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Networks of Immigration to Ottoman Salonica

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

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

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

The contentious legacy of the 1915 Armenian genocide continues to dominate historical writing on the non-Muslim populations of eastern Anatolia during the late Ottoman period. In the past four decades, scholars writing on this event have produced a voluminous literature in multiple languages. Yet, research on topics ranging from the social, economic, and political dynamics in the empire's Anatolian periphery, to the evolving relationship between the Ottoman state and its Armenian populations remain thin. With this lacuna as a point of departure, my research investigates the intersection of Armenian migration to North America with the Ottoman state's attempts to exert greater control over its Anatolian periphery and its diverse populations. Between the late 1880s and 1908, thousands of migrants, mostly young Armenian men, departed the eastern provinces of Anatolia for North America. For most, this migration was undertaken clandestinely and in the face of harsh prohibitions put in place by the central Ottoman state. Through the prism of migration and migration control, this paper seeks to highlight some of the dialectical processes that shaped state making and social control in the periphery and the forces 'from below' that helped to mold these processes. Specifically, it focuses on the Ottoman state's attempts to modify its internal migration controls (exemplified by its intricate internal passport system) beginning in the early 1890s as a strategy to prevent unauthorized migration abroad. Shortly following the advent of large-scale trans-hemispheric migration from Anatolia's eastern provinces, however, prospective North America-bound migrants subverted the internal passport system by using these documents to 'illegally' gain access to ships bound for foreign ports. In

response, the Ottoman central state placed increasingly onerous restrictions on the granting of these documents to Anatolian Armenians. Numerous difficulties in enforcing these measures quickly surfaced. Despite the importance the Ottoman state assigned to preventing migration from eastern Anatolia to North America, its attempts at using internal migration controls to prevent unwanted migration abroad were hamstrung by its dependence on this region's large pools of migrant labor. As a result, both migrants and migrant smugglers used this tension to their advantage, allowing for the continued flow of people from eastern Anatolia to the New World.

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Governor-Generals of the Island of Crete under Ottoman Rule

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

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

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

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

Seferlerin uzun sürmesinden dolayı tımarlı erbabının parası tükenebilir. Mesafenin uzak olmasından dolayı yerlerine bıraktıkları nöbetçiler tarafından toplanan paraları alamazlar. Seferlerin uzun sürdüğünde Osmanlı devleti tımarlıların acil para ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için bazı uygulamalar yapmıştır. I. Selim Çaldıran seferinden sonra Mısır seferine yönelmesi sonucu,

seferler uzamış ve tımarlı sipahinin elinde ki para bitmiştir. Bunun üzerine Yavuz Sultan Selim hazineden sipahilere borç vermiş ardından da Rumeli'deki kadılara gönderdiği fermanlar ile kadıların defter tutarak bölgelerindeki nöbetçi sipahilerin tahsil ettikleri paraları acilen getirmeleri istenmiştir. Getirilen paralar borçları düşüldükten sonra arta kalanı hak sahiplerine dağıtılmıştır.

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

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

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Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında
Osmanlı Devleti'nde Sansür Uygulamaları

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

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

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

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Ege Kıyısında Bir Osmanlı Kasabasında Yaşam Standardı: Edremit

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

Ben de bu kaynaklardan yararlanarak Ege kıyısında küçük bir kasaba olan Edremit Kazası'nda yaşayan insanların yaşamlarına dair bir panorama çizmeyi amaçlıyorum. Ele aldığım zaman dilim 18. yüzyıl olacaktır. Çünkü 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nin problemlerini arttığı merkez taşra ilişkilerinde klasik yapıdan iyiden iyiye koptuğu bir dönemdir. Geçmiş dönemlerden örneklemler seçilmek suretiyle karşılaştırma yapılarak bu problemli dönemin özellikle sıradan insanın yaşamına olan etkilerini ortaya koymaya çalışmak bu bildirinin temel sorunsalı olacaktır. Sıradan insanla kazanın ileri gelenleri, şehirli ile köylüleri ele alarak bu anlamda da insanların

yaşadıkları yere ve yaşam biçimlerine dayalı varsa farklıkları tespit etmeye çalışmak bildiride ele alacağım bir başka konudur. Bütün bunları bir araya getirmek suretiyle en temel soruna Osmanlı taşrasında, Ege kıyısında küçük bir kasabada insanların hayatlarını idame ettirebilmek için hangi materyalleri kullandıklarını, nelerle süslendiklerini, neyle geçindiklerini, kısaca nasıl yaşadıklarına dair bir pencere açmaya çalışacağım. Bunun için Şer'iye sicillerinden, arşiv belgelerinden, muhallefat kayıtlarından ve vakfiyelerden istifade edeceğim.

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

Unattached, without family ties in the city, occupational stability or sustained membership in an established administrative body like a professional guild or a neighborhood, living in rented rooms in khans and tenements across the city, Istanbul's single men (*bekâr*, or *bekâr taifesi*) bore every mark of what Zygmunt Bauman called "the permanent slimy". It was in this capacity – as a volatile, uncontrollable and undesirable population – that they emerge in the narratives of order in the 18th and early 19th century, often as euphemisms for recent immigrants, vagabonds, thugs, the riffraff – or all of the above.

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

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How Does a Poet Become a 'Bad Poet'?
The Case of the 16th-Century Ottoman Poet Keşfî

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

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

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

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The Assassination of the Russian Consul at Mitrovica, 1903

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

Anticipating eminent unrest that the appointment of a Russian consul would bring to the area, Sultan Abdülhamid II was caught between Russia's ultimatum and increasingly violent protests by local Albanian leaders. He could not do more than postponing the establishment of the first consulate in the district for some months. At the end, Russia threatened to declare war, and Stcherbina reached his post. The Ottoman government duly held ceremonies, and the Serbian inhabitants of the region made festive celebrations. In late March 1903, heavily armed Albanian mutineers attacked the Ottoman garrison.

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

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

Suç ve ceza yasaları bütün toplumların hukuk sisteminde var olmuştur. Ancak her birinin doğası, algılanışı ve uygulanışı birbirinden farklılıklar göstermiştir. Sürgün de her hukuk sisteminde farklı anlamlar yüklenen ve farklı uygulama sistemleriyle karşımıza çıkan bir hukuk terimidir. Çalışmamızda, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde de yer alan ve tanımı, algılanışı ve uygulanışı diğer hukuk sistemine göre bazı farklılıklar gösteren sürgün, bir cezalandırma şekli olarak ele alınacaktır.

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

- Osmanlı hukukunda sürgün ne anlama gelmektedir ve uygulanışı hangi esaslar çerçevesinde yapılmaktadır?

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

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

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

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

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

Event-oriented history (*histoire événementielle*) is not dead! What is more, it is necessary more than ever in order to work with big and fuzzy concepts (empire, centre-periphery relations, etc.). This does not imply, however, realignment with the Hegelian or pre-Annalistic historiography which focuses extensively on prominent political actors, and their achievements. We claim that, among other means, by unearthing new documents which enable the historian to display the machinations of small or middle-term tactics – eventually their failures – and by discovering the careers and strategies of hitherto unnoticed personalities in the margins of Empires, one may grasp the nature of political power and international relations in the early modern age.

If there are several studies on the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry in the second half of the 16th century, very few of them deal with the modalities of its transfer to the Atlantic Ocean. Thanks to his well established diplomatic and commercial network in the Mediterranean realm, Mulay Abd

al-Malik, of the Saadian dynastic family, convinces both Murad III (1574-1595) and Philip II (1556-1598), on the necessity of a neutral zone between the two powers. He dethrones his nephew Mohammed al-Mutawwakil (1574-1576) after a field battle in which both Ottoman and Spanish soldiers engage side by side. But his reign is ephemeral: it lasts only two years, with his demise in the Battle of the Three Kings (1578).

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

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The Rumelian Provincial Elites
in the Ottoman Tax-Farming System of the 19th Century

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

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

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

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

Ağa Mosque, Küçük Hasan (Yalı) Mosque, Captain Yusuf Pasha Mosque, Ibrahim Sultan (Sultan's) Mosque; Rethymno: Gazi Deli Hüseyin Pasha Mosque, Sultan's Mosque.

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

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

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Maintenance or Subversion of Order:
Policing the Police at Turn-of-the-20th-Century Istanbul

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Osmanlının Son Döneminde Kürt Basını: İlk Kürt Gazetesi "Kürdistan" (1898-1902)

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

Diğer aydın öbekleri ile aynı düşünsel zemini paylaşan Kürt aydınları bu düşünsel zemini etkileyecekleri, kendi kimliklerini ortaya koyup geliştirecekleri ve nihayet toplumsallaştıracakları araçlar üretmişler, bu doğrultuda siyasal ve toplumsal örgütlenmelere gitmişlerdir. Bunlar arasında ilk göze çarpan unsur bu dönemde ortaya çıkan Kürt gazeteleridir.

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

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

Bu çalışma, Kürt aydınlarının dönemin temel siyasal söylemleri ve tartışmaları ile entelektüel üretim ve gazetecilik faaliyeti üzerinden nasıl ilişkilendikleri sorusuna

odaklanmaktadır. Kürt aydınlarında ayrı bir ulus-devlet fikrinin ancak I. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonunda gözlendiğini ve bu tarihten önce Kürt aydınlarının düşünsel çerçevelerinin Osmanlıcılık tarafından belirlendiğini göstermek bu çalışmanın temel amacını oluşturmaktadır.

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

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"And the Question of Lands is Very Confusing": Birgivi on Land Tenure and Taxation

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

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

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

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

Une question me paraît à ce titre particulièrement pertinente et j'aimerai la développer dans le cadre de cette conférence, il s'agit de la place des protégés de la France au sein de l'Echelle de Salonique. L'Empire ottoman, après avoir accordé le principe de la protection dans les capitulations, notamment celles de 1740, essaie de revenir dessus tout au long du XIXe siècle afin d'en limiter les abus, par des réformes intérieures – 1839, 1856 ou 1869 sur la nationalité – mais aussi par des traités avec les Puissances européennes, notamment celui de 1863 qui limite et change les conditions de la protection. Je souhaiterais ici l'étudier à travers le prisme local de

l'échelle de Salonique, et à travers le passage au consulat de Charles Guys dans les années 1830. Ce dernier symbolise parfaitement l'importance des protégés au sein de la « colonie » française, il rentre en conflit avec le premier consul de Grèce quant à la question des Grecs-Hellènes, ou encore est démis de ses fonctions par le ministère des Affaires étrangères français en 1839 – année du Hatt-i Sharif de Gulhané – pour abus de protection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earthquake recovery process has been assisted using a spatial temporal database system named DiMSIS which has functions to handle temporal change information as well as location information. The advantage of the spatial temporal database system is that it integrates any

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

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Kuzey Afrika'da Girit Müslümanları

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

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

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

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

This paper examines the demographic development and geographic dispersion of the Edirne Jewish community from the late 17th to the mid 18th century by mainly benefiting from Ottoman archival sources and Muslim court records of Edirne. Except some big cities such as Istanbul, Jerusalem, Salonica and Izmir, monographic studies on Ottoman Jews have been rare in Ottoman historiography. These works have either focused on the early periods (15th and 16th centuries) or on the 19th century. Ottoman Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries, however, are shortly mentioned in parallel to the 'decline' paradigm. This paper investigates the relevance of this discourse by

focusing on the second largest Jewish community in the Ottoman Balkans. Did the Edirne Jewish community face a demographic decline in the 17th and 18th centuries? How was its spatial organization in the centuries concerned? Hitherto unused archival material is the one drawn upon most heavily in this research. For the demographic situation and the spatial organization of the Edirne Jews, detailed (*mufassal*) and summary (*icmal*) *'avârız* registers, one detailed *cizye* register, and the census conducted in Edirne in 1703 have been used. Furthermore, in order to see the neighborhoods where they lived and to analyze their relations with the broader society, judicial records of Edirne between 1680s and 1750s concerning Jews were used. Bearing in mind the limitations and problems of the sources, I have attempted to scrutinize the demographic and spatial structure of the Edirne Jewish community during the late 17th and mid 18th centuries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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"My Name is Şirin Kadın, my Craft, Slaver":
The World of Slave Women
in the Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire

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

Taking this incident, which embodies most of the distinct features of the Ottoman practice of slavery, such as its multi-racial, linguistic or gender component, this paper aims to explore slavery as a cultural practice. It is true that for the women who were involved in the incident, the motive was mainly financial: absolute lack of it, in the case of the girls' parents; securing more means for an undeclared retirement plan, specifically in the case of widowed women; climbing the ladder of social mobility through manipulation of a familiar system, in the case of ex-slaves;

and even, a promise of medical treatment, in the case of one woman, who was reported to be turning blind. Nevertheless, these commercial transactions took place within a larger circle of cultural practices, which made them possible in the first place. Through an analysis of this particular incident, this paper will trace the ways in which Ottoman women (of different social and economic backgrounds) saw, thought and ordered their world or, rather, organized diversity.

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The Transylvanian Rhetoric of Being an Ottoman Tributary

One of the challenges of being a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire for the elites of Transylvania was to simultaneously maintain two different political vocabularies. On the one hand, in communication with the Sublime Porte and its dignitaries, the Transylvanian princes and their envoys had to apply a political language of obedience and humility; a vocabulary which also was in use in reference to the Ottomans in the political correspondence between the embassy and the ruler of the principality. Quite to the contrary, in their communication towards the monarchs of Christian Europe, the princes of Transylvania had to downplay their connections to the Sultan. They never went as far as Ragusans, who merged their tributary status with a discourse of *antemurale Christianitatis*, but they also applied a variety of strategies in order to be seen as equal members of the European international system. Apart from introducing these different discourses, the paper shall present the unexpected situations when the two came into contact with each other: the debates following the printing and distribution of some captured letters of Gábor Bethlen by pro-Habsburg forces in the early phases of the Thirty Years War.

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

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

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

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

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

mosques until the end of the 16th century supports the prestige of this type of space, which was closely linked to the authority of the sultan.

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

By the middle of the 18th century, Izmir had emerged as the most important port in the Ottoman Empire's trade with the West and retained this position throughout the 19th century by carrying more than 50% of the Empire's exports. The volume of trade increased four-fold, exports three-fold and imports six-fold between the 1840s and 1870s. Even more spectacular results apply to Salonica. Within the same time span, Salonica's export experienced a tenfold increase in the volume of trade, exports and imports. In this context of trade expansion, these two important port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean were mostly supplied by their rich hinterland where big farms, *çiftlik*s, dominated rural economy.

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

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Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Belgeleri Işığında
İstanbul'da Porselen Üretimi Girişimleri

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

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

İmparatorluğu'nda porselen üretimi, özelikle de çini ve porselen fabrikası kurmak isteyen şahsi teşebbüsler, ele alınarak porselen üretimi içerisinde az bilinen bu konunun aydınlatılması amaçlanmıştır.

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Kırım Hanlarının Osmanlıda Sürgün Günleri
(Akdeniz Adalarında Sürgün Asilzadeler)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Between Court and Coffeehouse:
Crimean Tatar Chronicles in the 16th-18th Centuries

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

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

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Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Erkek Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri

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

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

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

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

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Osmanlı Mukataa Sisteminde Emanet ve İltizam Uygulamaları: İstanbul Gümrüğü Örneği

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

"Osmanlı Mukataa Sisteminde Emanet ve İltizam Uygulamaları: İstanbul Gümrüğü Örneği" başlıklı bu tebliğde teoride bu şekilde tanımlanan emanet ve iltizam uygulamalarının aynı mukataa birimi üzerinde zaman içinde ne şekilde uygulandığı gerekçeleriyle birlikte İstanbul Gümrüğü üzerinden ortaya konulacaktır.

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

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

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

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Osmanlıda Yapılan Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformların Kadın Giysilerinin Biçimsel Özelliklerine Etkileri

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

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

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

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Ottoman vs. Crimean Tatar Elites in the 17th Century: A Comparative Approach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Zellich Print House:
European Immigrants and Technology Transfer
in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire

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

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

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

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14th-Century *Zaviye-Imaret*s in Edirne and Eastern Rumeli:
An Overlooked Facet of the 'Ottoman Method of Conquest'

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

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

By looking at the earliest such sultanic/*uç bey zaviye-imaret*s in Edirne and the nearby areas (in particular that of Seyyid Ali Sultan in Ruşenler), the paper will argue several points concerning these structures: i) They were open to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and as such provided a milieu where dervishes and poor Christians intermingled; ii) They likewise facilitated commerce by expanding their services to the 'ayende ve revende' (those who come and go); iii)

They helped attract needed manpower for the *akıncı* forces in the form of the Abdals, Kalenders, Hurufis, etc. who settled in them.

In short, the 14th-century *zaviye-imaret*s in Edirne, Dimetoka and their hinterlands were a key element in the 'Ottoman Method of Conquest' of that era.

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

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

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

Firstly, the paper describes the local socio-political system and balance of power in Mirdite territory before the enactment of the Gülhane decree. Secondly, the paper focuses on the development and changes occurring in this land during the *Tanzimat*. Interaction, intertwining and overlapping between different strategies and policies are analyzed in regard to the relationship between Catholic tribes, missionaries and Ottoman officials. Because of them, the changes and developments in the local administrative system occurring in both the religious and the political dimensions during the last part of the 19th century were expressions of the process of decentralization/centralization dynamics triggered by Istanbul from the third decade of the 19th century on.

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

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

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

Although Florence was not a major actor, it was very much present and expert in obtaining information through all channels in order to make the most of its political potential. Through the correspondence between the Tuscan authorities and their diplomatic representatives

at the Imperial Court and in the field, it is possible to follow in detail the changing demands during the Balkan wars and to observe their interactions with the religious and political frictions within the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. between the Habsburgs and the German states.

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

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

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19. Yüzyılda Dicle ve Fırat'ta Osmanlı Nehir Taşımacılığı

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

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

Bağdat Valileri, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren, Dicle ve Fırat nehirlerinde insan ve mal taşımacılığını geliştirme çabaları kapsamında, Avrupa'dan yeni gemiler sipariş etmeye başlamışlardır. Ayrıca Osmanlı Devleti, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren, İngiliz Lynch şirketine bu nehirlerde gemi işletme imtiyazını vermeye başlamıştır.

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

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

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The Amazing Stories of Rüstem Mariani Paşa, Vasa Paşa, and Muzaffer Czaikowski Paşa:
Catholic *Mutasarrıf*s in Ottoman Mount Lebanon, 1861-1914

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

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

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

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

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

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Villagers, *Kadıasker*s, *Şeyhülislam*s and the Sultan: Resolving a Water Conflict in the Environment of Ottoman Damascus, 1670-1720

In 1720, the Ottoman sultan charged the kadi and the governor of Damascus with the investigation of a case of two villages in the environs of the city which fought over the water of a canal. The results of this investigation and the following court procedures are recorded in a rather exceptional document registered in the *sicill* of the main court of Damascus. It allows following the evolution of the conflict over a time period of half a century. The most surprising aspect of this local conflict is however the prominence attributed to actors beyond the provincial level, as several imperial bodies were implicated in the attempts to resolve it at one time or another. They do not only include the Sultan, but also and much more worthy of note in this local and provincial context, several solicitations of the highest judicial authorities of the empire (*şeyhülislam* and both *kadıasker*s).

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

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

The paper explores the expansion of the Young Turk opposition organization in Bulgaria in the period 1895-1908, and how this, combined with other local developments, contributed to the

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

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

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

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Corruption, Economy and Bureaucracy
in 17th-Century Ottoman Bosnia:
The View of the Ragusean Diplomacy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1917 yılında Rusya'da yaşanan Bolşevik İhtilali ile Rus orduları büyük bir sıkıntıya düşmüş, emir komuta zinciri ortadan kalkmış, iaşe problemleri bir türlü çözülememiştir. Ruslarla Osmanlılar arasında 1917 Aralık ayında Erzincan Mütarekesi yapılarak bir barış ortamı sağlanmıştır. Bu sırada Rus kuvvetleri Erzincan Mütarekesi'nin belirlediği sınırın daha da doğusuna çekilerek, yerlerini ve silahlarının bir kısmını da Ermeni ve Gürcülere bırakmaya başlamışlardı. III. Ordu bu süreçten yararlanarak 1918 yılı Şubat ayında ileri harekatı başlatmış ve önce 1914 sınırına, daha sonra da 1877 sınırına kadar ulaşmayı başarmıştır. Türk tarih yazıcılığında ileri harekatın başlamasında istihbarat zaafı olduğu, Rusların elinde olan bölgeler hakkında detaylı bilgiler olmadığı ileri sürülmüştür. Halbuki ATASE Arşivi'ndeki bu döneme ait istihbarat faaliyetleri, Ruslardan kaçan esirlerin ifadeleri ve Erzincan Mütarekesi sonrasında Rusların mükaleme heyetlerinden elde edilen bilgiler değerlendirildiğinde harekatın toplanan bilgiler doğrultusunda yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Pleasure and Piety: The Palatial Elements in the *Zaviye*s of Early Ottoman Rulers

The T-shaped *zaviye*s (convent complexes) patronized by the Ottoman elite in the first two centuries of the Ottoman polity constitute an important source for understanding the nature of architectural production in the newly conquered territories in Western Anatolia and the Balkans. The T-shaped *zaviye*s appear to have addressed the needs of a dynamic society and were vital throughout the creation of new settlements, as well as the transformation of existing urban centers. On the other hand, the continued royal sponsorship of larger-scale, more lavish versions of these *zaviye*s in the early Ottoman capital of Bursa appears to have communicated ideas of expansion and change by appropriating and updating this multifunctional building of the peripheral areas.

Unlike the rural Anatolian *zaviye*s with their organic layouts, and unlike those pioneering T-shaped *zaviye*s that mark the first few Ottoman architectural alterations in a given center, the royal *zaviye*s built in Bursa in the latter half of the 13th century ostentatiously display the wealth and power of their patrons through their immense size, lavish decorations, exquisite workmanship. As such, *zaviye*s commissioned by Murad I (also known as Hüdavendigar, built in the 1370s) and by Bayezid I (also known as Yıldırım, built in the 1390s) in Bursa were the first known T-shaped *zaviye*s to be built on a grander scale, and to incorporate a more complex

architectural program that brought together elements of palatial architecture and socio-religious charitable functions. This paper will discuss the orchestration of various functions –such as dwelling, praying, gathering, and cooking – in these royal *zaviye*s in relation to their patronage dynamics, intended audiences and symbolism. Doing so, this paper aims to reconsider the royal T-shaped *zaviye* complexes as part of the larger context of institutions, territorial claims, and ideologies that were changing in accordance with the emerging imperial economy.

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Giritli Mübadillerin İpekçilik Deneyimleri ve Bunun Bursa Yöresine Aktarılması

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

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

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

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Migration Movements and British-Ottoman Diplomatic Relations

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

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

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Proto-Industrialization in Mid 19th-Century Ottoman Rural Area: Textile Manufacturing in Villages of Plovdiv

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

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

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

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

The world has been in conflict over the Mediterranean for at least three thousand years. Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Athens, Rome, the Italian cities, the Ottomans, Napoleon, Russia, England, France, Germany and the Allies have fought for its control. From the beginning of history the

world has fought for control of the land and water routes from Asia to Europe. Civilizations arose and fell about this struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. yy. kumaş sanatında başlayan gelişme 17. yy. ortalarından itibaren duraklama dönemine girmiş, motifler küçülerek düz veya dalgalı yollar şeklinde düzenlenmeye başlamıştır. Yüzyılın sonlarına doğru İmparatorluğun maddi sıkıntıya girmesi ve batılılaşma etkilerinin hızlanması kıymetli malzemelerin sınırlı kullanılmasına neden olmuştur. Desenlerde Avrupa

etkisi de kendini hissettirmiş, hazır harçlar, süsleme malzemeleri tamamen Avrupai olmuş batının neyi varsa kullanmak prestij olarak sunulmuştur.

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

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

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

The paper addresses the role of the prophecies about the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the context of the military revolts that the tributary princes of Moldavia and Wallachia launched against the Porte during the 16th and 17th centuries. The main assumption is that a cultural transfer was gradually operated from the Greek milieu in Constantinople and around – which preserved and cultivated the prophetic beliefs in the restoration of the Christian Empire – towards the tributary principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and from there to Russia that started to be regarded by the Greeks as the future liberator of the Orthodox people from Ottoman 'tyranny'. This cultural and political legacy, whose main ideas were rooted in the Byzantine tradition, not only was continuously reworked under the impact of the immediate events (anti-Ottoman wars, crusading projects, etc.) but even contributed to the ideological preparation of these events, in such a way that practically all the revolts against the Porte possessed a kind of a 'prophetic background'. It was on this basis that the first attempts of Russia to fight the Ottoman Empire occurred and the image of Moscow as the Third Rome was planted and flourished within the Balkan Orthodox world. In this process, the role of the Greek emigrants as cultural mediators was considerable. The prosopographic analysis will try to consider it in a fresh light and emphasize the contribution some specific milieux and families had in the process of transmitting and re-elaborating the Byzantine prophetic legacy.

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Circulation of Commodities and Commercial Networks of Diyarbekir in the Early 19th Century

For four hundred years (from 1514 to 1918), cities, urban inhabitants and nomadic pastoralists, including the Kurds, the Turkmen and Arab tribes, demarcated the Asian frontier of the Ottoman Empire. On the eastern frontiers of the Empire, Kurdistan, a buffer zone between the Ottomans and the Safavids, was the crossroads of the overland commercial system linking the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean in the west and the Black Sea in the north. Within this region were several important trading and manufacturing cities, the most important of which was Diyarbekir. Being a centre of commerce, with a major cotton thread and cloth production as well as embracing a

factory for refining copper, it was a 'switch' on overland trade routes, halfway between Istanbul and Baghdad. Although historians regard the 'long 18th century' (1680-1850) as a pivotal period in the Empire's economic and political history, we still know all too little about the way in which the inter-urban commercial networks affected the regional economy as a whole during this period.

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

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Metafordan İroniye:
Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Metatarihsel Bir Yaklaşım

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

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

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

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

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

As known, the Harbour of Ephesus was silted up and became unoperational following the 7th century AD. However, under the Aydınoğulları dynasty, various routes from the Black Sea coast, and southern and central Anatolia met in Ayasuluk, a final destination of the Silk Road in Anatolia. Especially after 1337, Ayasuluk had one of the busiest harbours in the eastern Mediterranean, principally thanks to the *ahidname*s given by the Aydınoğulları to the Venetians and Genoese. Ceramics, coins and glass pieces from the 14th century, which were uncovered in Ayasuluk excavations, form tangible evidence concerning trade from China to Italy. Besides, the records in Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* demonstrate the function of the harbour from the 15th to the 16th century.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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'Avret Gibi Qılduq Firār:
Poetical Reflections of a 16th-Century Campaign to Hungary in a *Mecmūʿa*

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

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

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

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Doğu Anadolu Bölgesindeki At ve Koç Heykelli Mezar Taşları

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Le cadi en tant que *müfettiş* de *muḳâṭa'a*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Material Culture of Habsburg-Ottoman Diplomacy

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

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

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Between Palace and Mosque:
The Role of the Sultan's Pavilion in Late Ottoman Architecture

Like the Empire itself, Ottoman architecture is often held to have reached its full maturity in the second half of the 16th century, with the following period being one of slow, steady decline. While problematic in its entirety, such a characterization is particularly untenable in the case of sultanic mosques, which not only continued to proliferate in the later period, but which also began to incorporate highly novel and creative features that had not been part of the earlier 'classical' repertoire.

Among the most interesting and conspicuous of these was the royal pavilion, or *hünkâr kasrı*, an elevated suite of rooms that communicated with the sultan's prayer loge inside the mosque and provided a space for royal repose and ceremonial. First appearing with the Mosque of Sultanahmet (1616), the pavilion evolved to become an increasingly prominent component of the royal mosque, eventually being transposed to the façade of the building, a model first seen at the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1778) and followed in almost all subsequent examples. This final arrangement curiously recalls that of certain Bursa-type complexes with royal loges, and though the resemblance would appear to be coincidental, it points to a shared concern for the conspicuous architectural display of the sultan's presence in the context of charitable foundations.

My paper will examine the conditions that led to the reemergence of this concern after it had been largely disregarded during the classical period, as well as the novel means used to address it. I argue that the development of the pavilion allowed the royal mosque to be successfully redefined for a new age characterized by growing artistic innovation, royal pomp, and public ceremonial, and that, far from being an instance of decline, this new kind of sultanic mosque was a highly successful and relevant response to the challenges of modernity.

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The Adana Incident of 1909 and the Muslim Refugee Question

The Adana incident of 1909 is widely considered as an ethno-religious conflict between Turks and Armenians. So far, the discussions are centered on whether the incident was a nationalist intrigue of the Armenians or a premeditated persecution against them. These discussions often paid little attention to socio-economic factors in the given localities. The Adana province was one of the most rapidly commercialized agricultural areas in the Empire and one of the foci of the settlement of the Muslim refugees from the Balkans and Caucasus. These two factors had a

strong effect on Muslim-Armenian relations by the outbreak of the hostilities. Especially important was the growing dispute that arose after the Young Turk revolution over the restitution of the confiscated Armenian lands. Those lands had usually been given to the Muslim refugees, and restitution claims often led to hostile reactions among the refugee settlers. This is ascertained by the much-documented fact that the refugee settlers took the lead of the attacks on the Armenian population during the incident.

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Rumeli Demiryolları İşletmesi Kayıtlarına Göre 19. Yüzyıldaki Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Bir Bakış

Osmanlı Devleti'nin modernleşme döneminden bahsederken hem ticari ve sınai gelişmenin, hem de haberleşme ve toplu taşımanın daha kolay ve serbest olduğu düşünülmelidir. Bu konuda demiryolu önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir.

19. yüzyılda Osmanlı toprakları üzerinde de faaliyete geçen demiryollarından özellikle Rumeli Demiryolları, Avrupa ile hem ticaret hem de haberleşme ve insan hareketlerinde modernleşme sağlayan önemli faktörlerden birisi olarak ele alınabilir. Rumeli Demiryolları, 19. yüzyılın son döneminde Osmanlı Devleti tarafından yabancı sermayeyle inşa edilmiş olan demiryolu hatlarından birisidir.

Bu bildiride, yukarda belirtilen konuya dair Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan Rumeli Demiryolları İşletmesi'ne ait belgeleri kullanarak bir yandan Rumeli Demiryolları hatlarının nasıl işlediğini takip etmek, diğer yandan da dönemin Osmanlı Devleti'nin modernleşmesi ve batılılaşması bağlamında sağladığı katkı ve ne ifade ettiğini belirtmek istiyorum.

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Looking for the *Fallahin*

The application of the 1858 Ottoman Land Code revolutionized the nature of landownership in Greater Syria, among other regions of the Ottoman Empire. Arabic source materials suggest, and in certain instances document, one of its principal consequences, namely the rise of a nobility of large landowners. But we know far less about the people who actually worked the land, that is, the *fallahin* of Greater Syria, owing to the fact that existing local Arabic literature devotes very little attention to that class of people.

To compensate for this state of affairs, to bring the *fallahin* into the picture, resort will be made to a close, but selective, examination of part of the daily and periodical Arabic press that concurrently, or shortly thereafter, proliferated in the various parts of Syria, but also in the Syrian owned papers which appeared in Cairo, in an attempt to identify, and analyze, material relating to the *fallahin* in particular or to agricultural life and practice in general. Once located, this material will be used to reconstruct modes of *fallahin* representation and their inscription in a discourse overwhelmingly produced by a body of journalists and other contributors who were not themselves *fallahin*.

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The Knowledge Networks of Abdulghani al-Nabulusi

In 1693, Abdulghani al-Nabulusi, one of the major intellectuals of his time, set out on a journey from Damascus to Cairo to Medina and Mecca with the intended purpose to visit the friends of God, living and dead. His multi-volume travelogue and diary, written shortly thereafter, details his frequent conversations with friends, colleagues, and disciples often regarding the controversies of the times: opinions on coffee, tobacco, *sema*, *dhikr*, saints, and more stud the text as poems, conversations, and excerpts. These issues lay at the heart of intellectual and religious debates that appeared throughout the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century that is often termed the Kadızadeli movement. Given that al-Nabulusi was a frequent and active participant in these debates from his home in Damascus, this paper attempts to reconstruct his intellectual network by looking at his myriad connections with scholars in both Rum and the Arab lands. It uses his travelogues as well as compilations of letters to see with whom he corresponded. It then traces these scholars in biographical dictionaries. In particular it looks at how he built his own network of followers and disciples by analyzing *ijaza*s. While a traditional *ijaza* generally attests to verified knowledge of one book, Nabulusi and others in the late 17th century were also using 'total *ijaza*s' which initiated followers into the entire corpus of scholarly production of the issuing author. By tracing the members and content of this network of scholars, this paper begins to tackle the topic of knowledge exchange and dissemination in the Ottoman Empire and attempts to cast the Kadızadeli movement as an intellectual conflict rather than just an Istanbul-centered, class-based movement.

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Transgression of Law Regarding Church-Building during the 18th and 19th Century: The Case of Lesvos

A few years ago the authors carried out a parallel research consisting, on the one hand, of studying Ottoman building permits regarding Christian churches on Lesvos island and, on the other, of the architectural imprinting and documentation of the various phases of these churches. This research project offered the possibility to understand the framework within which permits were accorded and restoration was supervised and controlled at the churches of the island. The comparison between the actual measurements of the existing buildings and the dimensions referred to in the building permits, offers interesting information on the amazing evolution of church-building during the late Ottoman period.

Through the documents of the building permits one can describe, on the local level of Lesvos, the issues of implementing the legal framework both on the part of the Ottoman authorities, and on that of the Christian community, at a regional centre of the Ottoman Empire.

The transgression of the relevant legislation attested during the restoration of the churches causes the emergence of certain questions:

- What was the attitude of the Ottoman authorities regarding the issuing of permits, the supervision and the control of the construction works?
- How did these transgressions contribute to the formation of certain features of the architectural type of three-naved, timber-roofed basilicas which is widespread in this period?

It is these questions that the paper aims at answering in an attempt of interdisciplinary approach of a certain aspect of Ottoman history.

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Locating Ottoman 'Minorities':
Reappraising the Context of 'Majority'

Debates raging among Ottoman historians and historians of the early Turkish Republic seek to identify the origins of large-scale animosities that could account for the massacres of Armenians and 'Greeks' at the end of the empire. Moreover, decades of historiography have insisted that linguistically-based affiliation determined Ottoman (dis)loyalties long before the demise of the empire. While some argue that hostility toward 'minorities' began many decades before World War I and embedded divisions necessarily led to the birth of a Turkish Republic incapable of inclusivity, others insist that it was only with the Balkan Wars that Ottoman subjects imagined themselves as a collective in opposition to internal 'others'.

This paper will intervene in these debates along two lines. First, it will argue that both the debate about religious minorities and the question of CUP Turkification must be viewed together as phenomena reflecting the changing nature of – and expectations for – state structures within a global context. Second, it will approach late Ottoman history by explicitly reading backward from the first decades of the Republic. My research on border areas during the interwar period suggests that the hardened collective identities on which these arguments have been based were not yet predominant in non-urban formerly Ottoman areas by the 1930s. If the collective identities used to explain the events of the late empire were still not evident in the 1930s, how can we understand the massacres of the last decade of the empire and the 'Arab revolt' against Ottoman rule?

Combining historiographical analysis with research in the local press and French, British, American and League of Nations archives, this paper seeks to reinterpret the experiences of late-Ottoman 'minorities' by placing them within specific contexts, framing events within what Makdisi has labeled a 'culture of sectarianism', and embedding them in contemporary European notions of the taxonomies of identity.

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Tripolitanians, Cyrenaicans and their Empire:
Political Strategies and Networks in Ottoman Africa

In 1835, imperial troops started to occupy the autonomous province of Trablusgarb, and, for the first time, the region which later became Libya was to be administered directly according to rules laid down in Istanbul. The process of incorporation into the emerging modern Ottoman state, however, was slow and troublesome because many established political structures and agreements of the autonomous Qaramanli régime with a plethora of local powers had to be renegotiated. Even considerable effort and investment in the poor province did not lead to complete and direct rule over the territory, but the Ottoman state managed to become the most important single player even in remote parts. Remarkable successes notwithstanding, the Ottoman civilising mission stood in marked contrast to conditions on the ground, as large parts of Trablusgarb continued to be administered with minimal interference by imperial authorities.

Nevertheless, it is insufficient to draw a dichotomic picture because precisely this relative weakness strengthened the negotiating capacity of local power leaders and brokers, and several of them allied themselves permanently with the imperial administration, so that any division between 'Libyans' and 'Ottomans' is devoid of any analytical value. This contribution will study the way in which local political actors built networks with imperial officers and utilised administrative and political structures of the empire to achieve their own goals. Special attention

will be paid to the rhetorics and strategies of argumentation that were employed in grievances and petitions especially from lesser towns and rural areas of Tripolitania, Fezzan and Cyrenaica.

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The Shape of Early Ottoman Edirne

Very little has been written about the development of the city of Edirne in the 14th-to-16th centuries, from the time of its conquest by the Ottomans. Modern interpretations of Edirne in this early Ottoman period have focused largely on the conquest itself and various individual structures, most notably the imperial mosques, and most especially among them, the Selimiye. Any attempt to understand how the city was evolving falls foul of these outstanding moments and monuments, overshadowed and distorted by them.

The paper proposed here will return to the newly conquered city and study the succession of monuments constructed in Edirne, the identity of their founders and the relationship of their locations to the city as it already existed. Together with the sultans, a large number of beys and their households contributed structures that added significantly to the urban landscape and marked the expanding parameters of the city. They describe a somewhat different center of gravity and pattern of movement than what we may anticipate by observing the contemporary city. The old road from the east into the city led directly to the heart of the commercial city and not to the foot of the Selimiye. Moreover, the banks of the Tunca emerge as a vibrant artery in flow of people and goods.

By removing later structures from the city space, and then 'rebuilding' in this manner, the aim is to learn how Ottoman Edirne came into being in the city-space that was Byzantine Adrianople. The evidentiary basis for this project includes the buildings themselves, inscriptions, descriptive and documentary texts.

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The Ottoman-Russian Definition of Identity: An Early Modern International Law of Naturalization?

One of the fundamental elements of the modern global legal order is that all of a state's citizens, regardless of their rights domestically, share a common nationality when they go abroad. This is at odds with the porous frontiers, informal migration policies, and uneven and constantly renegotiated state-subject relationships which were the foundation of early modern states such as the Ottoman Empire, but the transition has rarely been explored in depth.

I argue that in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Ottoman and Russian Empires jointly constructed a modern definition of 'nationality' which affected the legal place, and the practical experiences, of Russian subjects within the Ottoman Empire. For centuries, vast numbers of Russians had come to the Ottoman Empire, freely or by force, and many assimilated.

But Ottoman-Russian agreements gradually adopted and modified the terms of the previous Capitulations, creating a new legal regime under which Russians came to bear an inherent, legal 'Russianness', regardless of their religion. The Ottomans, in effect, defined an immigration and naturalization policy.

Going beyond treaties and negotiations, I examine these consequences for individual Russian subjects – soldiers, servants, serfs, and Cossacks. Some claimed their freedom; others were condemned to return to serfdom or military service. This approach, combining legal and

social history, is made possible by the diverse nature of my sources, including the archives of the Ottoman Başbakanlık, the Imperial Russian Foreign Ministry, and the British Foreign Office, as well as a variety of published treaties, chronicles and travel accounts.

I close by considering the implications of this study for our understanding of international law. Did the Russians and Ottomans foreshadow modern debates? Or did they chart a different path, one closed off as western European international law became the global norm?

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Individus et familles dans l'espace urbain de Smyrne
(fin XVIIIe – début XIXe siècle)

Ce sont les histoires de vie d'habitants de Smyrne à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et durant les premières décennies du XIXe siècle, ainsi que les réseaux de relations qu'ils nouent au quotidien, qui vont nous permettre d'interroger, avec un nouveau regard, l'espace urbain de cette ville, son fonctionnement, les modalités de coexistence qui y sont possibles entre ses habitants, par delà leurs diverses appartenances (ethniques, confessionnelles, nationales), par delà aussi la division en quartiers séparés apparemment réservés aux membres d'une même communauté. Ils vont nous permettre aussi d'approfondir les usages différenciés qu'individus et familles font de cet espace pour leur résidence, leurs loisirs, leurs activités professionnelles. Le cadre d'une ville plurielle telle Smyrne est intéressant à plus d'un titre car durant cette période, les modalités d'utilisation de l'espace urbain par ses habitants commencent progressivement à changer.

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Kuramsal Kaynaklar Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek:
Max Weber ve Osmanlı Tarihyazımı

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarındaki "devlet-toplum", "merkez-çevre" paradigmalarının kuramsal kaynağı olan Max Weber'in geleneksel otorite ve patrimonyalizm kavramsallaştırmalarının, Osmanlı tarihçiliğine etkisi sorunsallaştırılacaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda ilk olarak, hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun klasik dönemini açıklamak hem de Osmanlı tarihiyle yakın dönem Türkiye tarihi arasındaki sürekliliği göstermek için bir analiz aracı olarak kullanılan, Weber'in geleneksel otorite ve patrimonyalizm kavramları ele alınacaktır. Ardından, Weber'in modelinin, klasik döneme ilişkin Osmanlı tarihyazımıyla olan paralellikleri gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Sonrasında da Weberyen modelin, esasında çarpık ve bağlamından kopartılmış bir Weber okumasının ürünü olduğu savunulacaktır.

Weberyen modele göre, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu patrimonyal çıkarların yeniden üretilmesine yönelik bir toplumsal ve yönetsel örgütlenmeye sahiptir. Bu modelden mülhem klasik döneme ilişkin Osmanlı tarihi anlatısı, siyasal egemenliğe sahip olan ve olmayan zümreler arasında mutlak bir ayrım, siyasal egemenliğe sahip zümrenin her türlü kişisel çıkardan azade biçimde devletle özdeşleşmesi, siyasal sistemin dışında bırakılmış zümrelerin dikey bölünmüşlüğü ve devletin ekonomik alandaki tam hâkimiyetine dayanan bir iktisadi yapı üzerinden şekillenir.

Sözü edilen anlatının uzantıları ise malumdur: Batı'da krallar, lordlar ve diğer siyasal güçlerin çoğulluğu mevcutken; uzlaşmaya dayalı bir sözleşmenin var olmadığı Osmanlı-Türkiye tarihinde patrimonyal yönetimin/"merkez"in, tebaa/"çevre" üzerinde mutlak denetimi ve kontrolü söz konusudur. Ayrıca, Avrupa'da gücünü pazar ilişkilerinden ve özel mülkiyetten alan iktisadi

faaliyetlerle uyuşacak tipte kültürel ve davranışsal niteliklere sahip bir sivil toplum oluşurken; "merkez"in "çevre" üzerinde mutlak denetiminin geçerli olduğu Osmanlı örneğinde ticarete ve ekonomik çıkarların gözetilmesine pejoratif anlamlar yüklenmiş, Batı'dakinden tamamen farklı bir değerler sistemi ortaya çıkmıştır.

Oysa Osmanlı-Türkiye tarihi çalışmalarındaki "devlet-toplum" paradigmasına kaynaklık eden Weberyen modelin, esasında sorunlu bir Weber okumasının ürünü olduğu söylenebilir. Osmanlı tarihçiliğinin Weber okumasına mündemiç deformasyonlardan ilki, problemli "ideal tip" okuması ve dolayısıyla patrimonyalizm ve geleneksel otorite kavramsallaştırmalarının, tarihsel gerçeklikte kavramsal saflığında bulunabileceği yanılsamasına ilişkindir. İkincisi ise zamanının ve toplumunun insanı olan Weber'in akademik ve entelektüel üretiminin, siyasi görüş ve faaliyetlerinden soyutlanarak incelenmesinden kaynaklanır.

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The Jewish Dockers of Ottoman Salonica: Professional, Ethnic and Political Identities in a Period of Political Turmoil

The paper focuses on the Jewish dockers of Ottoman Salonica. At the beginning of the 20th century, the loading-unloading between ships and docks in the port of Salonica was dominated by Jewish manpower. This dominance should be considered, first of all, in relation to the pre-industrial regulations of the Ottoman labor market. Work on the docks was operated by veteran guilds of Jewish laborers (registered according to ethnic or family affinity) who managed to distribute all the specific spheres of work among themselves (according to the *gedik* principle). They demonstrated a high standard of professionalism (emulating the *hisba* value) and created a well-organized welfare system. These outdated regulations still maintained their validity in spite of the legal abolishment of the guild system (1860) and the emergence of the industrial labor market. The Jewish dominance on the docks was based on hundreds of years of demographic predominance in the city combined with cooperation with the Ottoman ruler.

At the end of the Ottoman period, the dominance of the Jewish dockers benefited from the political turmoil of that time. Against the background of the Macedonian Question and the Western semi-colonialism of Macedonia, the Jewish dockers should be seen as part of an ethnic group which clearly defined itself as supporting the preservation of the Ottoman regime in the southern Balkans. As such, the Ottoman regime counted them as a loyal and useful element in maintaining its interests in the docks, and in exchange came to their aid when modernization of the infrastructures might have thrown many of them out of work. The paper is based upon British diplomatic reports, travelogues, post WWII memorial literature in Hebrew, and Greek press from the beginning of the 20th century.

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Mahmoud Tercüman comme une source pour l'histoire médiévale hongroise

Mahmoud Tercüman (ou Terdzsüman) est un historien turc du XVIe siècle d'origine bavaroise. Il s'est converti à l'islam et est devenu le traducteur et diplomate pour sultan Soliman le Magnifique. En 1543, un livre à Székesfehérvár est entré en ses mains et il l'avait traduit en turc. Le livre est connu sous le nom *Tarih-i Üngürüsz*, ou *L'histoire des Hongrois*. On suppose que c'est le *Gesta* sur l'origine des Hongrois. Jusqu'à présent, il y en a trois éditions et traductions en

hongrois, ainsi qu'une bilingue, avec quelques notes, mais, en dépit de cela, il n'est pas tellement utilisé et bien connu. En outre, les données fournies par Tercüman ne sont pas si bien analysées. Il n'y a pas d'édition critique détaillée de l'œuvre, avec les commentaires nécessaires et les comparaisons avec d'autres sources.

Le but de ma communication est de fournir un nouvel éclairage sur ce travail, d'analyser les informations que Mahmoud Tercüman donne sur l'histoire médiévale hongroise, aussi d'expliquer les méthodes et tenter d'identifier les sources de *Tarih-i Üngürüsz*. Les influences différentes des autres chroniques seront soulignées, ainsi que des renseignements très précis pour cet auteur et son œuvre historiographique. Il y a des parallèles très intéressantes avec quelques autres sources médiévales hongroises, par exemple, avec le *Chronique illustré*, où on trouve quelques légendes traditionnelles. Le *Tarih-i Üngürüsz* est une source intéressante pour les relations byzantino-hongroises et pour la conquête ottomane de la Hongrie. L'origine des Hongrois donnée dans cette histoire du XVIe siècle n'est pas seulement compatible avec d'autres sources, mais aussi avec des idées modernes de la soi-disant conquête hongroise de la patrie double.

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The Province of Sivas at the End of the 19th Century

Towards the end of the 19th century the province of Sivas was inhabited by – in absolute numbers – the largest Armenian population in any of the six provinces (*vilâyât-i sitte*), as the eastern Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire with Armenian populations were called since the Congress of Berlin (1878). However, the percentages of the Armenian population (approx. 15% in *Sivas vilâyeti*) were higher in the provinces of Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Erzurum and Van. Educationally and economically the Armenians were in general superior in comparison with the Muslim population, not least due to the support of Protestant missionaries and other religious groups.

The relations between Muslims and Christians (mainly Armenians) underwent a change after the Treaty of Berlin when European powers demanded more rights for the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. These demands encouraged Armenian organizations in their fight for 'national independence', to incite resistance among fellow Armenians against (what was perceived as) Muslim domination and to provoke foreign intervention. The militant actions of these organizations failed and led to indiscriminate reprisals by the Muslim population. Although the state tried to subdue atrocities in some cases, it proved not only unable to gain control of the situation, but also added fuel to the fire by certain measures such as the establishment of the *Ḥamîdîye* regiments. The combination of these factors set off a spiral of violence which resulted in the pogroms of 1894-1896 and left the Armenian population in the province shattered.

How did the Ottoman authorities, in particular the local administration, make sense of the unrest and what were the measures with which it hoped to restore peace and order? The paper will address these issues on the basis of British and Ottoman documents as well as narrative sources.

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The Theatrical Performance of Peace:
Entries of Habsburg Grand Embassies in Constantinople,
17th – 18th Centuries

In early modern times, relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy were not only characterized by a series of cruel wars, but also by intensive efforts for conflict containment and peace, as more than 65 peace agreements or truces illustrate. Inherent parts of this peace process were symbolic acts. In this context a decisive role was played by grand embassies, temporary and very costly diplomatic missions, on which Habsburgs and Ottomans agreed in peace negotiations. In contemporary eyes they were peacekeeping missions. One high point was the solemn entry of these embassies – mostly some hundred gorgeously appareled people – in Constantinople. It was a massive spectacle, which quite a number of inhabitants, Ottoman dignitaries and diplomats of other powers viewed. Therefore, the theatrical performance was given particular attention. The procedure of this act, which lasted several hours, was scripted and was the result of frequently difficult discussions.

In the center of attention of the Habsburg diplomats and their Ottoman companions were symbolic signs (constitution of the festive procession, clothes, flags, banquets, etc.) and actions (playing of music, body language, etc.). The paper illustrates different cultural references of these signs and actions and their instrumentalization in the peace process, above all gaps in knowledge of the other as well as uncertainty and ambiguity of signs. Clothes, e.g., symbolized position and wealth of the participants as well as their ruler, but they also symbolized vassality, submission and claims to power. Flags and standards could both illustrate friendship and be used as deliberate provocations. Music could demonstrate the conviction in the superiority of civilization.

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Circulating Images: Ottoman Painters, Travel Books, Overtones

Ambassadors, diplomats, travelers arrived in the Ottoman territory as of the 15th century. They have eternized their experiences in their illustrated or non-illustrated travel books. Publication of reports, surveys and memoirs concerning the oriental countries matched up with the encyclopedic tradition of the Enlightenment. These expeditions increased the desire for accumulation of art works among the bourgeoisie of 18th-century Europe. The historical geography of the Ottoman Empire became increasingly important due to researches on antiquity, classical Greek culture and the tradition of the Grand Tour. Socio-historical details of everyday life were also important for colony-seeking France and England whose scientists, soldiers and missionaries tried to document these items.

In this survey, based on the engravings of the publications in question, the interaction between Europe and the Ottomans in the art of painting will be re-examined. It will be demonstrated that the visual archives which are the sources of the Ottoman types to pattern the travel books of the European travelers have been presented by the Ottoman painters themselves and such images have spread around the whole of Europe; the same types have been produced again and again for a variety of purposes. It will be argued that one of the sources for the changing stories of such unchanging types were the workshops of Ottoman Greek painters in Istanbul. For instance, one such local painter, Konstantin Kapıdağlı, is an Ottoman artist who integrated the Greek, Turkish, Christian, Muslim, European and Iranian cultures by internalizing the traditions with his own culture, religion and visual language. He not only maintained strong bonds with his religion and ethnic origin, performing icons and wall paintings in Orthodox

religious buildings, but also created impressive artworks for the palace of a Muslim-oriented society. Ottoman types spreading around Europe were copied for many years in his studio and reproduced by many Europeans, and were thus used both in travel books and on canvas.

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A Cartographical Memorial of Tatars' Raids on Muscovy

The Military Archives (Krigsarkivet), part of the National Archives of Sweden, was founded in 1805 and keeps military records and collections of maps and plans from the 16th century to the present times. Among about one million maps, there is a number of maps and plans with reference to Ottoman/Tatar/Polish/Cossack/Russian relations.

The paper deals with a manuscript map, drawn and coloured by hand, entitled Ryssland – Russia. The midpoint of the map is the 'Kingdom of Muscovy with the borders marked with a red line'. All the topographical names are written in Arabic letters. The map is equipped with a cartouche, written in Ottoman Turkish, which begins with the words:

Anno Domini 1653 Meḥmed Keräy, son of the khan Sälāmet Keräy, using the road(s) shown on this map, reached the foothold of the Moscow throne, (and) burned (it) down with fire. […]*The Moscow tsars have surrendered, Tsar Petro also did it, but later on they did not* (*surrender any more*). […]

The map measures 110x84 cm. The depicted territory is large, from the White Sea to the north to the Azov Sea to the south, the city of Kazan to the east and, along with many other places, the cities of Kiev, Smolensk and St. Petersburg to the west. Among the cities located on this map, there is St. Petersburg, founded in 1703. By analyzing the text within the cartouche, we can more or less precisely guess when the map was drawn. One could presume that it was between the year of the foundation of St. Petersburg (1703) and the time when the Ottomans ruled over the Azov fortress (1712-1737), but before the Swedish defeat in 1721 and presumably before Tsar Peter's death in 1725.

Turkish cartography is a relatively unknown subject. Putting aside the language of the cartouche and the alphabet used to depict the place-names, does this map have a Turkish provenance?

This is just a sample from the rich Swedish collections. All of the records are available to the public according to the Swedish principle of public access to official documents and they are waiting to be discovered and examined.

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Ottoman Perceptions of the Military Reforms of Tipu Sultan and Şahin Giray

The Ottomans were certainly not the first Muslim polity to experiment with Western-inspired military reforms in the 18th century. Şahin Giray, the Khan of the short-lived independent Crimean Khanate, as well as Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, who ruled over the Kingdom of Mysore, undertook serious military reform along Western lines with a certain degree of success. The Ottomans had mixed feelings about these rulers and their endeavors. They regarded Şahin Giray as a puppet of the Russian tsarina, Catherine II, and detested his military reforms as a means of Russianizing the Tatars. Conversely, they admired the very same military reforms undertaken in Mysore and held the Indian envoy sent to Istanbul in great respect. This paper will contrast the Ottoman discourses on these two cases of Western-inspired reforms with a view to

throwing light on the repertoires of contention in Ottoman political debates of the late 18th century. While the Ottoman reformers suffered a great deal from harsh criticism based on religion and tradition, they did not hesitate to accentuate the very same criticism against Şahin Giray. This indicates that what was at stake was not so much upholding religion and tradition as real political objectives. Religion and tradition supplied the critics with a powerful language and meaningful terminology, thus constituting the repertoire of contention for different political factions.

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Approcher la configuration de la violence dans l'espace urbain (Adana au XVIIIe siècle)

Cette étude portera sur les cas de violence exercés sur les corps (attaques armées, coups, blessures et meurtres) dans la ville d'Adana au XVIIIe siècle. C'est à partir des registres des cadis de la ville (qui contiennent entre autres documents, des minutes de procès, des constats et plaintes) que nous allons observer les cas de violence concernant ce genre d'atteints au corps. Nous nous intéresserons surtout aux violences entre personnes mais aussi aux violences collectives (lors des insurrections ou bien lynchages) à titre comparatif.

Lors de l'analyse de ces cas, nous allons, d'une part, essayer de qualifier la « nature des liens » entre les acteurs (i.e. la victime et l'agresseur), en tenant compte des données relationnelles repérables. D'autre part, nous essayerons d'identifier et de qualifier les lieux (quartier résidentiel, lieu de passage ou espaces périphériques et agricoles) et le temps (nuit ou jour) des violences.

Partant, nous essayerons d'approcher comment certain types d'actes violents pouvaient se déployer dans l'espace urbain – de cette ville de taille moyenne au XVIIIe siècle. Par cette démarche, nous tenterons de savoir si certain types de violence pouvaient être intrinsèquement liés à certains espaces ou temporalités.

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The Forgotten Kadızade: Kadızade Mehmed İlmi and the 'Sunnitizing' Sufi Preachers of Rumeli

This paper explores an early stage in the formation of the Kadızadeli movement in the 1620s and 30s, when several different piety-minded groups were putting pressure on the Ottoman court to restore the power of the central state through a campaign of social and moral regulation. Among them were a group of Sufi preachers, who had been playing vital roles as agents of Sunnitization in the European provinces of the empire since the mid 16th century. This much we know through the work of such historians as Nathalie Clayer. What is much less known and understood, however, is the cross-over between this group of 'Sunnitizing' Sufi preachers and the circles of Birgivi-li and later Kadızade-li followers during the third and fourth decades of the 17th century.

In this paper, the cross-over between these groups is demonstrated through a study of the religious and especially political writings of the elusive Sufi preacher, 'Sofyalı' Kadızade Mehmed İlmi (d. 1631-2). Frequently confused with Kadızade Mehmed of Balıkesir (d. 1635), the namesake and early leader of the Kadızadeli movement, İlmi Efendi was actually his immediate predecessor at the prestigious post of preacher at the mosque of Aya Sofya, and, like him, a strong advocate of the Birgivi reform agenda. At the same time, however, İlmi was also a Sufi sheikh with affiliations to the Halveti, Nakshbendi and possibly the Melami-Bayrami orders.

Even though his Sufi identity is virtually unmentioned in the works of political advice he submitted to Murad IV, this paper will connect some of the themes he addresses in these tracts to the political tracts penned by other 'Sunnitizing' Sufi preachers during this period.

Through a codicological analysis of the manuscript compilations in which İlmi's writings appear, this paper will also shed light on the religious and social networks in which these texts circulated. Finally, some thoughts will be offered on how these networks contributed to the conflation of İlmi's identity with that of Kadızade Mehmed of Balıkesir during the later decades of the 17th century.

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Development Policy and Social Changes in a Suburban Area of Mongolia: Application of DiMSIS-EX to Anthropological Research

As the issue of sustainability of the environment and natural resources has become more serious on a global scale, the balance between economic development and environmental preservation will be a major topic in pastoral societies that have maintained an unstable natural environment of arid areas. Further, after seven decades of socialism, Mongolia adopted a market economy in the early 1990s. During this period of transition, the pastoralists settled and semi-settled in the suburban areas of the capital city (Ulaanbaatar) and secondary cities (Darkhan and Erdenet). Previous studies have attempted to understand the present state of the pastoralists by investigating each household's economic activity and social relationships. They have emphasized that the pastoral cooperatives (*negdel*) were dismantled, and the pastoralists have been dependent on each of their life strategies. However, on the basis of my previous research, I realized that the pastoralists continue to raise livestock according to the rules and norms of the socialist era. This presentation examines the transformation of pastoral society during Mongolia's transition from a socialist to the market economy by investigating the relationship between land use and agro-pastoral policy from the 1960s to 2000s in Khaliun, a suburban area of north Mongolia. Accordingly, the study employs DiMSIS-EX (Disaster Management Spatial Information System-Expansion) to analyze the information obtained from documents and field data. Furthermore, in this presentation, I will discuss the possibility of employing DiMSIS-EX in historical and anthropological research.

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Balkanlarda Bir Modernleşme Örneği: Rusçuk

Osmanlıların Balkanları ele geçirmelerine kadar Bulgarların Ortaçağ Tuna kalesi hüviyetinde olan Rusçuk, 1388 yılında Türk hakimiyetine girdikten sonra hızla gelişmiş, daha 16. asırda, nakliye, ticaret ve askeri açılardan, bölgenin son derece hareketli bir merkezi halini almıştır. Seyyahların izlenimleri ve Rusçuk Şeriyye sicillerine göre şehir, 17. yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde tersanesi ve limanı ile askeri sevkiyat merkezi olma özelliğinin yanında Müslümanlar ve diğer milletler için gümrüğü ve ticaret potansiyeli ile de cazibe merkezi olmuştur.

18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına gelindiğinde Osmanlı-Rus savaşlarından dolayı kalede yeni savunma sistemi inşa edilmiş, şehrin etrafı surlarla çevrilmiştir. Şehrin yıldızı özellikle Mithat Paşa'nın Tuna Valiliği sırasında parlamış, bağımsız bir Bulgaristan vücuda getirilmesi fikrinin

önüne geçilmesi maksadıyla adil ve müreffeh bir idare oluşturulması yolunda adımlar atılarak Balkanlardaki Osmanlı modernleşmesi buradan başlatılmıştır.

1864 yılında çıkarılan "Vilayet Nizamnamesi"'ne göre Rusçuk, Vidin ve Niş eyaletleri birleştirilerek Tuna Vilayeti kurulmuş ve Rusçuk bu vilayetin merkezi olmuştur. Şehirde Türk ve Bulgar gençlerinin eğitim göreceği okullar faaliyete geçmiş, vilayet matbaası açılarak eğitim görenlere Bulgarca ve Türkçe materyal temin edilmiş ayrıca Tuna adıyla ilk resmi vilayet gazetesi ve Tuna Salnamesi neşredilmiştir. "Islahhane" adı altında sivil teknik okullar açılmış, asayişin sağlanması amacıyla karakollar kurulmuştur. Halkın isyanına neden olan vergi konusuna da el atılarak vergi türlerini hafifleten ve toplanmasını kolaylaştıran düzenlemeler getirilmiştir. Yol ve köprü yapımının hızlandığı bu dönemde, bir İngiliz şirketine ihale edilen Rusçuk-Varna Demiryolu 8 Kasım 1866'da trafiğe açılmıştır. Tarımın gelişmesi ve daha çok ürün sağlanabilmesi için boş araziler tarıma kazandırılmış ve Avrupa'dan tarım makineleri getirilmiştir. Bu iyi niyetli çalışmalara ve gayretlere rağmen Balkanların maruz kaldığı iç ve dış tehditlerden Rusçuk da nasibini almış 1877-78 Rus Harbi ve sonrasında ağır hasara uğramıştır. 21 Şubat 1878 Edirne mütarekesi ile boşaltılan şehrin 1880'de kalesi ve tahkimatı yıkılarak Bulgarların eline geçmiştir.

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A Recently Discovered Painting of Mehmet Ali Laga: 'Sadabad Sefası'

Military painter Mehmet Ali Laga (1878-1947), who lived in one of the most important eras of Turkish history, a period of most active and radical changes, namely, during the transition from Monarchy to Republic, has a privileged place in Turkish art in terms both of his art and life. Mehmet Ali, while working in a variety of painting techniques, like most of the military painters, chose to make landscapes, interiors, and still life, instead of painting figurative compositions, of which he made very few. Although he served in Gallipoli and the Balkan Wars, still he avoided painting figurative war scenes. In stylistic terms, Mehmet Ali is included in the 'Çallı Generation', and his 'impressionist' approach can be evaluated on this basis. Laga's 'Fun in Sadabad' (1318/1902) gains importance, because it has significant differences in relation to his other pictures, considering the painter's style and range of subjects. This painting, not yet printed in any art book, can be considered an interpretation to an Orientalist painter's tableau. The painting in question is Polish orientalist painter Stanislas Chlebowski's (1835-1884) 'Kağıthane' (1875). Under the influence of famous French Orientalist painter Jean-Leon Gérome, Chlebowski came to Istanbul, where he spent the brightest years of his career, creating his own style and working for 12 years in the palace for Sultan Abdulaziz. How to look at and evaluate these paintings extending a line backwards from Laga to Chlebowski and even Thomas Allom (1804-1872)? What kind of personal and artistic relationship can be established among these painters and their styles? Furthermore, what is the role of these paintings parallel to other pictures, engravings, and photographs of Sadabad or Kağıthane? What can be said, for instance, about Aziziye Mosque – which is partially seen in these paintings – a work of architects Balyan brothers; or what about the people of that time and their sense of entertainment? These topics will be addressed briefly in this paper.

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'Seseya':
Representation of Theseus by the Ottoman Mufti of Athens
in the Beginning of the 18th Century

In the last decades of the 17th century, Mahmud Efendi, the jurisconsult (mufti) of Athens, resided in the city during his 27-year-long office. Moreover, in 1738 he began to write a history of Athens that he entitled *Tarih-i Medinetü'l Hukemâ* (History of the City of Philosophers), which has a unique copy today preserved in the Topkapı Palace. One of the most important features of this 291-folio 'treasure' is its pages on Theseus. From the folio 13b onwards, Mahmud Efendi narrates Theseus, whom he calls 'Seseya', in detail. After his death, on 41a, Mahmud Efendi goes on with the War of Troy and the construction of Venice, then lists the rulers of Athens chronologically beginning with the son of Theseus. When we read the story of 'Seseya', we notice that Mahmud Efendi did not narrate every affair and happening in his narrative, but instead selected some of them.

However, this preference may not have been totally his, but possibly that of Grigoris Sotiris and Theophanis Kavallaris, two priests from the Holy Monastery of Kaisariani, who assisted Mahmud Efendi in his composition of the manuscript. Within this context, I would like to raise questions like whether the emphasis on Theseus can be read as the early steps of Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821) or not. Is it possible to connect Mahmud Efendi to the later Philhellenic attitudes? Additionally, in this presentation, I would like to pay attention to the Ottoman-Islamic, even mystic-Sufi, genre in which Mahmud Efendi clothes Theseus, so that Theseus turns into a character like those found in *nasihatname* literature rather than a mythological one, and the legend metamorphoses into a different form.

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The Economic and Social Structure of the Sudiremi Subdistrict
in the 19th Century

Sudiremi subdistrict was located to the northwest of Konya. Its center, Sille village, is 8 km away from Konya. This place is impressive, because Sille has been a major residential center in various historical periods, including the 19th century, when it still was a busy residential center with Rum population. In other words, it was a region of both Christians and Muslims, who had political, social and economic relations with each other. In this paper, I wonder what the nature of these relations was. Which insight determined the direction of these relationships? In addition, during this period, very important political events occurred in the Ottoman Empire, and both Christians and Muslims experienced very rapid change; in the face of these circumstances each religious community gave different responses in Istanbul. The question of how they behaved to each other and their attitude to people from different religious and cultural backgrounds will be dealt with. Moreover, economic structures and financial relations in that period will be scrutinized.

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17. Yüzyıl Trabzon'unda Ekonomik İlişkiler Bağlamında Müslüman-Gayrimüslim İlişkileri

Sosyal yaşamın önemli yönlerinden bir tanesi kentli nüfusun birbiriyle olan ekonomik ilişkileridir. Bu tür bağlantılar etnik, dini veya kan bağı yoluyla oluşan ilişkiler kadar önemlidir. Bu çalışmada bu konu Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri yardımıyla irdelenmeye çalışılacaktır. Kullanılacak olan kaynaklar şeriyye sicilleridir. Çalışma alanı ise 17. yüzyılda Trabzon bölgesidir. Bu belgeler yardımıyla Müslümanlar ile Gayr-ı Müslimler arasındaki ekonomik ilişkilere odaklanılacak ve bu karşılıklı etkileşimin oluşturduğu sosyo-ekonomik bağlar üzerinde durulacaktır.

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Neither Muslim Nor Christian: Crypto-Christians of Trabzon (1856-1924)

It is now known to the scholars of Ottoman history that there were several crypto-Christian groups in different corners of the Empire. Despite their spatial, cultural, linguistic and religious variations, what deemed these groups akin was their narrative of having pursued religious dualism for an unknown period of time under Ottoman Muslim rule. In the wake of the 1839 and 1856 edicts, when the Ottoman sultan was made to abolish the Apostasy Law under immense British pressure, Ottoman officials were troubled by the news of several crypto-Christian groups appealing for official recognition of their hidden creed. Out of these, two Greek-speaking crypto-Christian communities of Trabzon origin, a province in north-east Asia Minor, on the Ottoman-Russian border, gave the longest and most resilient struggle to be recognized as Christians. For Greek nationalists, these dualist communities symbolized the uprising of an enslaved Greek ethnie. For the Ottoman government and later on Turkish nationalists, this was a case of apostasy-cum-treason in the midst of homeland.

Positioning itself against nationalist narratives and based on documents from Ottoman, British and Greek archives, and missionary archives, this paper will first reconstruct the microcosm of crypto-Christianity as it was experienced by the miners of Trabzon and then explore the dynamics and implications of their struggle for recognition as Christians. In so doing, this paper attempts to answer two fundamental questions: At what point and why living a crypto-Christian life became neither desirable nor tenable for these miner communities? It is the contention of this paper that answers to these questions will not only offer insights into the complexities of ethno-religious identities in the pre-19th-century Ottoman Empire, but also into their re-definition within the changing internal and external dynamics and processes of the 19th century.

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Corsair Diplomacy between the Netherlands and Ottoman Algeria: Treaties and Documents from the Netherlands Archives

This year we celebrate 400 years from the start of relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire and, as a part of it, the Regency of Algiers. The young Dutch republic, which

declared its independence from Spain in 1581, was seeking support against the Spanish subjugators. And, thus, the Netherlands found in the Ottoman Empire and especially the autonomous Regency of Algiers a natural ally against the common Spanish enemy.

In 1509 Spain, after expelling the Jews and Muslims of Granada, crossed the Mediterranean and invaded the coast of North Africa. In 1516 Algeria became an autonomous region which was formally part of the Ottoman Empire. But the regency obtained the right to develop its own foreign policy as long as it was in line with the Ottoman foreign policy. As a consequence, Algiers could make peace treaties with European powers. One of the most important allies against Spain was the young Dutch republic. Algeria and the Netherlands shared the heritage of being seafaring nations, and exchanged much knowledge and many people.

Between 1612 and 1816 this very special relationship produced some 12 peace and friendship treaties between Algiers and the Netherlands. More specifically, treaties were signed in 1612, 1617, 1622, 1662, 1680, 1708, 1713, 1726, 1757, 1760, 1794, and 1816. The originals of all these treaties are preserved in the National Archives of the Netherlands.

The Dutch-Algerian treaties mainly dealt with peace and trade, and they are very important because they contain unique material for the diplomatic history between a Christian and a Muslim nation. These treaties also contain a regulation and codification of sea law as it developed between the Mediterranean corsair states and northern trading nations like the Netherlands.

In my contribution I will present a survey of these treaties with a special emphasis on specific regulations of trade and privateering and how to solve quarrels between the two nations.

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Some *Hüccet*s from the Patmos Archives
Issued by the Cadi of the Imperial Fleet

Four documents from the archives of St John monastery on Patmos have been identified as *hüccet*s issued by the Cadi of the Imperial Fleet (*el-kazi bi-donanma-i hümayun*), dating from between 1618 and 1734. These are the docs no. 7-30 (1618), 31-32 (1725), 30-63 (1734), and 31-27 (1734). As a type of *hüccet* which has received little, if any, attention so far, the aim of the present paper is to subject this small group of surviving original *hüccet*s to a diplomatic analysis with the intention of earmarking the distinctive elements in arrangement, style and formular of these documents as well as in the notations of the *şühudulhal* and the devices employed by the *kapudanpaşas* for their endorsement. Following the diplomatic analysis, an attempt is made to relate certain formal elements (such as the addition, on the reverse of the documents, of the *kapudanpaşa*'s instruction or *buyruldu* to put the cadi's ruling into effect) with the specific position of the Cadi of the Imperial Fleet *vis-à-vis* the office of the High Admiral.

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Making of a Provincial Writer

Tlgadintsi (Hovhannes Harootiunean) was one of the early provincial authors of modern Ottoman Armenian literature. He was a native of Kharpert (Harput, a neighborhood of Elazığ today), a cosmopolitan Ottoman city in east Anatolia. Tlgadintsi not only wrote short stories and plays, but also produced essays for national newspapers and journals. His contemporaries in Istanbul praised his writings and, in this way, he became almost a member of the national intellectual elite. In this paper, I aim to understand the making of a provincial writer in the age of

nationalism. By analyzing Tlgadintsi's literary work and Kharpert represented, I endeavor to develop a different perspective to reevaluate the emergence of modern literature in the Ottoman world which is generally accepted as a 19th-century phenomenon original to Istanbul.

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20. Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Mahkeme Kararlarında Ahlaki Gerekçeler

Hukuki yargılama, farklı hikayelerin hakimiyet mücadelesidir. Tarafların, şahitlerin, iddia makamının hikayeleri, diğerleri üzerinde hakimiyet kurma amacıyla yargılama sahnesine çıkar. Galip gelen hikaye, daima, hakimin hikayesidir. Diğer hikayelerin avuntusu, ancak, hakimin hikayesine diğerine göre daha fazla etki etmek olabilir.

Hakim hikayesini, diğer hikayelere dayandırır. Eğer diğerlerinin yaptığı tahkiye (hikaye etme) ise, hakimin yaptığı yeniden-tahkiyedir. Yeniden-tahkiye fiili görünüşte diğer hikayelere bağımlı ise de, hakimin otoritesi yeniden-tahkiyeyi sürekli serbestleştirmeye çalışır. Tahkiye ve yeniden-tahkiye ilişkisi, bağımlılık-bağımsızlık ilişkisidir.

Her hikaye bir değerlendirmedir. Her hikaye, hikaye edenin gözünden ve değer yargılarından nasibini alır. Değer yargısız hikaye yoktur. Yeniden-tahkiyenin bir iddiası ilk hikayelerin anlatıcılarının değer yargılarını ayıklamak iken, yeniden yazılan hikaye, ayıklanamamış değer yargıları yanında, hakimin değer yargılarını barındırır.

Yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, her alanda olduğu gibi, belki de öncelikli olarak, hukuk alanında Osmanlı ile ilişkisini kopardığı iddiasındadır. Muasır devletler seviyesine ulaşmayı hedefleyen Cumhuriyet, hukuk kurallarını değiştirerek, temel değer yargılarını da değiştirdiğini düşünmüştür. Ne var ki, hakimin hikayesindeki değer yargıları, hukukun değil diğer hikaye anlatıcılarının ama asıl olarak da hakimin değer yargılarıdır.

Bu tebliğ, 20. yüzyıl Türkiye'sindeki yüksek mahkeme kararlarına özellikle cinsellik ve ahlak ilişkisi çerçevesinde bakarak, hakimin değer yargılarının, sanılanın aksine Osmanlı ile olan bağına işaret etme imkanı sunmayı hedefliyor. İncelenen kararlarda hakimlerimiz, hukuk kurallarının dile getirmediği ahlaki yargıları açıkça dile getiriyorlar. Kimi zaman cinsiyet değiştirenlere acıyor, kimi zaman anneannesine ilgi göstermeyen bir neslin ortaya çıkması nedeniyle hayıflanıyorlar. Asıl önemlisi, bu yargılarını, kurdukları hükmün gerekçesi olarak sunuyorlar.

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Figural Coins of the Artuqids
from the *Kuva-yi Milliye* Museum in Balıkesir

In the coin section of the *Kuva-yi Milliye* Museum in Balıkesir there is a display of a group of copper coins from the Artuqid period. These coins, minted in the name of the ruler of the Mardin branch of the Artuqids (1108-1409 AD), have different types of figural depictions on their obverse and reverse sides. These interesting types include: the bust of a crowned figure, a crowned figure shooting an arrow at an imaginary creature with an open-mouthed dragon in the place of its tail, a rounded face, and two crowned busts that are side by side. The Artuqid coins were influenced by the coin system of the other powerful state culture in Anatolia, the Byzantine, and its iconography, but their astrological beliefs are also reflected on their coin types. On the coins minted in their names in the 12th and 13th centuries, the Artuqids, who are believed to have combined various types of coin depictions with astrological motifs, contributed their distinctive

value to coin iconography in Anatolia. In this paper, a group of coins from the Mardin branch of the Artuqids will be evaluated on the basis of their style and artistic quality.

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Ḥüccet à signatures multiples dans le fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos

L'existence de *ḥüccet* à multiples signatures-formules (pour reprendre l'expression créée par A. Velkov) est un phénomène qui a déjà été noté, mais dont la signification n'a pas été étudiée systématiquement à ce jour, du moins à ma connaissance.

C'est pourquoi, à l'occasion de la publication avec Elizabeth Zachariadou et Gilles Veinstein du catalogue des vingt deux premiers dossiers du fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos, je me suis penché sur cette question en profitant de ce que je disposais d'un corpus à la fois assez restreint pour être abordé aisément et assez abondant pour être significatif. En effet sur 250 *ḥüccet* relevées, 31 portent la signature de plus d'un cadi ou *nâ'ib*.

Je me suis donc attaché à chercher les raisons de ces multiples signatures, par l'analyse des formules constituant ces signatures, mais aussi en profitant de ce que la cohérence propre au fonds permet de repérer des noms de cadis ou de *nâ'ib* et de connaître certaines affaires et leurs rebondissements.

Il n'a pas toujours été possible de trouver une solution à notre problème. Mais plusieurs pistes sont apparues. Sans se contredire entre elles, elles amènent à considérer que la réponse à la question n'est pas unique. Au total, l'examen des signatures-formules laisse supposer des pratiques d'avalisation en droit – hypothèse qu'on était en effet tenté de faire *a priori* –, ainsi que de renouvellement de validation, mais il semble qu'il faille également envisager d'autres possibilités, comme des avalisations pour copie ou des validations sur le terrain, à l'occasion de l'application sur place d'un acte émis par le tribunal.

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The Question of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's *Vaqf* in Aleppo and Antioch: The Importance of *Vaqf* in the Northern Syrian Lands, the 16th Century

The identification of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as the founder of one of the great Ottoman *vaqf*s established in Aleppo remains largely unacknowledged. His was truly an extensive *vaqf*, reaching into four quarters of the city and including two truly major commercial complexes. Foremost among its buildings was the largest khan in the city, the New Khân, later to become known as the Khân of Customs.

Native historian of Aleppo Kâmil al-Ghazzî presented the provisions of this *vaqf* in his *Nahr al-dhahab fî târîkh halab*, naming its founder as Mehmed Pasha ibn Jamâl al-Dîn Sinân, correctly identifying Sokollu's father, but failing to make the connection to Sokollu. Al-Ghazzî noted that this *vaqf* had come to be known by the name Ibrahim Khan after the *tughra* on its *vaqfiyye* naming Sultan Mehmed ibn al-Sultan Ibrahim Khan, but eventually Jean Sauvaget and others came to identify the *vaqf* as one founded by Ibrahim-Khan-zade Mehmed Pasha in 1574.

This paper will establish the evidence that points to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as the founder of this *vaqf*, as well as a *vaqf* that he established in Antioch. His *vaqf* in Aleppo and Antioch, along with his well-known *vaqf* in nearby Payas, provide further evidence of his strategic vision and general interest in commercial infrastructure.

The paper also examines what might be seen as the 'acquisitive' nature of Lala Mustafa Pasha's *vaqf* in Syria, whose *vaqf* support came from a very considerable number of villages located in the *livâ* of Damascus, these village lands having previously constituted Imperial Domain. This stands in contrast with Sokollu's *vaqf* in Syria, which might be seen as largely self-sustaining.

Last, the paper offers an overview of the weight and importance of *vaqf* in the northern Syrian countryside in the 16th century.

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The Art of Misunderstanding: French Ambassadors Translating Ottoman Court Ceremonial

French diplomats in the Ottoman Empire constantly complained about the disloyalty of the interpreters. They questioned the dragomans' ability and willingness to produce faithful translations of their speeches and frequently pointed at linguistic misunderstandings when they had to exculpate themselves for another diplomatic setback. Yet on official ceremonial occasions such as audiences, nonverbal communication was even more important than the verbal message since it contained implicit statements about mutual perceptions and relations of power. Time, space, gestures, facial expressions and dresses, all acquired meaning on the diplomatic stage; they became nonverbal signs that were arranged due to the rules of court ceremonial. It was the ambassador's task to decode these signs and to translate the Ottoman court ceremonial to his superiors.

Now, while some of these signs could easily be understood by the French, others remained perfectly opaque and produced misunderstandings. In some cases, the French presumably preferred to misunderstand the symbolic message implied by the Ottomans and rather interpreted it in a way that suited them; indeed, since the Ottoman court ceremonial was designed to express the sultan's claim to universal power, it posed a serious challenge to the French, who at the time of Louis XIV tried to enforce French hegemony on the rest of Europe. Translating the Ottoman court ceremonial was therefore a delicate intercultural exercise. Taking some examples from the late 17th century, this paper will investigate how the French diplomats managed to save face and yet endure the symbolic humiliations they had to suffer at the Ottoman Porte. While in verbal communication misunderstandings could threaten the outcome of a diplomatic mission, in symbolic communication, this paper argues, such misunderstandings could sometimes be a precondition for success.

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Osmanlı Yenileşme Döneminde Kılık Kıyafete İlişkin Reformlar Şekilde Mi Yoksa Özde Mi Değişim Getirmiştir

Mustafa Kemal'in "buna şapka derler" diyerek 1925 Ağustos'unun son günlerinde başlattığı ve 25 Kasım 1925'te TBMM'nin onayıyla yasa halini alan şapka olayı, aslında kökleri 18. yüzyılın sonuna, III. Selim dönemine kadar uzanan bir evrimin son adımı olmuştur.

II. Mahmut'un 14 Haziran 1826'da başlattığı reformları, Osmanlı toplumunu Asyalı geleneklerden koparmak suretiyle, Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye adını almıştır. Söz konusu

bu yenilikler Osmanlı devletinin kapılarının sonuna kadar Batı medeniyetine açılmasını sağlayan bir başlangıç olmuş ve Batı etkilerinin Osmanlı'ya girmesinin önünü açmıştır.

II. Mahmut'un askeri alanlarda yapmış olduğu reformlardan sonra, genellikle yüzeysel ve dış görünüşle sınırlı kalan pek çok konuda Batı taklit edilmiştir. Giysilerde Avrupa'ya yaklaşmakla birlikte başlıkta tam tersine, Mısır Valisi Mehmet Ali Paşanın askerlerinin kullandığı "Fes" giydirilmiştir. Modern Osmanlı'nın, dış dünyaya kendisini "tam bir Batılı" olarak göstermek istemediği, o dönem ileri gelenlerinin fotoğraflarında görülebileceği gibi, doğu - batı sentezinin birlikte yeraldığı görsellerde de açıkça görülebilmektedir

Ancak Batılılaşma denilen gelişme genelde yüzeysel kalmış derinlere inememiştir. Batılılaşma, ani değişimden dolayı doğru algılanma fırsatı bulamamış, Batının neyini alıp neyini bırakacağız ikilemi, farklı kültürler arasında sıkışıp kalmış kararsız insanların doğmasına neden olmuştur. Osmanlıların yenileşme döneminde gerçekleştirilen reformların etkisi ile her şeyden önce Batılılaşma yönünde önemli değişimin yaşandığı bir dünyada, klasik dönemde bile yerleşik uygulama haline getirilmemiş olan Müslim - gayri Müslim arasındaki kılık kıyafet ayrımına artık yer olmadığı açıkça ortaya konmuştur. İkinci olarak ise modernleşmeyle birlikte türdeş bir toplum yaratma sonucunda benzer yaşam koşulları oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Meydana gelen değişiklikler başlangıçta zihniyetin izin verdiği ölçüler içinde yerleştirilmeye çalışılırken, zamanla yeni modalar, yeni zihniyetlerin cemiyet içinde kök salması neticesini vermiştir. Artık Osmanlı kendi tarzını kaybetmiştir. Batılılaşmak adına başlayan yüzeysel değişiklikler Tanzimat aydınının kafası ve sahip olduğu zihniyet onu, "kültür verici" kimliğinden tecrit ederek "kültür alıcı" seviyeye getirmiş, bu yüzdende "taklit mekanizması" yaratıcılık kimliğini donuklaştırmıştır. Bu çalışmada; söz konusu reformları kullanarak medeniyetini değiştirmeye çalışan bir toplumun, kültüründen ne kadar ödün verebildiği ve dış görünümünü ne kadar değiştirebildiği, giysiler kullanılarak anlatılmaya çalışılacak ve bu reformların toplumun farklı kesimlerinde ne şekilde algılandığı üzerinde durulacaktır.

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Ethnic Solidarity in the Wider Ottoman Empire Revisited:
Cins and Local Political Elites
in 17th-Century Moldavia and Wallachia

While Moldavia and Wallachia are generally acknowledged as parts of the Ottoman ecumene, Ottomanists rarely investigate the internal political space of both Danubian Principalities. At the same time, the scholars of early modern Moldavia and Wallachia rarely endeavour to involve the internal dynamics of the Sublime Porte's political scene. This creates a structural gap between those two research fields which can obscure the mutual influences between those two layers of political activity. As I will try to show, ethnic solidarity between political actors is such a case.

The aim of this paper is to present the interrelation between Moldavian, Wallachian and Ottoman political structures and actors in terms of ethnic solidarity. While the classic approach to the problem of ethnicity presented by I. Metin Kunt has proven viable, one should extend the survey beyond the borders of Ottoman administration *sensu stricto*. This is the case of Albanian boyars in the Ottoman Empire and Moldavia. By tracing parallelly the changing fortunes of the Albanian faction in the Sublime Porte and the rise of Albanians in the Danubian Principalities, I will argue for including the political space of the latter into the wider context of Ottoman politics. The changing fortunes of the Albanians within the empire's state apparatus influenced the changing position of the Albanians within Moldavian and Wallachian politics.

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Amr's Odyssey:
Pirates, Slaves, and Islamic Law in the Early Modern Mediterranean

At some point in the tense twenty years preceding the 1645 Ottoman invasion of Crete, a Muslim merchant traveler known to us only as Zeyd and his Christian slave, 'Amr', boarded a ship bound for the port-cities of the North African littoral. En route, the vessel was intercepted by Maltese pirates, and the Muslim passengers and crew piled into a lifeboat and abandoned ship, leaving Amr to his fate. What followed was a tragic story of ephemeral freedom and a long, torturous journey, as Amr slowly made his way back to his homeland in *Rus* only to be recaptured by marauding Tatars and returned to slavery in Ottoman lands. Now a piece of contested property, Amr's former master, Zeyd, and his new owner, Bekr, fought in court over who had ownership rights to Amr and requested a *fetva* from the *şeyhülislam* Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi (in office, 1622-1623, 1625-1632, 1634-1644) to decide the matter.

This paper uses the story of Amr's odyssey, encapsulated in a particularly detailed 17th-century *fetva*, to explore the legal problems rising maritime violence in the early modern Mediterranean posed for Ottoman jurists and judges and the ways in which they responded to them. Whether ships or slaves, capture at sea often led to complex ownership disputes once property was recovered and returned to Ottoman territory in different hands, with decisions resting on the question of whether and how the line between *darülislam* and *darülharb* was crossed. However, cases like Amr's allow for more than just a closer look at Islamic legal theory in practice – approached creatively, they have the potential to greatly enhance our understanding of the experiences of ordinary slaves and seafarers in the early modern Mediterranean.

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Ottoman Mentalities and Attitudes: Loyalty, Religion, Ethnicity

The present paper discusses Ottoman mentalities and attitudes as seen in Arabic and Turkish (and several Hebrew) official documents, biographies, chronicles and religious writings in the Turkish and Arab provinces in the writings of bureaucrats, scholars, Sufis and travelers. The period surveyed is from the 16th through the 18th century.

The Ottoman identity: Loyalty to the dynasty and the state was widespread and natural, especially under the rule of Süleyman Kanuni that created stability, security and justice. It is important to note that this attitude included the predominantly Turkish-speaking center of the Empire, as well as the Arab provinces.

The staunchly Muslim and Sunni character of the dynasty and the state's institutions played a crucial role in the population's identification with the state. The Ottomans emphasized this policy, since they were the leading Muslim power against the Shi'i heretics and the Christian infidels.

The Jewish communities appreciated Ottoman religious tolerance and the economic opportunities which they enjoyed under Ottoman rule.

The majority of the Ottoman subjects at the center and in the Arab provinces were Sunni Muslims. Nevertheless, religious differences and nuances existed along ethnic and linguistic lines. The variations between Turkish and Arabic Sufism best support this observation. A notable example is Ibn 'Arabi, the famous Andalusian mystic, who was more popular among the Turks than among the Arabs.

Ethnicity in the vastly diverse population of the Ottoman Empire was of utmost importance. Differences between Arab and Turkish culture and temperament created tensions and

misunderstandings, although these were not yet expressed politically. The fact that the rulers were mostly Turkish-speaking further complicated matters. It was quite possible, even common, to be loyal Arabic-speaking subjects of the sultan and at the same time to dislike the janissaries, the Ottoman governor, or the Istanbul appointed qadi.

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Lifting the Veil of Darkness:
Nightlife and Nocturnal Order in the Late Ottoman Empire

It is often supposed that before the arrival of Western forms of nightlife, nighttime in the Ottoman Empire was a socially-dead period. Arus Yumul, for example, argued that during the 19th century, the Ottoman ruling class "introduced nightlife into a society where night-time sociability was practically non-existent". In this paper I would like to offer a corrective to such notions. My discussion will focus mainly, although not exclusively, on Istanbul and trace both continuities and change in Ottoman nighttime realities from the early 18th century to the early 20th century. I will argue that while the night was certainly a time of introversion clearly distinguished from daytime, it was never without its own life, which called for unique mechanisms of order. Both the infrastructure of nocturnal order, and the forms of nightlife it allowed, gradually changed during the 19th century. As the big cities were flooded with migrants and refugees, new mechanisms were required to maintain nocturnal order.

It was in this context of nocturnal policing that the earliest form of street lighting was introduced to Istanbul in the mid 1840s. Yet from the very start, public lighting was identified not only with the practical needs of the police, but with more general ideals of urban order and civilization. Indeed, within a few decades a new mode of nightlife emerged in the artificially lit boulevards of big urban centers. In sharp contrast to earlier modes of nightly conviviality, the new type of nocturnal socialization derived much of its meaning from its very publicity. In some upper and middle class circles *to be seen* at night was no longer a shame, but rather a social asset. In some upper and middle class circles, public nightlife was becoming an integral part of a new lifestyle that marked those who partook in it as thoroughly 'modern'.

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Ottoman Subjects on the European Operatic Stage
during the Long 18th Century

During the long 18th century, from the 1680s to the 1820s, there were a great number of operas composed and performed in Europe on Turkish subjects, featuring Ottoman characters and Ottoman scenarios – of which Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio* became the most celebrated, while many others were forgotten. This paper will sample some of these works to consider how Ottoman power was represented in musical-dramatic form, and what it signified when it was composed to music and sung on stage by European performers. These figures of power ranged from historical Ottoman sultans like Bayezid I, Mehmed II, and Suleiman II, to fictive pashas and beys embedded in romantic or farcical situations.

The larger project seeks to recover this lost repertory of operas about Turks, to set their performance history in the context of European-Ottoman relations, and to analyze how the figure of the singing, performing operatic Turk (sung and performed by a European artist) encourages us to reevaluate Orientalist models of relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Focusing especially on operatic culture in Venice, Milan, Vienna, Paris, and London, I am trying

to integrate musical materials with the more literary concerns of cultural and intellectual history, and to explore the dramatization of difference and resemblance between Europe and Turkey. The paper will attempt to present particular operatic moments in the ongoing context of European-Ottoman relations from the treaty of Carlowitz to the Greek war of independence.

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Osmanlı Kırsalında İki Kaynak İncelemesi: Notariaka ve İlam (Sakız Adası Örneği)

Osmanlı kırsalını anlamaya yönelik çalışmalar, Osmanlı tarihi araştırmalarını her geçen gün daha ileriye taşımaktadır. Kongrede sunulacak bu tebliğde Sakız adasına ait kadı ilamları ile Noter kayıtları karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısı ile değerlendirilip Osmanlı kırsalına yönelik bir inceleme yapılmaya çalışılacaktır. Her iki kaynak doğrultusunda, Osmanlı dönemi kırsalındaki sosyal ve ekonomik yapının durumu, yönetsel sistem, kırsalın merkezle ve idari yapı ile ilişkileri konularına açıklık getirilmeye çalışılacaktır. Bu kaynaklardaki, alım-satım, borç, evlilik, boşanma, miras konularındaki uygulamalar, bu uygulamalara yerel yapıdaki faktörlerin etkileri ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır. Bütün bu bulgular, Sakız Adası özelinde incelenerek Osmanlı tarihi araştırmalarına küçük bir kırsaldan katkı sunulmaya çalışılacaktır. Ayrıca Sakız'ın nüfusunun Rumlardan oluşuyor olmasıyla Osmanlı gayrimüslim cemaatinin sosyo-ekonomik yapısına yönelik de bir çalışma yapılmış olacaktır. İncelediğimiz kaynaklardan elde edilen veriler çok yönlü incelenerek bu verilerden hareketle kırsal yapıdaki durum üzerinde tartışılacaktır.

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Palestine in the 18th Century: The Politics of Trade and Power

In this paper I want to highlight the career and achievements of Dahir al-'Umar, perhaps Palestine's first 'capitalist' – for the way he plowed large parts of his surplus income back into the economy – or at least the ruler-entrepreneur (rather than merchant-prince), who before anyone else understood how a commercialized agricultural sector and an integrated peasantry combined with capital investment in development would bring unprecedented prosperity to Palestine and its people and secure for himself the unrivalled leadership of, first, the Galilee and then of most of Palestine.

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Other Histories, Other Stories and Ottoman Art

The formation of Ottoman art and architecture has different sources as every other artistic phenomenon. One source that is not looked at generally in an objective way is that of the 'Mediterranean' features of Ottoman art. The first scholar to focus on these features has been Doğan Kuban. He has demonstrated that certain architectural elements, like the use of arcades, come in fact from a re-use of Roman architecture rather than a continuation of Byzantine architecture as forwarded by many European art historians, especially in the mid 20th century. Thus, Doğan Kuban differentiated what comes through the continuing work of Byzantine

craftsmen within the Ottoman society and the architectonic elements coming from the Mediterranean Roman architecture.

In fact, the presence of Venetian and Genoese colonies within the Ottoman historical geography and the formation of special neighborhoods with Ottoman settlements have not been taken much into account nor has the possible transfer of architectural knowledge through these communities. This transfer could be in both directions as well.

Art historians do not always have the richness of archival documents at hand to follow up such issues. Therefore examination of architectural works and architectural details can be used as elements to reconstruct the visual environment of Ottoman settlements. This paper will try to compile those 'Mediterranean' elements of the 14th-16th centuries both in Ottoman and Italian works, raising the question of the limits of acculturation between the two communities and the formation of a visual environmental culture.

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Gedik: Asset Ownership and Labor Relations in Early 19th-Century Istanbul

The form of the ownership of capital assets is crucial to understanding social relations of production. This paper aims to study how ownership of the capital assets was defined and contested in the early 19th-century Istanbul with a special emphasis on its potential implications upon the rights of human capital (labor) over productive opportunity.

The study is motivated by the recent work on a particular institution, which provided extensive documentation about the ownership and transfer of capital assets in various trades and crafts during the late 18th century. This institution known as *gedik*, which enabled master craftsmen to control and transfer their rights to workplace, has been primarily studied with a focus on its original rationales (i.e., guild members' desire to limit outside competition) and its implications for the relations between the foundations (*ewqaf*) and the guilds (i.e., the guild's ability to curb rent increases). This study approaches the question of *gedik* from a different angle. Examining a large number of contracts that deal with *gedik* transfers and partitioning (i.e., fragmentation of *gedik* into multiple shares) located in the court registers, we aim to shed light on the nature of ownership and management in the urban workshop and discuss its implications for the rights of human capital in 19th-century Istanbul.

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Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Taşrada Öğretmen Eğitimi: Diyarbakır Örneği

Osmanlı'da öğretmen yetiştirme çabalarının başlangıcı Fatih Sultan Mehmed dönemine kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu dönemde, Eyüp ve Ayasofya medreselerinde, sıbyan mektebi muallimi olacaklar için genel medreselerden farklı bir program öngörülmüştür. Fakat Fatih'in bu yenilikçi teşebbüsü kendisinden sonra devam ettirilmemiş ve 1848'e kadar öğretmen yetiştirmeyle ilgili hiçbir gelişme yaşanmamıştır. Bu tarihte, rüşdiye mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirmek üzere İstanbul'da 'Dârülmuallimin'; 1868'de ise sıbyan mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirmek için 'Dârülmuallimin-i Sıbyan' adlı okullar açılmıştır.

Maarif Nezareti, daha başlangıçta öğretmen yetiştirme işine önem vererek bir taraftan merkezde açılan darülmualliminleri ıslaha çalışırken, diğer taraftan da taşra okullarının öğretmen ihtiyacını karşılamak için vilayetlerde de birer "Dârülmuallimin-i Sıbyan" açma işini ele almış ve

1875 yılından itibaren vilayet ve sancak merkezlerinde bir ve iki yıllık 'Dârülmuallimin-i Sıbyan'lar açılmıştır.

Diğer vilayetlerde olduğu gibi, Diyarbakır'da da öğretmen yetiştirme alanındaki ilk adımlar 1880'li yıllarda atılmıştır. 1881'de inşaatı tamamlanan Diyarbekir Darülmuallimin-i Sıbyanı, 1882 yılında açılarak eğitimdeki yerini almıştır. II. Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra muhtemelen 1910 yılında, darülmualliminin rüşdiye şubesi de eğitime başlamış ve 1912'ye kadar devam etmiştir. Zaman zaman talebe sayısı azalan ve I. Dünya Savaşı yıllarında bir süre askeri hastane olarak kullanılan mektep, 1918 yılına kadar aktif bir şekilde eğitime devam etmiştir. 1918'den sonra üç yıl kapalı kalan okul, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında yeniden öğretime başlamıştır.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışmada; Osmanlı modernleşme döneminde merkezde ve taşrada açılan ilk öğretmen yetiştirme okulları ve öğretmen yetiştirme politikası ana hatlarıyla özetlenecektir. Ayrıca, bu dönemde Diyarbakır'da açılan 'Darülmuallimin-i Sıbyan' ve sonradan eklenen "Darülmuallimin-i Rüşdiye" şubesi, öğretmen ve öğrencileriyle, arşiv belgeleri ışığında detaylı olarak tanıtılacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra, söz konusu okulların, başta Diyarbakır olmak üzere çevre illerdeki modern ibtidai ve rüşdiye mekteplerine öğretmen yetiştirerek bölgenin eğitim düzeyinin yükseltilmesi üzerindeki olumlu tesirleri değerlendirilecektir.

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Population and Settlement in the Sudiremi Subdistrict according to the 1844 Census

Sudiremi, which was one of the subdistricts (*nahiye*) affiliated to the district (*kaza*) of Konya in the 19th century, is located in a semi-mountainous area to the west of Konya. Sille, which was the subdistrict's center, was one of the settlements where non-Muslims had lived in large numbers all along.

In the context of the 1831 and 1844 censuses, separate records were kept for the Muslims and non-Muslims who lived in Sudiremi. From these records, which were quite well-kept, information about the number of households, the male population, the occupations of household heads, the demographic make-up and the distribution of ethnic groups by neighborhoods and villages can be obtained. Furthermore, on the basis of this data, it is possible to determine and demonstrate on a map the borders of the subdistrict and its population density, or prepare age graphics by dividing the population into age groups.

It is observed that Sudiremi, which did not receive much immigration from outside during the 19th century, suffered from constant emigration. Muslims, who generally preferred Izmir, engaged in occupations such as pottery, porterage, farming and the service sector. Non-Muslims, on the other hand, who preferred to migrate to cities such as Eskişehir, Ankara, Mersin, Bursa and Nazilli, were mostly merchants. It is also observed that some of them belonged to the class of small business-owners such as grocers, street vendors or tailors.

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"Let's Go Get Our Uniforms at St. Gotthard!": Decision-Making, Intentionality, and 'Grand Strategy' in Early Modern Europe Revisited

'Grand strategy' is a phenomenon used extensively in the context of modern state. However, its widespread application by scholars to decision-making mechanisms of early modern empires is

arbitrary, anachronistic, and erroneously reconstructive. It is so, because one remains skeptical about the reaches of administrative rationality and pre-calculated policies of early modern empires in a world shaped by unpredictability. Indeed, early modern inter-state relations necessitated quick military responsiveness and intervention in continental scale, and ruled out engineering of any grand strategies. Although these are well-known traits of early modern warfare, they need to be reinstated in a new context, in light of and as response to the recent grand strategical narratives by scholars such as Edward Luttwak, Paul Kennedy, John LeDonne, Geoffrey Parker, and Gabor Agoston.

Within this regard, my paper will shed light onto two problematics. Firstly, it will debunk anachronistic assumptions woven into grand strategical approaches to the Ottoman decision-making mechanism and major military undertakings in southeastern Europe in 1660-1740. The Ottoman campaign to Vienna in 1683, for instance, was poorly planned and recklessly carried out. In fact, regardless of the consequences of the decisions they made, not only the Ottoman decision-makers but also the contemporary Habsburg and Russian Empires exhibited examples of decision-making that were grand strategical in outlook, yet overly ambitious in practice.

Besides, by projecting the modern notion of 'grand strategy' onto the so-called early modernity, scholars have reconstructed rational pre-modern states that possess awareness and attentiveness in a grand scale, in particular in issues regarding warfare. These rational states then play the role of prelude to the modern states, which make use of sources rationally, or 'effectively', another concept use of which has been highly problematic in the context of early modernity. This is the second problematic my paper will deal with.

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Atpazari Seyyid Osman
in the Political Turmoil of the Late 17th Century:
An Arabic Sufi Text's Potential as a Historical Source

Atpazari Seyyid Osman (d. 1691) was a Celveti Sufi sheikh of late 17th-century Istanbul. In the aftermath of the coup (fall 1687) staged by the rebelling troops who came back from the northern frontier, there was a great disorder in Istanbul. As the state dignitaries failed in toppling the 'zorba' regime, artisans of the city rose in rebellion, but their claims were turned down by the state officials of the Topkapı Palace. They were recommended to bring someone from among the *seyyid*s or *ulema* to represent them, and in this capacity was the role of Atpazari Seyyid Osman.

Atpazari's role and position look a little different when examined from Celveti Sufi materials. Especially a treatise written by his disciple İsmail Hakkı, *Temamü'l-Feyz*, provides interesting details and insiders' viewpoint that are not found in the usual chronicles by Silahdar or Sarı Mehmed Pasha. At the end of his treatise, İsmail Hakkı gives the description of his seven visits to his sheikh, which is full of conversation with him. Truly, there are elements of self-aggrandizement or blind worship by a close disciple in this treatise. It does seem that the sheikh was somewhat overestimating his political influence, if he was not consciously exaggerating. However, the text also reveals that in terms of attitude he was more on the side of the palace and advising the Sultan in order to appease the angry crowd than representing the latter, although he succeeded in acquiring their trust. It gives a valuable vantage point where we can probe the Sufi's self-consciousness of his role as a go-between. This case underlines the need to make use of diverse sources other than regular chronicles and state documents.

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An Introduction of the Spatial-Temporal GIS 'DiMSIS-EX' and Its Application for the Recovery and Restoration Process after Large Disasters in Düzce City: Construction of the New Residential Area and Traffic Network

In order to contribute to the improvement of regional safety, we have developed a spatial temporal information system under the concept of a risk-adaptive regional management information system (RARMIS). This system can be characterized as follows: (1) Coordination between normal and emergency functions; (2) Integrated database for handling spatial-temporal data; (3) Implicit topological data descriptions. In this paper, technical matters about the spatial-temporal GIS DiMSIS-EX and its applicability for not only disaster prevention but also a broader kind of analyses and daily tasks of local governments will be explained at first.

Then, the case study of Düzce city will be mentioned as an example of the application of DiMSIS-EX. At the relatively earlier time after the earthquake, it was decided that a new residential area would be developed in the suburbs of the city, and 50,000 people would emigrate there. Because the road condition was not so good, however, we tried to check whether the traffic capacity between the new residence area and the city center was sufficient or not. More specifically, we surveyed traffic volumes and found that no serious traffic jam occurred, but it took about 45 minutes between the two districts. So we suggested a new trunk road was needed and also, using vacant lots in the city, small but many parking lots might be constructed. Now the new trunk road has been realized and it takes only 6 minutes to move between the two districts.

Turkey is one of the large earthquake-risk prone countries and many cities have been damaged by earthquakes and reconstructed. Normally, it would take a considerably long period of time for recovery and reconstruction. So, the reconstruction strategy in Düzce is one of the milestone examples Japan has to learn about. To understand the long-term effects of reconstruction, investigations are made on how citizens' life style and minds are changed towards the earthquakes.

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The Economic Structure of the Sudiremi Subdistrict in the 16th Century

It is well known that agriculture was the most important economic activity in pre-industrial times. Therefore, the organization of agricultural activity, the quantity and quality of the agricultural lands, the variety of agricultural products, and matters like the determination of productivity and the amount of products provide the basis of a rural region's economic activity. This information is important so long as it can be correlated to a period's social and political developments. Within this frame, after the second part of the 16th century, the population pressure caused the agricultural field to decrease and shrink in the whole of the Mediterranean basin and in the Ottoman geography. Therefore cultivation of different products besides barley and wheat was necessary. The production did not increase parallel to the population, therefore the price of agricultural products increased. The balance between supply and demand was interrupted. This situation was one of the causes of social disturbance in the Ottoman state from the second half of the 16th century.

While the information given above can be generalized for the whole Ottoman geography in the 16th century, we will focus on the Sudiremi subdistrict, which consisted of 20 villages and belonged to the *kaza* of Konya in the *sancak* of Konya in the *eyalet* of Karaman. In this respect, general information from other districts of the Ottoman Empire will be taken into consideration and compared, so as to pinpoint their resemblances and differences in relation to a district in central Anatolia.

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Habsburg Merchants as Suppliers of Ottoman Troops at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Century

In the wake of the conquest of Ottoman Hungary by the Habsburgs many merchants who were subjects of the Habsburg Empire arrived and settled in the border zones of Slavonia, Syrmia and the Banat. In spite of several Ottoman-Habsburg wars fought during the 18th century, these merchants succeeded in establishing trade relations with their partners within the Ottoman Empire. Their activities in the border areas gained a further dimension when, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the Sublime Porte was forced to permit Ottoman commanders in northern Serbia and Bosnia to purchase military equipment and food supplies from those Habsburg merchants. Due to the chaotic internal situation and especially the outbreak of the Serbian uprising in 1804, the Porte had not been able to provide the troops deployed in northern Serbia with sufficient amounts of weapons, ammunition and food. The purpose of this paper is to show the scale and components of this trade by making use of evidence contained in archival records preserved in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi).

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Lügat: A 15th-Century Four-Language Dictionary. A Content Analysis

Lügat (= dictionary) is the initial word of the title page of two 15th-century four-language manuscripts (Istanbul, Nos 4749 and 4750) in Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Serbian language in equal horizontal lines colored in black, red, green, and orange, respectively. The textbook contains a collection of phrases and sentences forming questions-answers thematically. Despite their great similarity, the manuscripts are not completely identical – they differ in the number of leaves, often the Serbian translation differs lightly, and, finally, sometimes the Arabic text does not overlap completely. Moreover, there is no evidence clarifying their precise dating. Both of them are written on both sides and every leaf contains 16 lines divided into four groups, each one corresponding to one of the above-mentioned four languages.

The rich decoration of the manuscript No. 4750 suggests that it was owned by a personality belonging to the Ottoman elite and, more precisely, to the Sultan himself. A. Caferoğlu, who investigated *Lügat* linguistically, suggests that it was in the possession of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481), who – as we know – was acquainted with the Serbian language, spoken by his Serbian stepmother Mara. However, according to W. Lehfeldt, who edited and translated the same manuscript (No. 4750) in German, probably it was used by Serb and/or Greek converts to Islam.

Since a content analysis of *Lügat*, as far as we know, has not been attempted by modern researchers, we are intended to try it, motivated mainly by a historical/social/cultural interest in

the Balkan phenomenon of multilingualism during the Ottoman period. Through the thematic categories relating to the most important topics of everyday life (i.e. market, professions, farming, *savoir-vivre* advices to children, learn/memorise the Koran, etc.), we try to trace the significance and the function of *Lügat* as an *instrumentum* – if not a textbook – for language learning as well as an excellent evidence of East-Balkan osmose.