilmiştir.

Sohum'daki kale inşası işlemleri, Vidin ve Niş tahkimatlarıyla beraber 1723'te başlamıştır. Diğerlerine kıyasla, yapı olarak daha küçük bir alanı kapsayan Sohum Kalesi "Yıldız Tabya" tarzında inşa edilmiştir. Kale, dört tabya (Emin Ağa, Topçular, Zindan ve Ağa) ve üç kapılı (Kûh-i Elbruz, Uğrun ve İslambol) şeklinde tasarlanmıştır. Tehditleri engellemek ve kalenin işgal edilmesini güçleştirmek için Şaranpolar oluşturmanın dışında, kale etrafına hendekler açılmıştır. Özenle devam eden inşa faaliyetleri, kalede konuşlanan askerlere yönelik ek binaların inşasıyla birlikte 1729'a kadar devam etmiştir. Kale'nin tahkim sürecinde gerekli malzeme, işçi ve asker ihtiyacıysa çeşitli bölgelerden temin edilmiştir. İnşaat için gerekli kereste ve taş Sohum çevresinden karşılanırken, işçiler, iaşe, mühimmat, yük hayvanları ve asker ihtiyacıysa genellikle Trabzon, Erzurum ve Çıldır eyaletleri başta olmak üzere Anadolu coğrafyasından temin edilmiştir. Bu bölgeler dışında İstanbul, Rumeli ve Kırım sahasından da sağlanmıştır. Kale inşası için gerekli malzemeler, işçiler ve askerler gerek karadan öküz arabaları ile gerek denizden kalyon ve çekdiri gibi gemilerle bölgeye ulaştırılmıştır.

Sohum'da 1723–1729 yılları arasında inşa edilen kalenin, inşa süreci, yapılan harcamalar ve gerekli ödemeler, konuşlandırılan asker ve cephane miktarları Osmanlı Arşivi'nden temin edilen materyaller vasıtasıyla açıklığa kavuşturulmaktadır. Bu materyaller, Cevdet ve Ali Emiri tasnifindeki belgeler,

Trabzon Şer'iyye Sicilleri, Baş Muhasebe Bina Eminliği Kalemi belgeleri ve Maliyeden Müdevver Tamirat Defterlerinden oluşmaktadır.

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NAHİDE HANIM'IN TAKVİMİ: BIR RİTİM ANALİZİ ÖRNEĞİ OLARAK, XVI. YÜZYIL İSTANBUL'UNDA İŞLER TAKVİMİ

XVI. yüzyıl, Akdeniz'de merkezi yönetimlerin güçlenerek bloklaştığı, büyüyen gemi hacimlerinin iktidarların erişim menzillerini arttırdığı, bu artışın da iktidarları daha da güçlendirdiği, iktidarların kendilerini artık adeta bir saat gibi olan tanrısal dünya düzeninin yegâne bekçisi olarak tanımladığı bir dönemdir. Zaman, git gide güçlenen bir biçimde mükemmel bir döngü olarak algılanmaya ve kent bu algı ile inşa edilmeye başlanır. Büyüyen gemiler, genişleyen menziller ticaret hacmini arttırmış, Akdeniz'de kent nüfusları artmıştır. Merkezi gücünü arttırarak egemenlik coğrafyasını ticari ağlarla ören devlet adamları, inşa ettirdikleri cami vakıfları ile bu ilahi döngünün simgesel anlatısını, büyüklü küçüklü kompozisyonlarla birer damga gibi kentlerin siluetine işlerler. Böylece önemli değişimlerin yaşandığı bu dönemde zaman, daha güçlenen bir şekilde değişmez bir gün, ay ve mevsim döngüsü olarak algılanmaya başlanır. Birçok insan gibi Nahide Hanım'ın gündelik işler takvimi içerisinde bitkiler ve hayvanlarla doğanın ritmine uyarak sürdürdüğü mevsimlik işleri yapmak, adeta bir ibadete dönüşmüştür. Osmanlı padişahlarının dünyanın başka coğrafyalarından getirdikleri hayvanları İstanbul sokaklarında sergileyerek gösterdikleri dünya hâkimiyeti, işlerini görgü tanıklarının şaşkınlıkları içerisinde büyük bir düzen, sessizlik ve mükemmeliyetle sergileyen Yeniçeriler gibi diğer kent sakinlerini de etkilemiştir. İçinde yaşayanlar için mükemmel bir döngüye benzeyen zaman döngüsü, uzaktan bakan bizler için yıllar içinde değişen bir olgudur. İstanbul sokaklarında bir kadının ayak izlerine gündelik yaşamın bu değişen ve vaktinde değişmez olarak algılanan ritminin analizi ile başlamak, ayak izlerini takip edeceğimiz kadının dünyasını anlamamıza yardımcı olacaktır. Bu çerçevede sunumda, kanunnameler, tahrir defterleri, Şeriye Sicilleri, tarihi coğrafya kitapları gibi kaynaklar kullanılarak kentin ritim analizi bir takvim ile sunulacaktır.

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SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND LAYPERSONS: ROLES OF STATE BUREAUCRACY IN MEDICINE IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN WORLD

Since pre-modern times exogenous factors to science and scientists have always been important players in the scientific and technological arenas, but

the modern reality is a different phenomenon. Never before were the finance and organization of science and technology so deeply decided by organizations and bureaucrats who do not "do" science and technology themselves but by virtue of managing scientific activity in fact intervene deeply in the contents of knowledge, including the spheres of science and technology. In this presentation, however, I will highlight the roles of state bureaucracy in the realm of medicine already in the early modern period. By focusing on the Ottoman case of 16th and 17th centuries, this presentation will demonstrate that extensive and significant involvement of state authorities in medicine as science and clinical reality began to evolve already in the early modern period. Based on archival sources from the BOA, I will indicate that this process did not occur in only one direction— namely, state apparatus coercing from above, but rather the Ottoman scientific experience should be understood as interaction between multiple actors around state apparatus.

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MARKERS OF MIGRATION AND MOBILITY: THE *BOSTAN*S OF ISTANBUL AND THE ROADS TO ISTANBUL

This paper will discuss how recent debates about the preservation of Istanbul's cultural heritage have been impacted by the struggle to preserve Istanbul's *bostan*s, opening new questions about how migrants' histories can be considered as cultural heritage. Istanbul's market gardens have largely been ignored as a constitutive element of the city's urban history. Their historiographic erasure has had consequence for the study of the migration into the city. These spaces, which go back to the 16th century, evidence the beginnings of growing migration into Istanbul from Anatolia and the Balkans. Most of the gardeners, whose numbers grew to several thousands by the 18th century, were migrants. This paper argues against the prevailing notion that such migration was a somewhat unsurprising, natural or recurrent process in Mediterranean agricultural societies, where rough mountainous areas always constituted reservoirs of labor. On the contrary, migration was due not to some magnetic attraction of the city, but economic conditions. The formation of the garden complexes in Istanbul where migrants found work was likewise the result of new economic circumstances and relationships in the city. Particularly in the case of Istanbul and its surroundings, the rise of market gardening was enabled by new legal practices for leasing land.

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POWER AND MAGIC IN SOFIA AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The Ottoman administrative practice rarely provides examples of sensitivity to the irrational. This paper focuses on one of these rare examples: a petition of the inhabitants of Sofia accusing the *mütesellim* of the town, Haseki Mehmed ağa, of not only extorting substantial sums from the local population and siding with *kırcalı* bands, but also raising a charge that goes beyond the administrative routine: the accusation of apostasy (*irtidad'ile me'luf; ta'rik-i salât secde-i rahman etmeyüb*) and of being on intimate terms with witch-sorceresses (*leyl ve nihar sahhare ve mekârih olan acaizi cem*). It is also stated that the *mütesellim* himself practiced magic rituals (*sirh; hilâf-ı şer-i şerif eşya-i sihriye*) in his contacts with the governors of Rumeli. This curious petition also draws attention to other important issues: was this just another example of local factionalism during this turbulent period, and what role played the *reaya* of Sofia in this case; was there any kind of cooperation between the different religious communities during the process of filing the petition or it was just a procedural principle in voicing grievances. Another point is the "magical terminology" as an argument of the degree of the severity of the insisted punishment (*ha'in ü din ü devlet-i aliye*).

Further, the elaboration of this case study focuses on the premises for this petition and the aftermath state sanction – the execution and the subsequent confiscation of the property of the *mütesellim*. The available documentation (*sicill* entries, Sofia, and single documents, BOA) make it clear that the pivot for this social conflict, i.e. Haseki Mehmed ağa, was rather influential and solid person whose wealth and networks went beyond the boundaries of "the local".

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MAHMUT EFENDI ON THE PARTHENON'S CONSTRUCTION AND SCULPTURES: GREEK AND EUROPEAN SOURCES

Mahmut Efendi, *müftü* of Athens in the first decades of the 18th century, wrote in Ottoman Turkish a history of the city from its beginnings to the first century A.D. He states that his immediate source was two Orthodox ecclesiastics named Sotiris and Kavallaris. Sotiris and Kavallaris in turn depended heavily on a history of Athens covering the same period. This, written by a bishop named Kontaris, was published in 1676.

Mahmud Efendi's account of the Parthenon's construction contains a passage in which Pericles, the well-known Athenian statesman, persuades the city's learned men of the need to build the temple. Kontaris, unusually, says nothing about the Parthenon's construction. Mahmut's ultimate source here, via the two Greek clergymen, appears to derive from the narrative in the *Life of Pericles* by the late first-century A.D. author Plutarch. However, in Mahmut's text that narrative appears in a highly distorted form, which suggests oral transmission via a source intermediate between Plutarch's text on the one hand and Sotiris and Kavallaris on the other. Another historical element, which can only be derived, again at some remove, from the noted historian Thucydides is also woven into Mahmut's text.

After a section concerning the transport of the temple's huge marble blocks from quarry to construction site, the text progresses to a description of the temple's architecture and sculpture. Here, without his directly admitting it, Mahmut's text derives from the research of European visitors. Concerning the architecture, there is a close correspondence between Mahmut's text and the description by the Frenchman Jacob Spon, who visited Athens in 1676. The most likely local repository of Spon's archaeological results is the Capuchin monastery in Athens, where European visitors tended to stay.

Mahmut's description ends with accounts of two scenes in the temple's sculptures. In one there figures the Athenian hero-king, Theseus. The choice of a scene involving Theseus from all the scenes on the temple's metopes (on the exterior face) and its frieze (on the face of the inner structure) is explained not only by the relevant material in Kontaris but also by contemporary European interest in Theseus. The other scene mentioned by Mahmut is one including a "Süleyman" (probably a mistake for 'Solon'); here the choice of subject was inspired by Kontaris's text on the one hand and by local historical tradition.

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THE EDIRNE SLAVE MARKET IN THE 15TH CENTURY

Byzantine Adrianople was conquered sometime in the later 1360s or early 1370s by the Ottomans, renamed as Edirne. Although it is often assumed that the city immediately became the Ottoman capital, my research suggests it is more likely that in the 14th century the city was in the first place important for the Ottomans as a military hub in the Balkans, where the fighting forces assembled and dispersed. It took over capital functions from Bursa after 1402, as it gradually assumed the role of the Ottoman political and ceremonial center. Meanwhile, Edirne retained its character as an Ottoman military base in the

Balkans. It also served as a commercial hub in Thrace, not so large as to rival Bursa or Constantinople, and without the maritime importance of Thessaloniki, but regionally significant due to its location on both east-west and north-south routes.

A common outcome of military conquests on all sides at the time was the enslavement of surviving captives, men and women who were forced into service or sold back to their countrymen for ransom. With this in mind, it is not surprising to find numerous indications in the texts of both 15th-century Ottoman and European authors alike, like Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri, Georges de Hongrie and Bertrandon de la Broquière, that a flourishing trade in slaves was practiced in Edirne. They were captured in the ongoing conquests that extended Ottoman rule in Europe north, west and south throughout the 15th century. This paper will focus on the first half of the 15th century, when Edirne was taking shape as an Ottoman center. The various indicators for the slave market will be considered carefully, as an important addition to the architectonic and political evidence that usually dominates the narrative of this period of Ottoman history.

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OSMANLI BAHRİYE NEZARETİ TEŞKİLATI'NDA KOMODORLUKLARIN YERİ VE ÖNEMİ (1867-1914)

Osmanlı Donanması içerisinde tüm idari, mali ve askeri işler yanında bazı hukuki görevler, çeşitli vezirlik görevleri ve eyalet yöneticiliği gibi ilave vazifeler de uzun bir süre kaptanpaşa tarafından yürütülmüş, 1867 yılında Bahriye Nezareti'nin kurulmasıyla kaptanpaşalık teşkilatı lağvedilmiştir. 1876 yılında kaptanpaşalığın yeniden canlandırılmasına ilişkin çabalar olduysa da bu girişimler başarısız kalmış ve İmparatorluk dağılana kadar Bahriye Nezareti bürokratik yapı içerisindeki yerini korumuştur. 1867 yılından 1909 yılına kadar köklü bir değişime uğramamış olan teşkilat, 1909 yılından Birinci Dünya Savaşının ilk yıllarına kadar bir kaç kez değiştirilmiş olsa da komodorluklar tüm dönem boyunca bu yapı içerisinde var olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Bahriye Nezareti'nin kuruluş yılından 1914 yılına kadar geçen dönemde mevcut teşkilat yapıları içerisinde komodorlukların ve komodorların durumunu arşiv kayıtları ışığında ortaya çıkarmaktır. Donanmaya ait gemilerin mevkileri tespit edilerek komodorlukların birbirileri içerisindeki öncelikleri ve önem dereceleri işaret edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Osmanlı Donanması'na bağlı komodorlukların tamamı üzerinde yapılacak bir çalışmanın denizcilik tarihi alanında mevcut bir boşluğu dolduracağı düşünülmektedir. Özellikle komodorluklara ait defter kayıtları, bahriye salnameleri ve Bahriye Nezareti Muhasebe ve Mektubi Kalemi evraklarından hareketle komodorluklar

ile nezaret arasındaki ilişkiler, komodorların görev ve sorumluluk süreçleri açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. İzmir, Preveze, Selanik ve İşkodra Komodorlukları başta olmak üzere Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı'nda bulunan komodorluklar incelenip komodorların liyakatleri, yönetim becerileri, bahriye hazinesi ile ilişkileri, iaşe ve diğer ihtiyaç teminlerini kapsayan lojistik faaliyetleri araştırma kapsamına alınmaktadır. Bahriyenin en yetkili kurumu olan kaptanpaşalık teşkilatı kaldırılıp yerine tüm askeri ve idari tek yetkili unsur olarak Bahriye Nazırı geldiğinde temel işlerin yürütülmesi için teşkilat içerisinde yeni daireler oluşturulmuş ve liman işleri için liman reislikleri görevlendirilmiştir. Liman reislikleri ise büyük ölçüde komodorluklara bağlı kaldığından komodorluklar donanmanın esas faaliyetlerinin araştırıldığı alanlarda önem kazanmıştır. Bu nedenle komodorlukların savaş ve barış zamanlarında mevcut halinin incelenmesinin Osmanlı Donanması'nın imkân ve kabiliyetleri hakkında daha doğru sonuçlar vereceği düşünülmektedir. Bu çalışmada komodorlukların Bahriye Nezareti ile iletişiminin yanısıra birimin yönetim hususları, lojistik gelişmişlikleri ve komodorların yeterlikleri mercek altına alınmaktadır.

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JANISSARY NETWORKS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
(18TH – EARLY 19TH CENTURIES)

The paper deals with the financial role of the janissaries in the 18th and early 19th centuries through their examination as a complex of interconnected networks in the heart of the Mediterranean. Its main thesis is that the study of janissary networks holds the key to understanding the role of Muslims in the Ottoman and wider Mediterranean economies, a role largely ignored by the historiography. By bringing the Muslim population into the picture of the Ottoman Empire's commercial life we will be able to revisit the currently existing deeply unbalanced view of the 18th- and early-19th-century Ottoman trade, one in which seemingly only non-Muslims and their European co-religionists played an important role.

The janissaries constitute one of the most intriguing, heatedly debated, and yet least understood institutions of the Ottoman Empire. To date, researchers have focused almost exclusively on their military performance and political stance towards the central Ottoman administration, while their involvement into the financial affairs of the Empire's periphery has been largely ignored, treated either as a symptom of 'decline' from their 'true' purpose, that of conducting warfare, or as the product of individual soldiers' private initiatives. This paper proposes a different analytical framework: The janissary corps has to be understood as a decentralized, yet coherent, multifunctional organization with built-in

institutional characteristics that facilitated its entanglement in the Ottoman state's financial life. In the 18th and early-19th centuries, this entanglement was destined to become one of the main channels for the participation of Muslims in the Ottoman provinces into the Empire's increasingly monetized economy, and, subsequently, an important means for the popularization and transformation of the Ottoman state institutions in a time of radical change for the global financial and political scene. Ultimately, the janissaries should be seen for what they really were: one of the most important driving forces behind the Empire's modernization.

The paper focuses on major Ottoman port-cities of the Mediterranean with high concentration of janissaries and is primarily based on research conducted in Ottoman and French archives preserved in Turkey, Greece, and France.

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MILITARY JOURNEYS AND TRANS-IMPERIALITY: THE RUSSIAN-OTTOMAN ENCOUNTERS OF THE LATE 1820s AND THE EARLY 1830s

In the war of 1828-29, the Russian Empire carried out incursions into Ottoman territories in Europe and Asia, which resulted in victory and years of subsequent occupation. In 1833, Russian troops were stationed in Istanbul to provide security vis-à-vis Mehmed Ali of Egypt. In all of these locales, the Russian authorities celebrated lavishly a number of recently established secular public holidays (the royal birthday, saint namesake's day, coronation day, and others), much to the awe of local Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims alike. These were unprecedented acts for a foreign royalty on Ottoman soil, with no equivalent even for Ottoman royalty itself.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it draws attention to these large-scale ceremonial events, which remain to this day completely unresearched even in their domestic Russian context, against the backfoil of the young Emperor Nicholas I's systematic policy of ruler visibility. Second, it states the case for a momentous, yet hitherto unacknowledged Russian influence on the composition of Sultan Mahmud II's own image-making policies, which had already been placed on a similarly ascendant trajectory in the aftermath of his abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826. Thus, in 1836, for the first time in Ottoman history, annual celebrations of the royal birthday and accession day commenced in the capital, the provinces, and abroad. In 1837, immediately following the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ottoman European territories, Mahmud II went on an unprecedented personal tour of the very same lands. Methodologically, the paper relies on new techniques of close textual analysis

and microhistory, applied to a large body of untapped sources – letters and reports from the field – appearing on the pages of the semi-official Russian imperial newspaper, *Северная Пчела*.

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*MUFASSAL DEFTERLER*INE GÖRE OSMANLILARIN XVI. YÜZYIL MACAR KRALLIĞINI FETHETME YÖNTEMLERI

Baki kalan belgelere göre, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Macar Krallığı arasında XVI.– XVII. yüzyıllarda, üzerinde anlaşmaya varılarak siyasi anlamda kesinleştirilmiş herhangi bir sınır çizgisi asla var olmamıştır. Sancağa ait defterlerde belirlenmiş olan idari sınır – söz konusu dönemde yapılan barış antlaşmaları sırasında her iki devlet tarafından da barış görüşmeleri kapsamında temel olarak kabul edilmesine karşın – XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Osmanlı ve Macar sınır kaleleri boyunca çizilen askeri sınırla hemen hemen hiçbir zaman örtüşmemiştir. Dahası da var, Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun Macaristan'daki vergilendirme sınırı söz konusu sınırlarının birisi de örtüşmemiştir. Tebliğimde aradığım cevabını ki, kale savaşları dönemi olarak adlandırılan silahlı fetih dönemi 1566'da, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Zigetvar seferiyle birlikte sona erdiğinde bürokrasinin araçlarını nasıl genişleme stratejisinin bir aracı haline değişmişlerdi. Sistemati olarak düzenlenen iktisadi kayıtlar ana toprakların yanısıra yalnızca yağmalanmış olan topraklardaki değerlendirilebilir ekomnomik yük kaldırma kapasitesini de hesaplayabilen veya en azından tahmin edebilen ve bu şekilde söz konusu topraklar üzerinde yer alan yerleşim birimlerini — Osmanlılar açısından bakıldığında — tek bir hamlede imparatorluğun; başka bir deyişle de Macaristan'daki Türk egemenliğinin bir parçası haline getirmek suretiyle öncelikle de Osmanlı egemenliğinin meşruiyet kazanmasına hizmet eden mufassal defterlerinin önemi giderek daha da nasıl artmaktaydı.

Araştırmalarım sırasında Macaristan Ulusal Arşivler'deki yeni geliştirilen bilgi teknolojisi ve CBS veri tabanı kullandım. Gábor Demeter'ün tebliği üzerinden söz konusu veri tabanlarının çalışması da iyi anlayabiliyorsunuz.

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ON THE MID-19TH-CENTURY SURVEY REGISTER OF *ÇIFTLIK*S IN CANIK: LAND, LANDLORDS AND TENANTS

This paper will evaluate the rich data contained in the survey register of estate lands (*çiftlik*s) in Canik and its sub-districts in 1852, which included 147 villages

and 5,612 pieces of farm-lands. This register provides not only the identity of the *çiftlik*-holders and the types of the previous title-deeds held by them, but also the quantitative data such as annual rent (*kesim* or *icar*) and tithe (*öşr*) paid by the tenants, the lump-sum payments in return for title-deeds (*muaccele*), and the predicted productivity of the farm-lands. Moreover, this survey includes the names of the villages, sub-districts, abandoned lands, farm-lands over which the tenants were living, and the names of the cultivators together with the border of the farm-lands cultivated. This paper will present my preliminary results not only on the predicted size, the total production, the productivity, the tax-revenue of the *çiftlik*s, but also on the identity of the *çiftlik*-holders, the types of the land that was *çiftlik*ised, and the social composition of the tenants. In addition, the geographical distribution of the *çiftlik*s will be presented by comparing the landownership patterns in the eastern and western parts of Canik.

Although the process of enclosure of the lands by local notables had already started in the 18th century and accelerated in the first three decades of the 19th century, this paper will claim that the registration and identification of the land and landowners resulted in the emergence of a "land question" in Canik. The Regulation of Title-Deeds (*Tapu Nizamnamesi*) in 1847 resulted in the transformation of the dispute amongst the central government, the landlords and the cultivators over tax-revenue (tithe and rent) to one over the property of the estate land. Moreover, it resulted in the reduction of peasants into a class of life-tenants by their landlords.

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İLK JÖN TÜRK MUHALİF YAYINLARINDAN CİVANPİR'İN HÜRRİYET'İ

Bu bildiri, Arap gazeteci Selim Faris'in (1826-1908) Londra'da çıkardığı Hürriyet gazetesini ve bu gazetenin ilk Jön Türk yapılanmasındaki yerini konu almaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemindeki modernleşme çabalarının toplumdaki seçkinler arasında ortaya çıkarttığı tartışma ve Jön Türklerin bu tartışma içerisinde aldıkları yer önemlidir. Selim Faris de 1887 yılında Sultan Abdülhamid'e muhalif olan aydınların toplanma yeri olan Londra'ya giderek bu tartışmalara katılıp istibdadın kaldırılması, meşruti bir yönetimin sağlanması ve anayasanın yürürlüğe girerek meclisin tekrar açılması gibi fikirleri savunmuştur. Bu çalışma, Selim Faris ve çevresindekilerin Avrupa'da örgütlenmeye başlayan ilk dönem muhalif yapılanmalardan biri olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Selim Faris'in yayınlamış olduğu Hürriyet gazetesi Avrupa'da İstikbal'den sonra yayınlanan ikinci muhalif yayın olarak literatürde yerini almıştır. Hürriyet, 25 Receb 1311 (1894) yılında müstear Civanpir takma adıyla çıkarılmış, muharriri ve naşirinin

ismi belirtilmemiştir. Ancak Civanpir'in Selim Faris olduğu kısa zamanda Osmanlı Devleti tarafından anlaşılmıştır. Hürriyet gazetesi, Osmanlı topraklarında yaşanan olayları sütunlarına taşımış, halkın istibdat rejimi altında yaşadığı sıkıntıları konu edinmiştir. Hürriyet gazetesinin siyasi duruşuna bakıldığında Jön Türk çizgisinde olduğu görülmektedir. Hürriyet ve Selim Faris'in etrafında toplanan grup genel olarak İngiliz hükümetiyle yakın durmuştur. İstanbul'dan kaçıp gelen ve Osmanlı hanedanından olan Kazım Bey, Mısırlı Mustafa Zeki ve Halil Halid gibi şahıslar Hürriyet gazetesinde bir araya gelerek Sultan Abdülhamid'e karşı ittifak gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Gazete, Osmanlı topraklarına yabancı postahaneler vasıtasıyla sokulmuş ve özellikle sarayda okuyucu bulmuştur. Sultan Abdülhamid, Hürriyet taraftarlarının bir saray darbesi yapmasından kuşkulanarak gazetenin yayınlanmaması için farklı stratejiler uygulamıştır. Gazetenin Londra'da basıldığı matbaalarla anlaşılıp gazetede çalışan Halil Halid gibi şahıslara belli görevler verilerek Hürriyet susturulmaya çalışılmıştır. Nihayetinde 1897 yılında Selim Faris'e Beyrut su imtiyazı verilerek Hürriyet gazetesinin yayın faaliyetleri sonlandırılmıştır. Bu bildiri Avrupa'da ilk dönem muhalif yapılanmalardan birinin olmasına rağmen Osmanlı basın tarihinde az bilinen Hürriyet gazetesi ve çevresini ele alıp, Avrupa'daki ilk Jön Türk yapılaşmasını anlatmaktadır. Nihayetinde Selim Faris ve çevresinin Londra'da oluşan muhalefete katkısı gösterilmektedir.

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THE *CHRONICLE OF NAʿĪMĀ* OR *THE GARDEN OF ḤÜSEYN*: AN ANALYSIS OF ITS LITERARY QUALITIES

Due to its wealth of data on the political history of the Ottoman state in the 17th century, Muṣṭafa Naʿīmā's (1655-1716) voluminous history rates among the most prominent reference sources for historians of the Ottoman Empire. This first Ottoman court chronicle covering the period from 1592-1659 is better known as *Tārīḫ-i Naʿīmā* rather than under the actual and more poetic title given by the author, which is *The Garden of Ḥüseyn. The Summary of the Tidings from the East and the West.*

Despite its popularity and significance, the *Tārīḫ-i Naʿīmā* has attracted only little scholarly attention with regard to its literary characteristics; with the only exception of Lewis Thomas's emphasis on the introductory sessions of the work (*A Study of Naima*, 1972) and Gabriel Piterberg's reinterpretation of the historian's narrative in a case study (*An Ottoman Tragedy. History and Historiography at Play*, 2003). Drawing on these studies, my analysis is based on the existing editions and four manuscripts (Ragıp Paşa 996; Beyazıt Umumi 4917; Revan 1169; Hazine 1332).

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the possibilities of a narratological analysis of historiographic texts and to provide a new and innovative perspective on a well known source. By using narratological tools, an approach borrowed from literary studies, I will attempt to present the elaborate structure of this work and point out its literary characteristics. Although Naima's style is not a highly elaborative prose style, a great number of artful phrases can be found throughout the text along with a number of stylistic pecularities. In a further step, I will embed these results into the literary genre of the court chronicle and the pre-modern historiography. By doing so, we will be able to understand how the historian employed the records of historical facts within a literary narrative framework.

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VIOLENCE REVISITED: MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE LATE 19TH-CENTURY OTTOMAN CRETE

The aim of the present paper is to understand the complex and dynamic relations between Muslim and Christian communities of Ottoman Crete. Late 19th-century Ottoman Crete witnessed profound socio-economic and political transformations and changing practices. Within this context, negotiations and conflicts in Ottoman Crete are well worth considering, not only for understanding the internal dynamics of Crete but for the larger themes of Eastern Mediterranean region as a place where Christianity, Islam, ancien regimes and nation-states interacted and intersected throughout human history. This paper seeks to provide a profile of the so-called "nationalist liberation struggle" of Cretan Christians in 1897 and attempts to analyze how those people were politicized and nationalized, and why they were engaged in rebellious activities. The standard argument focuses on the union of Crete with Greece and interprets it as the absolute political and national aim of the Christian insurgents and the major reason for the Cretan revolt. Indeed, this paper argues that Cretan Christians aimed to change the political, economic and social structure of the Cretan society and to seize power by overthrowing the Ottoman administration and forcing the evacuation of the Ottoman troops from the island. The Cretan revolt of 1897 provided important insights into the consolidation of the Cretan Christians and the exclusion of the Cretan Muslims. Positioning itself against nationalist narratives and using mainly archival documents and newspapers from the period, this paper aims to analyze how the Cretan revolt of 1897 acted as important means to integrate most of the Christian inhabitants of Ottoman Crete and created the sense of 'differences' between the Muslim and Christian communities.

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BEING A TURKISH-SPEAKING-ORTHODOX-CHRISTIAN (KARAMANLI) WOMAN IN LATE-OTTOMAN VILLAGES OF CAPPADOCIA (1850s – 1923)

In the past couple of decades, thanks to the development of Karamanlidika studies, Turkish-speaking-Orthodox-Christian communities living in Anatolia, and especially Cappadocia, until the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey decided in Lausanne, 1923, and better known under the name "Karamanli", have become a well-studied topic in academic Ottoman and Greek history and literature. In this domain however, gender studies have remained under-explored, whereas various archives can bring particularly useful information about the everyday life of Karamanli communities settled in Cappadocian villages and, in this context, about the situations and roles of women in these communities that experienced a massive movement of male emigration throughout the 19th century and developed, for that reason, new forms of local organization.

By using different types of sources – Ottoman administration archives (Başbakanlık Arşivleri), parish registers in Karamanli and Greek languages, Oral Tradition Archives (namely testimonies of Christian exchangees collected by the Center of Asia Minor during the 1930s-1970s) and travelogues and reports of Western travelers and missionaries – the aim of this paper is to understand what the realities of Cappadocian women's everyday life were in a rural society where religious heterogeneity was often the norm at the village scale. More precisely, we will study how the role of Orthodox-Christian women evolved during the last decades before the forced departure of the last Christians in 1923. For that purpose, we will explore several aspects of everyday life and analyze the role of Karamanli women in their home activities, in community's organization, in village's economy, and in daily relations with the local Muslim communities, especially in the context of religious and ritual practices. Special attention will be given to the Christian women who converted to Islam (generally in the context of a marriage with a Muslim man) and consequently crossed the borders between Muslim and Christian communities. We will ask if these converted women, or at least a part of them, kept theirs links with their Christian family after their conversion and played an active role in the relations between their "former" and "new" communities.

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ORGANIZING KNOWLEDGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: FORMAT AND STRUCTURE IN THE ATLAS MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

The Ottoman intellectual world experienced a major transformation beginning with the second half of the 17th century. One of the key aspects of this transformation featured a shift from cosmography towards human geography; a bourgeoning interest in the city in its historical, economic and social context. In the meantime, the atlas, as a new geographical genre was born in Europe and reached the Ottoman Empire, contributing to the rise of human geography, as well as local history.

Katip Çelebi's *Cihannüma*, Behram ed-Dimeşki's numerous translations of European atlases, Bartinli Hamdi's *Atlas* and Müteferrika's editions of these texts for publication constitute some of the most important sources at the Turkish and European Libraries. These Ottoman copies exist side by side with the original European atlases, namely *Atlas Maior*, *Atlas Novus*, *Atlas Minor* and *Atlas Curieux*. The arrival of the "new" European atlases in the Ottoman Empire corresponded to an interesting time: the rise of a printing culture. The rise of the printing press contributed to the popularization of historical and geographical knowledge, leading to a complete breakthrough in the readership of such works. The atlas, however, arrived right before Müteferrika: Katip Çelebi and Behram ed-Dimeşki produced numerous atlas manuscripts, which were to be printed by the Müteferrika Press only in a couple of decades.

This paper aims to explore Ottoman intellectual approaches to knowledge, geography, maps and atlases through a study of the format and structure in the early Ottoman atlas manuscripts. By studying format and structure, namely the organization of contents, index, tables and maps in the early Ottoman atlases, I aim to explore the Ottoman intellectual world of geographical knowledge production. All in all, situated in the broadest context of manuscript cultures and atlas production in the Ottoman Empire, this paper examines the use of contents, index, tables and maps in the organization of the early Ottoman atlases.

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PROSCRIPTIVE OR PRESCRIPTIVE? OTTOMAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS FIRES IN THE 18TH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Though the fires of Istanbul are as old as its history, they occurred more frequently and claimed more victims in the 18th century due to various reasons such as high population, overbuilding, and arsons. Some districts were famous with the frequency of fires in them and some great fires were associated with the neighbourhood names such as the great fire of Hocapaşa and the great fire of Cibali. Most of the fire studies about Ottoman Istanbul up to now did not pay much attention to the state policies and regulations as well as to the society's responses and consciousness about fires. In this paper, rather than stating merely dry descriptions of fires and their locations, I present an alternative approach to the earlier studies to understand how the state managed post-fire periods in the 18th century Istanbul and to comprehend whether the society was "static" or it was learning from earlier fires.

I argue that various examples shed light on the Ottoman authorities' level of consciousness, responsiveness, as well as their efforts towards precautions. Through the state response to fires and its role in taking precautions and reconstruction efforts, the research reveals that the Ottomans obviously saw the danger and were willing to take action without losing time; the state's responsiveness was remarkable. Regulations to reduce the future vulnerability, to solve the current problems, and to help people in sheltering and food were priorities for the Ottomans in dealing with the outcome of fires. In addition, there are important cases one can encounter in court records showing how ordinary people were sensitive against fires beyond all the efforts of the state and these examples can be assumed as the representations of the ordinary people's consciousness regarding fires.

To support the argument, I benefit from various primary sources including *Mühimme* Registers, archival documents from *Cevdet Belediye* and *Cevdet Dahiliye* as well as Istanbul Court Records.

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LAND AND LABOUR IN THE WESTERN ANATOLIAN/BALKAN LANDED ESTATES (*ÇIFTLIK*S) OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

There is by now an established, dominant, understanding of the Ottoman rural economy and society which is based on the primacy of the small peasant

households and on a system of agrarian production relations based on such households (the *çift-hane* system). This dominant view is constructed on certain premises about the nature of the peasant household, the type and forms of agrarian labour, land tenure, and in fact, on certain wider understandings of Ottoman society, economy and polity. One of the implications of this argument is that landed estates (*çiftlik*s) which had emerged to prominence in the 18th century – if not earlier – were ineffectual in re-organising agrarian relations on land precisely due to the dominance of the small peasant households in the countryside (the *çiftlik* debate). This paper will test this argument with a close reading of the available primary evidence from the Western Anatolian and Balkan landed estates.

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TRADERS ON THE LOWER DANUBE – SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMERCIAL CLASS IN TULCEA ACCORDING TO DATA OF *TEMETTUAT DEFTER*S

The beginning of the commercial shipping on the Danube in the 1850s led to the economic rise of a number of settlements along the right bank of the river, which naturally formed a solid commercial class in their professional structure. Formally regulated by the Ottoman authorities, the rights and the obligations of merchants are subject of special interest in historiography. However, the specific source material adds some elements to their status, which sometimes remain unnoticed by the imperative legal norms of the Ottoman law.

The present study aims to clarify the socio-economic status of the class of traders in Tulcea in the 1840s. Apart from the long-distance traders (*tüccar*, *bazargân*), it refers also to those who carried out commercial operations on the local market – *bakkal*, *dükkânci*, *meykedeci*. The analysis is based mainly on the *temettuat defter* of Tulcea kept at Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, a number of published and unpublished diplomatic documents, especially those stored at the Bulgarian Historical Archive of the St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library.

The information from the *temettuat defter* allows to form a detailed picture of the business activity of each individual merchant, which is of particular importance for the study of the trade in the Ottoman era. In the period under review trade was the activity that shaped the economic profile of the urban economy of Tulcea. The traders were not the most numerous social group, but definitely they received the highest income in the town. This naturally allowed them to invest in a variety of business initiatives, to build personal wealth and property. Their economic situation led also to the acquisition of a higher social

status, including in the local administration, which guaranteed them not only greater security but also allowed them to increase their personal wealth. All this allows to outline a local variant of the development of the urban economy, which in turn details the overall picture of the urban economy in the examined period.

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SLAVES, CRIME AND MARGINALITY IN OTTOMAN RUMELI, 17TH-18TH CENTURIES

In recent decades research on domestic slaves and domestic slavery "came into fashion" among the Ottomanists, and many valuable contributions concerning the slave trade, slave legal statuses, mechanisms of slaves' integration into the broader Ottoman society, slaves' ethnic profiles in a given region at a given time, slave subcultures, slave fugitivism and so on, appeared in the field. However, the problem of slaves' criminal activities still remains understudied, especially with regards to the pre-Tanzimat era. Some remarkable exceptions which might be named, such as Toledano (2007) and Erdem (2010), cover predominantly the last Ottoman century.

In this paper I try to assess some characteristic features of slaves' involvement in heavy crime (homicide, physical abuse, highway robbery) as reflected in the *kadı sicil*s from Sofia from the beginning of the 17th to the mid-18th century. These records are supplemented with information from other relevant sources dating from the same period.

The focus of the study does not fall on the criminal responsibility of the slave, both in theory and in practice, neither on the court procedures applied in slave-connected criminal cases but rather on the "sociology" of slaves' crime, namely, on the offenders' motives, targets, and accomplices. The main analytical categories used are anomie and marginality. Several issues are discussed which, to the best of my knowledge, had not been previously tackled enough. The first one is the lack of solidarity among the slaves that might be observed in some documents (crimes committed by slaves against other slaves) – a phenomenon which allows a deeper insight into the complexity not only of master-slave relationships but also into the household rivalries between the slaves themselves. The second important issue dealt with in this paper is related to the problem of slaves' crime as an integral element of marginal groups' criminality. The deplorable position of some slaves, fugitives and freedmen, I argue, made them enter the informal "webs" of *harami*s, prostitutes, gypsies and other destitute and marginalized people, which, in turn, contributed to their further marginalization and criminalization.

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XVIII. YÜZYIL ORTASINDA BİR TRABZON VALİSİ: HEKİMOĞLU ALİ PAŞA

Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlı devlet adamları içerisinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Onun devlet kademelerindeki kararlı ve istikrarlı ilerleyişi 1732 yılında ilk kez sadrazamlığa atanmasıyla nihayet bulmuştu. 1735 yılına kadar üç yıl süren bu sadaretinden sonra çeşitli valilikler de bulunup 1742'de ikinci defa sadrazam olmuş, 1743'te yeniden görevden alınmıştı. Bildirinin konusu olan Trabzon valiliği görevine ise 1751 yılında getirilmiş ve yaklaşık üç yıl bu görevde kalmıştır.

Trabzon valiliğine atanması sonrasında gerek Trabzon'a gidiş güzergahına dair meseleler olsun gerekse Trabzo'daki valiliği esnasında özellikle eşkıya gruplarıyla yapmış olduğu mücadele, olsun kendisini ön plana çıkarmıştı. Trabzon valiliğinden kısa bir süre sonra kendisini yeniden sadaret makamında gördüğümüz Ali Paşa bu görevde de yine kısa süre kalmıştı.

Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın Trabzon Valiliği dönemine ait sicil verileri onun idare etme yöntemi hakkında fikir vericidir. Zira döneme ait sicillerde Ali Paşa'ya sunulan arzlar ve bunların sonrasında üretilen buyruldular devlet mekanizmasının en üst düzeyinde bulunmuş bir valinin yönelimlerini belirler. Denilebilir ki, valilik süresi ile buyruldu sayısı oranında Ali Paşa emsalsizdir. Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın Trabzon Valiliği'ne atandığı 1751 yılında Trabzon'da âyân ve derebeylerin zulüm ve baskılarını iyice artırmasına rağmen O'nun, bir yıl içinde zorbaları temizleyip hepsini egemenliği altına almayı başardığı ikincil literatürde zikr edilen konulardan biridir.

Bu bildiride Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın Trabzon valiliğine atandığı dönem olan XVIII. yüzyılın ortasına ait Trabzon kadı sicilleri ve mühimme defterleri ana kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır, bunların yanında döneme ait Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivindeki müteferrik evrak ile Maliyeden Müdevver Defter tasnifindeki ahkâm defterleri de konunun tahkimini sağlamaktadır. Ali Paşa'nın Trabzon'daki idare tarzı, karşılaştığı problemlere getirmiş olduğu çözümler özellikle de eşkıya gruplarıyla olan mücadelesi bildirinin ana çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Bu suretle XVIII. yüzyıla ait literatürdeki adem-i merkeziyet tartışmalarına taşra özelinden yeni bir bakışın sağlanması da hedeflenmektedir.

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XVIII. YÜZYILIN BAŞLARINDA HABSBURG–MACAR–OSMANLI SINIR SORUNLARI

1699 yılında imzalanan Karlofça antlaşmasından dolayı Osmanlılar Macaristan'daki topraklarının büyük parçasını kaybetmişler, Habsburg ve Osmanlı İmparatorlukları arasında işaret ettirilmiş sınır çizgisi ise Osmanlıların sonraki feth etmesine gerçekten engel çıkartmıştır. Tebliğimde öncelikle XVIII. yüzyılın başındaki Habsburg–Macar–Osmanlı sınır sorunlarıyla uğraşırım. Bir yandan bu sınırın Habsburg hükümetine karşı süren Rákóczi Ayaklanması sırasında hangi şartlar altında kaldığı sorununa cevap arıyorum. Bu problem bu açıdan da ilgiç, çünkü isyancılar Osmanlılardan yardım ümit etmişler. Öte yandan iki imparatorluğunun sınır sorunları ortaya çıktığında işlemeye başlayan çözme mekanizmini ve onun XVI. yüzyıldan itibaren süren değişmelerini inceliyorum. Araştırmalarımda her şeyden önce Habsburg hükümetinin Viyana arşivlerindeki Almanca kaynaklarını kullanıyorum, ama bunlarla beraber Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa'nın eserlerine (hatıralarına ve kendi hattiyle tutulan Kitab-i İnşa defterine) dayanırım. Göstereceğim proje Szeged Üniversitesi'nde Prof. Dr. Sándor Papp yönetimiyle çalışan Habsburg–Osmanlı antlaşmaları ve diplomatik ilişkileriyle uğraşan araştırma grubunun çalışmalarına aittir.

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ILLICIT SEX, SEXUAL VIOLENCE, AND MARGINALITY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1840s – 1850s

Even though there are several studies focusing on penal codes in the legal reforms of the Tanzimat era, the socio-political implications of Tanzimat punitive regulations have not received the necessary attention. Thus, it is still not part of current knowledge that the abstract definition of citizenship on the basis of "life, honor and property" in the proto-constitution of Tanzimat turned into a "sexual contract" in legal discourse. The proposed paper aims to search the boundaries of marginality by exploring the definitions of illicit sexuality and sexual violence in the early decades of the Tanzimat era, namely the 1840s and 1850s. Looking at legal minutes and records of interrogation, the paper, first, aspires to trace how Ottoman subjects utilized various legal means in a legal reform period with constantly changing courts and institutions. At the same time, by tracing sexual offences in the trials of the highest appeal court, *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye* (Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances), and juxtaposing them with the legal discourse of the *Penal Code* of 1858, it, secondly, aims to analyze the process of

selection and combination of different legal sources and questioning the political and social dynamics which shaped the new codification on sexual offenses. Thus, the paper attempts to investigate marginality through illicit sexuality as being shaped in the 19th-century legal reforms in the Ottoman context.

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TICARETIN SORUNLARINA ÇÖZÜM ARAMAK:
AHIDNAMELER VE XVIII. YÜZYILDA HALEP'TE İNGILIZ TÜCCARLAR

Osmanlılar ilk önce Venedik ve Ceneviz gibi denizci tüccar devletlere daha sonraları da diğer Avrupalı devletlere ahidnameler çerçevesinde kendi limanlarında ticari serbestlikler tanıyarak müstemen tüccarlar eliyle uluslararası ticaretin Osmanlı limanlarında devamlılığını sağlamayı amaçlamışlardır. Bu anlamda ahidname metinleri diplomasi yanında ticaret tarihi bakımından da önemlidir. Genel olarak müstemen tüccarların sahip oldukları hak ve ayrıcalıklar ile seyr-i sefain ve ticaretin işleyişine dair düzenlemeler ahitnamelerle düzenlenen önemli uygulama alanlarıdır. Öte yandan ahidnamelerin uygulamasında karşılaşılan sorunlar ticaret tarihi bakımından hala yeterince araştırılmamıştır. Özellikle seyr-i sefain meseleleri, limanlardaki uygulamalar, deniz kazaları, karasuları kavramı, ihracat yasakları, korsanlık ve buna bağlı tazminat meseleleri, diplomatik misyon ve müstemin tüccarın hukuki statüsü, ihracat ve ithalata konu olan mallar, gümrük vergileri ödenmesinde yaşanan sorunlar, Osmanlı tebaası tüccarlar ile müstemenler arasındaki davaların görülmesi gibi farklı konular ahidnameler ile düzenlenmiş olmakla birlikte, bu konuların ve sorunların ahitnamelere göre uygulanmasındaki yer ve zamana bağlı farklılıklar görülmektedir.

Bu bildiride ilk defa 1580 yılında ahidname verilen ve klasik dönemde genel esasları itibariyle 1675 tarihinde son kez yeniden düzenlenen İngiltere ahidnamesi çerçevesinde İngiliz tüccarların XVIII. yüzyılda Halep ve İskenderun'da karşılaştıkları ticari sorunlar ve bunların ahidnameler çerçevesinde nasıl çözüme kavuşturulduğu incelenecektir. İncelemeye İstanbul'da Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde farklı tasniflerde bulunan Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri ile Londra'da İngiliz Ulusal Arşivi'nde muhafaza edilmekte olan İngiliz Levant Company'ye ait ticari kayıtlar ve bu iki ana kaynak gurubunu tamamlayıcı olarak da Suriye/Şam'da Merkezü'l-Vesaik'de muhafaza edilen Halep Kadı Sicilleri tasnifinde bulunan Evamir-i Sultaniye defterleri kaynaklık etmektedir. Söz konusu kaynaklar birbirine muadil çeşitli vakaların incelenmesi açısından zengin bir veri birikimi sağlamaktadır. Bu zenginlik yanından aynı ve benzer türdeki vakaların bu kaynaklarda tarafların kendi yaklaşımları ile ortaya konması da karşılaştırmalı incelemeler yapmaya uygun bir zemin oluşturmaktadır. XVIII. yüzyıla ait aynı

veya benzer vakalar üzerinde yapılacak incelemeler tarafların olaylara yaklaşımı ve ticari sorunların halinde ahidnameler çerçevesinde izlenen yolları göstermesi bakımından önemli sonuçlar vermektedir. Böylece salt birer hukuki metin olan Ahidnamelerin uygulanmasına dair yeni sonuçlara ulaşılması mümkün olmaktadır.

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LEGAL OCCUPATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS BY REFUGEES IN ISTANBUL IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Istanbul hosted tens of thousands of permanent and temporary refugees fleeing from persecution in ex-Ottoman lands in the Balkans and southern Russia. It is estimated that 600,000 people passed through Istanbul between the years 1876 and 1885. Upon their arrival, most of the refugees were settled temporarily in public buildings, such as *mekteb*s, *medrese*s, and mosques. Refugees had stayed in these public buildings until they were transferred to their places of permanent settlement by the government. The cost of transfers was a heavy economic burden for the government. As the Ottoman state was dealing with internal and external problems, the length of temporary stay for refugees sometimes lasted for months, even years in some cases. This situation caused some distress among the local residents of Istanbul. Because refugees legally or illegally occupied those public buildings, some services provided by these buildings were delayed or cancelled. For instance, due to lack of space some *mekteb*s had to bring together boys and girls and to provide mixed education. Students of some *mekteb*s were transferred to other *mekteb*s far from their homes. Some mosques became dirty as a result of prolonged settlement of refugees. Local residents, getting uncomfortable from these developments, filed complaints to the authorities and wrote letters to newspapers. This paper focuses on the occupation of public buildings by temporary refugees and the discontent this situation created among city dwellers. It also addresses the ways in which city dwellers resorted to find a solution to their discontent. In this context, petitions and complaints submitted by city dwellers and official correspondence related to these issues are used as primary sources.

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MUSTAFA: A *NAIB* IN ACTION IN THE *KAZA* OF COS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18ᵀᴴ CENTURY

In my paper I will look into the activity of Naib Mustafa, charged by successive Cadis of Kos (İstanköy) with looking after the island of Patmos for more than 30 years, although he could possibly have acted on his own initiative in some instances. About half a dozen of *hüccet*s sporting his 'signature', distinctive handwriting and seal imprint, all from the Ottoman holdings of St John monastery on Patmos, will form the basis of my investigation, complemented by a number of documents composed in Greek from some of the Greek metochia files (which now form part of the monastic archive of Patmos) which also show his seal mark, dating from between 1709 and 1746. Mustafa who, given his writing style and mode of expression, most probably was a Greek (convert), constitutes a hitherto little known example of a regional 'specialist' naib, 'officiating' on Patmos and, occasionally, on another island (such as Kalymnos) along the sea route from Kos to Patmos.

It is obvious from several of his 'involvements' in Patmian affairs that Mustafa was an important figure at a time when the local *gerontia* of Patmian lay elders strove to have their position vis-à-vis the monastic authorities consolidated if not enhanced. For a long time the Ottoman treasury had not distinguished between the monks and lay inhabitants of Patmos; only from the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century onwards was such a distinction progressively made. By the time of the so-called 'Partition Agreement' dated 25 July 1720 (jul.), composed in Greek and authenticated beneath his distinctive seal in rudimentary (and orthographically challenging) Turkish by our Mustafa bin Yusuf, *naib* of, or for, Patmos, the gerontia of Patmos had become powerful enough to put the Monastery onto the defensive by forcing it to identify the extent of its own landed possessions on the island of Patmos. This defensive mode, clearly exhibited when referring to both government officials (*vilayet*) and the *reaya* of the island as a potential future threat to its stated possessions on the island of Patmos, can even be gleaned from the garbled text of Mustafa's marginal note. But in order to grasp this document's true significance we need to place it into a wider context: This document is the first of its kind (apart from a marginally earlier 'tax-splitting' agreement between the monastic and lay parties) where the body of lay elders, the *gerontia* of Patmos is shown as having been accorded full negotiating powers vis-à-vis the monastic authorities in drawing up the 'Partition Agreement' by means of a formal written act (*notariko gramma*).

These and other involvements of Mustafa in the intricacies of the internal 'balance of power' in the island of Patmos suggest that he was an important player because of his insider knowledge as a 'regional specialist' practicing his skills over many decades, but particularly as a Greek convert to Islam whose intimate knowledge of local society and the Greek language paired with an official position in the Ottoman judicial system as a *naib* made him a man the contending parties in Patmos evidently could not do without.

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OSMANLI DEVLETİ'NDE SEFER İSTİKRAZLARI: TRABZON ÖRNEĞİ

Osmanlı Devleti kuruluş ve yükseliş dönemlerinde fetihlerin etkisiyle topraklarını genişleterek sahip olduğu gelirleri (ganimet, vergi vs.) önemli oranda artırmış ve mali istikrarı sağlamıştır. Ancak XVI. yüzyılın sonlarında başlayan ve XVII. yüzyıl boyunca devam eden uzun süren savaşlarla birlikte nakit ihtiyacının artması, Osmanlı mali sisteminde bir takım değişim ve dönüşümün yaşanmasını beraberinde getiren temel faktörlerden birisi olmuştur. Nüfus artışı, batı dünyasında meydana gelen gelişmelerle birlikte transit ticaret yollarının değişmeye başlamasıyla Osmanlı vergi gelirlerinin azalması, askeri teknolojide yaşanan gelişmeler, Osmanlı Devleti'nin yaşadığı iç buhranlar devleti bu dönemde zaman zaman mali bunalımlara sürüklemiştir. Bu dönemdeki mali bunalımların yarattığı ekonomik, siyasi, askeri ve sosyal problemler devleti bir takım önlemler almaya ve bütçe açıklarını kapatmak ve savaşlarda ordunun ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için yeni vergiler koymaya yönlendirmiştir. Bu bağlamda artan savaş masraflarını karşılamak için avarız vergileri, nüzül, sürsat vs. vergiler yürürlüğe koyulmuştur. Bunların yanında devlet, hali vakti yerinde olanlardan karz (borç) yoluyla borçlanarak seferlerde ihtiyaç duyduğu nakit ihtiyacını karşılamaya çalışmıştır.

Osmanlı Devleti, 1683 yılında ikinci Viyana kuşatmasıyla başlayan ve 1699 Karlofça Antlaşmasıyla biten savaşta nakit ihtiyacını karşılamak için çeşitli yollara başvurmuştur. Bu çalışmada XVII. Yüzyılın son çeyreğine ait Trabzon Şeriye Sicilleri taranarak 1686-1687 yıllarında Trabzon'un ileri gelenlerinden on bin kuruş karz yoluyla borçlanma yapıldığı tespit edilmektedir. Sicil kayıtlarında 10.000 kuruşun hangi mahallelerden ve kimlerden ne kadar para toplandığı isim isim belirtilmiştir.

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LES *NÂ'IB* OTTOMANS TELS QU'ILS APPARAISSENT DANS LE FONDS OTTOMAN DES ARCHIVES DU MONASTÈRE DE PATMOS

On repère dans le riche fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint Jean, à Patmos, un grand nombre de *nâ'ib* – désignés en général par la formule *hilâfeten müvellà*. Pour les seuls 22 premiers dossiers, qui couvrent grosso modo une période allant de la fin du XVe au milieu du XVIIe siècle, dans 99 documents (pour la plupart des *ḥüccet*), on en dénombre 56 travaillant dans les *ḳaẓâ* de Rhodes, Cos et Samos, mais aussi dans d'autres lieux de l'Empire, notamment d'autres îles. L'intérêt de Patmos est en effet d'être située en mer, et au sein d'un archipel, ce qui pose des problèmes particuliers, et d'abord de circulation et de communication. On conservera cette particularité en tête en cherchant dans cette documentation des indices sur la personnalité et la longévité des *nâ'ib*, les missions qui leur sont affectées, leur éventuelle spécialisation territoriale, en comparaison avec ce que cette même documentaion nous dit sur le rôle de leurs patrons les *cadi*s.

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FOREIGN PEOPLE AT PHANARIOT COURTS: KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE 18TH-CENTURY SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

The topic of the paper originates from a remark by Antonio Maria del Chiaro, an Italian secretary serving at the Wallachian court. In 1714, he noted that "a foreigner is given cloth and satin to dress himself according to the custom of the country, to be protected from the hostile glance of the Turks, who come to the country every day and do not look kindly upon foreign attire and customs." The Phanariot courts of Moldavia and Wallachia constituted a space of convergence for scores of physicians, painters, scribes, diplomatic agents and scholars, originating from all around Europe and the Middle East. This multicultural and multilingual intellectual elite transformed the courts in Bucharest and Jassy into a middle ground, with the atmosphere characterized by a complex mix of cosmopolitanism and provincialism at the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. The scope of the paper is to examine the process by which these newcomers were integrated into the local, Ottomanized yet predominantly Greek Orthodox elite, as well as the strategies they themselves employed in order to fit in. Relying on travelogues, reports by representative of Western powers, as well as

unpublished documents from Romanian private archives, the author investigates the strategies of adaptation into Moldavian and Wallachian elite culture and society, namely their sartorial choices, selective adoption and rejection of local manners and ideas. Moreover, the paper's goal is to estimate to what degree these newcomers tried and succeeded in entering the ranks of the *boyar* elite, or whether they opted not to adopt a new identity. By addressing these questions, the paper provides a new perspective on how the increased mobility in the 18th century produced an impact on the elite culture at the fringes of the Ottoman imperial space.

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SEALS AND STROKES OF PEN: CROSS-CULTURAL DIPLOMATICS AND THE PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITY IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN PERIPHERY

The scope of the paper is to address the nexus between the coexistence of multiple scripts and scribal traditions and the strategies of self-fashioning pursued by social actors at the northern fringes of the 17th-century Ottoman ecumene. Throughout its existence, the Ottoman Empire remained a multilingual entity, and the elevated status of *esame-i selase*, Arabic script and documentary formats developed by the imperial bureaucracy did not destroy other scribal and calligraphic traditions. In the Lower Danube region, the scribal staff continued to use Cyrillic in Slavonic- and Romanian-language documents, while their Crimean counterparts drew heavily on the post-Chinggisid traditions of the Golden Horde, while selectively adopting the elements of Ottoman diplomatics. At the same time, the need to conduct correspondence in multiple scripts and languages transformed local chanceries into multilingual and multicultural "middle grounds". While these realities have been acknowledged by modern scholarship, consequences of this phenomenon remain largely unpacked, and individual diplomatic traditions are still largely seen as isolated from each other. However, as this paper aims to show, the "calligraphic pluralism" of the region in the course of the 17th century constituted a flexible tool to negotiate political and social identities of the local elites. Drawing on the existing documents issued by Moldavian and Wallachian chanceries and focusing on their physical and graphic aspects, the paper shows that boyars and voyvodes alike not only repeatedly switched between different traditions and scripts, but also creatively integrated Ottoman diplomatic and calligraphic idioms into the local traditions, giving rise to hybrid forms, such as Moldavian Cyrillic pseudo-tughras. By treating the Crimean and Ottoman documents as "control groups", the paper provides a new perspective on the process of peripheral Ottomanization, showing how the

adoption of Ottoman scribal models went hand in hand with the adoption of Ottoman identity by provincial elites.

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CONVENIENT CONDITIONS? KIZILBAŞ-ALEVI COMMUNITIES AND THE OTTOMAN STATE, 16TH-18TH CENTURIES

At times heavily persecuted, the history of the Kızılbaş-Alevis in the Ottoman Empire has been received, both by academics as well as by Alevis themselves, as one of oppression and conflict. However, such a reading is based on a limited corpus of sources, basically 16th-century *mühimme* entries. Accordingly, widening the source-base of inquiry promises a widening of historical perspectives alike: on the basis of *tahrir*-records from Central Anatolia and later *rüus defterleri*, Kadi Court Records and Petitioning Registers, the presentation seeks to stake out several different spaces and modes in which the Anatolian Kızılbaş-Alevis regularly interacted with the Ottoman State and its local agents respectively. The examples given illustrate, on the one hand, how these heterogeneous groups and individuals thereof were treated, labelled and thus perceived by the state and thereby accommodated to the Empire's administrative measures and its apparatus of power. On the other hand, they also allow us delineate how the Kızılbaş-Alevi subjects themselves approached and used the state institutions, such as the kadi court, for example, in arguments over land-use or for renewing rights of *mutasarrıflık*. These spaces and examples of interaction suggest *convenience* as one of the most important principles shaping the relation of the Ottoman State to its Kızılbaş-Alevi subjects. On the basis of philological inquiry and with reference to Tezcan's argument for *conveniencia*, as opposed to *convivencia* as basic principles of organizing difference, the paper discusses the possibilities and constraints of such a concept for coming to terms with the history of the Kızılbaş-Alevis in the Ottoman Empire of the "post-classical age".

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IRAQI SHIITES AND THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1908-1914

The *Committee of Union and Progress* (CUP) government had apparently a more secular-pragmatic oriented governmentality when compared to the religious-pragmatic approach of the Hamidian rule. It is argued that until the Balkan Wars some Unionists did not hesitate to express their negative views about religion

openly. However, the wars showed the usefulness of religion as a leverage and a vital source of legitimacy to keep the empire intact. But even before that, the central administration of the CUP had not denounced all established customs and bureaucratic repertoires inherited from the Hamidian regime. The Unionists did not adopt a wholesale secularism or irreligious perspective, for instance, when it comes to Shiism or Shiites. On the contrary, in certain cases, the CUP administration reinforced outward religiosity that was seemingly contradictory to a strictly secular perspective. This presentation attempts to illuminate effects of the Constitutional Law of 1908 and the subsequent rule of the CUP government on the Shiite subjects of the Ottoman Empire living in Iraq. Drawing mostly on sources from British National and Ottoman Prime Ministerial archives, this presentation discusses the attitude of the Unionist government towards the Shiite population: was there a paradigmatic change after the CUP takeover? Did the post-1908 period represent a radical shift from state-*cum*-religious pragmatism to an extensively secular one? More precisely, this presentation looks into examples of how Shiite subjects were incorporated into state apparatuses. These include the appointment of Shiite scholars to state schools, Shiite judges to state courts as well as the debates on recognizing Shiism as a legitimate branch of Islam during the wartime conditions of WWI.

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ESARETE DOĞMAK: XVII. YÜZYIL KIRIM'DA ÇOCUK KÖLELER

Toplumsal tarih yazımında çocukluk ve çocuklar Osmanlı sahasında oldukça yeni bir araştırma alanı olarak tarihçilerin karşısında durmaktadır. Son yıllarda konuya eğilim artmasına rağmen üretilen çalışmalarda kuramsal bir kimlik inşası henüz oturmuş değildir. Klasik dönem Osmanlı Devleti'nde çocukluk kavramı hakkında oldukça sınırlı bilgiye sahibiz. Kırım Hanlığı tarih yazımında ise çocukluk üzerine neredeyse hiçbir çalışmanın olmadığını ileri sürmek yanlış olmaz. Bu çalışmada hür insanlardan ziyade köle olarak yaşamlarını sürdürmek zorunda kalan kişilerin çocukları ele alınmaktadır. Köle anne babanın birlikteliğinin bir sonucu olarak doğuştan gelen kölelik statüsünün çocukları nasıl etkilediği merak konusudur. Ayrıca yağma akınlarıyla çocuk yaşta esir edilen kişilerin koparıldıkları hayatlara duydukları özlem de çalışmada işlenmektedir. Böylelikle kültürel aidiyetlik, farkındalık ve sosyal gerçeklik açısından söz konusu çocukların durumları mercek altına alınmaktadır. Bu bağlamda XVII. yüzyıl Kırım kadı sicillerine doğma, çora ve devke olarak kaydedilen çocuk köleler çalışmamızın omurgasını oluşturmaktadır.

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XVIII. YÜZYIL OSMANLI TOPLUMUNDA ORTODOKS RUM CEMAATI LİDERLERİ OLAN KOCABAŞILARIN 'MERKEZ' İLE İLİŞKİLERİ VE BUNUN YEREL YANSIMALARI

Osmanlı toplumsal yapısının önemli bir parçası olan Ortodoks Rumlar, kuruluşundan yıkılışına kadar Imparatorluğun önemli ve etkili tebaaları idi. Onlar, millet sistemi içinde Ortodoks Rum Cemaati olarak yer almaktaydılar. Bu çalışma, taşradaki Rum cemaat liderleri olan kocabaşıların "merkez" ile – diğer bir deyişle devlet ile – ilişkilerini incelemek suretiyle bu sistemin iç yapısına dair çözümlemeler yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaç çerçevesinde 'Kocabaşıların İstanbul ile ilişkileri' iki açıdan ele alınmaktadır:

1. Kocabaşıların merkez ile ilişkileri: Kocabaşıların, Ortodoks Rum cemaatinin yerel temsilcisi olarak merkezdeki yönetimle ilişkileri.

2. Kocabaşıların merkez ile ilişkilerinin yerel etkileri: Merkezi yönetimin kocabaşılar vasıtasıyla yerel yapı üzerindeki etkileri.

Rum Cemaat liderleri ve bu liderler içerisinde kocabaşılar, Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi alanında aydınlatılmaya muhtaç bir konudur. Bu konu çerçevesinde hâlihazırda kapsamlı bir çalışmanın mevcut değildir. Osmanlı cemaat sistemi üzerine çalışmalar, millet sistemi analizleri ile sınırlı kalmış, sistemin işleyişi veyahut da içyapısı üzerine ayrıntılı çalışmalar henüz yapılmamıştır. Bu tebliğde ele alınan çalışma, kocabaşı-devlet ilişkisinden hareketle bu iki unsurun aydınlatılmasını hedeflemektedir.

Bu doğrultuda öncelikle sorunsalımızı (problematiğimizi) ortaya koymak gerekmektedir. İncelemenin temel problematiği: "Ortodoks Rum Cemaat liderleri olan Kocabaşıların 'merkez' ile ne tür ilişkilerinin olduğu ve bu ilişkinin cemaat/ millet sistemi içinde nasıl bir etkisi olduğu"dur. Bu sorunsaldan hareketle öncelikle kocabaşılar'ın ilişki ağı çerçevesinde Rum cemaat sisteminin işleyişi ve içyapısı analiz edilecek, analizlerin sonuçlarıyla Osmanlı cemaat sistemi üzerine daha genel değerlendirmeler yapılmaktadır. Bu incelemede, sorun odaklı ve analitik bir perspektiften değerlendirmeler yapılarak sonuca varılmaktadır. Araştırma, coğrafi olarak bir sınırlandırmaya tabi tutulmamış ancak zaman açısından XVIII. yüzyıl ile sınırlandırılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın kaynakları Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinin Cevdet (Dâhiliye, Mâliye, Zabtiye), Hatt-ı Hümayûn, Ali Emirî, Bâb-ı Defteri tasniflerindeki belgelerden oluşturmaktadır. Bilgiler, analitik bir sorgulamadan geçirilerek sebep-sonuç bağlantısı ile yorumlanıp, tarihsel yöntemle kurgulanıp değerlendirilmektedir. Böylece sistematik bir disiplin çerçevesinde kocabaşı-devlet ilişkisi özelinde toplumsal tarih analizi yapılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada

kaynakları, yöntemi ve problematiği ile Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi çalışmaları alanında özgün bir araştırma yapılmaktadır. Araştırmanın sonuçları bu tebliğ ile bu alanda çalışan diğer araştırmacılarla paylaşılıp tartışmaya sunulmaktadır.

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THE BIRTH OF THE *SANJAQ* OF JERUSALEM

Since the 1830s, Palestine has been under great pressure from European countries to achieve their religious, political and economic interests. In view of the dangers that might result from this, the Ottoman Empire did not stand idle. The Ottoman Empire tried to counter this threat by taking administrative measures to prevent them from achieving their ambitions. The most important of these measures was when the Ottoman Empire established the independent sanjak Jerusalem and connected it directly with Istanbul. The Palestinian society was affected through the administrative procedures and the many reforms. Jerusalem was influenced by the importance of religious Ottoman measures, which led to the city's status to become one of the most important administrative and political Palestinian cities.

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INTERRELİGİOUS RELATİONS İN 17ᵀᴴ-CENTURY İSTANBUL İN THE LİGHT OF İMMİGRATİON, DEMOGRAPHİC CHANGE, AND ACCOMMODATİON İN URBAN COMMUNİTİES

History of 17ᵗʰ-century Istanbul is known for its many religious tensions as well as political upheavals. Colorful events such as the waves of Kadızadeli movements, executions of Greek patriarchs, and conflicts along religious lines in guilds and *mahalle*s, however, may not reveal the whole story of interreligious relations of this period. Interreligious relations in Istanbul should also be considered in the context of massive non-Muslim (mostly Christian) immigration into the city and the challenges that such immigrants faced in settling down.

It seems that there had been waves of non-Muslim immigrants from Anatolia and the Balkans in the 17ᵗʰ century, and by 1690s non-Muslims were about half or more of the whole population of greater Istanbul that amounted to 300,000 to 400,000. I will reexamine Stephan Yerasimos's and Robert Mantran's pioneering research on non-Muslim population in this period using various tax registers and *maliye ahkamları*, and see if there were other indirect evidence that non-Muslim population of Istanbul increased. The bloated non-Muslim population of the

supposed Muslim city, Istanbul, may well have led to disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims and also within non-Muslim communities that we often come across in Istanbul court records. However, at the same time we should not fail to recognize that these non-Muslim immigrants were continuously accommodated in urban communities such as guilds and *mahalle*s, and even with hardening of the boundaries in some of them in the mid-century, at least janissaries seem to have continued to accommodate non-Muslim immigrants. It being impossible to fathom the whole complexity of Muslim-non Muslim relations of 17th-century Istanbul, I would be content with grasping some facts and details that are relevant.

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RAIDING AND ENSLAVING AND THE ECONOMY OF THE 'OTHER' IN THE 14TH-CENTURY AEGEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN

What was the relation between the economy of enslavement of the 'other' and military, political and social behaviors in the 14th-century Mediterranean and Aegean world? How did the slave trade among Latins, Eastern Christians and Muslims in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean inform religious polemic and notions of holy war and jihad? How did enslavement mutually shape 14th-century Christian and Muslim societies through domestic familiarity with the "other"? By engaging in these broad questions related to the slave trade and domestic slavery, this paper aims to shed light on the Turkish engagement with the slave economy of the 14th-century Aegean and Mediterreanean. It views the Aydinids and other Turkish *beylik*s through the lens of the maritime slave trade in order to bring new understanding to the socio-economic, military and political dynamics of these polities. It draws on a wide variety of disparate and scattered sources: Ibn Batuta's well-known travelogue, published trade treaties between Turkish *beylik*s and Italian city-states, and obscure unpublished manuscript material, including *qasida*s composed on the name of the Aydinind ruler, 'Isa Beg, praising him for ransoming enslaved Muslims out of his own pocket. *Beylik* developments will likewise be viewed in a comparative perspective, relying on the work of scholars like Sally McKee on household slavery in medieval Italian city states and Venetian Crete. This paper aims to demonstrate how enslavement as a social, economic and political practice contributed to cultural fusion in both Christian and Muslim societies. Finally, in broaching the question of how the notion and practice of Holy War developed in conjunction with the slave economy, this paper argues for a historiography of ideology rooted in material practices such as the phenomenon of the enslavement of the "other."

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SUFI BROTHERHOOD BEYOND BOUNDARIES: MURAD AL-BUKHARI'S (1640-1720) TRAVELS AND RESIDENCE IN ISTANBUL

Murad al-Bukhari was born in 1640 in Samarkand to a *sayyid* family. He studied in India and resided in Hijaz, Damascus, Istanbul, and Bursa. He left behind several works and many disciples when he died in Istanbul after a long and productive life at the age of eighty. He became a follower of the Naqshbandi *tariqa* of the sheikh Muhammad Masum al-Faruki in India at the age of 23. He went on pilgrimage and after extensive journeys through Iraq and Persia, he resided in Damascus in 1669, where he and later on his descendants assumed the title of the "*mufti* of the Hanafi ulama and *nakib al-ashraf* of Damascus." Murad al-Buhari's successful missionary activities were probably the most important factor in spreading Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order in the Ottoman lands. When he arrived in Istanbul in 1681, he was well received by high-level Istanbul *ulama* and the sultan. A dervish lodge in Eyup was left at his disposal by the Ottoman sheikh al-Islam. Twenty-five years later, he decided to turn Berraniyye madrasa of Damascus over to his son, Muhammed Bahaeddin, and came back to Istanbul, this time to be a permanent resident. His life and works can help us understand the intellectual boundaries of the Ottoman elites and their relations with distant Muslim lands in an age of transition.

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BULGAR ÇARI "ÇARLAR KENTİ"NDE: I. FERDİNAND'IN İSTANBUL ZİYARETİ (1910)

XIX. yüzyıl ve hemen akabinde XX. yüzyılın ilk çeyreği, o zamana kadar var olan her şeyde olduğu gibi uluslararası ilişkilerde ve diplomasi alanlarında da yeni gelişmelerin ortaya çıktığı bir dönem olur. Bu tarihten önce, devletler arasındaki ilişkiler, ağırlıkla muhatapların birbirlerine gönderdikleri elçiler vasıtasıyla yürütülürken artık meslekten diplomatlar, özel temsilciler hatta bizzat hükümdarlar yeni aktörler olarak meydana çıkmışlardır. İmparatorların, kralların, prenslerin kalabalık maiyetleri, şatafatlı alayları eşliğinde yaptıkları seyahatler ve ziyaretler – görkemi ve şaşaası azalmakla birlikte – günümüzde de devam eden bir diplomatik geleneği başlatır. Özellikle Avrupalı hükümdarların birbirlerine yaptıkları bu ziyaretler diplomasinin devlet başkanları arasında şahsî ilişkiler ve dostluklara dayanan bir boyutunu teşkil eder. Osmanlı başkentine gelen misafirlerin her birinin ziyaretlerinin ayrı nedenleri olmakla birlikte, karşılanmalarında ve ağırlanmalarında yapılan hazırlıklar, düzenlenen törenler

hem idarecilerin ve saray mensuplarının hem de Osmanlı ahalisinin yeni tecrübeler edinmesiyle neticelenmiştir. Avrupa'dan gelen misafirlerin konaklayacakları yapılardan, sarayların yeniden tefrişine, ziyafet adabına ve tertibatına ve nihayet varıncaya dek yeni bir kültür ve alışkanlıklar İstanbul'da yerleşmeye başlamıştır.

Bulgaristan Çarı I. Ferdinand'ın 1910 yılı Mart ayında İstanbul'a, tâbi' olduğu eski başkentine Tsarigrad'a yaptığı resmî bir ziyaret de hükümdarların aktör haline geldikleri diplomatik ilişkilerin bir örneği olarak belirtilebilir. Bulgaristan hükümdarının eski başkentinde bir hafta süren ziyaretinin sebepleri hakkında hem Osmanlı matbuatında hem de Bulgar ve Avrupa basınlarında çeşitli varsayımlarda bulunulmuş, ziyaretin gerçekleşmesindeki en kuvvetli ihtimalin Osmanlı Devleti'nin de kurulması düşünülen Balkan İttihadı'na dahil olması için davet edilmesi olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Ancak Çar Ferdinand'ın misafirliğinin sonuna doğru ortaya çıkan haberler ve bilhassa Hariciye Nazırı Rıfat Paşa'nın tanzim ettiği genelge iki devletin heyetleri arasında hangi meselelerin gündeme geldiğini ve müzakere edildiğini açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Nitekim Osmanlı Devleti'nin de dahil olacağı düşünülen Balkan İttihadı, yeni devletlerin de katılmasıyla nihaî şeklini 1912 yılında alacaktır. Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Sırbistan ve Karadağ'dan müteşekkil olan birlik, Çar Ferdinand'ın ziyaretinden iki yıl sonra, Balkan Harbi'nde Osmanlı Devleti'ne çok ağır mağlubiyetler yaşatmış, İmparatorluğun adeta can damarı olan Rumeli topraklarının kaybına neden olmuştur.

Tebliğimde, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Bulgaristan Merkezî Devlet Arşivi'nde [Централен Държавен Архив] yer alan belgeler ile dönemin Osmanlı ve Bulgar basınında çıkan haberleri kullanarak seyahatinin sebepleri, ziyaret esnasında gerçekleştirilen merasimler ve protokol uygulamaları, seyahatin neticeleri hususlarını değerlendirmekteyim.

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THE TOWN OF FILIBE (PLOVDIV) AND ITS REGION AS A CENTRE OF THE *VOYNUK* INSTITUTION IN RUMELI IN THE 16TH CENTURY

The paper is based on information from five unpublished *voynuk* registers and three unpublished Ottoman *timar* registers drawn up in the 16th century. The new data allow us to prove convincingly that during the 16th century the town of Filibe, mod. Plovdiv, served as the headquarters of the *voynuk sancakbey* and of the *voynuk* institution in Rumeli. During the whole 16th century the *yamak*s of the *voynuk sancakbey* lived in several villages near Filibe; the *voynuk*s from Northwest Thrace who lived relatively near the town of Filibe were directly subordinate to the *voynuk sancakbey*; they were were organized in a group

separate from the rest of the *voynuk*s in the Nikopol and Sofia *sancak*s. All these data give ground to assume that the town of Filibe served as a centre of the *voynuk* institution in Rumeli, where also the residence of the *voynuk sancakbey* was located. This assumption is supported also by a law about *voynuk*s from 1523, in which the *voynuk sancakbey* in Filibe is mentioned. It is no coincidence that according to some sources a big stable built during the time of the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha also existed in Filibe.

In the 16th century a large number of *voynuk*s serving at the State Stables were registered around Filibe; the settlements where they lived will be presented in the paper. The exact place of the *voynuk*s from the Filibe *kaza* in the hierarchy of the *voynuk* institution will also be analysed.

The paper will also analyse the size of the arable lands (fields) in *dönüm*s in the *voynuk bashtina*s in the 16th century. It can be seen from them that many of these agricultural lands exempted from tithes do not reach even one *çift* of land, but they were sufficient for the maintenance of a *voynuk* household.

The information in the unpublished *voynuk* registers from 1523 and 1529 will be used also to date an undated excerpt from a register of the *voynuk*s in the region of Filibe, published earlier. The new data allow us to determine the exact time of its drawing up – the end of the 15th century or the first decade of the 16th century.

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SADIK PAŞA AND HIS KAZAK ALAYI AS INSTRUMENTS OF MODERNIZATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The activities of the Polish writer, political agent, general, renegade and émigré Michal Czajkowski – Sadık Paşa (1804-1886), leave an interesting and bright trail in the historical context during the long 19th century, especially in South East Europe. Czajkowski's political activity in the Ottoman Empire began in 1840 when he headed the so-called "Eastern Agency", created by the Polish government in exile "Hotel Lambert", residing in Paris and managed by Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861). Later, Czajkowski found asylum as a subject to the Sultan, converted to Islam, adopting the name Mehmed Sadık Paşa and joined the Ottoman army where he created his Ottoman Cossack Regiment (*Kazak Alayı*) at the beginning of the Crimean War (1853, lasting until 1877). The *Kazak Alayı* is the very first official military unit within the Ottoman Empire until that moment, which was composed almost entirely of Christians. The official Christian character of those

Ottoman military units makes them a unique instrument of the modernization processes since until then, with some special exceptions, the Christian population was forbidden to carry weapons and be part of the Ottoman army. In the *Kazak Alayı* were enrolled volunteers from more than eight nationalities – mainly Poles and Bulgarians, but also Cossacks (Old Believers), Serbians, Russians, Albanians, Jews, Gypsies, and others.

The goal of this contribution is to present several concrete examples, based on original unpublished documents and sources from Bulgarian, Polish and Russian archives, which will manifest clearly the different layers and dimensions of Sadık Paşa's and his *Kazak Alayı*'s actions as transmitters and agents of modernization in the political, social and military sphere within the Ottoman Empire during and after the Crimean War. The time frame covered is 1853 – 1872, when Mehmed Sadık was the commander and the regiments had entirely Christian composition. The original sources on which the contribution is built include documents from The Princes Czartoryski Library Archive (Cracow), Jagiellonian Library Archive (Cracow), State Archive of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Empire (Moscow), Bulgarian Historical Archive at the National Library (Sofia), Bulgarian State Archives (Sofia, Sliven, Gabrovo) and others.