THE RESHAPING OF "OTTOMAN ECONOMIC MIND" IN THE WAKE OF MODERNITY
Organizer: Eyüp ÖZVEREN

Thanks to Halil İnalcık's path-breaking work that has inspired many studies, we now know much more than we would have otherwise known about the Ottoman economic mind during the Classical Age. Much has also been written about the genesis of modern Ottoman economic thought since Şerif Mardin and Ahmed Güner Sayar. We are now able to say that there has existed an Ottoman economic thought paving the way from the Classical age to the demise of the Empire. Yet it is also well known that this economic thought did not produce its own Adam Smiths, David Ricardos, or Jean-Baptiste Says, neither did it produce corresponding canonical texts like *The Wealth of Nations*. The purpose of this panel is to initiate a comprehensive retrospective critical evaluation of this heritage. First of all, we want to assess how locality has interacted with international influences in the course of time and how the relative weight of each has shifted. Secondly, we want to delineate how Ottoman economic thought has actually remained embedded in nonspecifically economic contexts such as literature, more so as the time progressed. The fact that it was not fully specialized serves as an obstacle to its treatment at parity with, and according to the criteria designed for, the model cases of economic thought such as those of Britain and France. Last but not least, the papers constituting this panel will help demonstrate that while Ottoman economic thought may not have made major discoveries theoretically, this does not necessarily mean that it was far from being original. On the contrary, we insist it was quite original insofar as it was quite creative and manipulative while advancing a novel genre that we prefer to categorize as adaptation par excellence.

I.1 Indigenous Precedents of the 'National Economy' Thesis and Policies in the Ottoman Empire
Seven AĞIR

Various studies have examined the reception and impact of 'national economy' thesis among the Ottoman and Turkish intellectuals during the last decades of the empire. The ideas and policies of the Young Turks indicate that the construction of a national economy had become one of the pillars of their modernizing discourse and of the early Republican outlook on economic policy. While the national economy thesis incorporated elements from various foreign intellectual sources such as Friedrich List, the reception of these ideas was facilitated by the hitherto-existing ideational elements in Ottoman economic and political thought. This paper aims to explore various Ottoman-Turkish treatises of the eighteenth century with an eye to the autochthonous ideas that paved the way for 'national economy' thesis. Along with an analysis of several policy shifts in the eighteenth century (i.e. the change in provisioning policies), these ideas will help demonstrate that the arguments such as 'infant industry', 'competition by emulation' and 'market integration' can be traced back to the eighteenth century. During this period, pragmatic concerns of the policy makers along with observation of foreign cases seem to have enabled emergence of what one might call a 'proto-developmentalist' outlook in economic thought. These ideas

combined with policies helped enable latter full-fledged development of the worldwide influential '!national economy' thesis on the receptive Ottoman soil albeit with a local coloring.

I.2 Economic Sensibilities in the Late Ottoman Society: Novels as Reflection and Instrument
Deniz T. KILINÇOĞLU

The Ottoman novel is the best source to understand the development of economic sensibilities in late Ottoman society. Fictional works of some reformist intellectuals of the era, such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Mizancı Murad Bey, reflect the economic-cultural shift accompanying the Empire's integration into the capitalist world-system in the late nineteenth century.

The cognition and imagination of fiction writers are shaped by the same episteme as those of non-fiction writers. Therefore, a well-crafted fictional narrative is usually a more effective source for social scientists to understand how events are experienced at the grass-roots level than non-fictional accounts, such as official documents, reports, and projects, which mostly reflect the idealized and official aspects of phenomena. In this sense, the Ottoman novel provides us important insights into the development of new cultural-economic values, as the Ottoman economy increasingly assumed its role in the international division of labor in the modern capitalist world-economy.

More importantly, however, these reformist Ottoman intellectuals aimed at shaping the cultural shift itself—rather than narrating it—by conveying implicit economic ideas in their fiction for their audience to adopt. For example, both of the authors mentioned above provided the readers with some "new" (i.e. capitalistic) ways to achieve economic success, both at the individual and societal levels. These authors were interested in and wrote non-fictional pieces about political economy. Juxtaposition of their non-fictional economic works and the economic messages that they give in their stories show that these authors basically fictionalized their ideas about the economic development of the Ottoman Empire. The question is, then, why did Ottoman reformists prefer putting their economic ideas in the form of fiction?

The answer is simple: As stories reach a wider audience in society than non-fiction, especially in a low literate society, fiction has the upper hand in convincing the reader compared to non-fiction. Having realized this fact rather instinctively, these Ottoman reformists fictionalized their bottom-up economic development strategies and presented them to their readers as ready-to-apply patterns. They, thereby, aimed at a popular economic mentality and behavior shift (towards a more entrepreneurial-capitalistic form) which would pave the way for building a new Ottoman society that is based on some sort of a "capitalist spirit." This, according to these intellectuals, was the sole way of economic development, and thus survival for the Ottoman Empire in the global capitalist system.

This study investigates these fictionalized economic development strategies to shed light on the development of bourgeois economic and cultural sensibilities in the Ottoman Empire. By taking the Ottoman novel as both reflection and instrument of economic change in the late Ottoman Empire, this study shows how the roots of a "Muslim-bourgeois culture" were laid in this era as a

result of the interplay between the modern economic ideas and the traditional Muslim-Ottoman moral economy.

I.3 Sakızlı Ohannes Pasha's _Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel_: Wherein Resides its Originality?
Alp Yücel KAYA & Eyüp ÖZVEREN

This paper aims to begin with an analysis of the text of Sakızlı Ohannes Pasha, _Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel_ (1881) as a patchwork of imported European economic ideas. We will then proceed to our main objective, that is, the identification in this book of an illustrative exemplification of adaptation as an original genre in the nineteenth-century Ottoman economic literature. This text had played a major role in the dissemination of the classical liberal economic viewpoint among the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals and provided a solid reception ground for Mehmed Cavid's equally liberal canonical follow-up. By the time Sakızlı Ohannes Pasha set up the classical approach for good, it was already passé in much of Europe. We will trace the structure and constituent arguments of his book back to those of European figures such as Jean-Baptieste Say, Joseph Garnier, John Stuart Mill, Gustave de Molinari, Henri Baudrillart, Joseph Garnier, and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu who inspired him or otherwise. We will show how the book has multiple roots not only in Garnier and Baudrillart as expressly stated but also in others. As such, it is a creative adaptation from several if not numerous works. We will then identify how he deliberately expanded certain themes he thought were of greater relevance for the immediate Ottoman context while he played down the significance of others. We will identify where Sakızlı Ohannes's text becomes and where it chooses to remain silent by reading the text against the lessons of Ottoman economic history. Themes like poverty, machinery question, banking and finance deserve a further special emphasis in this respect. We will also pinpoint how his text is more Smithian than Ricardian in spirit despite the fact that Ricardo had cast his shadow over Smith before he was finally surpassed in the European scene. The very choice of a Smith-resonant title shows Sakızlı Ohannes's deliberate shift backwards. It also shows how the realistic conception of economy as essentially an international rivalry for wealth and economic power among the many countries must have appealed to the Ottoman intelligentsia.

PANEL II

OTTOMAN SUBJECTS AS "HOMO DICTYOUS": REPUTATION, AUTHORITY AND THE POWER OF WORDS
Organizer: Zeynep Dörtok ABACI

Modern man is far from understanding the importance and value of word in the traditional communities restricted by the thought and expression limits of oral culture. In modern society, there are various trust pursuits being more reliable and believable, whereas the word is extremely valuable in pre-modern communities. Both rationalism and empiricism, the philosophical mainstreams of 17th century, are almost a challenge against irrational elements of metaphysics and ambiguity of word. Many philosophers and social scientists such as Jacques Ellul, Marshall McLuhan, Walter J. Ong and Barry Sanders have been touching on the losing value of word and rise of certainty of images. Besides, Cervantes' and Shakespeare' works also are reflecting this de facto transformation Western civilization experienced throughout the ages.

The transition of Western civilization from oral culture to written one is considered to be result of so many changes in different fields like science and technology, economy, politics and social life. Even though all pre-modern communities are similar to each other by means of value given word, the Ottoman Empire is one of the most characteristics of oral cultures and even contemporary Turkish society never completely lost this feature.

In this panel, we aim to muse on the symbiotic relationship between reputation, authority and the words in the Ottoman realm. In this aspect, our first paper is designed to give a glimpse upon the position of word versus image both in the "modern" world and in the Ottoman Empire. Despite using some primary sources, it is basically a review of literature as to provide an introduction to the subject. Our second panelist's paper based upon primary sources is an evaluation of defamation cases in 17th century court records. The last paper is an attempt to apply SNA to different types documents such as testimony, suretyship and trusteeship selected from various court records of early modern Ottoman era Anatolian towns. The panelist aims to show the prominent and reliable actors who stayed in the center of various relations by using applications, terms and theories of SNA.

II.1 Modernity and the Humiliation of Word
Gökhan Yavuz DEMİR

Even though the basic characteristics of modernity are known, its origin is still speculative. One of the most traits of modernity is searching for certainty. Thanks for finding out certainty, the ambiguous and polyphonic feature of word and logo-centric universe paradigm gave place to certain and monophtong new image ocular-centric universe. For instance, the narratives in *Don Quixote* written by Cervantes demonstrate that he is certainly aware of this mentality transformation. In a sense, this novel, its first volume was published in 1605 and also second 1615, was eulogy for old world and a greeting to a new one. *Don Quixote* was treated like a madman in new world, because as a pre-modern and was still living in the universe of word,

believing in promise and oath. Nevertheless the magic of word was disenchanted in "iron age". Similarly, Shakespeare also rehearsed that the eye gave priority to the ear, as seeing was the more superior than hearing in Hamlet, 1605.

The trails of the losing value of word may also follow in the court halls as a space of practices and praxis in real life narratives. When the oath mechanism is arbiter in the traditional law belonging to logo-centric and ambiguous universe of word, modern law in certain and ocular-centric universe of images has to constitute a proof method being more definite and more reliable, since the oath age ended. In modern times, only *Don Quixote* and madmen like him can believe in and trust to oath and promise, but modern law never. With the Derridarian point of view, modern law is in logo-centric fashion. It is not possible to the fact that this mainstream understanding logos as logic, not word or language, thus, objecting to ambiguous and polyphonic feature of language, particularly, plurality of interpretation relied on oath and promise just as *Don Quixote* did. Modern law seeking more certainty asks for more reliable, provable, universal and uncontaminated law by personal interests.

In my paper, I will try to comprehend the position of word versus image or ambiguity versus certainty by depending on philosophical and literal texts as well as samples from Ottoman court records and also investigate the humiliation of word in modern times. Hence, philosophers like Derrida or novel heroes such as *Don Quixote* and even Jesus Christ sworn upon as main actors of my paper should not be astonished.

II.2 Politics of Keeping Your Honor Intact: Gender and Defamation Cases in the Seventeenth Century Bursa Court Records
Nurcan ABACI

Historians of the Ottoman realm have in recent years increasingly turned to the wide range of records produced by qadi court. One of the strengths of such records is the light they threw upon relationships and attitudes at local levels. Court records have provided important insights into questions of gender relations and moral values. The Ottoman court records include so many defamation cases, yet the records of those who came to the court seeking to restore their good names have just begun to attract the attention of the Ottomanists.

In my paper, I would like to introduce the motives of large number of 17th century Bursa inhabitants (both men and women) who, after being insulted, sued their defamers. I will basically be dealing with *numbers* and *words*. Although it is virtually possible to have any firm statistical conclusions by depending upon the court records, I will provide the number of defamation cases as seen in selected Bursa court records (2 volumes for every decade).

In terms of *words,* firstly I will try to show what the words of insult were. I assume the words of insult were not arbitrary but they represented sets of shared values. Moreover, I will be dealing with the informal surveillance and publicizing behavior and their effect in maintaining or destroying reputations. By doing this, I'm hoping to have a glimpse upon dynamics of neighborhood politics in the city of Bursa in the 17th century.

Motives of male and female litigants to defend their good name are my second priority. My primary documents indicate that slander could damage livelihoods. Nevertheless, oral and psychical violence can be seen as representing differing strategies in exercising power and authority, but I believe slander raised the possibility of physical violence. Therefore, I will be seeking connections between verbal and psychical violence.

II.3 Small Blue Spider Is Knitting Its Web: Testimony, Suretyship and Trusteeship Documents as an Indicator of Social Relations
Zeynep Dörtok ABACI

The social control was extremely strong in the Ottoman society and the subjects lived in social environment restricted by varied factors such as face-to-face relations, religion, morals, customs, family and guild organizations, Ottoman subjects' world were very different from ours should not to be neglected. The "individual" surrounded by social control instruments in daily life was obliged to give importance others' opinions about him/herself, and it was not easy to be a "liar" or "unreliable person" in a community where the person cuddled by reputation and honor.

Although it is accepted that the social relations have stringent and dioristic influences on individuals, how the persons construct their social relations in order to guarantee personal interests and status in the Ottoman society, is still an unanswered question for us. The main sources of my paper are court records in which we may find some answers about social relations and actors by analyzing social networks in the Ottoman society. In this framework, firstly, my purpose is to evaluate and exemplify the roles of witnesses' expressions in concluding lawsuits by depending on cases selected from judge registers belonging to various Anatolian cities. My basic problem is whether words of some people are more valuable than the others, since the word whom it says is important as much as its persuasiveness. Secondly, I will try to utilize *Social Network Analysis* method which is very rare in Ottoman studies, although it has been employed in many fields from how epidemics stretch or what the characteristic of power relations in apes to how the gossip becomes contiguous. Hence, I will use SNA to figure out the relevant documents, with the aim of indicating value of word and testimony, suretyship and trusteeship relations in the Ottoman society.

I will apply SNA to various type documents in court records to demonstrate that if some people were more influential than the others or not. Thus, I will try to indicate the significant actors and their relations in social network by employing centrality measures of *SNA*. Thanks to betweenness and closeness centrality criteria, the characteristics of actors in a network such as power, prestige, popularity, importance and key roles will become measurable.

LA PERSPECTIVA EUROPEA SOBRE EL TURCO. LA OTRA PARTE
DEL CIELIO (I)
Organizer: Luca Lo BASSO

III.1 "Litigios de los capitanes de embarcaciones con pabellón otomano en el puerto de Barcelona : 1797-1808"
Eloy Martín CORRALES

La presencia de las embarcaciones con pabellón otomano, que se presentaron como tales con la documentación correspondiente, data de 1788, aunque no tuvo realmente importancia hasta 1797, cuando el pabellón otomano fue necesario para romper el bloqueo de la flota británica sobre el litoral español. Desde entonces y hasta la prohibición de importación de trigo extranjero en España (1820), las naves con el citado pabellón desempeñaron un triple e importante papel en el tráfico marítimo español : aseguraron el aprovisionamiento de trigo (levantino, en especial ruso) cuando fue necesario; participaron en el cabotaje español para romper el bloqueo inglés; participaron en la Carrera de Indias aprovechándose de los decretos de neutrales; aseguraron la conexión de los puertos españoles con el atlántico, en especial Portugal; y, por último, hicieron lo propio con los principales puertos del Mediterráneo Occidental, en especial con Génova y Livorno.

Como consecuencia de la citada actividad (un mínimo de 190 llegadas de naves otomanas a Barcelona entre 1788 y 1807) se produjeron los inevitables conflictos y litigios entre los capitanes otomanos y sus consignatarios y armadores. La documentación depositada en los archivos notariales y la del Consulado de Barcelona es la que se analiza para poner de relieve la importancia del pabellón otomano en el tráfico marítimo de Barcelona, aunque también de los principales puertos españoles (Tarragona, Salou, Valencia, Palma de Mallorca, Alicante, Cartagena, Málaga, Cádiz y otros).

III.2 La cuestión nacional turca en la época de la Paz Armada (1871-1914)
Laura LARA MARTÍNEZ

La presente comunicación pretende analizar el complejo ámbito de las naciones, Estados y nacionalismos en el Imperio Turco desde 1871 hasta 1914. Se trata, por tanto, de realizar una aproximación histórica a un asunto complejo que ha vertebrado buena parte del devenir histórico posterior hasta nuestros días, donde el nacionalismo balcánico se presenta como la punta de lanza de un fenómeno de amplio alcance.

El espacio turco en el período cronológico estudiado, esto es, desde las unificaciones italiana y alemana hasta el inicio de la Gran Guerra, constituía un Estado difícil de organizar políticamente debido a sus grandes dimensiones, a lo que se sumaba su diversidad demográfica, étnica y religiosa, si bien es cierto que hasta el último tercio del siglo XIX las intromisiones internacionales y los movimientos nacionalistas partidarios de la independencia no lograrían transformar su estructura.

Los ánimos nacionalistas se irían exaltando conforme nos aproximamos a la fecha clave de 1914 en un proceso análogo, pero totalmente independiente, al acaecido en el seno del Imperio Austro-Húngaro. Movimientos sincrónicos en un mundo carente de los medios de comunicación actuales, que nos hacen reflexionar acerca de la enseñanza de la Historia ante los recientes episodios de la Primavera Árabe.

[The Turkish National Question in the Armed Peace (1871-1914)
This paper analyzes the national question in the Turkish Empire from 1871 until 1914. Before the First World War, nationalists tempers provoked a similar process in this area, but totally independent, to the movement registered within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Turkey was a state politically difficult to organize because of its territorial extent and its demographic, ethnic and religious diversity. So, the transformation of its structure did not begin until the end of the XIXth century. Synchronous trends, in a world devoid of mass media, that make us reflect on the lessons that History show us at present, such as the Arab Spring.**]**

III. 3 La edición en el ADF de la crónica turquesca de Herrera Tordesillas.
Fernando Fernández LANZA & Emilio SOLA

La edición de la crónica turquesca de Antonio Herrera Tordesillas, a partir de los múltiples manuscritos dispersos por archivos europeos, la mayoría sólo fragmentarios, sirvió de modelo de edición digital de una fuente histórica compleja y del máximo interés para la historiografía otomanista española clásica. Los procesos de actualización del texto, de fragmentación para su abordaje mejor, tanto por los investigadores como por los docentes y estudiantes, así como otros aspectos formales que puedan resaltar su valor literario, con frecuencia olvidado frente a su faceta de fuente histórica, convierten la edición de la crónica en el www.archivodelafrontera.com en una pieza literaria de gran riqueza y belleza, comparable a los grandes textos épicos o narrativos del momento.

III. 4 La plataforma del Archivo de la Frontera y el Imperio Otomano. Características técnicas, recursos disponibles y potencialidades para la docencia y la investigación. Nuevos contenidos de La Conjura de Campanela y nuevas adquisiciones documentales en Simancas para el Juego del Legajo.
Laura MASSIMINO & Emilio SOLA

La plataforma digital www.archivodelafrontera.com fue diseñada para coordinar investigación histórica y literaria y docencia de Humanidades, de manera que investigadores, docentes y estudiantes tengan a su disposición una amplia gama de material de trabajo de primera mano, tanto bibliográfico como procedente de repertorios documentales y documentación de archivos. Pensado en principio para hispanistas internacionales, puede experimentarse con él modelos de presentación de fuentes históricas similares a las wiki, intentando combinar el mayor rigor científico con la máxima capacidad de divulgación. Hasta el momento, se ha desarrollado con

especial amplitud la época clásica de enfrentamiento habsburgo-otomano, en el marco del surgimiento del mundo colonial y la expansión europea a nivel global.

Destacaremos los nuevos contenidos de La Conjura de Campanela, como modelo de presentación de un repertorio documental de interés, el de Luigi Amabile sobre los procesos inquisitoriales sobre la conjura calabresa, y las nuevas adquisiciones documentales en el Archivo de Simancas de la sección de Estado, relacionados con las Costas de África, para el Juego del Legajo, como base para un proyecto de trabajo interuniversitario hispano-turco, en principio, o más amplio, de interés para la docencia y la investigación históricas.

PANEL IV

**REBELLION, RESISTANCE AND OBEDIENCE IN
THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Organizer: Mert SUNAR**

This panel aims to look at three different cases in which rebellion, resistance and obedience were at interplay with each other in the late Ottoman Empire. The nineteenth century witnessed the efforts of the Ottoman state to establish a new military-bureaucratic system which would not only survive the challenges in the international arena, but also provide an effective control over its population and territories. As the sultan and his ministers struggled to abolish the existing system and impose increasing financial and manpower demands on society, different sectors of the society faced with the threat of losing their previous privileges and rights. To this imminent threat, they responded with a set of simultaneous tactics including negotiation, resistance, obedience and open rebellion rather than limiting their options with only rebellion and submissiveness. Even when they resorted to open rebellion and resistance, their actions were framed by the language of obedience and negotiation.

On the other side of the picture, the state also showed flexibility and remarkable capacity to improvise new tactics in the face of resistance and opposition to its demands. Thus, this panel proposes to examine the possible simultaneous and multi-dimensional tactics employed by the central state and different sectors of the Ottoman society to protect and further their demands and interests. The first paper of the panel will focus on the İstanbul-centered rebellions in the early nineteenth century. By examining participants, their aims, and vocabulary they used, the paper seeks to understand not only the limits of obedience but also that of rebellion in the Ottoman polity. The paper will argue that the methods and arguments employed by the participants of the early nineteenth century İstanbul rebellions provide good examples for illuminating these limits. The second paper will examine the establishment of *Şibâne* Regiments, a paramilitary organization designed to secure obedience and loyalty among the tribes in Baghdad and Basra regions in the late nineteenth century. By attracting certain tribes to the center, the Ottoman state was trying to strengthen its political legitimacy in the region. The willingness shown by some of the tribes to join these regiments also raises important questions about the nature of centralization and localism in the late Ottoman Empire. Finally, the last paper will look at the recruitment of Ottoman soldiers during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1806-1812. For every state, mobilizing manpower for war constitutes a contested arena in which the limits of political power and authority are put to test. As such, securing the obedience of its male population as well as local notables to provide necessary manpower for its army proved to be a difficult challenge for the Ottoman state during the 1806-1812 War. Although there were very few examples in which local notables and towns openly rejected the demands of the central state, the majority resorted to different tactics of resistance which were disguised as obedience to the state. The paper will attempt to illuminate different methods utilized by the central state and local elements to secure their demands and interests in the recruitment process.

IV.1 Between Volunteers and Deserters: Recruitment of Ottoman Soldiers during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1806-1812
Mert SUNAR

The Ottoman-Russian War of 1806-1812 constitutes the last performance of the Ottoman army before it went under radical change in the last three quarters of the nineteenth century. It also represents a suitable example to study Ottoman recruitment methods during war time before the Ottoman state gradually introduced universal conscription in the empire. Securing the obedience of its male population as well as local notables to provide necessary man power for its army during war time was a difficult challenge for the Ottoman state as it was for any other contemporary state. During the war of 1806-1812, the Ottoman central authority faced with a far more serious challenge as the political tension between the supporters of the New Order and the janissaries turned into violence with two major rebellions in the seat of the empire. As the troubled political situation exacerbated, the Ottoman central state struggled to mobilize necessary man power and financial resources without much prestige and legitimacy. This paper seeks to illuminate the process in which the Ottoman central authority endeavored to get its hand on a portion of the male population in order to mobilize them in the war against Russia despite its disadvantageous position.

As far as the primary sources concerned, a large variety of archival sources exists in the form of imperial orders, reports, and responses from local courts as well as military registers (*Mühimme-i Asakir*) concerning the Ottoman-Russian War of 1806-1812 in the Ottoman Archives. Drawing upon this set of sources, this study will attempt to not only look at formal process of recruitment but also examine its practical side. The negotiations between local notables and state as well as local population and state concerning the state's demands for man power will constitute the main focus of the paper. Different strategies and methods employed by each party to secure their interests and demands, and other factors affecting recruitment process such as rivalry among local notables, concerns for disruption of local economy and production will be also discussed in relation to this negotiation process. Finally, this study will also try to explain why some of the local notables and groups chose to appear as obedient to imperial demands even though they intentionally delayed and failed in fulfilling state's demands.

IV.2 "When The Feet Become The Head": Limits Of Obedience in Ottoman Sultanism
Aysel YILDIZ

The revolts provide the researchers excellent opportunities to understand the limits of conformity and obedience in a given polity. Such incidents turn out to be cases to test the idealized assumptions– either by contemporaries or by later historians - perceptions about the relations of a ruler and the subjects. Ottoman revolutionaries of the early modern era do not leave much traces to allow us follow their logic and to understand the gray zone between obedience and disobedience. Yet, even the scattered available data suggest that the relation between the sultans and the subjects is too complicated to be formulated in a reductionist way.
The purpose the present paper is two-fold. Initially to make a survey of the participants of the Istanbul-centered Ottoman uprisings early modern era in terms of the participants and aims and

the revolutionary vocabulary they used and then to make an analysis of sultanic legitimation in the eyes of the revolutionaries. The underyling purpose is to investigate the methods they adopted to legitimize their cause in the eyes of the public and the higher authorities. Even a preliminary study reveal that the revolutionaries were not pathological deviants and mindless people, as represented in the contemporary and later accounts - revolting against the authorities irrationally. On the contrary, they seem to have had a well-defined program, rational calculations, aware of basics notions of sultanic legitimacy and obedience as well the limits of the sultanic authority vis-a-vis the people.

IV.3 Merkezi Otorite ve İç Güvenliği Tesis Etmek: Osmanlı Irak'ında Şibane Bölükleri
Burcu KURT

1839'da Tanzimat fermanıyla başlayan süreç 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda merkez yöneticilerinin taşraya nüfuz etme ve devlet otoritesini taşrada daha yoğun ve katı bir biçimde hissettirmeye gayret ettikleri bir döneme tekabül etmektedir. Osmanlı'nın çözülüşüne kadar devam eden bu merkezileşme eğilimi İmparatorluğun değişik bölgelerinde farklı biçimlerde tezahür etmiş ve Osmanlı yöneticileri taşraya nüfuz edebilmeyi başarmak adına değişik araçlar kullanmıştır. Taşrada böylesi bir hakimiyeti kurma ve sağlamlaştırma yollarından biri de mahalli toplumsal grupların bir kısmıyla anlaşmaya girerek bu gruplar içerisinde "kazananlar" ve "kaybedenler" yaratmak ve böylece taşrada merkeze sadık bir yapılanma vücuda getirmekti. Bu şekilde sosyal gruplar kendi arasında zıt kategorilere bölünmüş olduğundan merkezi otoriteye karşı işbirliği önlenecek, halkın itaati sağlanacak ve büyük çaplı ayaklanmaların önü alınmış olacaktı.

Bu tebliğde Osmanlı Irak'ında merkezi otoriteye itaati sağlamanın bir aygıtı olarak Şibane bölükleri mercek altına alınacaktır. Devlete "muti" aşiretlerden oluşan ve paramiliter bir kuvvet olan Şibane Bölükleri, idari ve askeri alanlarda yapılan ıslahatlarla merkezileşme eğilimlerinin arttığı bir dönem olan 1850'li yıllardan başlayarak Irak'ın Bağdad ve Basra vilayetlerinde oluşturulmuştur. Şibane bölüklerinin önemi, bu bölgenin girift coğrafi ve sosyo-ekonomik yapısından kaynaklanmaktaydı. Büyük bir kısmı bataklıklardan ve su kanallarıyla örülmüş zirai alanlardan oluşan Bağdad ve Basra vilayetleri kırsalı, merkezi otoriteye devamlı surette "isyan eden" aşiret fırkaları tarafından iskan edilmekteydi. Bu durum, aşiretlerin çoğunlukta yaşadıkları bu coğrafyalarda merkezi otoriteye itaati, mülki ve askeri önlemlerle sağlayamayan merkez yöneticilerini, jandarma benzeri bir örgütlenme olan Şibane Bölüklerini oluşturmaya itmiştir. Bu yarı-resmi ve yarı-askeri kuvvet, aşiretlerin meskun olduğu ve çoğunlukla bataklıklardan oluşan, askeri güçlerin ulaşmakta zorlandığı coğrafyalarda ince donanma benzeri gemileriyle yol alarak vergi toplama, merkezi siyasal otoritenin bölgele iletişimini sağlayan telgraf direklerinin ve Dicle ile Fırat nehirleri üzerinde ulaşım yapan ticaret gemilerinin güvenliğini sağlama ve eşkıyanın takip ve yakalanması gibi görevler üstlenmekteydi. Bu uygulama ile Osmanlı merkezi otoritesi, Şibane Bölüklerini kullanarak bölgede devlete "asi" ve "muti" aşiretler ayrımı yaratmış ve "muti" olanları "asi" olanlara karşı devletin yanında yer almaya teşvik etmiştir. Merkezi otoriteye itaat etmeyi kabul edenleri yarı-resmi devlet görevlerinde istihdam ederek ödüllendiren merkezi yönetim, bu şekilde kırsal kesimde devlete itaati tesis ederek otoriyeti/güvenliği sağlamayı hedeflemekteydi.

PANEL V

MODERNIZATION EFFORTS IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ABDÜLHAMİD II PERIOD: THE CASE OF BURSA
Organizer: Cafer ÇİFTÇİ

The Ottoman Empire, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, is in a legitimacy crisis both inside, against their own people, and in international arena, against great powers. While the emperors of the era are trying to maintain the legitimacy politics with new initiatives, they are also in the effort of creating the internationally willed image. In this period, when the modernization of the state and disintegration process have occurred nested, on one hand the military, administrative, industrial and agricultural reforms, while on the other hand, much social turmoil and soil losses have occurred. The empire's, actually, the last real sultan, reigned thirty-three years between the dates 1876 and 1909, Abdülhamid II seems to be one of the emperors who have made efforts in this area. Although Abdülhamid II is an introvert ruler, instead of being closed in state administration, he has made much effort to emphasize that the Ottoman Empire is the only Muslim state which has joined the community of modern nations successfully. The public affairs reflecting the glory and power of the Ottoman Empire, crests in public buildings, ceremonies, given badges and the language symbolism in official correspondence are some of the concrete examples of this effort. While the modernization activities in Tanzimat Period has remained limited to İstanbul and not spread to the provinces, from Abdülhamid II period, the innovations have been applied in a way that includes the whole empire. Undoubtedly, a part of these innovations has occurred in education sector. In this respect, three different schools: Bursa İnas Rüştiye Mektebi, Bursa Harîr Dârüttâlimi and Bursa Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimîni, opened in the time of Abdülhamid II, will be discussed in the panel as the examples of institutionalization in Ottoman provinces. Of these three schools, the first one is girl's secondary school, the second one is vocational school and the third one is teacher training institution of higher education. Through these three schools, which provide service in different age, gender, type and level of education field, education activities, the impact of these activities on local community and the positive and negative aspects seen in this modernization efforts in Bursa, a province in Abdülhamid II period, will be evaluated. This panel will both reveal the history of these three schools in Bursa, which have not been a detailed scientific research subject until this time, and also contribute to the studies on the modernization efforts in the Ottoman educational system.

V.1 Bursa İnas Rüştiye Mektebi
Sadettin EĞRİ

With the increase of the debate on the insufficiency of primary schools in Mahmoud II reing, the opening of the "rüşdiye" schools, which were considered as secondary schools, started. Since it was thought to educate children in these schools until puberty, the name 'sınıf-ı sani' was considered to be given to these schools, but later the name 'rüşdiye' was given by the sultan himself. The first 'rüşdiye' was opened in 1838. Until 1867 only Muslim children had been educated in these schools, since then every person from Ottoman community who passed the

Turkish exam successfully was started to be accepted. Since 1869, with the published Nizamname, key decisions had been made about "Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye". Before 1876, 423 rüşdiye and about 20.000 students had been available. After the completion of the construction of Bursa Rüşdiye Mektebi, with the assignment of required number of teachers, the school was opened in 1861. In 1875 in Hüdavendigar Province, there were 25 rüşdiye schools and 1081 students.

In Abdülhamid II period relevant regulations with rüşdiye school were continued. In 1879 the central organization of the Ministry of Education was re-arranged and "Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye Dâiresi" was established within the body of Ministry of Education. Parallel with these developments in Abdülhamid II period, a girl's school (rüşdiye) was opened along with the boy's school(rüşdiye) in Bursa. This school, which provided education in a rented house previously, started to provide service in a building which was built around today's Bursa Mahkeme Hamamı. The school, called Mal Hatun İnas Mektebi in 1911, was defined with different names in next the years and formed the core of today's Kız Lisesi. In 1899 at Bursa İnas Rüşdiyesi, there were 3 mistresses, 20 female students and 1 employee. The number of transferor students from 1893 to 1894 was 112, new register was 13, the number of students who left the school was 36, the number of students getting testimonial was 8 and the number of teachers was 5.

These issues, which are thought to be presented in the congress after giving brief information about the historical background, aim to evaluate the Ottoman administration's new approach to girls' education via city of Bursa. Examining these issues, which appear to be thrown in Ottoman history, are considered to contribute to social history research to some extent. In this research; information related to the topic will be given and archival documents, unused up to date, the yearbook data and Bursa newspapers of the period will be examined.

V.2 Bursa Harîr Dârüttalimi
Cafer ÇİFTÇİ

Pebrine (Karataban) disease, a silkworm disease, emerging in France and Italy in the middle of the 19th century entered into Ottoman course in 1860, started to spread firstly in Edirne then in İzmit and Bursa. In 1865, the French microbiologist and chemist Louis Pasteur began to become interested in this disease, which appeared in France, and in a short period of time he found solutions against this disease. After 1881, Ottoman Public Debt Administration's getting right to collect the tithe revenue from silk located in rüsûm-ı sitte and its desire to maximize the revenues, with the developments in Europe, had impact on the beginning of a new era for sericulture and Bursa. In this process, Torkomyan Efendi, who encashed for Ottoman Empire in Montpellier School of Agriculture in France, submitted argument to Ottoman Public Debt Administration about disease-free seed harvesting and teaching of entomology by doing a pre-study and wanted a school which produced seed with Pasteur's procedure and provided an education of it in Bursa to be opened. On 26 February 1887, with this presented argument, the opening of a Harîr Dârüttalim to produce native seeds according to Pastuer procedure and providing education here were declared.

With the Ottoman Empire's decision, Bursa Harîr Dârüttalim was officially opened in 14 April 1888. Torkomyan Efendi was appointed as the manager of Bursa Harîr Dârüttâlim which started

to provide service by renting Kazzaz Muhtar Ahmed Efendi's house in Şehreküsdü quarter. The school Harîr Dârüttalim, or called with the name Séricicole Institut, was provided financial support by Ottoman Public Debt Administration. The school had two kinds of training program. The first one was the two-year program given to the full-time students elected with an exam. The second program was the one, with the two-month half-time education programs between April-May and September-October, which gave certificate to those who produced sericulture according to Pasteur procedure. The ones who took the two-year full time program were given testimonial and those who took the two-month half-time program were given certificate. The best two students of each two-year class were given microscope award at graduation ceremony. In last 18 years from 1888, the number of the ones who were educated and got testimonial was 769 and the number of the ones who got certificate was 465, in total 1234 private graduated from this school.

Bursa Harîr Dârüttalim, the first school at which sericulture education was given in scientific sense in Turkey, is one of the most important examples of the modernization efforts in the field of vocational education in Abdülhamid II period. With the research related to the subject, the working order, the scientific contributions to the silkworm breeding and the importance of vocational training of school, the education system will be examined within the framework of modernization efforts. With the information in the research, obtained from unused archival documents up to date, both the history of Bursa Harîr Dârüttalim will be revealed and contributions to the researches on the modernization efforts in the Ottoman educational system will be provided.

V.3 Bursa Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimîni
Hasan Basri ÖCALAN

It is known that significant changes had been made in the field of education in the Ottoman Empire since the 19th century. Especially, the curriculum and the education implemented at the schools opened in provinces in Abdülhamid II period seem to be remarkable. One of the innovations in the field of education in the period in question was updating and the implementation of teacher training programs. The first important attempts in the history of Turkish education were made with 1869 dated Regulation of the Ministry of Education of the General Staff (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnâmesi). However, the inclusion of these teacher training-related substances in this regulation derived from the note that French Government gave to the Ottoman Empire in 22 February 1867. The teacher's training school was classified as "Mekatib-i Aliye", that is to say college, in 1869 dated Regulation of the Ministry of Education of the General Staff. The articles from 57 to 67 of Nizamnâme were about regulations on Dârülmuallimîn and the articles from 68 to 78 were about regulations on Dârülmuallimat. Before the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, the opening and dissemination of the institutions, named Mederese-i Muallimîn, to train teachers were concerned. The purpose of the establishment of these schools was to train teachers for village schools. Because there wasn't enough interest to the previous schools founded to train teachers, the establishment of such an alternative school was brought to the agenda. The only Mederese-i Muallimîn on this subject, which opened in 1906 and continued education for a while, was Hamidiye Mederese-i Muallimîn in Bursa. The

madrasah in question was a boarding college which opened on the purpose to train teachers for ibtidâî (primary school).

Medrese-i Muallimîn, in Bursa in 1906, began education with a capacity of fifty students in Karaağaç neighbourhood. The education period of the school was three years and a primary school next to the Medrese-i Muallimîn was available for graduates to practice. The purpose of the establishment of the school 'Training the teachers in the best way who would educate children' was determined as target. To achieve this, the school was foreseen to be as a boarding school. In the third year, students would gain experience by teaching in turns at the school next to Medrese-i Muallimîn. The establishment and curriculum of Medrese-i Muallimîn, which is a teacher training institution in the process of transition to modern education, and investigation of it with its other aspects are important for the history of Turkish education.

LA PERSPECTIVA EUROPEA SOBRE EL TURCO. LA OTRA
PARTE DEL CIELO (II)
Chairperson: Eloy Martin CORRALES

VI.1 Génova, Imperio Otomano y "la estafa del siglo". Los *luigini* a través la documentación privada (1665-1670)
[Genova, l'Impero Ottomano e la "truffa del secolo" dei luigini alla luce della documentazione privata (1665-1670)]
Luca LO BASSO

A seguito delle capitolazioni del 1665 i Genovesi si ritrovarono a poter disporre di importanti agevolazioni nella gestione del commercio con il Levante e fin da subito cercarono di sfruttare il più possibile lo scalo di Smirne. In quegli anni, però, i mercanti francesi avevano già preso consuetudine nel pagare le merci levantine con i luigini, piccole monete d'argento, coniati nelle zecche periferiche del Regno, ben presto alterati nella loro bontà. Ne nacque una truffa – denominata del secolo da Carlo Maria Cipolla – nella quale ben presto si lanciarono gli operatori genovesi, capitanati dai membri della famiglia Durazzo, grandi protagonisti della politica della Superba dell'epoca. Nel giro di circa un lustro i genovesi riuscirono ad introdurre in Turchia una quantità notevole di luigini alterati, tanto da mettere in crisi l'economia dell'Impero, mediante un sofisticato sistema di smercio, basato in larga misura sul sistema dei cambi marittimi e su una fitta rete di agenti e mediatori distribuiti tra Genova, Livorno e Smirne. Scopo di questo intervento è di suggerire agli studiosi come la documentazione privata, in larga misura proveniente dall'archivio gentilizio della famiglia Durazzo, possa essere fondamentale nella ricostruzione minuziosa di questa fitta rete mercantile, messo in opera dai genovesi alla fine degli anni Sessanta del XVII secolo. Lettere, copialettere, libri contabili e atti notarili ci condurranno alla scoperta di personaggi misconosciuti dalla storiografia, ma che hanno avuto un ruolo fondamentale nei traffici mediterranei in quello scorcio di Seicento, contraddistinto da una forte ripresa economica e marittima del Mare Nostrum.

VI.2 Las relaciones comerciales entre Génova e Imperio Otomano en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII. Los documentos del Banco de San Jorge.
[I rapporti commerciali tra Genova e l'Impero Ottomano nel secondo Seicento visti dalle carte del Banco di S. Giorgio: spunti per una ricerca].
Paolo CALCAGNO

Seppur fortemente osteggiata dalla Francia fin dal XVI secolo, Genova prova insistentemente a riallacciare dei regolari rapporti commerciali con l'area ottomana. Lo sviluppo, nei decenni centrali del Seicento, di un orientamento politico favorevole alla riaffermazione del ruolo "marinaro" della città, porta la questione del commercio "levantino" in primo piano: nel 1665 l'ambasceria di Gio. Agostino Durazzo va a buon fine, e il Sultano approva il capitolato volto a regolamentare gli scambi commerciale tra Genova e la Porta.

Da allora le navi genovesi – favorite da consistenti agevolazioni doganali – iniziano a dirigersi con regolarità a Smirne, portando principalmente tessuti di seta e carta (i prodotti di spicco della manifattura genovese) e ritornando cariche di lane, pelli, cere e altre materie prime. L'esperimento commerciale però ebbe breve durata: la nota vicenda dei "luigini" (la truffa del secolo, l'ha definita Carlo Maria Cipolla), introdotti illegalmente dai genovesi in terra turca, e la conseguente avversione francese comportano l'estromissione della Superba dal mercato ottomano.

Per il ceto mercantile genovese si è trattato senza dubbio di una buona opportunità. Un periodo breve – poco più di dieci anni, tutto sommato – ma durante il quale le potenze commerciali dominanti del Nord Europa (oltre ai "soliti" veneziani) hanno dovuto fare i conti con il rinnovato protagonismo della Repubblica. È proprio sugli aspetti economici che ci si vuole soffermare, in un'ottica ampiamente mediterranea e continentale: per valutare il nuovo ruolo dei genovesi nel contesto orientale, e capire quali strategie mercantili mettono in atto per inserirsi nelle nuove correnti di scambio.

La storiografia sui rapporti con il Levante ha privilegiato da sempre la fase "gloriosa" dell'espansionismo coloniale bassomedievale. Quanto all'età moderna, i pochi contributi disponibili – oltre tutto generalmente piuttosto datati – si sono concentrati maggiormente sugli aspetti politici, sfruttando largamente la copiosa documentazione diplomatica. Il contributo che viene proposto intende invece rileggere queste vicende alla luce delle registrazioni doganali del porto di Genova, conservate nel corposo apparato documentario del Banco di San Giorgio, da poco riordinato. L'idea è quella di presentare un capitolo inedito di storia del commercio marittimo di antico regime, per cercare di delineare meglio le modalità e la natura degli scambi sull'asse ovest-est del *Mare Nostrum*.

VI.3 La vida de Margliani en Estambul: dudas, peligros, amenazas e intentos de fuga tras las negociaciones hispano-turcas.
Cristina TEJADA

Giovanni Margliani, enviado de Felipe II a Estambul a tratar la suspensión de armas con el Turco que había iniciado el vallisoletano Martín de Acuña en marzo de 1577, permaneció en la capital otomana desde diciembre de 1577 a marzo de 1581. Durante estos más de 3 años de estancia, además de firmar tres acuerdos de tregua, el último por tres años, su vida en Estambul fue variando a tenor de las órdenes y las noticias que se recibían de España, de la gradual confianza que le fueron otorgando los otomanos, de la inclinación a la paz con España de los visires que se van sucediendo en el Diván y de su propio nombramiento como embajador *quasi* oficial en octubre de 1579.

La abundante correspondencia del milanés con la cúpula de poder hispana nos muestra, además de la evolución y los entresijos de las negociaciones con la Sublime Puerta, el lado más humano de esta vida. Una vida que comienza, como referirá el embajador francés Gilles de Noailles, bajo el más absoluto secreto, siempre de acuerdo a los designios hispanos de buscar un acuerdo escondido a ojos de los europeos y especialmente del Papa, y que gradualmente se irá haciendo pública, pareja a la de cualquier embajador, a pesar de que el propio Margliani insiste con frecuencia en su vida modesta y espartana, sin lujos ni ostentaciones, casi asceta. Una vida que se

ve en peligro en varias ocasiones, como cuando llegan noticias a Estambul de la campaña portuguesa contra Fez con participación hispana o de la supuesta preparación de una gran armada contra Argel en el año 1579 (en realidad destinada a la toma de Portugal), o ante las amenazas del Capitán del Mar Aluchali o el Primer Visir Acmat Bajá en los primeros meses de 1580, antes del acuerdo del 23 de marzo. En todas estas ocasiones, el embajador milanés nos habla de la posibilidad de escaparse de la corte otomana para evitar la muerte. Es un relato bello y poético que refleja sus miedos y sus dudas, parejo a aquellos en que reflexiona y se lamenta de su larga estancia en Turquía y su vida austera, o de la ambigüedad y la falta de definición y órdenes claras de los dirigentes hispanos, o a algunos del Bailo veneciano que reproducen sus conversaciones con Margliani y plasman, entre otros, las dudas de este en ser aceptado como embajador por los turcos o el comportamiento altanero y orgulloso del mismo, que, como Felipe II, no cede un ápice ante los otomanos en un trato en absoluta igualdad.

Peligros, miedos, intentos de fuga y dudas sobre los escollos en las negociaciones son las pinceladas con las que trataremos de dibujar la vida de Giovanni Margliani en Estambul.

VI. 4 Comer y pasar hambre a bordo: Sabor de la miseria. "Mesas" de los galeotes en las galeras de su Majestad y el Sultán
Özlem KUMRULAR

The galley slaves, irregardless of the galleys in which they were rowing, were almost always subject to insufficient food -both in quality and quantity-. Though the slight difference between the food distributed in the galleys of His Majesty and Grand Turk was frequently mentioned in the documents of the age, the taste of misery was the same: unedible tasteless dishes, undrinkable water, lack of wine, insects which invaded the food stocks on board, scorbutus and other diseases caused by malnutrition, unhygienic conditions, etc. Apart from the registers of the food stocks, we owe noteable details to the memoirs of the galley slaves that they published on their return to homeland. There is a considerable corpus which sheds light on the food distributed to the galley slaves in the Mediterranean: *Aviso*s, chronicles, travelogues, etc. This paper aims to analyze the gastronomical conditions on board with reference to published and archival sources in Spanish, Italian, French, English, Turkish, Portuguese, etc.

VII.1 El miedo fingido: la amenaza del imperio otomano a Felipe III
Miguel Ángel DE BUNES IBARRA

La mayor parte de las acciones militares de Felipe III en el Mediterráneo, incluida la expulsión de los moriscos en 1609-1614, se justifican por un posible ataque y expansión otomana por el Mediterráneo. Aunque los informes de los espías y comerciantes españoles en Estambul avisan de la relativa decadencia de la Sublime Puerta, sin embargo desde Madrid y Valladolid se sigue utilizando la idea del enorme miedo y peligro que representa la Sublime Puerta para la seguridad de Europa y de las posesiones de la Monarquía Hispánica.

VII.2 Un franciscano al servicio de Felipe II: Fray Diego de Mallorca
Gennaro VARRIALE

En la edad moderna la Casa de Austria tiene la exigencia de conocer los proyectos políticos y militares del sultán en el Mediterráneo, por lo que se forma una estructura de espías gestionada por la corte virreinal de Nápoles. Pero tras la guerra de Chipre hay la necesidad de organizar una nueva red de espionaje que observe los movimientos de los turcos, pues la existente ya está reprimida por las autoridades otomanas. Cuando en la escena mediterránea aparece un franciscano mallorquín con muy buenos contactos en Constantinopla, los altos mandos de la Monarquía Hispánica confían en sus diseños.

VII.3 La convivencia turco-cristiana en la literatura cervantina
María LARA MARTINEZ

Tendemos a pensar que los hombres y mujeres del Siglo de Oro poseían una visión maniquea del mundo. Es cierto que el peso de las armas era muy fuerte en la Edad Moderna cuando tanto se ponderaba la guerra, frente a la cultura actual que ensalza por encima de las contiendas los valores que nacen de la paz. Pero si sólo hubiera primado esta dimensión, no hallaríamos a Cervantes recordando emocionado la batalla de Lepanto- aquélla que le dejó maltrecha la mano izquierda-, ni implorando el cristiano de *El gallardo español* la protección de Mahoma para Alí y éste la compañía de Cristo para su amigo musulmán.

El objetivo de esta comunicación es analizar la evocación que el escritor alcalaíno- conocedor de la sociedad otomana en primera persona- desarrolló en clave de simpatía sobre los procesos de interculturalidad en la frontera mediterránea.

[The Turkish Christian Coexistance in the Cervantine Literature

We tend to think that the men and women of the Golden Century were possessing a vision maniquea of the world. In that age, the weight of the weapons was very strong, but if only we

were concentrating on this dimension, we wouldn't understand why Cervantes remembered with tears the Lepanto battle. In fact, several characters created by the Spanish writer, such as Catalina de Oviedo, lived in Turkey.

The purpose of this communication is to analyse the evocation that Cervantes developed around the friendship Turks and Christians.]

VII.4 Consideraciones políticas de la España del siglo XVIII sobre relaciones entre la Puerta Otomana y la Regencia de Argel
Ismet TERKI-HASSAINE

Basándome sobre las fuentes manuscritas conservadas en la Sección de Estado del Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, intentaré resaltar en esta ponencia una nueva aproximación histórica sobre consideraciones políticas de la España borbónica del siglo XVIII en torno a las relaciones entre la Puerta Otomana y la Regencia de Argel. Se trata de una nueva lectura de la gran labor diplomática española llevada a cabo en Constantinopla, sobre todo bajo el sultanato de Abdul-Hamid I (1774-1789) para conseguir un tratado de paz entre España y la Regencia de Argel. Esta aproximación histórica nos permite valorar también desde fuera qué tipo de relaciones había entre el poder central de Constantinopla y el gobierno de Argel, primero en el periodo de hostilidades y segundo en el periodo de paz con España a lo largo del siglo XVIII.

COPING WITH LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THREE EPISODES
Organizer: Muhsin SOYUDOĞAN

The seventeenth-century crises of a global moment of socio-economic upheaval and political reconfiguration brought seismic shocks to the lives of people from all walks of life. Necessity being the mother of invention, the century introduced ample challenge as well as reinvigoration that came out to solidify the *ancien régime*s. How actual individuals coped with an interrelated set of social questions throughout the century sets the tenor of this panel. The paper trail stands witness, whether finding the authorial self in the midst of popular religious movements in search of canonical authority or desperately seeking a humble livelihood in the form of a fief grant. Entangled within the social networks were personal circumstances, from insertion of a religious functionary within local politics between the center and periphery to the predicaments of office-holding with ebbs and flows of favor and disgrace. Fief daybooks, complaint registers, court records, chronogram-poems, chronicles, learned treatises, receipts of transfer or salary lists thread links tenuous at times, yet emphatic once in a while, so that the particular hues glisten against the grey literature. An intellectual based in western Anatolia, a soldier on Danubian marshes on the lookout for a fief, a mufti stoned at Amasya, an Aleppine finance bureaucrat in Istanbul sent back home; their life stories capture moments of struggle or customs upheld in the face of innovation, undoing and redoing the firmament of Ottoman establishment. Coping with life is the common denominator, yet modalities lived through run the diversity of and multiple glosses over human experience. The benefit of the kaleidoscopic view offered in this fashion is the complexity yet interrelatedness of episodes put together, through clamor of conflict or silent accord. Hence, it is in moving between the separate papers of the panel that the temporality of societal forces and personal circumstances of the human condition are in best display.

VIII.1 The Quest for Authority in a Distressed Age: Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (d.c.1043/1633) and Peculiarities of Ottoman Literary Culture
Ahmet KAYLI

Ahmet Rumi el-Akhisari, a seventeenth-century scholar and preacher flourishing in Akhisar-Saruhan in Western Anatolia with possible connections also to Istanbul, was a prolific author with an exceptionally popular readership throughout the later centuries of the Ottoman Empire. Fragments about his biography introduce him as a *Khalvetî* sheikh and a pupil of the famous Kadızade Mehmed Efendi and possibly he had originally been a war captive from Cyprus who became a productive scholar – "shining like the sun"- after being converted to Islam. This paper concentrates on a number of his writings, the intricate history of which provides crucial insight into dynamics of the seventeenth century religious debates known in the historiography as Kadizadeli-sufi controversy, especially the acute need felt by the parties to rely on a canonical authority to substantiate their positions, as well as the ways in which these needs were satisfied.

What makes Akhisari a rather interesting figure is not only the views he propagated in his writings, but rather the intriguing relationship between him and Birgivi Mehmed Efendi

(d.981/1573), the intellectual source of the Kadızadelis --a relationship with repercussions also for the modern scholarship on the subject. Of Akhisari's numerous writings at least five treatises have been attributed to Birgivi in a number of manuscripts and several other sources, as if a systematic campaign was in place. Based on Birgivi's supposed authorship of these treatises, he has been presented in the modern historiography as the person who introduced Ibn Taymiyya (d.728/1328) to Ottoman scholarly circles and popularized the *salafi* movement within the Ottoman domains. Thus, these attributions turn out to have been directly instrumental in turning Birgivi into an anti-*sufi* scholar with an uncompromising *salafi* persuasion, an image that is still well and alive, if also increasingly questioned. The present paper interprets the Akhisari-Birgivi relationship as reflective of the 17th-century quest for authority in the bitter struggle over defining religious orthodoxy, and considers the acts of misattribution as episodes in a long-term process whereby an "imaginary" Birgivi was constituted for the consumption of the posteriority, along with canonization of the "historical" Birgivi in this process. Beyond simply attempting to answer who might have been responsible for the misattributions that so fundamentally determined Birgivi's reception to this day, the paper also problematizes circulation and identity of texts in the Ottoman literary culture of the 17th century as well as peculiarities of manuscript culture where a text could assume a new identity without easily being recognized.

VIII.2 Forty Years Endeavor for a *Timar*: The Dramatic Story of Divane Müslüm (1596 - 1639)
Muhsin SOYUDOĞAN

At the turn of the seventeenth century a vast land beyond the river Danube had already been annexed to the Ottoman Empire. Yet, the river had never lost its distinguishing trait of being a natural front for the Ottoman state. Many bands of paid soldiers as well as adventurer marauders and freebooters stack around the fortresses and walled towns located on the bank of the river for a piece of livelihood. This paper focuses on the efforts of a marauder namely Divane Müslüm, who took part in skirmishes and battles along the Danube in hope of receiving a *timar* allotment at the *sanjaq* of Vidin.

We know of him by his trials and *timar* transactions reflected into several *timar-ruznamçe* registers, which cover the last forty years of his life. It is not certain who exactly he was and where he originally came from. But his title *divane* (lit. crazy) lets us to estimate that he was, as in Ottoman terminology, an *ecnebi* (alien), i.e., an individual who was not descendant of a *timar*-holder *sipahi*. For the first time we see him being found eligible to a *timar* for his contributions in an incursion on a Hungarian troop in 1596. What made his story tragic is that he could not really possess a *timar* for thirty years due to various obstacles; and failures in his attempts of cheating officials to get what he was deserved for make his story comic.

We see in his story the psychological and material bases for such a behavior of putting one's head in the lion's mouth with a great patience; and we catch in it the clues of a struggle between timariots by blood and timariots by sword, which shaped the discourse reflected into the contemporary treatises urging the state about, and offering solutions for, problems thought to be culminated at the end of the sixteenth century in the *timar* system. Thus, this case study attempts

to reevaluate the seventeenth century border life and sociopolitical relations knitted around the *timar*-holding through the life experiences of Divane Müslüm.

VIII.3 Trial by Number: The Accountability of a Finance Bureaucrat, Muhsinzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1710)
Aykut MUSTAK

If the modern statesmen are vulnerable against public scandals related to private misconduct, the early modern statesmen were susceptible to collective disarray represented as personal misconduct. Raising public funds by private means of procurement was crucial to a financier's performance in office, or control of the information flow between the center and the peripheries. Yet, such in-betweenness was disrupted at the point of dismissal. One's performance in office was contested on the grounds of factional politics, further raising the issues of job description and accountability. The portrayal of a bureaucrat's dismissal due to factional politics was culled with the lines of thought for the prospective incumbents and the social norms with regard to the public service at the circumscribed social milieu. The career of a finance bureaucrat of the late 17th century, where the protracted costly wars bore ever present risks causing endemic shortage of cash, extra levies, disruption of the processes of production and imminent social unrest, is illustrative in this manner.

One such case can be made for Muhsinzade Mehmed Efendi by the narratives of his dismissal at the Anonymous chronicle (Özcan 2000) and *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*. In his career spanning the late 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, serving variously as the entrustee of the imperial kitchen and of the imperial mint, and eventually the finance minister, Mehmed Efendi, the elder son of the fabrics merchant Muhsin Chalabi hailing from Aleppo, portrays the precarious circumstances of a finance bureaucrat. By moving backwards in his career and forward from the crucial moment of his dismissal and repositioning at a provincial post in the aftermath of 1703 rebellion, one could observe a common feature of early modern public service as public misgivings were born with personal predicaments. This paper presents a personal life at a moment privileged with respect to both its social context and the individual's career, so that we can insert the social psychology of a milieu as an analytical layer between the societal norms and historical actor's subjectivity in our historical analyses.

PANEL IX

THE OTTOMANS AND RUSSIANS: UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER
Organizer: Valeriy MORKVA

The subject of the Ottoman-Russian relations constitutes a specific and indispensable part of historical experiences of both the Ottoman and the Russian societies, includes a large variety of topics and thus makes a distinctive field of research for those dealing with the history of both empires. In a way, it seems impossible to fully understand the broad panorama of the Ottoman or Russian life without taking into consideration the interactions between the frequent arch-rivals and at the same time the two closest neighbours, existing side by side for many centuries. In a way, the image of the Other often contributes to construction of one's own self-identity. For that reason the study of the Ottoman-Russian relations might provide valuable insights equally helpful for our understanding of both empires' past.

The given panel includes the following three presentations: "Demographic Warfare in the Service of the Russian Imperial Policy against Its Southern Rivals in Transcaucasia: The Mass Emigration of the Armenians from Persia and the Ottoman Empire (1820s - 1830s)," "A description of the Ottoman Empire left by a Russian war prisoner in the second half of the 17th century," and "*Rus-I Menhus:* Osmanli Tarihyazıcılığında Moskof Imgesi."

The panel will add to our understanding of some aspects of the Ottoman-Russian relations during the time of the most intensive clashes of the two empires' interests within the vast geographic area from the Balkan peninsula to the Transcaucasia. Without any doubt, the proposed presentations will raise a lot of motivating discussions and issues that would ultimately contribute to the study of the topic of the Ottoman-Russian relations, and would expand the boundaries of our knowledge in this field. The meeting and panel discussions will definitely be useful both for participants and the presenters themselves.

IX.1 A Description of the Ottoman Empire Left by a Russian War Prisoner in the second half of the 17th century
Valeriy MORKVA

As a distinctive literary work of its age, the manuscript by an anonymous author presents a first-hand eyewitness account of the Ottoman Empire, written in Old Russian with some touches of Church Slavonic. The original text was found in mid-19th century in Simbirsk (nowadays Ulyanovsk) and placed to the Rumiantsev Museum, initially the private collection of books, coins, manuscripts and other historical materials that belonged to Count Nikolay Rumiantsev. Later, the Rumiantsev Museum's collection of manuscripts became the part of the Russian State Library in Moscow. In late 19th century the manuscript was published by the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian society in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* (the Orthodox Palestinian Anthology), the society's periodic publication. The manuscript contains an overview of numerous places visited by the author all over the Ottoman Empire in the Northern Africa, Palestine, Iraq, Asia Minor and the Balkans, and might be of certain interest for scholars dealing with the history of the Ottoman

state, as well as for those researching the wide-ranging contacts between the Ottoman and the Russian empires of the time.

Taking into account some data given by the author, it is possible to say that the document was most probably compiled in the second half of the 17th century. In particular, the author speaks about the city of Kamianets-Podilskyi (Ott. *Kamaniçe*) as an Ottoman possession, which stands to be the most helpful hint for historical dating. As is known, Kamaniçe eyaleti remained under the Ottoman rule for rather a short period from 1672 until 1699. Moreover, the Morea (Peloponnese peninsula) and Budapest are described as the Ottoman possessions, too. Since the fortress of Buda was taken by the Habsburgs in 1686, this means that the manuscript could be written not earlier than 1672, and not later than 1686. The author, himself being a career soldier, pays attention to geographical specificities of the places he visited, distances between the cities, the city fortifications and their defensive capacity, the ethnic composition of the cities and the fighting capabilities of the local peoples. Being an original voice from the period, based on author's own observations, the Description remains a unique document of its kind for the pre-Petrine Russia.

IX.2 *Rus-ı Menhus:* Osmanlı Tarihyazıcılığında Moskof İmgesi
Özhan KAPICI

XVIII. Yüzyıl ortalarına kadar Osmanlı vekâyinüvisleri "Moskof ve Urus"tan bahsettikleri satırlarda, 'İslâm'ın keskin kılıcı'nın kendilerine verdiği cesaret ile onları tahkir etmek suretiyle İslâm'ın siyasî dilinden devşirilen sıfatlar benimsemişlerdi. Osmanlı tarihyazıcılığında Rus imgesi, tabiatıyla harp meydanlarında şekillenmişti. XVIII. Yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı entelektüelleri, rakiplerini nispeten daha fazla önemseme ihtiyacı hissetmişlerdi. Rusya'ya dair yaklaşımlar onların fenn-i politika, diplomasi ve komplo (*fitne*) konularındaki hünerlerini de dile getiren retoriklerle şekilleniyor, askerî ve siyasî üstünlüğün taraf değiştirmesi bu şekilde gerekçelendiriliyordu. Bu dönemden itibaren Osmanlı tarih eserlerine yansıdığı şekliyle *Moskoflu* ithamı, Bâbıâli içerisindeki hizipsel mücadelelerde muhalefeti bastırmaya ve iç siyasette kamuoyunu etkilemeye yönelik olarak sıklıkla rol oynamaya başladı.

XVIII. Yüzyıl boyunca Rusya'ya gönderilen geçici elçilerin ilettikleri enformasyon da genel olarak yüzeysel kalmaktaydı; özellikle Rusya'dan başlayan oryantalist Rönesansla birlikte Rusların Osmanlılara karşı topladıkları ve ürettikleri bilgi seviyesi ile Osmanlıların Ruslara karşı bilgi seviyeleri arasındaki fark açılmaya başlıyordu. Dolayısıyla bugün XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlıların Rusya sefaretnameleri üzerinden Rusya tarihinin kendisi değil ancak 'Rus imgesi' çalışılabilir. Rusya tarihi hususunda Osmanlı tarihçiliğinin önünde bulunan 'emperyal kapasite' dışındaki engellerden bir diğeri, yakın geçmişe kadar farklı ideolojik söylemlerle devam eden *russofobi*ydi. XIX. Yüzyıla gelindiğinde Rusya, başta Osmanlı yanında İran ve Çin de dâhil olmak üzere Şarka karşı diplomatik, askerî ve ilmî müesseselerini kurarken Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, bilhassa Avrupa'ya yönelik nisbî alaka dikkate alındığında XIX. yüzyılın neredeyse sonlarına kadar Rusya entelektüel anlamda adeta bir muamma coğrafya gibiydi.

Bâbıâli, XVIII. yüzyılda Rusya'ya gönderdiği fevkalade sefirlerinin nispeten naif gözlemleri, Memleketeyn voyvodaları, Kafkasya'daki askerî birimler ve Kırım Hanlığı başta olmak üzere çeşitli kaynaklardan intikal eden enformasyon dışında Rusya'yla zihnî ve entelektüel mesafesini

korumakta uzun süre ısrar etmişti. Vekâyinâmelerde çoğu zaman kısaca bahsedilen "Moskof havâdisi"ne bakıp bunları karşı tarafta yani Rusya'da Osmanlı'ya dair biriken ve işlenen enformasyonla karşılaştırmaya çalışan bir tarihçi, aradaki büyük farkı açıkça görecektir. Genel bir karşılaştırmayla dahi Osmanlı seçkin çevrelerinin Rusya hakkındaki malumatlarının çoğu zaman karikatürize edilebilir bir literatürden ibaret olduğu, bunun da ancak Rus imgesi çalışmalarına hizmet edeceği yahut bunlardan Osmanlı gözünden Osmanlı-Rus ilişkileri çalışmalarında istifade edilebileceği elimizdeki mevcut verilerle şimdilik rahatlıkla ileri sürülebilir.

XVIII. Yüzyılda Rusya'ya dair Osmanlı sefâretnâme ve vekâyinâme literatürü Rusya tarihinin kendisine değil, öncelikle Osmanlı entelektüel tarihine veya bir adım ötede Osmanlı-Rus diplomasi tarihine hizmet edebilecek kaynaklardır. Çoğu zaman edebî ve zihnî tarih bakımından kıymetleri, siyasî ve sosyal tarih sahalarındaki kıymetlerine nazaran daha fazladır. Kısaca XVIII. yüzyıl Rusya'ya dair Osmanlı sefâretnâme ve vekâyinâme literatürünün Rus tarihçiliğine çok da fazla somut bir katkısı olamaz veyahut çok sınırlı olur; genelde de "imaj" çalışmalarına hizmet edebilir. XIX.yüzyılda her iki imparatorluğun diğeri hakkındaki enformasyon yığınının nispetsizliği de buna işaret eder. Bu tebliğde genel olarak üç mesele tartışılacaktır: İlk olarak Osmanlı tarih yazımında *russofobi*k söylemin oluşumu. İkinci olarak XVIII. yüzyıl Rusya sefâretnâmelerinde 'bir modernite modeli olarak Rusya' jargonu etrafında Rus imgesi. Üçüncü olarak Osmanlı tarihçiliği, ıslahat literatürü ve oksidentalizmi bağlamında Rus imgesi tartışılacaktır.

IX.3 Demographic Warfare in the Service of the Russian Imperial Policy against Its Southern Rivals in Transcaucasia: The Mass Emigration of the Armenians from Persia and the Ottoman Empire (1820s - 1830s)
Serkan KEÇECİ

This project examines the mass emigration of the Armenians from Persia (Qajar Iran) and the Ottoman Empire to Transcaucasia and subsequently their education process as a stage of the Russian imperial strategy. By the beginning of the reign of Nicholas I, Russia already possessed an established policy of encouraging foreign subject to resettle into its empire. In the eighteenth century Russian imperial immigration policy had been planned and developed in the light of four overlapping issues: first, the need for individual specialist to strengthen various sectors of the economy, military and bureaucracy; second, the need for labour to develop and increase economic output, especially agricultural; third, the need for auxiliaries to assist the army in defending Russia's extended borders; and finally the impact immigration would have on political relations with other states, Persia and the Ottoman Empire in particular.

A theoretical justification for more or less unrestricted immigration was provided by the appearance in mid-eighteenth-century Russia of Western mercantilist, populationist or enlightened ideas that the future strength and prosperity of a state depended upon increasing its populations. These migrations represented the largest in a serious of population exchanges and colonizations for strategic purposes by the three imperial structures.

PEOPLE AND SPATIAL RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN SOCIETY: BED-SITTERS, INNS AND LAUNDERETTES
Organizer: Bülent ÖZDEMİR

Space has no meaning unless it is defined and constructed socially, economically, culturally and politically. People give a meaning to space, they experience space, and often they derive a part of their identity from the region, city, place and space where they live or work. It is clear that spatial relations are very influential in the lives and attitudes of people so as the social practices and processes shape the spatial differences. Therefore, the spatial relations are relevant point of departure for historical research. History, as a discipline determined by the relations between time, space and human actions and behaviors, finds a very productive ground on the researches of socio-economic and socio-cultural history when it distance itself from the conventional historical research such as political and diplomatic history. In case of Ottoman History, this has been seen as the study of marginal groups within the scope of socio-economic and socio-cultural history. Here the term "marginal" describes a positional definition which puts emphasis on the groups that have not been represented properly in the Ottoman history writing.

The purpose of this panel is to draw attention to the importance of the research on the spatial relations and marginal groups in order to complete the picture by stressing those nameless heroes' role in the Ottoman history. Human actions and experiences which have no meaning by themselves and are not very well reflected in the records, produce an identity as a result of spatial relations and professions.

This panel is an example of the study of "collective biography" and consists of three papers respecting to the social groups in the Ottoman history.

X.1 Laundrettes and Laundresses in Ottoman Culture: "Câmeşûy" and "Câmeşûy Chambers"
Emine DİNGEÇ

Habit of cleanliness has changed and developed in societies in time. In Turkish-Islam culture, both past habits and Islamic religion practices give great importance to cleanliness. Therefore body cleanliness and garment cleanliness have become a crucial part of daily practices. This paper considers the garment cleanliness in particular. "Câme" is a Persian word which means cloth/garment and "şûy" means washer which corresponds to "çamaşırcı" in Turkish. In villages and countryside people wash their clothes themselves while in the cities there is a different practice.

This study focuses on the factors that create this difference and the practice of washing in certain parts of the society. The consequences of this shift will be evaluated from two perspectives. The first one is from the vocational/professional point such as "Câmeşûy" as a profession, and the second one is "Câmeşûy chambers" in which the practice of cleaning could be performed comfortably by hiring a store or sparing a chamber in one's house.

The recruitment of "Câmeşûy" in the cities are practiced in three different categories. The first group is chosen from "acemiler" who are known as "Câmeşûyân-ı hassa" and found in the sultan's palace. In this context, we will refer to the accounts of "Câmeşûyân-ı hassa" in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (Kamil Kepeci, Register no: 7224 ve 7250). Similarly, human resources such as "Câmeşûyân-ı Saray-ı Galata" and "Câmeşûyân-ı Saray-ı İbrahim Paşa" that consist of 11-12 "acemi" serve as the laundresses. In the mansions, however, there is a different recruitment system. Slaves have been recruited for this service in the mansions. In the second category, launderette artisans offer professional service. And finally, an 'independent' group offer laundry services. This category usually consists of poor women. Although different categories offer the same service their customer profile is different from each other. The first group is more institutionalized and professionalized, whereas the second group is more vocational and the third group performs the act for economical reasons. Usually bachelors benefit from laundry services.

Removing stains is also an important issue. "Câmeşûynâme", written by Nâsîr-ı Tûsî, has nine chapters. Each chapter explains the removal of different kinds of stains. Firdevsi translated this source book into Turkish in XV century. We will refer to this book and explore the ways in which the stains are removed. Similarly, we will also refer to the supplies and materials when washing garments.

The sensitivity to cleanliness also demonstrates itself in the structure of buildings. "Câmeşûy chambers" are added to the structures of palaces and mansions. Some stores are run as laundrettes. The last part of our paper will discover "câmeşûy chambers" which are also known as "hücre-i câmeşûy". The garment cleaning is an important part of Ottoman culture which has created certain professions, and places for laundry. This has also influenced social life. Thus this paper is a contribution to research in social history.

X.2 Living out of the Neighbourhood in the Ottoman Society: Bed-Sitters and Singles
Zübeyde G. YAĞCI

The word single was not only defined in Turkish dictionary as the one which has not been married. Besides such definition, it was also expressed as the one living alone and separate from his family although he is married. Even the workers in farms, ploughmen, servants, waiters, hired wranglers and finally the unemployed and vagrant were added to these two definitions. In fact, these definitions mention how the single is defined in society rather than what it is. Namely, it clearly reveals the viewpoints of the society to singles. Therefore, the singles reflected in resources are considered in frame of that very definition, and discussed as the ones who are not allowed to stay in neighbourhoods - the smallest unit of Ottoman city structuring - , and consequently, as the ones who are excluded from society. Therefore, the singles who are not allowed to stay in neighbourhoods and are kept away could only find a place for themselves among the marginal groups of society. Thus, the singles who felt comfortable to some extent when they found a guarantor for themselves but were considered as the ones who were likely to commit an offense or had a criminal mind, were reflected in documents as troublemakers probably for that reason. Because they had to dwell in inns, bed-sitters, foundation rooms, coffee houses, vacant lands when they left their villages, farms, sticks and came to cities as İstanbul

being in the first place; they were not let staying in neighbourhoods. The life conditions of singles who even were not able to earn to pay taxes, and even who made all kinds of jobs to accomplish their goal of going back to their homelands by saving whatever they had gained, were quite hard. Such people who were considered as the lost and trivial persons of the city had worked as water-bearers, porters, street hawkers, boaters, servants, watchmen etc. Thus, we can understand that as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar had said "İstanbul is a place always with full of poor", he did not mean the settled residents of İstanbul. We should not also ignore the possibility that hard life conditions might have made contributions to their marginality.

The cities which the singles came most can also be said as Bursa and Edirne, but İstanbul, which is considered as a place where the streets are paved with gold is leading. In Seyahatname (travel) book of Evliya Çelebi, the existence of bed-sitters in various places of İstanbul is mentioned. However, the most famous ones we meet are Yolgeçen Rooms, Mercan Rooms, Cephane Rooms near Mahmutpaşa, Pertevpaşa Rooms, Hilalci Rooms in Süleymaniye, forty single houses in Atpazarı and Büyük Karaman, Gedikpaşa single house and Yedi Azaplar near Unkapanı. The single rooms at Üsküdar Balaban Pier can be added to such places.

The researches on marginal people of the Ottoman Empire have gained speed in the last years. Particularly, due to studies dealing with the places of coffee houses in society, the singles also began to attract attention. In this sense, in researches which deal with subjects such as crime and punishment, bed-sitters and singles with high crime rates are stated.

In this study; the place and user of the place, the lives of people in that place, the viewpoints of society to such places, how the people and place are integrated with each other and effects of such integrating point of view on people who even obligatorily had to choose a living place to endure their lives, shall be discussed. Again in this leaflet, how the people who had to choose such rooms due to their social status and incomes were perceived as one of the marginal groups of society and how they were affected by that perception shall be analysed. For that, Ottoman archive documents, resources of that era and travel books shall be used.

X.3 Inns and Travellers in Ottoman Society
Serdar GENÇ

Inns have become the main places to meet accommodation needs for travelers, merchants, and workmen. In the Ottoman period it is possible to meet inns in the cities, towns. In particular the number of inns is great in port cities such as Istanbul and Izmir where there is an intensive amount of trade. In addition to accommodation facilities some inns offer service such as small mosque, baths, shops, cellars and stables for animals.

Inns, which host guests from different places, have also become a source of inspiration for literature and music. Therefore, there is a considerable amount of novels, poems and folk songs about inns. Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel's poem, *Han Duvarları,* folksongs such as *Bergama'nın Hanları*, *Şu Çavdır'ın Hanları* are but only a few examples. Inns have also become a subject matter for idiomatic expressions.

In this paper, rather than exploring the architectural features of inns, we will focus on people who stopover in inns. We will consider the problems, the service, the facilities in the inns. In addition, we will examine the estate assets of the customers who have died in inn chambers and find out their personal belongings, their economical status, and their daily lives. In relation to this, we will benefit from the journals of the European travelers in Anatolia and Rumeli and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*.

THE PROCESSES AND THE WAYS OF CHANGE OF OWNERSHIP IN CRETE UNDER THE RULE OF THE OTTOMANS
Organizer: A. Nükhet ADIYEKE

The Ottoman Empire included many different subjectivities with the geography it spread and the period he lived through. Located at the intersection of the Christian World and the Islamic World, the Ottoman Empire was founded in the Middle Ages but lived the modern times. These two axes of change, completely different from each other by period and geography, enabled the presence of different sub-systems under the general upper structure within the Ottomans' system. The Ottoman Empire had a system bearing the imperial characteristics like the other empires. However, the same empire also included its sui generis features just like the others. Within this framework, various sub-universes which we call "Local Traditionalism" coexist within the basic imperial system.

After the conquest of Crete, the Ottomans established a system on the island which is financially and economically exceptional in comparison to the parts of the Empire. As a part of this, a wide living space was left to the private property. The Ottomans, gaining the control of Crete, acknowledged the ownership of the previous owners. Even though in other parts of the Empire the lands allocated for grain production were not left to the market as private property, the grain fields were considered within the wide concept of private property in Crete. The owners had the right to sell, transfer and bequeath their lands.

Wealth, which was based largely on land ownership before modernism, changed hands from time to time depending on primarily the political, then, economic and social conditions in Crete under the rule of the Ottomans. The factors that result in the change of ownership are classified as ordinary and extraordinary reasons. However, even under some ordinary circumstances, the ownership change was occasionally directed by political, social and economic oppressions in the background.

Consequently, first of the processes that requires the change of ownership was the participation of the Island to the Ottoman Empire, the second was the implementation of confiscation due to the participation to the revolts in Greek War of Independence, the third was to force the Muslim population to leave following the breakaway of the Island from the Ottoman Empire, and the final point was the process of Population Exchange. In our panel, these processes will be considered as the breaking point, besides the processes related to the change of ownership in ordinary periods such as sale, grant etc. will be exemplified. Thus, the hand-over the ownership of property and wealth on the Island will be shaped as a whole.

XI.1 Observations on the Change of Property in Rethymno after the Conquest
Mehmet Ali DEMİRBAŞ

The sources on the island of Crete, which was one of the late period conquests of the Ottoman Empire, provide important data on property relations. Especially the records on Rethymno after the conquest are of great importance to understand the practices in the field of property.

After its conquest in 1646, Rethymno was organized as the centre of the sanjak. Then one of the churches in the city was turned into a mosque and called after Sultan Ibrahim. The houses and stores in the vicinity of the castle, and the lands in different parts of the district were allocated to the foundation of this mosque. The former owners of these properties kept their previous rights on condition that they approved to pay cizye; they were, however, obliged to pay rent to the aforementioned foundation for their own houses. The inhabitants of the villages were also able to protect their properties by paying cizye. After the conquest, the properties of those who refused to pay cizye and *"fled"* from the Island were confiscated by the state and sold at an auction.

In rural areas, the Ottoman Empire acknowledged the presence of absolute private property as the continuation of the old tradition. All of the lands were registered as *"haracî"* however, it was stated in the legal code that the land might be transferred to another person with the provision of rent provided that the owner of the property had inadequacy in cropping the land.

In this presentation, the land registry-cadastre, Islamic court records (Şer'iyye Sicili) and archive records issued in accordance with the special order related to the handover of the said properties were studied and tried to be subjected to a numerical analysis.

XI. 2 Ordinary and Extraordinary Conditions in Handover of the Properties in Crete from 17th Century to 20th Century
Nuri ADIYEKE

The existence of intensive private property is observed in the State of Crete under the rule of the Ottomans, which is unusual for the rest of the imperial system. It is also known that the handover of the land property was frequently experienced as the ownership of private property was so common. The handover of the property may be examined in two groups in terms of period and way:

I- The handover of the property as an ordinary way in the ordinary periods and processes. The ownership is observed to be changed by four times in this way.
a- Sale   b- Bequest   c- Grant   d- Other ways

The handover of the property in this period and way was lived in normal processes. The state was not included in this change of ownership, furthermore an ethnical or another kind of differentiation or else extraordinary conflicts were not also in question between the former proprietors and new proprietors.

II- The handover of the property as an extraordinary way in the extraordinary periods and processes. This is a process experienced in parallel with the Greek Revolution emerged after the year 1821. As of this date, the properties of the participants of the riot were confiscated by force and sold at auction by the State. In this process, a major change was occurred for the owners of the property in Crete. Many confiscated property of non-Muslims were bought by the Muslims.

So, the problems related to the change of ownership continued juridically until the end of the century.

The first group of property changes will be discussed by determining from the records of Kadi; and the second group from Muhallefat and Musadere Records which are present in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives and from the other records.

XI. 3 The Last Phase of Leave: Muslims Changed Hands Properties in Rethymno
Melike KARA & Aytek Soner ALPAN

This study aims to explore the process of the Muslims' private property changed hands in Crete between 1913-1924. After the declaration of union with Greece in 1913, there were approximately 25.000 Muslim living in Crete as Greek citizens until the exchange of populations. The study is structured on two basic terms. Before the exchange of populations; The Muslim properties were passed into other hands either through regular purchase or through compulsory expropriation. In other words, their changed hand properties were realized through different stages as regular and irregular purchases. As a crucial indication of the Muslim state of belonging to the island, their changed hand properties through voluntary or involuntary purchase was very important in their loss of connection with the fatherland. On the other hand, the process of population exchange was another dimension and the situation of the people exchanged the lands that changed hands will be analysed in depth. In this paper, the economic results of the refugee settings in Rethymno, the only Cretan city where the Muslim population (Τουρκοκρητικοί) outnumbered the Orthodox Christian is investigated. The paper aims to examine the bulletins that the Refugee Settlement Committee (RSC, Επιτροπή Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων) issued during the post-Exchange settlement process of the refugees in Rethymno between 1925 and 1932 in dialogue with other primary and secondary sources to analyse how the property changed hands after the population exchange. The bulletins give rich information on more than 1700 estates in Rethymno, which were recorded by being evaluated on a large range of criteria: Their former and new owner, size, location and worth etc. This genre of sources, hitherto neglected in Turkish historiography, has the potential to improve our understanding of the population exchange, not from a demographic standpoint but also from a socioeconomic point of view and to contribute to the greater question of how the property ownership and land tenure changed over time in Crete. The basic documents of the study are the original resources in Directorate General of Foundations and Turkish National Archives.

THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL PROJECT
Organizer: Fatma Sinem ERYILMAZ

The aim of the discussion is to expose the diverse sources that nourished Ottoman imperial culture and thereby question the interpretation provided so far by the academic community concerning the parameters of Ottoman piety and of kingship. The overt presence of these sources, which not only include Islamic theology, philosophy, and mysticism, but also extra-Islamic credence, Neo-Platonic thought, and myth, challenges the contemporary academic discourse dominated by the categories of orthodoxy-heterodoxy and Sunni-Shite sectarianism. Furthermore, they reveal the existence in Ottoman political thought of a discourse that centers on sacred kingship. We can trace the roots of this discourse to the fifteenth century and the deep effect of the Timurid formulation of kingship that joined political leadership with divine mission.

In their short presentations, the participants will display the direct influence of the different traditions that nourished the works of Ottoman writers and artists who, in turn, shaped and projected the Ottoman imperial vision during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

XII.1 From Shiraz to Edirne Negotiating the Idea of Empire in the 15th Century
İlker Evrim BİNBAŞ

It is now almost axiomatic to suggest that the formation of the early modern universalist empires, i.e. the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires, has its political, ideological, and intellectual roots in the fifteenth century Islamicate world. The oft-repeated example to demonstrate this continuity is the persistence of the title *sahib-qiran*, the Lord of auspicious conjunction, which was first effectively used by Timur and then adopted by numerous subsequent rulers, from Uzun Hasan of the Aq Qoyunlu to Selim I of the Ottomans. However, there is a methodological peril lurking behind such assertions. Focusing on continuities under the light of better documented, better studied, and much more crystalized 16th century realities would impose upon us, albeit unintentionally, a teleological approach, in which those ideas and political movements which did not find a receptive audience in the 16th century are put under the carpet. In my presentation, I will try to highlight the complexities of fifteenth century Islamicate intellectual history by focusing on a particular branch of intellectual activity, i.e. the science of letters. I will argue in my presentation that the idea of empire was first conceived in intellectual circles engaged in the science of letters in an area stretching from Shiraz to Edirne. However, the adoption of their ideas by the political authorities towards the mid-fifteenth century in the Ottoman Empire and at the end of the sixteenth century in Iran did not mean a victory for these intellectuals. In fact, they were heavily persecuted by those who adopted their ideas both in Iran and in the Ottoman lands.

XII.2 Neo-Platonic Elements in Constructing Ottoman Imperial Ideology in the sixteenth century

Fatma Sinem ERYILMAZ

The aura around the reign of Sultan Süleyman owes its presence to the imperial project centered on the sultan, whose early military success and comprehensive administrative and legislative reforms created his reputation as the ideal ruler. This mystification made his reign one of the most studied, yet least understood periods of Ottoman history. In the past twenty years much work has been done to reveal the different facets of a reign that lasted 46 years. This presentation is another step towards understanding a period in which the characteristics of the sultan's rule encouraged the notion, among a certain portion of the peoples of the Mediterranean, that he might actually be the reuniter of humanity under one political and religious rule. In central and western Europe, groups and individuals disillusioned by and antagonized towards the similar project of the Habsburg emperor Charles V looked up to the sultan's political and religious leadership as a more desirable alternative. Within the Ottoman empire the shehnamecis Fethullah Çelebi ('Arif) and 'Abd al-latif es-Sirvani (Eflatun) were part of the elite who styled and cultivated these expectations using diverse elements of the Ottoman intellectual tradition. In the universal histories they produced for the sultan in the mid-1550s, they exploited a wide array of sources ranging from Persian mythic history to the Qur'an, from Islamic mysticism to Pythagorean numerical theories. I will discuss the usage of one of these elements in this rich amalgam, that of Greek thought, especially in the form of a revisited Neo-platonic theo-philosophy, which has a marked textual and visual presence in the dynastic works of 'Arif and Eflatun.

XII.3 The Lettrist Mystic 'Abd al-rahman al-Bistami (d. 1454), the New Brethren of Purity, and the Sources of Ottoman Historical Consciousness.
Cornell H. FLEISCHER

'Abd al-rahman al-Bistami was born in Mamluk Antioch and died in Ottoman Bursa the year after the Conquest of Constantinople; he literally lived through and witnessed the great political transformations that the Islamic world underwent in the 75 years of his lifespan. He further formed contemporary understanding of these events as a noted Arabic stylist, expert in Prophetic Tradition, and charter member of an "international" republic of letters that stretched from Timurid Herat, to Mamluk Cairo, to Ottoman Adrianople (Edirne), a Renaissance society equally devoted to universal social and moral regeneration and Neoplatonic revival that styled itself after the Brethren of Purity. His, and his Brethren's, meditations on history, its meaning, and their own role in making history laid the foundation for what would become the post-1453 Ottoman dynastic understanding of providential empire, founded in the newly-opened Wild West of Islamdom, where Old World monotheisms were actively and necessarily repatriated to one another. The presentation points to Bistami's crucial intellectual location at the court of Murad II, when his own writings on history, Crusades, and calendars, contemporaneous with the production of the earliest Ottoman historical calendars, formed the foundation for the articulation of a specifically Ottoman ideology of universal, messianic, and so sacral sovereignty.

XII.4 Ottoman Empire and Islamic Religiosity

Gottfried HAGEN

In search of legitimacy from the realm of the sacred, the Ottoman enterprise initially negotiated a complicated landscape of shrines and sanctuaries nourished by the charisma of local saintly figures (Battal Gazi, Hacı Bayram, Hacı Bektaş, Mevlana). The politics of their competition for patronage, and later their integration into the emerging networks of Sufi orders appear as a ubiquitous subtext in the rich literature on the lives and legends of saints (menakıbnâme). The nascent empire increasingly harnessed saintly figures of transregional significance, such as Ebû Eyyüb el-Ansarî, and, from the mid-16th century onward, the Prophet Muhammad himself. This trajectory draws attention to the place of religiosity in Ottoman imperial project, and to the role and function of the prophet in this framework in particular. Far from being only the model of orthopraxy and discipline, the figure of the prophet served as inspiration of world rejection and political subversion, as perfect mystic, and a promise of forgiveness and salvation. My presentation will explore various modes of religiosity (representation, ritual/commemoration, emulation) and the corresponding media, in which the devotion to the prophet expressed itself, including textual sources such as prose and verse narratives, visual sources (images and calligraphy), and practices such as the cult of relics and celebrations of mevlids. In highlighting the dynamics in these various dimensions, I seek to localize and historicize Ottoman Islam and integrate it with culture and society.

MILITARY TECHNOLOGY AND KNOW-HOW: ARMS, EXPERTS AND ESPIONAGE
Organizers: Kahraman ŞAKUL & Emrah Safa GÜRKAN

This panel has a potential to shed light on different aspects of Ottoman military history in the early modern period: technology transfer, adoption and adaptation, entrepreneurial go-betweens, and the geopolitical context.

Our first panelist focuses on the battle effectiveness of the Ottoman army in the early periods by analyzing new narrative sources on early Ottoman weaponry. This traces the transmission of military knowhow to earlier periods of Ottoman history. The second presentation provides a fresh outlook on the role of foreign experts in Ottoman military history by concentrating on Mater Urban. Little is known on this mysterious gun-founder although there are certain clues in Ottoman documentation –endowment deeds- about his possible Genoese links. This presentation will underline the significance of the geopolitical context for military adaptation. In this case, the Black Sea was a fertile ground for technological exchange. Our last panelist on the other hand will stress the significance of the Mediterranean for transmission of know-how and experts by consulting spy reports extant in Spanish archives. He will analyze the importance of Ottoman Navy and the Arsenal in the eyes of foreign rulers by shedding light on Habsburg attempts to disable the Ottoman naval capabilities in the 16th century. As well known, the naval arsenal in Istanbul employed a huge number of foreign experts some of whom were involved in espionage. Certainly, espionage was part of the imperial rivalry over monitoring the flow of military know-how.

It is our hope that this panel will provoke new questions concerning the fluidity of cultural and civilizational boundaries within the context of adoption and adaptation in Ottoman military history.

XIII.1 İlk Osmanlı Kaynaklarında Silahlar ve Osmanlı Askeri Sistemi
Feridun EMECEN

I. Mehmed, II. Murad ve II. Mehmed devirlerini içerecek şekilde erken dönem Osmanlılarının kullandığı silahlar ve bunların Osmanlı ordu terkibi ve savaş usulleriyle olan ilişkileri mercek altına alınacaktır. Bu konuda tarih yazımımızda olan bir boşluk yeni kaynaklara dayanarak doldurulmaya çalışılacaktır.

XIII.2 Torching the Imperial Arsenal: Habsburg Sabotage Attempts in 16th-century Istanbul
Emrah Safa GÜRKAN

16th century Istanbul hosted several spies on Philip II's payroll. In addition to sending information regarding military and political development in the Ottoman capital, they also

offered to sabotage the Ottoman navy and torch the Imperial Arsenal. This presentation seeks to shed light on an understudied aspect of Ottoman-Habsburg military competition, Habsburg attempts of disabling the Ottoman navy by relying on spy reports extant in Spanish archives. By concentrating on the relationship between the Catholic King's government and the entrepreneurial go-betweens and foreign experts employed in Ottoman naval establishment, this presentation aims to demonstrate the role espionage played in the imperial rivalry between the Ottomans and the Spanish Habsburgs.

XIII.3 Who was Master Urban?
Kahraman ŞAKUL & Yunus UĞUR

The Conquest of Constantinople is certainly one of the historic events in world history. Military historians have considered the fall of Byzantium as a watershed in military history. It symbolized the ultimate triumph of huge siege guns over the medieval fortifications. Master Urban is one of the few gun-founders whose name survived in historical records. This is largely due to his fame as the founder of one of the monster guns for Mehmed II. Much has been said on his identity; many have exaggerated his foreign identity and role in the siege in order to stress the Ottoman dependence on foreign expertise while others tended to ignore him to claim the victory for Muslim Turks. We will attempt to bring a new light to this debate by drawing attention to certain underutilized Ottoman sources. This fresh outlook will urge us to reconsider the adoption and adaptation as well as the transfer of know-how in late medieval age.

ABSTRACTS

ÖZETLER

Individual Papers

Bireysel Bildiriler

Sultan Mustafa II, Seyh-ul Islam Feyzullah Efendi, and Islam
Butrus ABU MANNEH

Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687) demonstrated a strong sense of piety and held the ulema in high esteem. Among such ulema we find Minkari-zade Yahya Efendi, a highly learned 'alim who served as Seyh-ul Islam for twelve successive years (1662-1674), or Mehmed Vani Efendi, originally from Erzurum who was regarded as the Sultan's Seyh and who exerted much influence on him for about twenty years (until 1684). We find moreover Feyzullah Efendi, a student of the latter who followed him to Istanbul. He was appointed (in January 1670) as the tutor of Prince Mustafa later Sultan Mustafa the II (1695-1703). Feyzullah fulfilled this duty for 17 years.

In the last two decades of the 17th century the Ottoman armies suffered repeated defeats in the war against the Hapsburgs. This war ended as it is known by the humiliating treaty of Karlowitz (1699) according to which the Ottomans lost wide swaths of land for the Hapsburgs. These events undoubtedly damaged the reputation and the prestige of Sultan Mustafa and the House of Osman. The reaction of the Sultan and Feyzullah Efendi who was serving then as Seyh-ul Islam to this weakness and humiliation was to emphasize the need to return to high Islamic values. In this sense we find Feyzullah Efendi writing an epistle and addressing it to the Sultan in which he denoted him as "the Caliph of God over *His* creatures" and in addition called upon him to assume the role of a "Mujaddid" (renewer of religion). By this call Feyzullah's objective apparently was to strengthen the legitimacy of the Sultan's rule and of the dynasty in the eyes of the subjects.

Indeed, public opinion among the Muslim upper classes in the city was open for the acceptance of high Islamic ideals especially after the expansion of the teachings of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order which was carried from India into Damascus and then Istanbul by Sheikh Murad al-Bukhari and met with much success.

At any rate, the revolt of 1703 which brought the fall of Sultan Mustafa and the killing of Feyzullah Efendi cut short the time for this call to mature. However, as far as the title of Caliph was concerned this call seems to have met tacitly with acquiescence by many of the higher ulema, and continued to gain adherents throughout the century.

Economic Crises, Famine, Drought, and Bread Riots in the Ottoman Empire in the Year of 1880
Funda ADITATAR

The Ottoman world faced economic and social problems throughout the nineteenth century. Especially during the second part of the century, the effects of the great depression (1873-1896) and the collapse of the Ottoman state finance, regional droughts and famine caused economic hardships and social problems. Those problems had reached its peak in 1880. After the Turkish-Russian War (1877-78), the problems of settling refugees and war indemnities combined with the fluctuation in currency and regional droughts and famine. Starvation, migration and bread riots, protests have taken place in many provinces of the Empire. Especially Musul, Van, Diyarbakir,

Harput, Bitlis, Erzurum, Bartin and Ereğli were appeared the area of the famine. Although the inhabitants of several villages were fled to avoid the certainly of death by starvation at home, 25.000 soul in Suleymaniye, 107 in Eleşgirt and Bayazid and 55 soul in Hoşap died because of starvation. Other places of Anatolia like Izmit, Bursa, Uşak Aydin suffered not famine but much from scarcity of food. Disease, famine, and cold all united to destroy sheep, cattle, etc. Both wheat and bread with difficulty produced. Markets closed on account of the reducing value of the currency. The principal sufferers were the widows and orphans of men who had laid their lives at the Turkish-Russian War (1877-78). In this paper will be focus on the year of 1880's economic and social problems to intend to see the whole picture of empire from the perspective of social history. The research is based on the Turkish State Archives (BOA), British consul reports and Turkish newspapers.

Yoruks in the Sanjak of Hüdâvendigâr from the point of Ottoman Provincial Administration Order in the 18th Century
Nilüfer ALKAN GÜNAY

In this paper, it is aimed to find out the judicial and administrative order of the Yoruk communities living in the Sanjak of Hüdâvendigâr in the 18th century. In the preliminary study made, it was determined that a great majority of the Yoruk population living in the Sanjak were foundation rayahs and included in the *malikâne-mukataa* system. This structuring and their nomadic identities distinguishing them from settled rayahs have determined how they were classified juristically, administratively and hence financially.

In the study, first of all, it was aimed to determine what kind of change the Yoruk profile showed across the Sanjak after the 16th century, in the 18th century (summer pastures and winter quarters, if new communities came, etc.). After this "situation determination" study, the mentioned "different statuses" of the Yoruks in the area will be revealed and the effects of the understanding of "administration by proxy" settled in the 18th century Ottoman provincial administration order on their communications with the state and local authorities.
The primary source of the study will be composed of the 18th century Bursa Qadi Registers. Especially those including records related to the reayas of Selâtin and Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn Vaqfs were determined. Most data related to the Yoruk communities living across the Sanjak is found in these registers. Cadastral record books, too, provide detailed information about the state of the administrative order in which Yoruk communities were included in the 16th century. It is considered that some pieces of information about the change lived in that time can be obtained from cadastral record books, too.

State, Power and Representation in Urban Space in the *Tanzimat* Period: the Governmental Houses
Yasemin AVCI

In most of the Ottoman cities, the history of administrative buildings that represent the state power begins with the inauguration of *Tanzimat* period. In the period before *Tanzimat,* there have been no separate public buildings constructed for administrative purposes. In the absence of administrative buildings, the monumental buildings in Ottoman cities are usually the properties built under the administration of waqf endowments. In Ottoman cities in the classical period, the main urban components which determine the location of centre, the transportation routes, the distribution of residential areas are the bazaar, the *bedesten* and *imaret* estates. In the *Tanzimat* period, by means of various factors, especially with the reforms carried out in the process of administrative centralization, the urban functions have been diversified; the economic potential of cities increased and the urban administrative activities in the field of local administration have been reinforced. That transformation may also be seen on the urban fabric and the building types. The local administration restructured with the *Tanzimat* reforms, the reorganized educational system, the appearance of modern means of transportation and communication, the reorganized domestic security system and the wish of state to undertake other public services have introduced new types of architectural elements that never seen before in the Ottoman cities. These buildings are primarily the governmental house, and the buildings such as the barracks, schools, court house, the gendarmerie head office, municipal building, post offices and even prison which usually located around the governmental house. These buildings gathered together to constitute a new "*public site*" that is called "*the government square*". The new square also represents that a complete change has occurred in the concept of public square. Besides, when the state-society relations is concerned, the governmental squares represent both functionally and symbolically that the provinces were brought closer to the imperial centre.

This study focuses on the governmental houses, which emerged in the Ottoman cities in the *Tanzimat* period, representing state's involvement in the urban space. The cities of İzmir, Ankara, Konya, Bursa, Trabzon and Edirne are chosen as the sample survey areas. The main issue of the study is to answer the question that what kind of physical developments in the urban structure were led by the new squares developed around the governmental houses. It is also questioned in the study that how these squares influenced the urban life and the state-society relations.

Fire in the Village: Justice and Vengeance in the Late Ottoman Countryside
Ebru AYKUT

The legal transformation in the 19th century has always been a topic of abiding interest to Ottoman historians. Though much attention has been paid to the institutional dimension of this process, a recently growing body of literature puts emphasis on socio-legal change by foregrounding the role of local actors and dynamics in this transformation. This paper aims to contribute to that literature by focusing on two local customary practices that show the popular understandings of justice in the 19th century Ottoman countryside, specifically in the Rumelian

provinces. By examining *nizamiye* court registers on intentional firesettings, I will examine how fire, as a customary weapon of vengeance, was used by peasants to satisfy an injured sense of justice.

Arson was a rural crime committed very frequently in the Ottoman villages that targeted mostly hay barns and straw stacks. It was mostly an individual act of retaliation recoursed to by peasants against other peasants stemming from an injured honor or the feeling of having been unfairly treated in disputes over taxation, unpaid wages, women, and etc. No matter what the motive is, arson was a customary practice the meaning of which was clear for peasants and an invaluable means of restoring justice by inflicting "a just measure" of punishment on the wrongdoer without delay that could never be provided by law. Setting fire to the houses of the murderers also was an ancient custom to extinguish collective outrage and restitute justice in Rumelia, specifically in Shkodra. The punishment reserved for the offender was extrajudicial and collective and mostly organized and ordered by local officials.

I argue that these customs can provide a lens into the complex local dynamics for exploring the intricate relationship between informal normative practices and the mechanisms of formal justice. They help us to understand the economic, political, and moral aspects of legal culture that come to the surface only when we closely scrutinize the meaning of justice from the viewpoint of local actors. What was just government for these actors? How these customs continued to remain effective in an era of novel judicial transformation? Why local people preferred using fire to settle scores and for summary justice rather than going to court and handling their disputes utilizing new judicial institutions? This paper aims to explore these issues and shed light on the question of legitimacy of law and judicial institutions in the 19th century Ottoman countryside.

The Role of France in the Ottoman Market before the First World War
Damla AYOĞLU DUMAN

This paper aims to analyze the economic relations between Ottoman Empire and France and the role of France at this competitive market before the First World War. Especially, the competition in the investment and borrowing in Ottoman market between France and Germany after 1888 is one of the important concept of this study. French Ministery of Finance archives between 1910-1914 are examined to gain better understanding of economic role of France in the Ottoman market before the war. The rapports of French officials in İstanbul sent to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France were analysed to understand the economic relations between two countries. Due to the technological development and the production increases in Western European countries after the Industrial Revolution, they searched new markets to sell their products. Since Ottoman Empire was not industrialized at that period, she became a periphery in the international economy. Because of the competition between industrialized countries, Ottoman Empire did not become colony of a single country. However, the presence of Western countries at this territory increased in 19th century. Although, the economic relations between Ottoman Empire and France had a long history, after the Industrial Revolution, France became one of the most important trade partner and investor at this market. In addition, France was also an

important source of Ottoman finance. France kept strong economic relations with Ottoman Empire to maintain his power in the east. At the same time, France has followed all the agreements that Ottoman Empire has done with other European countries and tried to interfere with them.

Recognizing the Ottoman Empire: The New Era in Ottoman-Spanish Relations and the Book "A Journey to Istanbul in 1784"
Faruk BAL

From the beginning of the 18th century, a rapprochement between the Ottoman and Spanish empires emerged. In the rupture of the old competition at the beginning of that century, the new developments in the global arena played an important role. It is not possible to think this process independent of the political and economic developments of then in the world and in the Western Europe in particular. Both parties had to accord with the change in international arena. Besides, while the European states such as England, France, and Netherlands were dealing with direct commercial activities in the Ottoman territories through agreements, Spain had no agreement with the Ottomans yet. With the dynastic change in the early 18th century in Spain and Bourbons' inheriting the crown, brought new tendencies in foreign policies. The new owners of the throne searched for the ways to strike a deal with the Islamic World in general and Ottoman Empire in particular. Among the primary objectives of the Bourbon dynasty was the strengthening of the administrative and economic structure of the state besides establishing an economic structure which is not dependent on the silver coming from the colonies in the New World. In order to enhance the trade and to lessen the dependency of the economy to American silver to develop friendship with Ottoman Empire and the Islamic World as well as decreasing the influence of pirates alongside the Mediterranean coasts of the country were crucial. Concluding an agreement with the Ottoman Empire would not only provide Spain to enjoy the benefits of direct trade but also get protected from the attacks to its coastal regions and trade activities in the Northern Africa. This agreement would develop the economic relations with the Islamic World and bring revival to local and global markets thanks to the safe trading that it would promote. Wish of Spanish to conclude an agreement with the Ottoman Empire came into existence during the rule of Carlos III. Carlos III, who achieved a trade agreement with the Ottomans when he was the king of Naples, also wanted to make a deal when he acceded to the throne of Spain between the Ottomans and the Spanish. Following huge efforts, the initiative became successful and a trade agreement was signed in 1782 between Spanish and Ottoman states. When the agreement put an end to the conflict/competition, both sides came up with a chance to recognize and understand each other. The information transferred through ambassadors, spies, captives and via indirect means replaced by the information quoted by officers, travelers and independent authors who regularly traveled to the Ottoman territories. The first books following the agreement were written by the Spanish officers in charge who traveled to Istanbul. The style and the target of the works were closely related with the political and economic policies of the time. The first of these books emerged in the first journey of Gabriel de Aristizábal to Istanbul in 1784 which came after the agreement. José Moreno had been assigned to write a report about the Ottoman state during this journey. So, the work titled "A Journey to

Istanbul in 1784" was completed. The book is quite related with the Mediterranean policies of Carlos III and his Prime Minister Floridablanca. Therefore, the subject of this study is how the Ottoman State was defined by the Spanish with respect to the content of the book "A Journey to Istanbul in 1784". The desire of the two empires to become closer to each other due to the changing political and economic conditions in the global arena, their collateral expectations and the results of the new era for the Ottoman-Spanish relationships are also going to be treated in this study, respectively.

New Actors Who Shaped the Monetary and Governmental Constitution of Ottoman Provincial Administration in 17th and 18th Centuries: Diyarbekir Voivodes in the Light of Heritage Records
Özlem BAŞARIR

Estate and heritage records is a group of sources that assures to make significant determinations regarding to Ottoman social and economic life. These sources which show individual assets have got affluent data in various categories such as personal properties, chattel or real estate properties, debts, receivable accounts and currency. The heritage registrations that are going to be examined belongs to a group called Voivodes those become prominent in the society with the opportunities they obtained under existing conditions of the period especially the tax gathering right. Diyarbekir voivodeship muqataa is described as an administrative headquarters and also it is the place for gathering with iltizam and malikâne its revenues. At this symposium, heritage registrations of Kürd Mehmed Ağa (1672/73), Uzun Ali Ağa (1694/95), Kemâni Mehmed Ağa (1696/97),Halil Ağa (1729/30), Sem'an-zâde Ahmed Ağa (1765/66), Şeyh-zâde İsmail Ağa (1785/86) who are the mediator or substitute administrator and investigators of the Diyarbekir voivodeship muqataa is going to be under debate. Interrogation of this sources in various aspects will not only add new dimension to evaluation of the sources but also will make contribution to illumination of the related period's main matters especially authorization share and implementation of the long-term malikâne system.It will be possible to track not only how these attendants distinguishes from the society with their tax gathering right and "kapucubaşı" title they possessed but also which perspective did they evaluate these kind of privileges. This study aims to contribute new positioning attendants' identities which are positioned by new expansions of existing monetary and governmental constitution at XVII and XVII centuries.

Manuel II, the Ottomans and Manuel II's Letters from Asia-Minor
Yahya BAŞKAN

Manuel II had been the Emperor of Byzantium intermittantly from 1373 until his death in 1425. He was a contemporary of some Ottoman Emperors such as Yıldırım Bayezid, Çelebi Mehmet and Murad II. He is one of the last representatives of the Empire of Byzantium. Apart from being an eminent statesman, Manuel II is known with his literary skills as well. Moreover, during his reign as an intellectual emperor, he had managed to come forward with his close relationship

with the Papacy as well as his efforts to join the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. During the reigns of Murad I and Yıldırım Bayezid, he had stayed in the Ottoman military camp in accordance with the agreement of hostage and national status. He also had stayed particularly around the region of Ankara and Canik as well as joining the army forces of Yıldırım Bayezid during his campaign to the Asia-Minor and had written, under the title of "Asia-Minor", quite a number of letters from these places to his close friends about the experiences and observations he had made during these expeditions. In my/ our presentation, I will introduce you with the relationship of Manuel II with the Ottomans as well as his impressions about Asia-Minor.

The Last Ottoman State Industrial Exhibition: "The 1919 Turkish Industrial Exhibition"
Aydın BEDEN

National and international exhibitions play an important role in introducing to a national and international audience industrial products and those products of areas such as agriculture, mining, hand-crafts and the fine arts and the developments experienced in these areas over the course of time to the world. In this context, while the first national industrial exhibition was the Paris Exhibition of 1789, the first international exhibition the Ottoman State participated in was the London Exhibition of 1851. Subsequently the Ottoman State attempted to participate in all international exhibitions, particularly the universal ones and it also held many national exhibitions in the endeavour to promote its resources and its culture. In this context the Turkish Industrial Exhibition was the last national exhibition held by the Ottoman State. This exhibition was held in the Turkish Hearths/Cultural Centre in Istanbul in October 1919 and it was officially inaugurated by the Ottoman Crown Prince Abdülmecit. This exhibition in which various institutions participated and where many products were displayed is of considerable importance, as it depicts the level of the State's industrial development in the last years of its life and it was the last significant industrial exhibition by the state. Consequently, in this study the focus is upon which products were displayed, which institutions and foundations participated, and the quality of the products that were exhibited in the light of contemporary techniques, industry and technology. So the attempt is here made to investigate the relationship between industrial development and the level of advancement and power of the state and the impact they have upon each other. Further, inferences are drawn through comparing this exhibition with other exhibitions the Ottoman State held, or which it participated in.

The Köprülüs, Factions, and Evliya Çelebi: *The Book of Travels* **as a Source for Political History**
Cumhur BEKAR

The ten volume *Book of Travels —Seyahatname-* of Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682), which is one of the richest sources for seventeenth century Ottoman history, has recently received increased interest. Despite this heightened interest, it is hard to say that *Seyahatname* has been properly considered as a source for political history. Apart from Robert Dankoff's compilation of passages about Evliya

Çelebi's patron, Melek Ahmed Paşa (d. 1662) who was a statesman, there is little if any work in this vein. [The aim of this presentation is to analyze Evliya Çelebi's depiction of the Köprülü household within the larger context of the Ottoman political world as he portrays this world in his *Seyahatname*. By this analysis, I aim to contribute to the history of the powerful Köprülü house of the latter half of the seventeenth century, with a specific emphasis on the rivalry between different houses as well as questions of ethnic solidarity or animosity. I suggest that Evliya Çelebi's perspective on the aforementioned matters is significant and exceptional. In addition to Evliya Çelebi's strengths as a good observer of his society, he has directly witnessed many of the events in his narrative account due to his employment under the patronage of Ottoman pashas. It is possible to discern a distanced, sometimes even critical attitude towards the Köprülüs in Evliya's *Seyahatname* that stems from his patron's rivalry with Köprülü Mehmed Paşa, a rivalry that partly arises from different ethnic origins.This specific attitude stands as an exception when compared to the pro-Köprülü narrative in many Ottoman chronicles and much of modern historical writing. In short, this paper aims at underlining the importance of *Seyahatname* as a significant source for Ottoman political history through focusing on the specific case of the Köprülü household.

The Education and Instruction in the Bursa Sanjak According to the Education Yearbooks at the Beginning of the 20th Century
Seher BOYKOY

The education had been one of the most important areas in the 19 th century Ottoman reform process. The reforms and studies had shown that the effect all of the Empire and had become the one of the determining factors in the modernization of the Republic.

Hudavendigar Province which had an important place in the State's politicial, economic and socia-cultural struction had been one of the Ottoman provinces affected by the educational developments in the Empire. Also the Sanjak of Bursa constituted the center of the Hudavendigar Province.

The main aim in this paper is to determine the situation of the Bursa Sanjak in the Hudavendigar province and the Ottoman province in terms of educational activities. In this study the educational and instructional activities in Bursa Sanjak will be evaluated depending on the data in the Education Yearbooks. The Education Yearbooks dated HC 1316/1321 (excluding HC 1320 as they have not reached to the present time) will be analyzed as the main point and source in the paper.

The information will be given about the educational directorate, educational institutions, the present schools, madrasahs, non muslim and foreign schools, the number of administrators, teachers, students, servants in these schools, the community to which they belong, their genders, and also their proportion to population of this term, courses given, education programs, economic resources of schools, libraries, printig houses and newspapers in the paper.

With the paper, the reflections of the center's educational practises on the Ottoman province, the position of the local administrators and professionals in the educational life, the sociocultural situation of Bursa Sanjak before the Turkısh Republic by making comparisons between the years will be put forward.

Rethinking the Tanzimat Fermanı
Berrak BURÇAK

In his *The Principles of Sociology*, Herbert Spencer argues that "the most-far-reaching change that has taken place in the history of western society is the gradual replacement of a military by an industrial regime." According to Spencer's analysis the military society, " is always centralized in government, and almost always monarchical; the cooperation it inculcates is regimental and compulsory…; it develops rigid class distinctions and class codes…" and an industrial society is an order where "the occupation of the soldier ceases to be held in high repute; and patriotism becomes a love of one's country rather than hatred of every other." Spencer further argues that this transformation is accompanied by a transformation concerning the relationship between the individuals and the state by changing their position from "status" to "contract." (Will Durant, p. 413-414).

At a cursory glance it seems as if Spencer's argument could be a valid application in terms of 19th century Ottoman modernization especially by the various principles introduced by the Tanzimat Fermanı, promulgated in 1839. In his discussion of the Tanzimat Fermanı , Halil İnalcık argues that "Reşit Paşa allocates a central position to the people within the state, and gives voice to the fundamental principle of the modern Western state, which was that the people did not exist for the state, but rather that the state existed for the people." (İnalcık, "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu", p. 97.)

A leading group of scholars working within the Westernization paradigm have indeed tended to regard the Tanzimat Fermanı as a constitutional document, which constituted the crucial stepping stone from a traditional society to a modern one. The most succinct example of this approach can be seen in the articles twritten in the 1940 dated Tanzimat I, a series of articles by leading historians and jurists, commemorating the 100 anniversary of the Gülhane Hatt-I Hümayunu. Another group of cholars such as Halil İnalcık and Butrus Abu Manneh, although they do not do not approach the Tanzimat Fermanı within such rigid categories, while on the one hand stressing the modernist character of the ferman, stresson the other hand, its traditional Ottoman character thereby tying the promulgation of the ferman to the then Ottoman Empire's inner and outer socio-economic and political conditions.

This paper proposes a re-reading of the Tanzimat Fermanı by asking whether the Tanzimat Fermanı can be regarded as the single most important political document (read: as a constitutional document), which enabled the transformation from a traditional society to a modern one. The paper argues that such an approach obscures the total picture by presenting a fragmented view and argues that the central Ottoman administration's promulgation of the Tanzimat Fermanı aimed to bring about a revision of the classical Ottoman institutions to better

fit 19th century realities. The paper will attempt a textual analysis of the Tanzimat Fermanı in order to better grasp how the Ottoman central administration tried to fulfil the needs of the new age without betraying its traditional values.

New Data and Comments Regarding the First Ottoman Population Census (1831-1845)
Coşkun ÇAKIR

This presentation deals with Population Census Registers (*Nüfus Sayım ve Yoklama Defterleri*) that recently became available for researchers and concentrates on studies that rely on these registers. The first modern population census in the Ottoman Empire was held in 1831 when Mahmud II, seeking to learn the number of people living in the Ottoman Empire, sent orders to his governors in the Balkans and Anatolia. While the first one was held in Istanbul, population censuses were held throughout the empire. In order to help the data-collecting process, experienced officers were sent from the capital to the provinces. Moreover, population count commissions were established in provincial centers. Censuses were held by religious leaders of each community, *imam*s in Muslim neighbourhoods and villages and *kocabaşı*s in non-Muslim ones. The aim of these censuses was to ascertain the number of non-Muslims subject to poll tax (*cizye*) and the number of soldiers that the state needed. Within this framework, terms with military background such as *tüvânâ* and *müsin* were used. Muslim population was categorized as *tüvânâ*, *müsin* and *sabi*, while non-Muslims were written as *ednâ*, *evsat*, *alâ* and *muâf* which were jizya categories. Apart from these, several detailed information from physical change in people's appearance to yearly changes in population were included in these registers. In recent years, population registers extant in Prime Ministry's Archive in İstanbul (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*) were to a certain extent used by historians focusing on specific provinces and sub-provinces. As such studies were published, social scientists realized the potential of this important corpus of primary sources. Meanwhile, however, the issue of how to evaluate the data stemming from these sources and how to make historical use of them is a question that needs to be addressed. This presentation tackles with this issue, hoping to start an academic debate.

Famine in Cyprus and Consequent Measures (1869-1874)
Cemil ÇELİK

The island of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean is a region that has experienced famines, these being a consequence of various factors including: drought, plagues of locusts, wars, both epidemic as also pandemic diseases as also malaria, during the course of history, in part a consequence of its geographical location and its climatic conditions. These famines have had significant impacts upon the socio-economic structure of the island. Significant reductions in the population of the island have been experienced from time to time as a consequence of famine. Accordingly, the tax liability upon the inhabitants of the island increased. Ottoman policy incorporated an understanding of the social state, including famine relief, through aid supplied from adjacent unaffected areas and through tax deferrals and exemptions.

Within this context immediately prior to the British administration over Cyprus there was a great famine after a long period of drought, and then locusts which increased this famine. Food scarcity began in 1869 and increased with the locust invasion and infestation which left the inhabitants in a very precarious situation. In order to resolve the food requirements of the inhabitants who were experiencing these difficult conditions grains was dispatched from Tuna, Adana, Aydın, Urla and Cesme. In addition, solutions were sought to supply seed wheat, while bread was distributed free of charge to those in need. Also adjustments were made under these circumstances to the tax requirements from the inhabitants of Cyprus. Due to these measures, the food scarcity on Cyprus was resolved. These solutions were subsequently raised in the Legislative Council as providing an example of the solution to similar problems experienced under British rule. The way the Ottoman state dealt with this problem can be understood as reflecting the Ottoman practice of the social state even during this period of wars, economic crisis and the erosion of state authority. This paper draws upon archival material from the Presidential Ottoman Archives, Istanbul, from the Cyprus Mutassarıflik Defterlerı, the Cyprus Shariat Court records, Lefkosa (Nicosia), Consular reports and from contemporary travellers accounts.

"Applying Tar on Door" and Its Sociological Dimensions in the Ottoman Empire (The Case of Konya, 1650-1750)
Cemal ÇETİN

Authorities in Ottoman Empire relied basically on reflexes of the society in the context of preventing crimes or in order to detect both the crime and the criminal in cases of incidents. These reflexes which were nourished by religious and moral resources were kept alive by neighbourhood which was occupied by people who were kept responsible for each other's actions. If the community of that neighbourhood had kept quiet about a crime they witnessed they would feel themselves guilty both before the law and their conscience. The crimes people reacted to the most were adultery and prostitution which expressed unlawful intimacy. However, because reporting adultery, when it could not be proved, was regarded in the scope of adultery slander (kazf) which required a punishment ordered in Quran, mostly indirect ways were preferred to report this crime to the court. In cases of such incidents the community in the neighbourhood would either raid the place of adultery in an organized manner to prove it or go directly to the court without raiding causing the adulterer to be thrown out of the neighbourhood. Besides these without going to the court at all it was also possible to report adultery by applying tar on the external door of the house in which the adultery was committed. In this way the unlawful action would not be unknown and become in a way public prosecution. The leaders of the family whose door is applied tar, whose purity is once incriminated and who fall into disrepute in the eyes of the society would go immediately to the court early in the following morning. Because the ones who applied tar on the door did the action during the night in order to preserve their secrecy, what the family leaders demanded from the court was to ask the neighbourhood citizens about themselves, their household and especially the women in their family. The main aim of the family leaders who attended the court was to clear the disgrace off their family honour. However it was not always possible. Thus, what the neighbours said

sometimes cleared the disgrace off and sometimes approved it. In addition to the family leaders, co-governors and even governors themselves were able to take the issue to the court by suing people whose door was applied tar. In such a condition, without conducting another case by the family leader the issue could be prosecuted and resolved. Applying tar on the door which was practised as a social reflex to reveal unlawful relationships could sometimes serve as a source of grudge and hatred as it was one of the easiest way of slander and incrimination. Besides this, it is also known that some people were blackmailed with applying tar on their door in order to pursue some interests.

The aim of this paper is to shed light on to the trials devolved to the Konya Court between 1650-1750 "Applying tar on door" events in the Ottoman State, will also be explained within the framework of these trials.

Opening The Gates: Dervishes at the Gates of The Sultan's Trail
Halil ÇETİN

The Sultan's Trail reaches to Vienna from Istanbul surpassing the gates of Edirne (Adrianople), Sofia, Belgrade, and Budin (Budapest) primarly. In some sense opening of the these gates means history of Ottoman conquests in the Balkans. Since the Arabic word "fa-ta-ha" (to conquest) means "to open". The word "miftah" (key) derived from the same word "fataha" is adopted by Miftah Baba who gave spiritual assistance to Sultan Suleiman in the conquest of Budin. According to a narration the holy man gave the forty keys of Budin to the sultan personally and then the conquest was achieved by the sultan. The other legend mentions Otman Baba's unwillingness of the expedition to Belgrade decided by Mehmed II. His rejection was not accepted and accordingly the expedition was resulted in failure. Like these holy men Seyit Ali Sultan, Sarı Saltuk and Gül Baba gave spiritual assistance to the sultans in opening the gates of the trail.

As narrated by the epics, ghazi dervishes played key roles in opening or not opening the gates on the road. About these holy men, mostly Bektashi or Kalenderi dervishes, we can find significant information in contemporary chronicles, epics, ghazas chronicles (gazavatnâme) and hagiographies (vilayetnâme). Especially there is a rich literature about dervishes' miracles and true estimations related with the conquests in the Balkans. The main task clearly depicted by these sources is that the gates on the road was not opened solely by the sultans' military expeditions but spiritual guidance and assistance of ghazi dervishes also played a crucial role. Some can evaluate these narrations as a legendary history of the Sultan's Trail. However these epics that were in circulation widely in the channels of communication of the period and believed in their rightfulness are the main sources of motivation for ghazas and conquests.

Ottoman Social Unrest in the Mediterranean Context: Military and Social Transformation in the Late Sixteenth Century

Linda DARLING

The problem of banditry was endemic in the early modern world, but it was particularly acute in the Ottoman Empire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The unrest of these decades, known as the Celali revolts, was responsible for peasant flight, tax shortages, and military reprisals. These bandits have been thought to be discharged Ottoman military forces who preyed on peasants and travelers in the absence of other forms of income. A study of two Ottoman justice decrees (adaletnameler), issues in 1596 and 1609, indicates that this portrayal of the unrest of the period is too simple. In these decrees, the persons castigated for preying on the peasants were not discharged soldiers but Ottoman officials and their agents, or people pretending to be such. Moreover, these decrees indicate that the unjust acts being committed and the measures to be taken against them were not static. This paper provides a more detailed assessment of the unrest and its perpetrators, and through a new analysis of sipahi recruitment, suggests some revisions to our current understanding of the Celali rebels/bandits.

Women Exiles in the Ottoman Empire
Kemal DAŞÇIOĞLU

Exile can be described as forceful displacement of a community or individual by political power. Exile procedure is a method applied to communities throughout history, as well as to individuals of unrest in the society. Besides being a way of punishment, it has also been carried out for political, social, military, economic and settlement purposes.

In criminal law in the Ottoman rule books (kanunname) and in archival documents we encounter some verdicts about exile punishment grouped under ta'zir penalties. The information in the kannunames is intended indicate the rules to be followed in collective exile activities in the early period of the empire. In addition, there are provisions, decrees and edicts on individual exiles as well. Even though exiles had been carried out for different purposes in the Ottoman Empire, it had two principal reasons. First, removing the criminals or the guilty from the crime place and the place in which the live; secondly, collective deportations took place as a requirement of a socio-economic policy that affects the whole of society that is, namely as a result of settlement policy.

Other than the policy-based exiles there is great deal of individual exiles in the Ottoman Empire. Especially in times of stagnation and regression of the Ottoman Empire due to the social and economic crises, such exile penalties are applied frequently. So many people were exiled due to bribery, fraud, adultery, sexual immorality, slander, perjury, theft, threats and profanity, insubordination, women abduction etc. As a device punishment exile can be applied to man, woman or applies to the entire family.

Even though exile is perceived as a way of punishment only for men, it is applied not only to men but women as well. In this paper, a number of questions concerning the women exiles will be answered through the Ottoman archival documents. These are as follows: the status of women in exile in Ottoman society, what they are exposed to, which charges they received, where they were sent, whether or not women were charged with different forms of exiles than male exiles, ways to getting rid of exile, what kinds of points the state paid attention during the exiles etc.

Balkan Travel Accounts: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives from Within
Evguenia DAVIDOVA

There is an abundant research on foreign travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire (including the Balkans) and some recent studies on Balkan travel to Europe, but only a sporadic work on Balkan travelers who journeyed the region and interacted with its peoples. This paper will focus on the social and gender picture depicted in some of these accounts.

Who were those travelers? Unlike many of their European counterparts, whose contacts were mainly mediated by interpreters, most Balkan travelers were in direct communication with local population. Moreover, all of them were well aware of the existing ethnic differences and when they used the generic "Christian" it was in two major contexts: attracting Western attention and/or emphasizing a certain ethnic ratio at the expense of another group. On the other hand, some also employed the generic "Turks" to designate Muslims. Most authors expressed a sense of cultural familiarity, but at the same time tried to establish an authorial and cultural distance between themselves and local people. All travelers were educated people: students, teachers, writers, politicians, publishers, doctors, and merchants who spoke many languages; among them, however, women were a minority.

Three major themes, evinced in the travelogues, will be explored: work, family, and leisure. Their combination reveals social interactions (and their perceptions) within a more nuanced social stratification than previously assumed. The social inclusion/exclusion did not always go along religious and ethnic lines as the standard narratives assert. Thus, my paper proposes to read these representations not so much through nationalist lenses but mostly through the concept of shared social space where dynamic exchanges and consumer practices (old and new) were produced.

The local travel tradition included pilgrimage, commercial and business trips, and a few leisure journeys that emerged around the mid-nineteenth century. Selected case studies will be examined to interpret social practices and their fluidity within a multiethnic and national framework. The paper draws on a variety of primary sources: travelogues, correspondence, newspapers, commercial ledgers, wills, local chronicles, and memoirs.

The Merchants and Consulate of the Dutch Republic in Cyprus (1600-1700)
Mehmet DEMİRYÜREK

Cyprus was a significant emporium in the beginning of the modern times, as it was in the middle-ages. Therefore, the European nations having *ahdname* or capitulation founded their own consulates in Cyprus. The main duty of the consuls of European nations in Cyprus was to deal with the problems of their merchants trading in Cyprus. The European consuls working in the Ottoman Empire could employ dragomans. In addition to this, a dragoman could have the servants. One of the aims of this present study is to determine the consuls of the Dutch Republic

in Cyprus and theirs dragomans and servants in the 17th-century. Secondly, it is of interest to find out the merchandises exported or imported by the Dutch merchants. And thirdly, it has been attempted to describe the intercourses between the Dutch merchants or consuls and Cypriots. The evidence is derived principally from the records of the Nicosia cadi's court and the documents of the Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in Istanbul.

A Literary Character Created by the War: Rich Men of the War
Meral DEMİRYÜREK

The World War the first has not only the social, economic and political results but also literary results. One of the literary results was the theme of "Harb Zengini" (Rich men of the War). In the last year of the World War the first one can see a statement of "Rich men of the War" in the Turkish press. The Turkish press criticized the rich men earning a lot of money with corruptions during the war and called them as "Rich men of the War". In addition to this, Turkish authors wrote and published some novels and stories concerning the "Rich men of the War". The aims of this study are to reveal the novels and stories concerning the "Rich men of the War" and to evaluate the reflections of this statement on the Turkish literature.

A Contribution to the Ottoman Intellectual Life: Iranian Basmacılar/ Second Hand Booksellers, Typographers in Dersaadet
Filiz DIĞIROĞLU & Güllü YILDIZ

Iranian population and their economic activities in the Ottoman Empire are well known issues. We also have knowledge about the presence of Iranian population in trade centers like Trabzon, Samsun and İzmir along with the ones in the Ottoman-Iranian border. However, works which deal with the sectors the Iranian population work, the branches they specialized in, places they live and the amount of their population are missing. Hence, this paper attempts to fill this gap by looking at the Iranian activities, especially Iranian artisans in the Ottoman capital during the reign of Abdülhamit II and the Second Constitutional period. The paper mainly examines people who published pamphlets, books, journals and periodicals as well as those who purchased and sold manuscripts and publications; namely the activities of Iranian second hand booksellers as artisans in the Ottoman Empire. We tried to identify the books they bought and sold, as well as the type of books printed/published by Iranian typographers and second hand booksellers who make their living through book trade. In the end, the lineaments of their relationship both with the Ottoman state and the populace are also described in this paper.

"Did the Iranian typographers in Dersaadet trade in an organized way, or in other words did they have an institutional basis for their business?", "What were the roles they played in the shipment of books to the Rumelia or other centers?", "What were the causes that pushed typographers to publish books?", "Are there any significant differences between the character of books printed and sold by Iranian typographers and other typographers?", "What type of books does a

typographer sell and to whom?", "What was the role of the state in book printing or book trade?", "What is "mischievous publications"; namely the degree that the state involved in book printing?", "What were the prohibited documents captured during the investigations of the printing houses?"," Was their frequency of selling religious books similar to an ordinary second hand bookseller?", "What was the content of books printed in Iran but forbidden to sell and circulate in Turkey?", "What was the connection of Iranian second hand booksellers in Dersaadet with Iran?", " Why was printing of the Koran or selling the printed ones by Iranian typographers reacted with unease?". These questions and alike guided this research and the answers to these questions are based on the documents from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.

Presence of Italians in the Province of Hüdavendigar in 1860's
Fulya DÜVENCİ KARAKOÇ

Second half of the 19th century is the time of Ottoman Modernization in Bursa. Ottoman Empire published the Nizamname of Vilayet at 1863 and this was the one of first steps of attendance into the administration for public. Giving non-Muslim Ottoman citizens freedom of representation in the Provincial Office of the General Directorate recognizing each nation's leadership officially and opening missionary and minority schools by the Ottoman order made suitable occasion to improve the relations with Europe. Economic developments and new finance funds resulting from the industrial revolution were reflected Bursa realizing the traditional manufacture of silk. New investments by the foreigners made it easy to be in relation with not only the non- Muslims but also the Europeans. Both this social conditions and administrative conditions for investments made presence of Italian in Bursa that was the capital of large Province of Hüdavendigar that reached out Aegean Sea west side and Middle Anatolia east side.

The paper will be prepared according to both social and economical history. Main sources are Italian Consulate Reports and in this sense 245 documents of a private archive are used for the first time. They will be evaluated by the help of Primary sources as Ottoman archives, annuals (Salname), other consulate reports and concerned literature.

What Do the Terms "Teshîr" and "Zabt" Reveal to Us Regarding Ottoman Political Thought?
Özer ERGENÇ

There are many terms and concepts used in Ottoman sources which designate integrating newly conquered territories to Ottoman lands ve establishing various institutions of central administration which help historians to better interpret the Ottoman political thought. Those three terms "teshir", "zabt" and "zabt u rabt" stand out to be the most prominent among them. "Teshir" means "conquering by sword" by definition. Under Islamic law, the Islamic ruler has the obligation to launch an expedition to lands which are abode of war, "darü'l-harb, and bring

those lands under abode of Islam, "darü'l-İslam". Although this is case, the Islamic ruler first proposes the rival to disarm and surrender. This proposal is called "aman" in Islamic law. If his proposal is rejected, then he has to conquer the territory by his sword, "teshiren". In other words, "teshir" means conquering by force. The next term with a similar meaning is "zabt". Although it also means to conquer, it has a broader meaning. To differentiate it from "conquer" in its narrow-sense, "zabt" is used together with its synonym as in "zabt u zabt". "Zabt" in its broader sense or "zabt u rabt" means a method of government, or a polity which would ensure that the newly conquered lands will stay within the borderlands of Islam as a part of Ottoman lands, "memalik-i mahruse". Hoca Saadettin Efendi, in his famous work, "Tacü't-tevarih" compares the meanings of those two terms, and argues that conquering a land by sword which is "teshir" is easier since it depends on military strength, however it's harder to maintain those lands as a part of the whole since it requires a political-skill, which is termed as "zabt".

This paper questions the term "zabt u rabt" as a means to better understand Ottoman political thought. The main hypothesis is that while implementing its own legal system in newly conquered lands, Ottoman's main policy was based on reconciliation, and mutual agreement with the residents of the conquered lands instead of implementing laws with no compromises. The main components of such a policy was three-fold; the first of which was the concept of "istimalet" which is convincing the new subjects that Ottoman governance would be beneficial for them improving their living conditions. The second phase is registering population and taxable resources. Those registers were the keystone documents of "zabt". The third phase was employing administrators who would govern these registered subjects justly. The human element in all three phases will be highlighted in this paper. In other words, the Ottoman recruitment politics and education of administrators bearing managerial skills will be scrutinized. To test this hypothesis, texts from Ottoman chronic reflecting Ottoman political thought will be compared with archival sources showing implementation fundamentals as codes of practice.

Professional Profile of Several Balkan Towns in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century
Gergana GEORGIEVA

The aim of the paper is to compare and analyze population's professional profile in several Balkan towns – Vidin, Shumen, Samokov, Bitola, and Skopje in the middle of the 19th c. It is inspired from the wide potential of the *temettuat defters* (1845-1846), which registered names, professions, immovable properties and incomes of all taxpayers in Balkan and Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire. Data reveal the differences and specifics of the towns' profile. We can clearly detect the specialization in certain professions which correspond directly to the economic and geographic profile of a certain town and its region.

These specifics are closely related with the other characteristics of urban life and create a profound picture of a certain urban center. They help us to ask important questions and go deeper in social and economic life of the urban centers in the Balkans.

The paper is closely related with the urban – economic and social, history of the Ottoman Empire, and especially the Balkan region. It aims to present the Balkans in a broader perspective seeking for common trends and specifics in the development of its urban centers.

It has to be pointed out also the importance of the collected data. Some of the documents have been published *in extenso* (Bitola, Skopje, Shumen) in different languages. But have not received full attention and profound analysis of the scholars. Others (Vidin) have not been studied yet. The diversity of languages in the Balkans sometimes is an obstacle in spread and usage of sources and studies on Ottoman/Balkan history, I have to admit. So, putting them together, systematizing them is also important for further development of the topic. I also see as a major importance of my work the attempt to compare data from the temettuat defters of several towns. Not focusing on one case study, but analyzing comparable units will help mapping wider trends in demographic, economic, social development of urban centers in the Ottoman Empire.

A Public Order File on the Sabaean Community in Iraq (1873-1898)
Selda GÜNER

In a letter sent by Residence of Britain in Baghdad to the vice consul in Basra at 5th Semptember 1978 was recommended the governor of Basra that protectorate Sheikh Yahya who was the leader and high priest of Sabaean community living in Suk'uş-Şuyuh between Nasiriya and Basra. It is consided that the correspondences began in 1873 between Sheikh and the British representative in Iraq, Sheikh achieved to draw the attention of Britain by reporting to the five Sabaean girls were abducted by Muslims in the year 1875. British Consular reports covering the period 1873-1898 with the title "Followers of John Baptist / Sabaeans" (FO/602/39) contain correspondence which describe in detail through the British political representative in Basra that Sabaeans were subjected to ill-treatment because of their belief and their demands for British protection. This correspondence, also, explains that the status of the Sabaean community, the tribes and the Ottoman presence in Iraq during Hamidian era to the reader through the perspective of British officers. Undoubtedly, the Sheikh Yahya's letters, as well as the British representative Earl Granville's letters to Shaykh Yahya and British consuls in the region denote that Her Majesty sympathized Sabaean community in trouble.

It is appear as a problematic how Shaikh Yahya's request about British protection because of investigation the fate of the five abducted Sabaeans girls and other problems of his community concluded. However Britain did not intervene directly in the issue and acted "cautiously". This also provides information on Anglo-Ottoman relations in the period.

Difference and Ridicule in the Literary Realm: Are *Zuppe*s Practitioners of an Ottoman Modernity?
Melis HAFEZ

This paper will explore how Ottoman novels described and prescribed new forms of subjectivity through the modern discourses of work and productivity. These discourses are best traced in novels, given the genre's historic entanglement with the spread of modern discourses and practices in general. The Ottoman reformist anxiety about Ottoman laziness as a social disease takes a multifaceted form in the novels of the reform period. The new concepts of work and the literary imagination of the Ottoman novels mutually reinforced the contemporary consensus on new ethical worlds, while at the same time establishing new forms of difference.

By concentrating on Ahmed Midhat's *Karnaval* (1881) and Mehmet Murat's *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı* (1891), a few questions will be addressed. First, through these novels, how did the Ottoman literary practices articulate new conceptualizations of subjectivity in connection with the nation? The Ottoman novels constructed the ideal self by juxtaposing it to a new typology in the literary realm, the much ridiculed anti-hero *zuppe*. How do the mentioned novels that feature the *zuppe* character thematize the period's preoccupation with work ethos in connection with character and nation building? Does ridicule serve a "function of preserving social norms," or does it promote a new set of mores that have been increasingly ubiquitous in the social sphere? Contrary to earlier analyses, the zuppe was not a person who merely imitated. The specifics of each novel they appear in withstanding, the zuppe characters indicate the establishment of difference. How does this difference, explored in the literary realm, resonate with the larger social and political anxieties of the Ottoman reform period? By creating a dandy-like idle figure as an anti-hero, the novelists not only articulated what was a social reality, but also disarticulated from it by prescribing a certain citizen type and ridiculing others before an audience they helped create by targeting them as interlocutors of their texts.

The character of zuppe, rather than being imprisoned into an imitation-originality binary, needs to be explored at the nexus of new economic realities, Ottoman reformist anxieties, and the authors' artistic formulation of marginal practices of a modernity that is perhaps different than the orthodox one. The discussion should leave its preoccupation with wrong Westernization paradigm behind and should address how articulation of new forms of subjectivity, embodied in the hard-working hero and the unproductive anti-hero, presented different models of modernities, political propositions, and anxieties.

Sermaye-i Şefkat-i Osmaniye (The Turkish Compassionate Fund): A British Relief Campaign for the '93 Refugees (1877-78)
Sena HATİP DİNÇYÜREK

1877-78 Russo-Ottoman War (*the '93 War*) had one of the most conspicuous humanitarian consequences in the history of the late 19th century; hundreds of thousands of civilians fled their homes, suddenly became war refugees. *'93 Muhacereti* ('93 Immigration) has found reasonable place in the secondary literature. However, studies in this subject have mostly concentrated on arrival and settlement process, thus have tended to treat these people as immigrants rather than refugees.

This paper focuses on a period during and right after the exodus. At that stage, most of the subjects of migration did not yet reach their final destination; actually, they did not even have a target destination. They did neither set off willingly, nor aimed to settle in a new place in the heartlands of the Empire. They simply aimed/hoped to survive. Refugees were in destitute conditions, lacking the most basic humane necessities and in need of any kind humanitarian assistance. The Turkish Compassionate Fund *(Sermaye-i Şefkat-i Osmaniye)* came out of such milieu as a civilian British initiative, aimed to relieve the destitute Muslim refugees in the Ottoman Empire. It was born in England and operated in the Ottoman lands.

British relief also has a significant aspect since it occurred during a period of deteriorated Anglo-Ottoman relations. It was just a year after the "Bulgarian Horrors" agitation and there was a considerable degree of anti-Turkish sentiments among the British public. Despite the national interests at stake, the British government could not afford to get into a war with Russia in order to prevent her expansion. Under such conditions a major campaign in London was particularly unexpected. However, the Victorian understanding of philanthropy together with the public sensitivity to humanitarian issues and the desire to materialize the individual anti-Russian tendencies made such a campaign less surprising.

This paper aims to elaborate this humanitarian endeavour, its objective, methods, contents and accomplishments through historical material from Ottoman and British archives, contemporary newspapers, individual records of relief institutions and personal memoires. By zooming at a certain portion of the time, it helps the reader understand the actual conditions of the war refugees, the meaning of this assistance through the eyes of receivers as well as the givers; and also it treats this episode as a *sui generis* scene from Anglo-Ottoman History.

The Ottoman '*Ahdnâme*s (14th-mid 18th Centuries): An Essay in Definition
Güneş IŞIKSEL

The corpus of Ottoman '*ahdnâmes*, a profuse source on the Ottoman state's (self-)representation and positioning in the inter-state realm, lends itself to many interpretations. From their earliest examples, which are *calque*s from Eastern Mediterranean and especially Micrasiatic Medieval texts, to their very elaborate forms produced in 1740s – we will return to this periodization, esp. to the *termini* during this communication – most of these documents are edited and some of these, either singularly or as a group, are analysed. If general studies which outline the main patterns and issues related to these texts are not lacking, it seems that interrelations between political, commercial and statuary (mainly, maritime and "national") articles in one '*ahdnâme* text or in a group of texts accorded to one country (diachronic level) or to more than one country in a same period (synchronic level) are not sufficiently articulated. Our aim in this preliminary essay is to revisit this corpus with the conceptual tools of the Cross-cultural studies, "Linguistic Turn" as well as New Legal History and reinstate these documents in a broader Early Modern context.

Sensing Nocturne: Popular Perceptions of City Gas Lighting in fin de siècle İstanbul
Nurçin İLERİ

In fin de siècle Istanbul, the production, distribution and consumption of "city gas" created some contradictory feelings; on the one hand it was perceived as a threat to natural and moral order, on the other hand it created fascination and delight considering the participation in nocturnal city life. Sometimes it revealed the nostalgic feeling towards the old; sometimes brightness was associated with state's achievement, as darkness with inefficacy of the state. Even though, one cannot be sure if the increasing use of industrial light also intensified the number of the people who used streets as nocturnal spaces, one can claim that this new urban technology appeared in many various ways in people's mental and social worlds and transformed these worlds in the said period.

This paper examines coal gas lighting as a "socio-economic issue, source of profit, and spectacular element" in the transforming nocturnal spaces of Istanbul. In the scope of these themes, it claims that Istanbul's nocturnal space had never been neutral; it has always been political and strategic. It produced fragmented opportunities for Istanbul populaces and had a hierarchical structure. As a commercial and cultural enterprise it was taken for granted as a part of modern city life. It was used to mark social distinctions, to symbolize the accretion of power and to suggest levels of civility and progress. It became a complex and contradictory terrain as different social groups attempt to appropriate, manage, and exploit it in various ways through a new urban technology like city gas lighting.

Culture of Political Protest in Izmir (1908-1912)
Umut KARABULUT

The period between 1908 and 1912 coincides with the opening years of the second constitutional experience in Ottoman Empire. The liberal atmosphere within the country, thanks to the influence of second constitution, reinforced the society's power of freedom of expression. However, at the same period, several politically adverse incidents took place. The declaration of independence of Bulgaria and Crete, the annexation of Bosnia- Herzegovina by Austria and the Italian occupation of Tripoli were among these events. Until the beginning of the 19th century such events hardly led to any social unrest, but in the 20th century, these unfavorable incidents evoked public outcry with the influence of nationalism. While most protests were developed as the reaction of Muslim Turks against the Great Powers and minority groups, some of the minority groups themselves supported their fellows living in other states, and some others supported the Great States, whom they felt loyalty to.

This study focuses on Izmir due its structure. The city, with its convenience to trade and cosmopolitan formation, had always been a lieu to people from different nations. This situation contributed to the development of culture of political protest in two ways. The diversity of human population enriched by trade resulted in the emergence of different views, therefore unlike other Ottoman cities; Izmir hosted a remarkably more favorable condition for liberal

thinking. Besides, due to non-Muslim population, city presented multi-voiced views for the changing conditions. Hence, Izmir emerged as one of the central cities to monitor the public reaction against the vital events that affected Ottoman Empire profoundly during the Second Constitutional Era.

The study, rather than focusing on the progression of above-mentioned events, aims to determine demonstrations that took place in Izmir against those events and unfold the significance they carry. At this point, not only Muslims' reaction will be taken into consideration but also those of the minorities and foreigners. Therefore, this will enable us to understand to what extent social groups were involved to the issues, which previously concerned only the state. When this process has been examined, the political sources Muslims and non-Muslims used for their cause will be determined. Therefore, such determination will provide answer to the question to what degree society was affected from political mechanism and whether it was led by this mechanism or not. Besides, this will also offer explanations to the extent of the state-society relationship, the bond between people living in Izmir and the state, and the evolution of political protest culture at that time. When the attitude of society against the political events has been assessed, boycott applied by Muslim-Turks against Greece and Italy will reveal the deterrent feature of economical factors, which were utilized for political cause.

This study derives its sources from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and the National Archives in London along with the Turkish periodicals of the era, published in Izmir and the foreign press.

Rural Debtors and Urbanite Creditors: Some Observations on the Rural-Urban Credit Networks in Ottoman Rumelia
Gürer KARAGEDİKLİ

Having used the probate inventories of state officials (*askeri kassam defterleri*) and those of civilians (*beledi kassam defterleri*) as well as judicial cases, this study aims to investigate the density of credit relations between people who lived in various villages and those who resided in cities and/or districts in the Edirne region during the first half of the seventeenth century. Debt-credit relations in the countryside of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century have attracted little – if not none – attention in modern Ottoman historiography. Many of the works pertaning to seventeenth century Ottoman rural life devoted its focus to population and production fluctuations vis-à-vis the changing political, economic and climatic conditions that affected the Empire and dubiously considered the mid-century as the worst period that the Empire hitherto faced in Anatolia and in the Balkans. In this respect, I will try to scrutinize whether this debt-credit density between villagers and urbanites can be viewed as a one-way process that developed at the disadvantage of villagers as argued in the literature within the general framework of "seventeenth century crises". I will argue that the very nature of the city of Edirne as an Imperial Seat (*Payitaht*) during most of the seventeenth century that homed a significant number of *askeri* class members (both on-duty and retired) who established significant social and monetary networks not only among themselves but also within the rural hinterland of Edirne

played an important role in intensfying the debt-credit pattern between urbanites and villagers. The preliminary findings of the present study indicates that rural residents in the Edirne region witnessed no significant financial troubles caused by their credit relations with urbanites. On the contrary, loans obtained from urbanites were the means of sustaining their agricultural production and livelihood.

Tulip Era from the Perspective of a Majmua
Murat Ali KARAVELİOĞLU

Corpora of poems/nazires as the main sources of Classical Turkish Literature are very important documents for the researchers due to their contents. There have been compiled so many Corpora of poems during the time from almost from the foundation of Ottoman poetry until its end. What can be found in those works are the poems which do not exist in the *divans* as well as poets whose names are not counted in the biographic books for poets (tezkeres) either in the Histories of Literatures. The most correct forms of the texts are usually encountered in those works in a certain arrangement since they were collected by people who had an exceptional taste for and a good level of knowledge in linguistics and literature. Moreover, beyond being of a special collection of poems they perfectly reveal the centuries-long process of literary life. Corpora of nazires particularly show the taste and fashion of their time concerning the poetry in terms of interactions, reputations and capabilities. In this respect these works should not be viewed only the books of collections of poems. The particular corpus of poems we focus is registered at the number of 763 in the Division of Halet Efendi in Suleymaniye Library. This voluminous work of 650 pages narrates the Tulip Era also known as an era of science, art, culture and enlightenment by the pens of poets of the time. Containing around 500 poems written in different types such as qasida, masnavi, musammat, kıta and etc. this work display the people, architectural works, entertainment centres, social and economic life and literary circles of Tulip Era.

The book titled as *Mecmua-i Kasâid ü Ebyât*, that is comprehended to be arranged immediate after the end of Tulip Era regarded to its content, mirrors the social and economical life of its period. Cultural, economical, artistic developments and various aspects of the 18th century Ottoman life have been reflected to the literature of the era. The mecmua mentioned was arranged by the order of Grandvizier Damat İbrahim Pasha. In this paper it is intended to illustrate its content and to provide a view through its time. Thus, establishment of a new approach of historical and literary research could be achieved.

Meaning and Context: The Perception of the Ottoman Slave Markets through the Greek Question in Britain and the United States in the Abolition Era
Birgül KOÇAK

In the 19th century, slave markets in the Ottoman Empire appeared in books as a social reality, in the meantime, they embellished Western orientalist imagination. Particularly, the influence of the

texts related to captivity of the Greek women and children and their sale to slave markets by the Turks during the Greek struggle for independence (1821-1829) was striking in terms of either political and social, or literary and artistic in the Western world.

The Greek struggle for independence was an event that not only the Great Powers intervened in terms of military, financial and politics "on behalf of the humanity", but also numerous European and American people attended personally as "their own issue". On the other hand, the attempt to undertake the Greek cause was accompanied by an extensive discourse network in which "the captivity of the Greeks" had a significant place. The issue of captivity of the Greeks by the Turks, beyond providing support to philhellenism, was also used to supply a discursive equipment by abolitionists against slavery in Britain and the United States, respectively. Abolitionists wanted justice for African slaves by reminding philhellenic fervency during the Greek struggle for independence and asked for support to Africans at the same level by making comparison between the Greeks under the Turkish rule and black slaves in plantations.

In the light of this knowledge, this paper aims to present a historical-sociological analysis specifically with the approach that the meaning of a phenomenon is context-determined in which it is interpreted. First, it will try to analyse texts -such as diplomatic correspondences, newspapers, pamphlets and literary works published in the 1820's- related to the Ottoman slave markets, and then, show how the Greek slavery in slave markets was perceived by the abolitionists and its using by them for discursive construction of abolitionism in Britain and the United States at the following decades.

How to Raise a Church? The Franciscan Strategies Concerning Renewal of Catholic Churches and Monasteries in Ottoman Bosnia
Vjeran KURSAR

The issue of erection, renewal and maintenance of non-Muslim places of worship in the Ottoman Empire was regulated by strict provisions of Islamic law, intended to secure the supremacy of Islam as the official religion of the state. In this respect the province of Bosnia was no exception. After the initial blow during the Ottoman conquest and its aftermath when some churches were destroyed or converted into mosques, the situation quickly stabilised, and more than a dozen of churches and monasteries continued to function. The Ottomans were highly concerned to pacify the region by winning over the Bosnian Franciscans as local representatives of the Catholic Church. The first accommodation with the Franciscans was reached in the very year of the conquest (1463) in the form of *ahidname* issued by Sultan Mehmed II. It guaranteed security of the Franciscans and their churches, and constituted the model for subsequent sultanic *ferman*s and documents issued by local authorities regulating the position of Catholicism in Bosnia.

Despite provisions of Islamic law that proscribed erection of new churches, there are few examples that contradict the rule. New churches in Bosnia were usually built in border areas, which might be seen as an Ottoman concession intended to secure the loyalty of the local population. In spite of the dubiousness of the matter, according to the opinion of *şeyhülislam* Çatalcalı Ali Efendi in the late 17th century, such practice did not contradict the principles of

Islamic law, since erection of new churches in remote places without Muslim presence was permitted. On the other hand, obtaining permission for renewal of the church required a long, expensive and complicated procedure, including several official levels, ranging from the Porte in Istanbul to local authorities. In order to succeed, as described in the Franciscan chronicles and often confirmed in the Ottoman documents, the Franciscans used services of local merchants with ties in Istanbul, travelled to the capital themselves, and, above all, sought the mediation of foreign diplomats at the Porte. After permission was obtained, the works on the church could have begun. Although the church should have been restored only in the original measures and materials of prescribed quality, the Franciscans used various techniques to build wider, higher and better buildings, and deceive or soften inspectors after the work was done. In conclusion, despite imposed limitations the Bosnian Franciscans were trying to find the ways to bend the law and make their places of worship closer to their wishes and needs.

The Ottoman "Merchants of Europe" at the Beginning of the 19th century
Sophia LAIOU

The paper aims to investigate the economic activity of the Ottoman Orthodox reaya, who in the beginning of the 19th century entered into the group of the "merchants of Europe" (Avrupa tüccarları). According to Ali İhsan Bağış, this new policy was initiated during the reign of Selim III, aiming to the restriction of the foreign protection system provided to the Ottoman subjects by the foreign ambassadors and consuls on the basis of the stipulations of the capitulations, as well as to the further "ottomanization" of the foreign trade. To this end, the Ottoman state provided to certain zimmis the opportunity to trade with Europe under the same favorable conditions with the foreign merchants in exchange of the payment of a small amount of money to the state treasure.

The paper will focus on the first four registers that include copies of the documents concerning the activity of the "merchants of Europe"; the defters are preserved in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA, A.DVN.TCR 1-4) and they cover the period 1806-1814. Based on these archival material the paper will describe the institutional framework which covered the trade activity of these merchants and then it will focus on the applications that these merchants submitted to the Ottoman state. The latter refer to the employment of their "servants" (hizmetkâr)- in reality, business partners- and their installation to other cities of the empire, but also to the tax exemptions that the "merchants of Europe" enjoyed and how they could be protected by the excessive demands of the Ottoman custom officials. Also, the paper will try to map the commercial networks that the "merchants of Europe" established in Istanbul and Izmir, focusing on the importance of the family relations and the common origin in the formation of these networks.

Some of the questions that the paper will try to answer regard the relation of the "merchants of Europe" with the Ottoman state, the socio-economic position of these merchants in comparison to the other zimmis, as well as the outcome of the above mentioned merchant policy of the Ottoman state and the various parameters that influenced it.

Emergence of Capitalist Industrialisation in Ottoman Macedonia (1870-1912): Initial Evidence from *Salnameler*
Costas LAPAVITSAS & Pınar ÇAKIROĞLU

During the final decades of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, Macedonia became the leading industrial region of the Empire, most prominently in the city of Salonica. However, industrialisation in the rural hinterland of Salonica, particularly in the region of Naousa (Ağustos), Edhessa (Vodina), Veroia (Karaferye) was equally significant. Industrial development occurred from the 1870s concentrating on textiles and was led by a group of Greek capitalists belonging to the powerful Christian/Greek community of the region. Hence, communal aspect at the local level incorporating relations of hierarchy and power was important to the spontaneous emergence of capitalist industrialisation. More broadly, relations between the industrialists and the central Ottoman state were equally important. Provincial Macedonian industrialisation casts light on the broader debate on the transition to capitalism with specific reference to the Ottoman Empire. Provincial forces had a pre-eminent role in inducing capitalist industrialisation in the Ottoman context, a result that challenges existing theories on the emergence of capitalism in the Ottoman Empire. By analysing Ottoman yearbooks (salnameler) for the Salonica region and comparing the results with Greek sources and secondary literature, it is possible to demonstrate the importance of local communal forces as well as the highly localized and specific production skills that characterised Ottoman capitalist industrialisation. Industrial capitalism appeared to be based on economic, social and political relations that had a strongly local and communal dimension.

Inequalities of Income in the Rural World of Ottoman Europe
Nenad MOACANIN

It is a commonplace in the writings on the Ottoman social and economic history that the "fines", which the tax records are calling *badihava* or *niyabet*, do not display any meaningful connection with any of the other known figures, in particular with the number of fiscal units. Indeed, these sums of cash, that the peasants had to pay to revenue holders, were extremely variegated, and cannot be compared to the poll-tax or the *ispence*, which were collected as fixed amounts on the household basis. Yet such opinions were generated by mere visual inspection. The statistical analysis reverses the picture. In many regions (here the *sancak*s of Sirem and Bosnia) strong correlation and determination links between the fines and other figures were found. Fines were remarkably well tied to revenue totals, but also not infrequently to fiscal units. Moreover, the towns had very high coefficients. It is always important to remember that the "fines" in the tax records, although mostly imposed upon villages as lump sums, unlike the "true" fines, explained at length in the legal codes and collected from those who were found guilty, were equally assessed on the basis of the relative wealth, or movable property, such as livestock, wine, or clothes of value. It seems that such lump sums were made up of relatively fixed rates, the basic one, or the

index 100, usually corresponding to a median value. These "fines" were imposed neither upon persons, nor upon households, but on whole villages, as if the amount related to the wealth of *one* additional household. In normal situation, the basic rate was increased or lowered depending on the size of the village, presuming that there were no greater differences in income and wealth which was generated from *agriculture*. Then the amount mirrored the presence of non-agrarian activities more closely. If the output of the fields was comparatively low, and the presence of the landless was high, then there was also no solid ground for peasant entrepreneurship, except for some cattle-breeding. In such cases the "fines" had more to do with rounding up the prebends. Then it could occur that a large village was paying only a few coins, or a small one a large sum, the fines being the most prominent item. Thus, by analyzing the *badihava* dues, we were able to get some important insights on the size and distribution of income from non-agrarian activities.

La conquista turca de Otranto en 1480: la *Historia de los mártires* de Francisco de Araujo
Roberto MONDOLA

My intervention is focused on the analysis of a historical monograph in Spanish language printed in 1631 about Turkish invasion of Otranto in 1480. The work, entitled *Historia de los mártires de la ciudad de Otrento*, was published in Naples; its author is Francisco de Araujo, that was chaplain of the arcibishop of Otranto. Through the analysis of the Araujo's work, the intervention wants to analyze the reasons and the consequences of the Ottoman capture of Otranto. The arrival of the Turkish troops of Gedik Ahmet Pasha in the summer of 1480 frightened the Christian world and testified the crisis of the Kingdom of Ferrante d'Aragona. The events of 1480 showed how Italy was not a strong state which could compete with the monarchies of Western Europe and with the powerful empire of Mehmet II. The Turkish invasion was a consequence of the expansive policy of the Sultan; the knowledge of the big riches of Italian states and the idea of establishing his power in Italy were the main reasons that stimulated Mehmet II. Despite the first victories in 1480, Turkish did not maintain their power in the South of Italy. King Ferrante, thanks to the anti-Turkish coalition, went on the offensive and in march 1481 the Neapolitan fleet defeated the Ottomans.

The work of Araujo, published 60 years after the battle of Lepanto, is the only monograph in Spanish language focused on the events of 1480; the work lets to know many details of that period, from the first battles to the recapture of Otranto thanks to Ferrante d'Aragona and his son Alfonso.

The *Historia de los mártires* had not been studied for a long time, but it is an important contribution in Spanish language about an event that had a great importance in the Italian and Spanish historiography, but less in Turkey. Araujo, that spent many years in Otranto, could know a lot of written documents and oral testimonies. The title of the work suggests that the aim of the author was to celebrate the death of the Otranto's martyrs, who were killed by Turkish because they did not repudiate their Christian faith. The work shows a strong conflict between two different models of civilizations; in this aspect, the *History* is similar to many propagandistic literature that was spread in Europe after the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453.

Converging and Diverging Nationalisms in the 19th century Balkans: Bulgarian and Greek Ottomans
Eleonora NAXIDOU

This article is a comparative approach of two antagonistic national ideas, the Greek and the Bulgarian. It highlights one of their converging aspects, which was adopted by members of the Greek Orthodox and the Bulgarian communities after the Crimean War (1853-1856). Espousing the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the perpetuation of the status quo in the Balkans, they opposed in this way the political principle of Balkan nationalism, as well as the concomitant irredentist aspirations of the Greek nation-state and the revolutionary plans of the proponents of Bulgarian political liberation. Moreover, each side employed similar arguments, however, in the context of a different national perspective: the Bulgarians considered this option as the best way to safeguard their Bulgarianness against the assimilatory efforts of the Greeks, and the Greeks believed it was a way to protect their ethnic identity against the threat of Panslavism. In this way, the former instigated by Stoian Chomakov condemned the armed uprising in Crete in 1866 and declared their obedience to the Sultan, whereas the latter sharply deprecated the unification of the Bulgarian Principality with the Ottoman province of Eastern Rumelia in 1885 in a series of articles published in the newspaper *Neologos*. The advocates of non-aggressive nationalism combined with pro-Ottoman manifestations belonged to the political and economical elite of their respective communities and were closely affiliated with the Ottoman state. In other words they related their social status and economic prosperity to the fate of the Empire. The paper aims to draw the profile and compare the views of the Bulgarian and Greek Ottomans, focusing on the cases of the Bulgarian national leader Chomakov on the one hand and the Greek newspaper *Neologos* on the other.

Recording Village Boundaries as a Vehicle for Reaffirming State Authority
Michael NIZRI

Boundaries can take many different forms. They may be congruent with natural features such as rivers, mountain passes, forests, and the like. They can also be marked by high walls, wire fences, signs on trees, and other artificial signs. Yet, the translation of boundaries from physical markers to a written document transforms their representation from three-dimensional and tangible to symbolic and verbal. Boundary descriptions are meaningless in themselves unless confirmed by actions. In order to confirm the boundaries described in various documents, such as protocols of judicial activity or endowment deeds, it was not enough to read out the written description in the presence of the *kadi*. It also required the confirmation of local people who could identify the boundaries. They were needed to ratify the landmarks described along the perimeter (of the village) as well as to provide vital knowledge of any changes that had taken place due to natural disasters or human intervention.

The utility of written descriptions of boundaries depends on the possibility of "translating" them, of reconstructing the original, physical model on which they were based. Thus the description should shed light on the people who wrote it down as well as the way it was meant to function. By looking at these aspects of any boundary, we can understand more about the relationship between those who recorded the boundaries and the people within those boundaries, as well as its meaning for each side.

Boundary descriptions were not made systematically, but only when a need arose, such as disputes over lands or the establishment of a *waqf*. In our case, the purpose of the descriptions was to establish the boundaries of some of the properties (salt-works, villages) belonging to the *waqf*s established by *Şeyhülislam* Feyzullah Efendi at the end of the seventeenth century.

These detailed descriptions can be found in special documents (sing. *hududname*) that were attached to the endowment deeds (sing. *waqfiyya*). In my paper, I intend to show that the *hududname* documents served two main purposes. First, they established a boundary description that enabled village land disputes to be mediated. Second, this written expression enabled the state to reaffirm its authority and sovereignty. Once these documents were recorded, the peasants were dependent on them in any dealings with Ottoman authorities, while the *kadi* served as the guarantor of law.

The Demographic Picture of the Provinces of Beirut and Syria in Ottoman Middle East at the Turn of the 20th Century
Yusuf OĞUZOĞLU

In the second half of the 19th century, Ottoman Middle East had a historical activity resulting from both regulations made by the Ottoman administration and interests of powerfull foreign states on it. At this point, Ottoman modernization was completed by the colorful view of global, cultural and economical mobility as in todays terminology. While Beirut had a population of only 46 thousand in 1860, it became a city having a population of three times bigger from 40 years on. The appearance of such a development is showing the demographic importance. The Ottoman State's canalizing some of the immigrants and, moreover, the cultural mobility observed to the end of the 19th century under the effect of Europe led to changes in the population structure of the region. Besides this, we can see the decreasing amounts of tithe about agricultural activities (aşar and ağnam) in Province Incomes, and this lights up the changing economical conditions.

The demographic picture of the Provinces of Beirut and Syria in the period under discussion presents a colorful view that could be seen the attendance today especially about Muslim and Christian groups. We have information about 12 different groups called "millet" by the Ottoman Administration. Population details about rates comparison with general and lands of residing and also details of representation are well known because of detailed bureaucratic registrations. There will be information about these groups and their properties in our paper.

Memorandums (layiha) that have been written by the Ottoman administers, British Consulate Reports and Ottoman and foreign visitors observations also light up the demographic dynamism.

Add to these, many foreign states included Russia, were influential in this land and building schools and printing houses and publishing newspapers and periodicals were common activities. These are also points out the social and cultural properties of the people living in Provinces of Beirut and Syria and also the level of international competition.

Visual aids such as photographs, documents and maps will be used in the paper. Primary sources such as Ottoman archives, annuals (salname) of Beirut and Damascus, British Consulate Reports, travel books, memorandums and private documents will be evaluated by the help of concerned literature.

Macedonia as a Matter of Balkanites and Young Turks: Tunalı Hilmi Bey's Treatise '*Makedonya: Mazi Hâl İstikbâl*' (1898)
Mehmet ÖZDEN

When Winston Churcill saw the delegates who demanded land from each other although they had many files, population statistics, old maps, historical chronics about Medieval Serbian, Bulgarian Kingdoms in Paris Conference (1919), he, with special British irony, said "Balkanites problem is that they produce too much history than consume". Likewise Tarık Zafer Tunaya, decedent historian, also said that "in order to understand the Young Turks need to look at the the mountains of the Balkans not Paris".

Revolutionist Young Turk Tunalı Hilmi Bey as a political refugee in Switzerland published a 48 pages treatise titled *Makedonya: Mazi Hâl İstikbâl* in Geneva as the publication of Union and Progress Society. According to him Macedonia's past began with the people of the region being Christian. However especially Bulgarians and then Serbs found themselves hellenise under the administration of the Ecumenical Church. The first complimentary part of the Macedonia issue for Bulgarians and Serbs began to struggle against Panhellenizm. Great Powers, Austria-Hungary and in particular Russia externally intervened in this inner fight. Thus, Macedonia issue became a international problem. Reasonable solution for Tunalı Hilmi Bey was this region should remain under Ottoman rule by making reforms. Otherwise, the war is inevitable. In fact, the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 would verify his prediction. Beacuse of the first and only document about Macedonia policy of the Union and Progress Party. Tunali Hilmi Bey's mentioned treatise is important too.

"If the Fish Stinks From the Head!": Violence, Banditry and Corruption in the Province of Trabzon in the 1880s.
Hamdi ÖZDİŞ

Our knowledge of certain aspects of the Ottoman provincial administration is still limited. Particularly, the local dynamics and the actors of the local politics as well as their complex relationships still need further research. Furthermore, the relationships between the appointed

Governors to the provinces and these local dynamics and political actors prove to be much more complicated than it is generally perceived. Therefore re-reading of the cases of "corruption" through the detailed records of interrogations becames imperative to understand the nature of the structure of local politics which also involves the participation as well as the reactions of not only the notables but also of the ordinary peasant communities.

I will attempt at a close reading of such a case from the Trabzon province of the 1880s. What makes this particular case peculiar is the fact that the Governor General of the province, Sururi Efendi, was at the center of the alleged network of corruption. What makes it further interesting is that Sururi Efendi was an important figure who previously acted as the judge of ulema origin in the famous Yıldız Trial and also contributed to the preparations of the Ottoman Civil Code as well as the Criminal Law. His case, therefore, provides us a rare example of and valuable insight into the microcosm of violence, justice and corruption at local level in the late Ottoman Turkey.

Some Questions on Agricultural Production and Productivity in an Age of Demographic Crisis and Rural Violence in 17th-Century Ottoman Anatolia
Oktay ÖZEL

This paper asks some questions formulized regarding the relationship between the agricultural production/productivity under the conditions of demographic crisis and violence in rural Anatolia during the seventeenth century. Based on the premise that a significant loss of active rural population in the Ottoman realm must have had certain negative impacts in the agricultural production and productivity at all levels. I will argue that the radical changes in the productive population, which appears to be a general phenomenon in the early seventeenth century Anatolia, created new conditions with significant repercussions regarding not only the structure of agricultural economy and relations but also the policies of imperial fisc.

"Conquest" of Galata with Fountains and Water Supply Systems built by Gülnuş Valide Sultan
Muzaffer ÖZGÜLEŞ

During the last decade of the 17th century, Galata, the reputed district of Istanbul for its dominantly non-Muslim dwellers, has seen a spectacular change in its social and religious structure. After the fire of 1696, San Francisco Church was not allowed to be rebuilt and Gülnuş Emetullah Valide Sultan, mother of Mustafa II, built the first and the last sultanate mosque of Galata, together with a pretty fountain, and supplied water for ablution and public use. In the following years, during the reign of his younger son Ahmed III, Gülnuş Sultan continued the quest for abundant running sweat water for the new Muslim inhabitants populating the surroundings of her mosque as well as existing Christian and Jewish dwellers. In total, she financed the building of three new fountains, two repairs and supplied water to all of them, which saved the people of Galata during hot summers.

With this paper, derived from my ongoing PhD thesis, one of the late 17th century fountains of Galata, which used to be misattributed until now, is being identified and investigated. Moreover, two more fountains, which couldn't survive and were forgotten even together with their neighborhoods, are being revealed. Two surviving fountains attached to the walls of demolished Galata Yeni Cami, and its invisible but crucial infrastructure probably buried under today's modern Istanbul, i.e. the newly built water supply system, are being investigated. The expenses and the possible locations of those underground channels are being demonstrated with archival documents from TSMA and BOA, as well as those for the mentioned five fountains.

Thus, one of the earliest water supply systems of Galata and its accompanying fountains, which predates the famous Taksim water supply system of Mahmud I and fountains built during his reign, will be presented in this paper. And, I affirm that, this series of pious endowments of Gülnuş Sultan, complementing her recently built sultanate mosque in Galata that replaced the greatest Catholic shrine of the neighborhood, served as a tool of religious "conquest", since it enlivened the district with fresh water as both new Muslims dwellers and existing non-Muslims benefited and appreciated it. The image of the Valide Sultan, and accordingly the state and her sons, gained more reputation as she supplied the vital source of life to her subjects, even more than the mosque built by her.

Defining the Structure and the Content of a *Çiftlik*: Large Estates in the Environs of Thessaloniki in the first half of the Eighteenth Century
Demetrios PAPASTAMATIOU

The paper aspires to contribute to the long-standing discussion on the seminal transformation of the modes of landownership from the strict state control of the land during the classical period toward more arbitrary legal conceptions and respective practices of land alienation in the 18th century. In this vein, we do not emphasize on the legalistic complexities of the expansive landholding strategies of the 18th century provincial elites, but focus on the real content of their sources of wealth. The paper constitutes part of a broader joint research project of the department of History of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, on the wealth distribution in the 18th century Thessaloniki, and is based on the seriat court registers (*sicilat)* of the city, to wit 55 volumes (*defter*) recording exclusively properties of deceased residents either of the city or its whereabouts.

All the recorded *çiftlik*s have been studied both within the context of the owners' wealth status, and as cases *per se*, that is to say, in terms of their constituent parts. Firstly, we intend to investigate into the landholding situation of the significant and prosperous province of central Macedonia in the crucial, as regards the formation of large land estates, period between 1700 and 1770. In this respect, the distribution of *çiftlik*s is described along lines of religious, gender and ethnic segregation of their proprietors, while economic and social hierarchies within the landholding elite are also discussed. Moreover, we explore the structure of the landholding wealth, and consequently attempt to pinpoint the exact content of the term "*çiftlik*". The analysis comprises both a quantitative approach, in terms of the monetary value of the bequeathed

estates, and qualitative classifications of the content of the recorded *çiftlik*s (buildings, animals, valuables, agricultural tools, merchandise produced). Additionally, we correlate the landholding property with the rest of the registered belongings so as to define its significance within the proprietary nexus and its contribution to the wealth of the provincial elites of Thessaloniki. Finally, we compare our findings with those of respective studies from other areas of the Balkans and Anatolia with a view to elucidating the nature of the *çiftlik* as well as specifying any peculiarities emanating from the local conditions of our sample.

Conclusively, the paper aims at enlightening the escalating landholding phenomenon during the 18th century by delving into the case of Thessaloniki and its surrounding countryside.

The Numismatic, Metrological and Fiscal Assessment of *Şahi*, an Important Coin of the Reign of Murad III.
Şule PFEIFFER TAŞ

In this paper, an analysis attempt will be performed towards understanding a significant application of the Ottoman Monetary History. The topic of the paper has two dimensions; with the *sikke tashihi*, which is thought to have taken place in 1588, 800 akçes were minted from 100 dirham of silver. As a result of this regulation, the real value of *akçe*, the accounting coin of the monetary system, decreased by almost 50% and the values of all the other silver and gold coins used in the Ottoman land were determined again through comparison with akçe. This regulation is the first biggest devaluation of the Ottoman history. Among the coins whose values were determined again during this regulation, the big silver coin called Şahi had a special place compared to the others. The Şahi was not minted in all the mints of the empire. It was minted only in the mints of the eastern provinces and thus it was used and circulated predominantly in these areas. There are two reasons for this: the Şahi was introduced to the Ottomans as a Persian coin and minted in their own mints owing to its prevalence in the area. This is because it nearly became the common currency within the area and the southeastern lands of the Ottoman state and other neighboring states, especially Persia, formed an integrated economic zone. The Şahis, which were in circulation in this zone, seem to be in flexible and varying exchange rates in 1580's. Therefore, our paper focuses on the reign of Murad III. in terms of time and on the Şahi in terms of coinage.

In our paper, the Şahis that were minted during the period of Murad III. will be studied together with akçes and their metrological assessment will be carried out. During the great reduction that we date to 1588, both the value and weight of the akçe were reduced. Mustafa Selaniki Efendi, one of the intellectuals, bureaucrats and historians of that period, regarded the excessive increase of the exchange rate of the Şahi, which is of Persian origin, among the most important causes of this major crisis. He wrote that Murad III fought on the eastern border for 12 years and thus low-value Şahis reached as far as Rumeli. This in turn resulted in the transfer of huge amounts of silver from Anatolian order to mint Şahis. The state took certain measures against the overvaluation of the exchange rate of Şahi and smuggling of silver, yet these were not lasting. The circulation of Şahi played an important role in the deterioration of the economic situation.

Consequently, minting of Şahi was banned in 1589 during the application of coin regulation. The report of Sadrazam Koca Mustafa Pasha, which stated the complaint that Şahi replaced Ottoman akçe everywhere, proved influential in this decision. As it is seen, it took the ban some more time to be enforced. The minting of Şahi was banned again in 1592. After the ban, the minting of big silver coins sometimes called Selimi and Padişahi was ordered. There is information in archives as to the metrological values of these coins as well. In the same period, these coins, which had very similar weights, were used at the same time, which created huge problems.

This topic, which is of great importance for the history of Ottoman economy, has been overlooked by the researchers and no detailed analysis of Şahi in numismatic and metrological terms has been conducted. Within the scope of this paper, the data we gathered from the Ottoman archive documents and the studies we carried out on the Şahis in museums will be evaluated together. The archive data will be thus tested. In this paper, the relations between the varying exchange rates of the Şahi and economic, political and social conditions of the region will be determined and the knowledge about the Ottoman Monetary History will be tried to be revised.

Living Abroad: Romanian Community in the Ottoman Empire (1878-1916)
Silvana RACHIERU

The presentation will focus on the first results of a long term research project which addresses a new aspect of the history of the Romanian-Ottoman modern relations after 1878: the Romanian citizens and subjects, residents in the Ottoman Empire, analyzed as a community under the protection of the diplomatic missions of Romania. The idea of this study comes from a previous research interest, on the Ottoman community in independent Romania, included in my PhD dissertation. The thesis *Romanian-Ottoman relations between 1878-1908* focused on the presentation of the Ottoman perspective of the functioning of a new independent state in the Balkans and of the Ottoman subjects resident in Romania. Once the research completed, it opens the perspective towards new topics, proving one more time that that the relations between the two states could be addressed from multiple perspectives. Consequently, another topic proved to have an interesting research potential: Romanians as residents in the Ottoman Empire.

In a study which combines diplomatic history with social and economic history, I have chosen to present various aspects concerning this foreign community from the Ottoman area. For the project, special bibliography is used, through the identification of similar studies, which benefit of a detailed analysis. The cases of the French and British colonies, well documented will be useful for the methodological perspective and as work instruments. Several categories of sources are used in this research project: diplomatic reports, legal collections, census, press, memoirs etc. The information collected will be useful in the construction and reconstruction of individual histories, a study of social history realized through the analysis of the multiethnic Romanian community in the Ottoman Empire.

The history of the modern Romanian community, protected by an independent state represented by diplomatic missions had its beginning in the autumn of 1878, after the arrival of the first

official Romanian diplomatic representative to the Porte, Dimitrie Bratianu, with the rank of plenipotential minister. From that moment on the Romanian residents in the Empire were under the protection of an authority. Until the end of the diplomatic relations in august 1916, due to Romania's enter to the war, except the legation and consulate in Istanbul, there were open consulate in Bitola, Salonika and Ioannina. Due to different reasons, only in 1918 a consular convention was signed between Romania and the Ottoman Empire, convention which was of direct interest for the Romanian community in the Ottoman Empire because it had the role to stipulate its status and rights. Until 1918, the status of the Romanian subjects was determined by following the model of the capitulations signed with other states, without details on their protection. In 1918 the newly signed convention had never been put actually into practice, due to the historical conditions in the empire and of the general lack of security concerning the faith of the multiethnic empire. The present study will analysis the history of the Romanian multiethnic colony from the empire from different perspectives, such as which towns were chosen as residency, occupations or the major problems which affected their status as foreign residents in the Ottoman Empire.

A Look at Ottoman and World History through the Eyes of *Sâlnâme*s (ca. 1850-1870)
Claudia RÖMER

Normally, Ottoman *sâlnâme*s contain data on Ottoman and sometimes world history in their calendar parts next to each date. Among the first series of relatively small leaflets of *sâlnâme*s, however, there are several interesting singular cases, i.e. the *devlet sâlnâmeleri* of the years 1267-1269 (1850/51 – 1852/53), which are among the first published and of the years 1285(1868/69), 1287 (1870/71), 1288 (1871-72), and 1290 (1873/74).

In these *sâlnâme*s, at varying places but always somewhere near the *takvim* parts and without any further introduction, there comes a list of six pages under headings like the following, *Bu mahallde yazılan vakâyı târîh-i hicretin her kaçıncı senesinde zuhûr etmiş ise rakamlarıyle gösterilmişdir* "The events given here are shown according to their dates in the hijri calendar". The list gives the years of events from Islamic, then Ottoman history as well as some dates of European history. It also contains the dates of some major inventions like the spectacles. Two striking features of this list is its density as regards earlier times and the scarcity of events mentioned for the period after the 16th century, with the exception of then very recent or contemporary Ottoman history, and, on the whole, a certain haphazardness of selection.

In the present paper, we plan to establish a pattern of what was deemed an important event in the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat Periods, both in history proper as well as in the field of social and economic history. We will be taking into the account the data of the above-mentioned list as well as the data from the subsequent *takvîm* part of this and the other lithographed *sâlnâme*s of the first period (nos. 1-35, 1263/1846-47 – 1297/1879-80), also taking into the account the general attitude towards history of the period.

An Ottoman Woman Writer in the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition: Fatma Aliye Hanım
Cafer SARIKAYA

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 organized in the United States for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus was one of the most important international exhibitions known in the United Kingdom as *Great Exhibitions*, in France as *Expositions Universelles* and in the United States as *World's Fairs*. The Ottoman Empire participated in this exhibition with an official committee and pavilion. This exhibition was different from the previous exhibitions as the Ottoman Empire participated with a theatre in an international exhibition at Chicago, for the first time in 1893. Besides the Turkish Theatre, the Ottoman Empire also represented in this exhibition for the first time with an Ottoman woman writer, Fatma Aliye (1862-1936). The paper attempts to provide an overview of recent research on the analysis of the world's fairs, where both theatricality of the overall event, and the accompanying Orientalist gaze have been analyzed. Given the fact that international exhibitions provided a certain architectural and theatrical representation capacity for the Orient, the paper attempts to understand how Ottoman participation had been conceptualized for this event. Architecture provided an authentic setting and a visual summary of the represented culture displaying mosques, baths, caravanserais, cafés, houses and shops in a compact "pavilion", where the presentation of everyday life was displayed through theatricality, dramatization of artisanship, display of regional and national costumes and of performances of theatre, ethnic music and local dances. The Ottoman women clothes sent by the Ottoman Government were shown in Women's Building placed in the exhibition. Besides, a catalogue was prepared consisting of the works of women writers from America and from other countries in Women's Library which was set up for this exhibition. The works of Fatma Aliye, an Ottoman woman writer, had also a part in this catalogue and were very much appreciated. Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) whose father Ahmet Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895) was a famous historian, politician and jurist, was one of the first woman writers in Modern Turkish Literature. The works of Fatma Aliye took attention from both in and out of the country. At an early stage of her writing career, when she was just 31, she was informed that her works and biography would be put in the catalogue with the other women writers by a letter sent by the Women's Library in Chicago on August 10, 1893. The institution sent her another letter on August 28, 1893 stating that they received her articles and books and mentioned that her books drew considerable interest. After giving a brief introduction to the Ottoman State's participation in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, this paper particularly will focus on Fatma Aliye's *Nisvân-ı İslâm* (Women of Islam), which attracted the greatest attention among all her books exhibited in the fair. Fatma Aliye Hanım must have been so frightened by the great attention paid to her during this exhibition which even she herself did not attend, that she declined the offer of an appointment by a foreign woman who had been appointed by the Queen of Spain for the Chicago Exhibition before she received the consent of the Ottoman Palace, in fear of the incident might possibly touch upon politics. Sultan Abdülhamid II admired Fatma Aliye Hanım for that behavior and honored her with the royal position of attending to the foreign women visiting his palace.

Interaction Between Levants: The Bouligny Family Case
Pablo Hernandez SAU

The Early Modern Mediterranean Sea as a connected network and plurinational habitat had received an especial interest for the ottomanist studies during the last decade. The transnational perspective of some authors like Edhem Eldem, Molly Greene, Kate Fleet or Maria Fusaro; had discovered a reality beyond our current conception of national boundaries. At the same time the historiographical revision of Braudel's heritage by Horden & Purcell realized a *Mare Nostrum* constituted by micro-ambients linked by commercial families. If this families and their connections with the Ottoman Levant have received special attention, in the case of the Spanish Levant and its interaction with Mediterranean networks the studies are much more limited. The relations between "Levants", Ottoman and Spanish Levant, have been assumed as nonexistent, consequence of the ideological Spanish-Ottoman confrontation or for the nonexistence of direct commercial relations.

In this context, the study of connection between East and West Mediterranean Sea is the goal of our presentation. The assumed nonexistence of connections can be revised by the social analysis networks of some families. In this case we will observe the case of Bouligny family, a supposed Italian family established in Marseille around the second half of seventeenth century as owners of a commercial company with Spanish Levant connections. From 1717 a Bouligny branch settled in Alicante, at the middle of eighteenth century they convert in one of the most important commercial companies of this Levant port.

If Marseille has been discovered as one of the most important connection with the ottoman Levant, it couldn't be chance to find in a Marseille trade family the developer of the Spanish-Ottoman Peace and Commerce Treaty of 1782, first Spanish ambassador in Istanbul and creator of the first Spanish consular network in the East Mediterranean. A brief analysis of social and familiar network of Bouligny can allow as going deeper in that relation between Levants, checking the historiographical assumptions. In this sense, the first Spanish Bouligny generation was constituted by twelve individuals, whom in the half of the cases were related with commercial families of non-spanish origin. The three older males extended their networks around the Mediterranean and Atlantic Sea: José carried on the familiar company, Juan developed a consular and diplomatic network constituted by ottoman subjects and familiars; and Francisco developed his career in the Spanish Louisian, achieving a high administrative position. In the same way, the sons of Juan de Bouligny were appointed in other Mediterranean consulates and ambassies. With this familiar and social network analysis my goal is to introduce some results about the relations between east and west sides of Mediterranean Sea.

A Comparative Inquiry into Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities during Ottoman Modernization in regard to *Annuaire Oriental* Records
Tülin SELVİ ÜNLÜ

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Economical, social and spatial transformations Ottoman Empire faced with during peripheralization process denotes launching of a new era for port cities. Growing need for raw material and a search for new markets in rapidly industrializing countries of the Western world, and developing marine transportation fostered a rapid development in the Eastern Mediterranean and coastal settlements of the Empire. In this period, many Mediterranean port cities, like İzmir, Mersin, Alexandretta, Latakia, Tripoli, Caifa, Beirut, Patras, Volo, Alexandria became significant transmittal centers in their regions that conveyed raw materials from the inland to central countries.

Economical, social, cultural and spatial transformations and developments in Eastern Mediterranean port cities, each of which became a gate for the Ottoman Empire towards industrialized Western world, revealed similarities and differences. In this vein, port cities, which show resemblances to remote cities rather than geographically closer inland cities, enable us to develop a substantial comprehension about one of the most distinctive periods of Ottoman social and economic history.

Many studies were conducted about aforementioned cities, however comparative researches on them are very rare. In fact, these cities were located at the very center of a network in the Eastern Mediterranean that was growing on the basis of commercial, social and cultural relations during nineteenth century. A comparative study on these cities will not only explain the aforesaid relations but also be beneficial to conceive their today's condition. For such a comparison, information about these cities should be identical.

In this study, such information will be gathered from Annuaire Oriental in order to develop a comparative framework on Eastern Mediterranean port cities during Ottoman modernization from 1830's until early Republican period. Although Annuaire oriental records are taken into consideration as the main resource for research, postcards, maps, plans and pictures for the mentioned cities will also be used. In this sense, the relational system, developed by port cities, which were located along the coasts of Eastern Mediterranean, once mentioned as "Ottoman Sea" for a long time, on the basis of commercial, social and cultural relations will be evaluated and their similarities and differences will be revealed.

Parametric Approach to the Resource Transfer in the Foreign Trade Between Ottoman Empire and England
Serdar SERDAROĞLU & Mehmet ÇETİN

Following the Treaty of Balta Liman, Ottoman foreign trade entered into the process of a significant expansion. The share of trade with England is quite large in this expansion process. When the trade between England and the Ottoman Empire is taken up with a quantitive manner for the 19th century, it provides information about the foreign trade policies and economic systems of both governments.

Starting with the study of David Ricardo called "On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation", England started to use free foreing trade policies as an industrilization policy. In this

framework, England did transfer resources from agricultural sectors to industrial sectors through the reduction of prices in the agricultural sector. In accordance with this policy, the agricultural capacity of Ottoman Empire was tried to be used as a vehicle to transfer resources. In this study; based on the datas related with the foreign trade which occured between Ottoman Empire and the England, the resource transfer that mentioned above, is analyzed parametrically. For this purpose, periodical analysis will be done in the light of the documents obtained from Public Record Office.

Brazil and the Ottoman Empire: From 'Incognito Relations' to Permanent Ties (1850-1919)
Monique SOCHACZEWSKI GOLDFELD

While the Ottoman Empire signed the Treaty of Paris and took part in the "Concert of Europe" in the mid-1850s, it also established its first official contact with the Empire of Brazil. The two parties signed a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation in 1858, and both sought to be represented diplomatically in each other's capital. These efforts were not very successful, and Brazil's interest in selling its coffee directly to the Ottomans, without European intermediaries, did not materialize. However, waves of immigration of Ottoman subjects to Brazil began in the 1870s, forcing the creation of new diplomatic links. Neither government wanted this immigration, but it continued steadily, and by World War I, about 100,000 Ottoman subjects (mostly Arab Christians but also Sunni and Shia Muslims, Druze, Armenians, Greeks and Jews) had settled in several parts of Brazil. Most of these immigrants and their children became Brazilian citizens, but they retained their ties with their places of origin, creating permanent links that have sometimes been used politically in recent times. The aim of this presentation is to deal with this lesser-known relationship between Brazil and the Ottoman Empire that existed from 1850 to 1919, based on extensive multi-archive research in Brazil and Turkey.

A Papal "Shuttle Diplomacy" between Philip III of Spain and the Austrian Court during the Ottoman-Habsburg War in Hungary
Mustafa SOYKUT

The present paper is about the political and military circumstances in which the leading European monarchies found themselves towards the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, during and after the Long War (1593-1606) with the Ottomans. A fine illustration of the rivalries, political and military engagements of the monarchies of the time is documented in two Vatican manuscripts composed by Monsignor Marcello Marchesi. The first one is the accounts of a "shuttle diplomacy" between Spain, Hungary, France, Austria and the Holy See. It contains separate letters written by Marchesi to Pope Paul V; Philip III, King of Spain; Duke of Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, the *de facto* ruler of that country during much of the reign of the latter; Mathias II, King of Hungary as well as a proem treatise

written on military strategy for the purpose of combating the Ottomans.[1] The second one, the *Quinto Trattato* (Fifth Treatise) composed by the same author is part of another manuscript entitled *Dell'arte del combattere specialmente contra Turchi*[2] (Of the Art of Combat Especially Against the Turks), a treatise composed right after the end of the Long War for the purpose of seeking a military remedy for the Christian defeats against the Ottomans. Marchesi saw the general organizational, institutional and economic incapability of the European monarchs against the Ottomans stemming from political reasons as well as military ineptitude of the European armies against the Ottomans, whose organisation was fundamentally different from those of European states.

As it results from the second letter in the first manuscript written by Marchesi to the King of Spain, Philip III, that Marchesi was present at the battles of Mezőkeresztes in 1596, Kanizsa in 1601 as well as at many military encounters with the Ottomans throughout the course of the Long War. He writes to Philip III many details about the particulars of these battles as well as about various rivalries between different monarchies from his personal testimony in the "shuttle diplomacy" he performed as councillor to Emperor Rudolf II and as Secretary of the Chancery of Apostolic Briefs of the Holy See.

Marchesi expresses his discontent in various occasions throughout the manuscript about the peace signed between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in 1606. His aim was to promote a general war of the Christian monarchs against the Ottomans. His letters to the European sovereigns are the work of an experienced military strategist as well as a top ranking clergyman of the Holy See.

The second letter written by Marchesi is to King Philip III (1598-1621) of Spain. The letter is about his visit to the Spanish court to convince the Spanish Habsburgs to contribute to the war efforts against the Ottoman Empire. As far as it is understood from his letters, he stayed at the Spanish court between April 1598 and April 1599.

The political context is during the ongoing wars of the Dutch Uprising (1568-1648) or the war against Elisabeth I (1558-1603) of England (Anglo-Spanish War, 1585–1604). He complains that the ministers of the court and even Friar Gaspar of Cordova, the Royal Confessor did not lend ears to his advice of waging war against the Turks on the land. Instead, they convinced the king to give a financial aid of 300,000 *escudos* to Emperor Rudolf II against the Ottomans, which Marchesi considered an unsuitable way of aiding war. He continues by stating how the ministers of the court ousted him from the palace from Madrid to Alcalá de Henares.

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[1]　　Monsignor Marcello Marchesi, *1) Alla Santità di nostro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto Beatissimo Padre, 2) Alla Maestà del Re Catholico Filippo III. Sacra Catholica Maestà, 3) All'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore Duca di Lerma, 4) Alla Maestà del Re d'Ungheria Mathia II. Sacra Maestà, 5) Del detto quinto trattato proemio, divisione, et ordine*, (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Barb. Lat. 5366)

[2]　　Monsignor Marcello Marchesi, *Dell'arte del combattere specialmente contra Turchi. Dell'ordinare la cavalleria et come con cavalleria contra cavalleria specialmente numerosa et come contra fanteria, et come con questa contra quella s'habbia da fare di Monsignor Marcello Marchesi Vescovo di Segna*, (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Barb. Lat. 4371)

The paper demonstrates not only the discord among European courts on a common Ottoman policy mainly focusing on the era of Philip III, but also gives archival testimony of the military and economic aspects of the 'Ottoman question' in the light of the hitherto lesser-known aspects.

Millet, Millet-ism, Nationalism. Missing Pages in the Creation of Modern Public Space and Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire and Beyond.
Darin STEPHANOV

The purpose of this paper is to sketch in broad strokes the formation of modern public space and group consciousness by way of the escalating annual royal birthday (*veladet*) and accession-day (*culus*) celebrations in the Ottoman capital, the provinces, and abroad. This process, fully forgotten today, began in 1836, under Mahmud II, as yet another type of centralization – of subject (especially, non-Muslim) loyalties. It created an unprecedented avenue for direct regularized symbolic interaction between the ruler and the ruled, core and periphery of Ottoman society on the basis of innovative conceptions and practices of (inclusive) faith and (universal) kingship. Among non-Muslims, in the short run, these celebrations forged vertical ties of loyalty to the monarch, which were quite successful for at least two or three decades in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, they also provided a vital venue for the expression of communal interests and the crystallization of communal agendas. So in the long run, contrary to their original purpose, ruler celebrations triggered the creation of new, modern/national types of horizontal ties and group consciousness, which then fed into national movements and, after the empire's demise, national monarchies.

Previous scholarship on the late Ottoman relations between the Muslim ruler and his non-Muslim subjects has overwhelmingly treated them as a self-contained, mostly antagonistic set, taking non-Muslim types of group consciousness, based on theorized communal (*millet*) institutions, for granted. In contrast, this paper reveals a foundational, but so far historiographically absent episode in the nineteenth-century history of this key concept. Rather than accommodate allegedly existing non-Muslim *millet* institutions, the sultanic festivities in fact initiated the use of this term in official phraseology and communal life, and were thus instrumental in gradually forging its reality and metamorphoses. This paper traces and analyzes some (intended and unintended) modernizing effects which include the process of naming (oneself and 'the other'), motifs of sacred and secular time and space, evolving notions of a social pact and social (organic and familial) metaphors, innovative concepts of necessity and duty, as well as the importance of group unity and loyalty. Therefore, it demonstrates the limits of legitimate use of *millet* by Ottoman historians today, and the outright inadequacy of its continuing use in constructing primordial narratives. In the process, this paper refutes still prevalent misconceptions about the nature, engine and timing of the Tanzimat reform process, along with long held claims about Ottomanism's lack of cultural substance and appeal to non-Muslims. In their stead, it offers a new, unified framework for the study of 'late empire' and 'early nation-state' in the region and elsewhere.

The argument is based on techniques of close textual analysis and *microhistory*. The sources include a wide range of Ottoman archival documents (reports, directives and internal communications), artistic production (architectural designs of fountains, poems, songs, prayers, addresses, speeches), foreign consular reports, as well as newspaper articles, memoirs and personal correspondence in Ottoman and modern Turkish, Russian, Bulgarian, English, German and French.

Rural Rebellion And Revolt in Canik (1805-1806)
Canay ŞAHİN

This paper concentrates on one of the most neglected issue of rural rebellion and revolt in Ottoman scholarship. The confusion of the rebellion of Tayyar Mahmud Paşa (1805) with the revolt of Canik (1806) in Ottoman historiography reflects the attribution of rural rebellions to the leadership of dominant actors such as the local dynasties, governors and army officers. By reducing the several examples of rural insurrections in north-central Anatolia mainly to reactions to the Ottoman New-Order centralization under the strong leaders, the scholarship has denied the agency of commoners. Such an analysis has failed to reflect on the meaning and extent of organized resistance and the influence of local power structures on the transformation of the regional identity.

This paper, first of all, presents the stages of rebellion and revolt of Canik by correcting the confusion over the sequence of events by reference to the French (eyewitnesses of French consulars in Samsun and Trabzon) and Ottoman (imperial orders) sources. It distinguishes the first phase of the rebellion of the leader of the regional dynasty against the centralization from the second phase of the intervention of commoners into the local government. While the first phase of the rebellion (refusal to obey) occurred as result of the central government's attempt for military and financial centralization, the second phase (declaration of the right to intervene into local politics and taking over the municipalities of Canik) stemmed the application of the repressive centralization policies by an outsider/central actor.

Secondly, this paper identifies the actors of Canik insurrections of 1805-1806 against the repression of central appointees, as well as their motives, their legitimate and illegitimate means of using force by a micro-analysis of the local power structure. Referring to a speech made by one of the leaders of the Canik revolt of 1806, this paper interprets the several levels of vested interests in the established hierarchies: commoners, who were oppressed and "reduced to the state of cattle"; petty notables and aghas, who declared a war against the "tyranny" of an outsider (Yusuf Ziya Pasha). The depiction of local Tayyar Pasha as "father of the poor", demand for his reappointment and call for the allegiance to the Sultan shows the outer limits of the revolt against the end of local and traditional privileges.

Ottoman Book Collections and Library Buildings in Ottoman Social History

Soner ŞAHİN

During the Ottoman period, as in the time of the Anatolian Seljuks and Anatolian Principalities, books had a special situate in social life and it is known that there had been many books collectors and collections. The collections within Eyne Bey Medreses in Bursa and Balıkesir; and Yıldırım Medrese in Bolu were the oldest Ottoman collections, according to documents. The oldest known "Vakıf" of book collections are the ones in Darülhadis of Murat II in Edirne (838/1435), Umurbey Mosque in Bursa (843/1440) and Ishak Bey Medrese in Skopje (848/1445). Since they are all "vakıf" donations; the information about libraries, such as; foundation principle, operation rules, the personnel and other regulations are all written in "vakfiye"s in details. Endowed books in each library also reflect the personality of the founders. Except some "mahalle" libraries (e.g. the collection of Peremeciler Kethüdası Mahmut Bey in Cihangir Mosque 1002\1593-94); medicine libraries or astronomy libraries; generally books were for madrasa students; and located in a mosque or medrese. Some of these books were situated specifically designed spaces within the buildings, though the number of them are very limited as far as determined.

Although a substantial excess of the number of collection, it is clear that library buildings are relatively new phenomenon in Ottoman history. There was no library building that was designed especially for this function until the end of the 17th century. Library of Köprülü is the first example, than between 1655–1705, three more libraries were built, and in the 18th century, there was a rapid increase in the number of libraries. The limited number of libraries probably related with the relatively small amount of books in collections, or perception of books just as one of the collection items to show off. After the Tullip Period, translation activities were accelerated, books were brought from all around the empire, and it was prohibited to take valuable books out of the country. As a result, it seems that collecters needed to build brand new buildings for their books, previously stored in cabinets or book shelf in mosque and madrasa. Also, after the establishment of Turkish printing house in Istanbul in 1727, printed books participated an important role in community life, and it should have created increasing multi-faceted impact on book collection and library constructions.

Consequently book collections and library buildings in Ottoman history show us that it became inevitable to share and communicate the knowledge not only orally but also written. Thus, Ottoman libraries could be considered as solid evidence of increasing social interest on books in Ottoman social life.

Workers of Istanbul in the Context of the Leftist Turkish Press in the Era of War of Independence
Aytül TAMER

The sparks of the left and labor movements had been began to appear within the boundaries of Ottoman State in the first quarter of 20th century. After the Great War, the impact of Russian Revolution labour movements and left press began to show itself. Previously, The Independence

War was supported by the left press but in 1920s because of the policies against to the left and to the labour; the left press had an attitude of opposition to the Republican regime. After the war, labour's strikes, protests and meetings who want to eliminate their problems have taken part in the media on the first half of the 20's. The aim of this study is to reveal the circumstances of the workers over the published articles, news and the pen fights in Turkish press about the problems and the life of workers in Istanbul. Main resources of this article, which focused on the period between 1919 and 1923, is *Kurtuluş, Aydınlık, Ziya, İdrak* and *Yeni Hayat* which were the publications of different left parties of era.

Unveiling the Terms "Sahib-i Arz" and "Sahib-i Raiyyet" and See Who's Behind
Nil TEKGÜL

It is well known that Ottoman land regime or "timar system" which may be defined in its simplest form as a system in which the sultan grants tax revenues of a state-owned land to members of "askeri" class in return for military and administrative services. constituted the basis of all Ottoman administrative institutions during the classical period. In this system, designated areas were established called "dirlik"s, made up of arable fields, towns and villages on which the tax-paying subjects, "reaya" live and cultivate. Besides a main unit of taxation, "dirlik"s may also be considered as a unit of administration. That's why those who were granted tax revenues were termed both as owners of taxpaying-subjects, "sahib-i raiyyet" and also land-owners, "sahib-i arz". Oftentimes, the military obligations of landowners obliged them to employ agents or surrogates called "vekil", "voyvoda", or "subaşı" and delegate their financial and administrative powers.

I will first investigate the regularity of this "agency" practice in the 17th century. Was it limited by the time of military expeditions or did it transform into a widespread practice? If there had been such a transformation process, who those agents would have been? In case that those agents employed by the landowners were chosen from the very same villages of the peasants, what was the impact of this newly established relationship between the agents and the tax-payers on tax collection practices? Was this relation based on informal mutual agreements or was it purely legal and formal with no compensation on either side?

Secondly I will question the differences remarkable in the daily lives of the legal owners of dirliks, their designated agents and the tax-paying subjects regarding their life-styles, standards of living, the places they lived, their belongings, the written and oral sources which nurtured their emotional lives, if any.

I argue that "agency" was a widespread practice, and mostly, the conflicting parties in tax disputes were the peasants and the designated agents. Furthermore, this legally formed relationship established between the two were informal based on mutual acquaintance.

17th century court records embody valuable and numerous information on the subject to test this hypothesis. Besides tax dispute records, court records regarding contracts made between the

landowners and their agents and also probate inventory records will be used as the main primary sources.

The Ottoman Policy of the Spanish Monarchy during the Transition from Philip II to Philip III
Evrim TÜRKÇELİK

The aim of this paper is to analyze the continuities and changes in the Spanish Monarchy's Ottoman policy during the transition from the reign of Philip II to the reign of Philip III. The last decade of the reign of Philip II is characterized by his firm rejection to conduct an aggressive foreign policy in the Mediterranean and refusal to the papal Catholic League plans. Although the reign of his son Philip III has been branded by the term *Pax Hispanica* as a period of peace regarding the European struggles, revival of an anti-Islamic hostility became another feature of his foreign policy. Nevertheless, the transition from one reign to another intensified the tension between the Spanish ministers who had divergent opinions on the reorientation of Spanish Monarchy's anti-islamic policy. This tension was representative of the ideological sensibilities in the Spanish court that alternated between patrimonial and confessional identifications. In fact, it was the triumph of a certain faction around Philip III that had triggered the shift of focus to the Mediterranean policy and relations with the Papacy. This change directly affected the career of an Ottoman Admiral, Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, who became the objective of papal policies to regain him back to Christianity. Although the first contacts of Spanish Monarchy with Cigalazade dated back to the reign of Philip II, the Spanish King had taken a more suspicious attitude to the suggestions of his ministers. However, in parallel with the increased collaboration between Philip III and the pope Clemente VIII, the negotiations with Cigalazade had gained considerable momentum. The present paper demonstrates that the convergence between Philip III and Clemente VIII around the figure of Cigalazade represents a perfect *case study* to understand the repercussion of the ideological restructuring of the Spanish court in the making of Monarchy's foreign policy and to crosscheck the continuities and changes in its Ottoman policy from Philip II to Philip III.

Ankâ Bâzergân, Ankâ Mellahân: Great Merchants and Shipowners in the 17th Century According to Evliya Celebi
Mehmet Ali ÜNAL

In his travelbook Evliya uses the terms such as *Ankâ bâzergân* or *ankâ hâcegân* and *ankâ mellahân* very frequently. He refers to the great merchants and shipowners who trades generally in cities, regions even at international level. Evliya gives detailed information about great merchants he met and their commercial field, their goods.

As it is well known, Spice and Silk Road became a source of wealth for the Ottoman Empire for a long time. Contrary to popular belief, the Spice Road did not löse its importance in the 1630s.

There were still a dynamic trade within the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 17th century. The recent researches in fact confirm this situation. Evliya Celebi's obversations verify this commercial activities. According to Evliya Celebi, every year two hundred ships used to come to the Persian Gulf from India, France, Yemen, Aden and Ethiopia.

The information provided by Evliya Çelebi, about the middle of the 17th century Istanbul harbor and sea trade together with great metchants and the size of their total wealth are very significant. He mentions about a merchant, Hacı Kasım, who had a wealth of 50.000 *kese* gold. In addition merchants like Hacı Envâr, Hacı Fedhad, Hacı Nimetullah and Hacı Hasırcı Selim had 10 commercial galleons and 7 trade inn. Moreover, Evliya Celebi informs us about 10 great merchants whom he calls as *ankâ bâzerganlar*. They had approximately 40 – 50.000 *kese* gold as fortune. Each of these great merchants had commercial partners in India, Yemen, Arabia, Persia and Europe. The total amount of the wealth of these 15 great merchants gives some idea about the commercial capacity of the Ottoman capital in the middle of the 17th century.

In this paper I would like to examine grand merchants and their commercial activities in the 17th century- Ottoman world on the base of Evliya Çelebi's notes.

Shaping the Built Environment in Mediterranean Port Cities at the Turn of nineteenth Century
Tolga ÜNLÜ

Throughout history, the Mediterranean world has been perceived as a vast conglomeration of tiny sub-regions and larger groups of sub-regions; however, its distinctiveness lies not only in its fragmentation but also in its connectivity. Thus, the port cities of the Mediterranean are not isolated entities but rather nodal points of exchange with the rest of the world and, most importantly, among themselves.

Common characteristics of Mediterranean port cities follow urban complexity and social diversity during the Ottoman modernization period throughout the nineteenth century and the early twenties until declaration of nation states in the region, through which it is possible to mention a common urbanity. Socially, their residents tended to feel more affinity with each other, characterizing the port cities as locations of cultural exchange where people from different parts of the Mediterranean world met, mixed and influenced one another.

Urbanism does not refer to a way of life associated with residence in an urban area where relationships forged by size, density and heterogeneity replaced community ties. Rather, it denotes an inter-subjective construction and representation of the city idea, in which the urban space was produced spontaneously. After the foreign trade and international commercial relations strengthened the importance of Mediterranean port cities, they became a place for tradesmen of many different nationalities, during the nineteenth century, which in turn gave rise to a cosmopolitan and multicultural environment. In this period, newly emerging bourgeoisie in the port cities affected the formation of urban built environment through producing special urban quarters and commercial landscapes. The transition from a setting of urban complexity and social diversity to the logic of nation-statehood made it difficult to sustain the distinctive characteristics

of a Mediterranean port city.

In this study, it is aimed to reveal the common characteristics of urban transformation in Mediterranean port cities during the Ottoman modernization, when new laws were enacted to create new urban spaces, taking into Mersin as a special case to discuss the spatial practices and to investigate urban planning as a tool of state intervention to shape the built environment. Furthermore, the findings will be evaluated in comparison with the spatial practices of other Mediterranean port cities.

A Foreign Direct Investment in the Ottoman Territories: The Impact of Tobacco Regié on the Economic and Social Life in Samsun
Melda YAMAN ÖZTÜRK & Nuray ERTÜRK KESKİN

The Tobacco Regié was a foreign direct investment in the Ottoman Empire. It arose out of the Duyunu Umumiye (public debts) and was established in 1883. The Regié was then organized all around the Ottoman territory in a short while, building tobacco factories in the regional centers of tobacco production. One of those factories was established in Samsun in 1887.

Samsun is one of the big cities of Turkey, located at the south coast of Black Sea. Until the 19th century Samsun had been a small town of the Ottoman Empire that involved several cultural and ethnic groups. However, at the begining of the 19th century, it became a commerce center with the development of tobacco farming. In the late 1880s, when the Regié established the tobacco factory, Samsun became one of the main gateways to the West. The Regié, together with the tobacco factory, helped the development of commerce in Samsun; employed people from the countryside in its manufacturing plants; subordinated local tobacco producer farmers; developed local finance by bringing branches of domestic and foreign banks; affected urban life by new investments in the city and by settlements of foreigners.

In this paper, the impact of an early foreign direct investment -the Tobacco Regié- on the economic relations and social life of a city –Samsun- in the late Ottoman period will be investigated. We think that the Regié experience may shed light on the analysis of the globalization period in which tobacco sector was privatized. Our main references are official documents about the Regié, the Ottoman Archives and French National Archives.

The French and Italian Existence in and Around Bursa in the Late 19th Century
Based on the French Consulate's Documents
İsmail YAŞAYANLAR

Eight countries had consulates in Bursa in the late 19th century. Those consulates used to protect the rights of their citizens and merchants in Bursa, and have an effective role in regulating their countries' business relationships. This identifies the new position of Bursa and the region as a gateway towards Europe.

French were in majority among the foreigners who came to and settled in Bursa for various reasons. There were a lot of French families dealing with silk spinning and knitting industries in Bursa especially in the second half of the 19th century. Poirier, Bay, and Brotte were the leading families in the silk industry, and Marie Brotte from the Brotte family had a worldwide fame in the hospitality industry, as well. The first dimension of our report focuses on the French existence in Bursa.

Although there was no separate Italian Consulate in Bursa, it is known that the French consulate used to serve as an acting Italian consulate too. The consulate's documents taken from private archives for the first time to identify the situation, and the Italian existence in the district of Bursa, the center of the province of Hudâvendigâr, make the second dimension of our report. For instance, the record entered on February 9, 1989 by Paul Tallier, Consulate General of France in Bursa, gives information about eleven Italians in Bursa, including their businesses, and the regions they lived in. The record in concern shows that there were photographers, hotel managers, tobacco producers, and pharmacists etc. among the Italians. It is known that there were Italians in the other districts (Karesi, Ertuğrul, Kütahya, Karahisar-ı Sâhib) in the province of Hudâvendigâr too.

A great number of information and documents other than the ones mentioned here will be used in the scope of the report we are working on. These records can unveil the changed appearance of Bursa, and the existence of foreigners there during the modernization of Ottomans. Documents obtained from the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive, the yearbooks of the Province of Hudâvendigâr, and the itineraries that contain the observations of foreign and domestic travelers will be used to verify and clarify the Consulate's documents. In addition to these sources, supporting materials such as copies of original documents, photographs, advertising copies, and maps will be included in the presentation.

Women Strategy: How to Enforce a Divorce and Keep Your Financial Rights, Cases from 19th Century Palestine
Mahmoud YAZBAK

The impression from many sijill records is that Ottoman women in general were very well aware of their shari`a rights in regard to personal status and also knew how to manipulate these rights in order to win various benefits.

This study is focusing on women in Ottoman Palestine during the 19th century. It looks after many marital disputes, which give us the impression that women sometimes found ways to provoke their husbands into making the divorce call, thus obtaining the divorce without forfeiting their dowry and alimony.

The study looks into hundreds of Sijill cases from Jaffa, Palestine's main port city in the late Ottoman period. Jaffa was going through a rapid process of urban and demographic development, attracting many immigrants from all over the empire, as well as foreigners, who in turn contributed to the dynamic and cosmopolitan character of this city.

Our main question is how the cosmopolitan character of Jaffa affected the status of women in the city and how this was reflected in women strategies of getting divorced without loosing their financial rights. These strategies are discussed in detail as part of an overall study of women status in late Ottoman Palestine.

Economic and Commercial Conditions of the Island of Rhodes at the Beginning of the 20th Century According to the Reports of Sir Alfred Biliotti
Elif YENEROĞLU KUTBAY

An archaeologist as well as a British diplomat of Italian origins, Sir Alfred Biliotti was a man of curiosity. As David Barchard points out, "Biliotti's name is once more familiar as scholars in the Balkans, Turkey, and Greece turn to his consular reports for accounts of nineteenth century conditions in their subject areas which are often hard to match elsewhere." Having begun his diplomatic career in 1856 as the British Vice-Consul for Rhodes, serving in most conflict-prone areas of the Ottoman Empire such as Trebizond, Crete and Salonica, Biliotti retired from service in 1903. He spent his last years on the island of Rhodes, where he was born. Although retired, Biliotti continued to serve as acting Vice-Consul of Rhodes until his death, providing valuable information on the island's economic and commercial position. The economic and commercial position of Rhodes, like the other islands of the Aegean, was much affected by developments in the Mediterranean trade as well as developments in the Anatolian mainland. The rise of Smyrna as a commercial center compelled Rhodes to conduct its commercial relations in the shadow of Smyrna's commercial activities. Although close to the Anatolian mainland, Rhodes showed a degree of insularity, as an island having much less resources to compete with the mainland, while situated in the main trade routes it rendered the island some relief from its insular position. The aim of this presentation is, therefore, to analyze the economic and commercial conditions prevailing on the island of Rhodes through the reports of Sir Alfred Biliotti, with a view to the concept of insularity. Biliotti's report on the island after the Italian occupation of Rhodes is a valuable source for us to see how insularity is affected by political as well as geographical factors.

The Extent of Militarization among Rumelian *Yörük*s in the 16th century Ottoman Western Thrace: A Revisionist Approach
Harun YENİ

The presence of *yörük* population in the Ottoman Rumelia is marked by its military association. The military organization of *yörük*s as an auxiliary force was used both during campaigns and times of peace in various services. Although its presence is a known phenomenon, the general tendency in literature assuming all Rumelian *yörük*s to be actively a part of it either as *eşkünci*s (servants) or as *yamak*s (adjunct) is an argument to be questioned. Such an assumption is basically due to the fact that separate registers were compiled for them called "*defter-i yörükân*". However, the utilization of classical *mufassal* fiscal registers together with these *yörük* registers suggest that it is much more a *façade* than a reality. In this context, this presentation will firstly give a concise

account of the organization in terms of structure and its practice through the regulations and imperial registry entries. Then, it will question the extent of militarization among the yörük groups with specific reference to the Western Thrace through an evaluation of *yörük defter*s and classical detailed surveys together. Additionally, the distribution of *yörük*s according to settlements and *yörük* groups in terms of military organization will be discussed to exhibit the limited nature of *yörük defter*s and its pitfalls.

An Involuntary Servitude Method and Its Historical Process in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of "*Amele-i Mükellefe*"
Kadir YILDIRIM & Yakup AKKUŞ

This study focuses on the origins and process of "Amele-i Mükellefe" as an involuntary servitude which was implemented by Ottoman central administration in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the context of "*Amele-i Mükellefe*" as an involuntary servitude method, people in the Empire were forced to work in road construction. This method in road construction which had started in 1862 and became an imperative practice that included unpaid work in every year for a given period of time. People could work in road construction as physically or could pay "*Tarik Bedeli*" (road tax) in cash to be exempted from this work. This payment was changeable according to the time period or the different regions of country.

For Ottoman governments, the most important aspect of legitimation of involuntary servitude was the *benefit principle*. Also, the various government records report that people who live around the construction area would reap the benefits of the roads at the most. Furthermore, in the 19th century, involuntary servitude was not peculiar to the Ottoman Empire. For example, countries like France, Belgium and England had involuntary servitude programs with little differences in road construction on their citizens.

In this study, we will firstly present economic and fiscal data on the importance of Amele-i Mükellefe for Ottoman economy, public finance and public works. Besides, in terms of the main working principles and process of this implementation; main differences and similarities between the European nations and Ottoman Empire will be emphasized. The changes over time, main corruptions experienced in practice and legal arrangements to prevent these corruptions will also be our subject. Additionally, the practice of "Amele-i Mükellefe" for western and eastern provinces will be examined in a comparative way. By this way, the effects of regional welfare differences on this implementation in the Ottoman Empire will be discussed.

The Student Rebellions of the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Empire Revisited: The Case of Bursa
Onur YILDIRIM

Students rarely made the headlines of official documents in early modern world. With the exception of the late Ming China, where the students turned their frustration with vast overexpansion into a wholesale rebellion, there is no recorded episode of systematic student uprisings neither in the West nor in the East. The Ottoman Empire holds a special place in this respect. For the students never fell off the agenda of official documentation in the second half of the sixteenth century and frequently popped into view thereafter. In the second half of the sixteenth century the medrese students (suhtes) were involved in different forms of collective action in Anatolian cities and countryside. Mustafa Akdağ, the foremost authority on the subject, argued that the failure of students to fulfill their career aspirations urged them to seek ways for compensation. They initially demanded fees and frequently seized supplies from populations in their localities; later on they began to rob the merchant caravans and kidnap young girls and boys for ransom, creating a major havoc and disturbance throughout Anatolia proper. Interestingly enough, those very students, who terrorized the local populations for decades, joined hands with them in defense of their villages and cities against the Celalis in the late sixteenth century. Against this background, the present paper explores the rebellious activities of the medrese students with an emphasis on the alliances that they formed among themselves as well as with the former graduates, the local judges, the teachers, the levends, the peasants, the local notables, the janissaires and other state officials. In pursuit of this goal, the paper begins with a brief historiographical and historical overview of student rebellions in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire and then moves on to examine the actions of the students in Bursa. Contrary to the traditional state-centric scholarship, which is built upon Mustafa Akdağ's findings and arguments, the present study focuses primarily on the students and looks at their motives, goals and results of their actions on the basis of a series of previously unused published and unpublished archival documents. The twofold goal of this study is to introduce the students as active agents of history into the historical picture and to read and reinterpret the power politics of the era from their perspective.

Slaves and Their Social Status in the Province of Edirne in the 16th Century
Ahmet YİĞİT

The history of serfdom is as old as human history. There were different practices of serfdom in the different societies. It is clear that slaves and cariyes held an important place in the society in the Ottoman Empire. Especially the slaves and cariyes, who were captured and enslaved during the 16th Century military expeditions of the Ottoman Empire to Europe, formed an important labor force. Edirne was the capital of the Ottoman Empire before the conquest of Istanbul. There were two palaces which were visited and accommodated by the sultans of the time. This province was commercially and militarily important in the Ottoman period. It is also understood that slaves and cariyes captured and enslaved had been sold in the city after the military expeditions.

The records concerning cariyes and slaves exist in Şer'iyye recordings in Edirne in the XVI. Century. Most of these recordings were related with the release of these slaves and cariyes. It is possible to see in these recordings the clear identities and their physical characteristics of the

slaves and cariyes captured from the different places of Europe. The fact that there were cariyes and slaves form the Balkan states the Ottomans were at war seems to prove the thesis that they were the prisoners of war. It is also understood from the documents that there were slaves and cariyes who accepted Islam, and thus they were set free by their masters.

There were a lot of slaves and cariyes in the tereke records of the dead military staff. There were also cariyes who had children from their masters. Their masters gave them their freedom and accepted most of them. The slaves and cariyes undertook the great part of labor force in the society. Additionally there were slaves and cariyes in every stratum of the society. Edirne, which was an important city of the Ottoman Empire, held the great number of slaves and cariyes who were captured and enslaved from the wars and military expeditions to the Balkans. It is obvious from the Şer'iyye recordings and documents that slaves and cariyes held an important palace and played a significant role in the social and commercial life of the city of Edirne.

Masculinity and the Modern Arab Man in 19th Century Ottoman Syria Literature
Fruma ZACHS

In this paper I argue that some of the novels of the Arabic Nahda period, and especially those of Nu'man Abdu al-Qasatili of Damascus, were in effect an effort to re-envision masculinity and the role of the "new man," an attempt that was embedded within a discourse of femininity and the "new woman." While the discourse regarding women and femininity in this period was carried out openly in both non-fictional and fictional texts, views and reflections concerning men and masculinity were overwhelmingly expressed in fictional texts.

By inspecting these novels, historians can construct the discourse of masculinity in the Arab provinces under the Ottoman Empire, which so far has been little explored. I view Qasatili's novels as an integral cultural product of the 'renaissance' period and as a major medium for the renegotiation of gender. Thus I see novels of this period as fictional and factual texts and as cultural artifacts which offer powerful examples of how a culture "thinks" at a particular historical moment. I approach these novels as historical tools, which enable us to reconstruct the contours of this gender discourse and re-evaluate its significance for modern Arab gender relations.

I argue first that in these novels, written during the late nineteenth century by the first generation of young Arab novelists, two models of masculinity, an older generation's and that of a younger generation, are competing for hegemony. The authors posited and offer two alternative paths to the victory of modern Arab masculinity: a "revolutionary," confrontational mode, and an "evolutionary," sequential one.

Secondly, I argue that in order to mitigate the anxiety produced by this struggle, these novelists first took up the primordial concept of masculinity, imbued it with new gender significance, and posited it in their novels as the model for the modern Arab masculinity. Concomitantly, they deployed the figure of the young "new woman" both as a vehicle to enable this shift from the

older generations model of masculinity to that of the younger generation, and to displace the generational unease from young men onto young women.

A Shi'i Catholic in Spain and Safavid- Habsburg alliance: The Don Juan of Persia
Fariba ZARINEBAF (The Mediterranean Seminar/University of California Multi-Campus Research Project)

The historiography of Safavid- European encounters has usually focused on the reception of European envoys in Iran and commerce. We know very little about Safavid embassies to Europe and the accounts of Persian envoys to Europe (and Russia). Furthermore, very little is known about the conversion of Muslims and Safavid subjects to Catholicism. The historiography of ottoman- Habsburg relations has mostly left out the Safavids. Furthermore, the factors in the formation of a series of alliances between the Safavids, Venice, the Habsburg Empire and England have not been adequately explored. On the other hand, archival sources in England and Austria and possibly Spain as well as some Persian narratives, like the diary of the Iranian envoy, Ulugh Beg which was published in Spain (Don Juan of Persia) can make up for this gap.

In this paper, I will argue that the formation of anti- Ottoman alliances as well as an alternative maritime route to Persia and India were at the heart of these alliances. Furthermore, I will show that shah Abbas was seeking a larger web of alliances through the embassy of Uruch Beg (Don Juan) led by Robert Shirley to seventeen European courts in 1599 before attacking the Ottoman Empire and driving them out of Azerbaijan in 1603. Uruch Beg's father had fought in Tabriz against the Ottomans and had died in 1585. The mission of the Safavid embassy was to seek a wider alliance before this military expedition to regain Azerbaijan. His aim was also to create a softer image of Sh'i Iranians in Europe which may have succeeded in leading to two front attacks on the the Ottomans in the beginning of the seventeenth century and their defeat in Azerbaijan.

Three members of the embassy converted to Catholicism in Rome and Spain. Uruch beg was converted at the court of Spanish king, Philip III and received the title and name Don Juan. The account also includes the personal narrative of conversion which could have been written by Remon who published the book, but it sheds important light on Shi'i-Catholic interactions and conversion. The reception of the Persian embassy in Russian and European courts will form the final art of this paper. I will also incorporate archival documents like the letters of Shah Abbas to European courts and the Vatican regarding an anti-Ottoman alliance.

Dubrovnik and the Ottoman Balkans Under Selim I: Merchants and Capital
Zdenko ZLATAR

In my work, Dubrovnik's Merchants and Capital in the Ottoman Empire 1520-1620 I gave a complete and detailed study of Dubrovnik's participation in the financing of the trade in the hinterland. This paper proposes to study the period of Selim I before the time span of the larger

study, i.e. from 1512 to 1520 using the same methodology of quantitative and computer analysis. Special emphasis will be placed on graphical presentation of summarized data, but individual details will be provided as well. The study will try to identify the trends that were to predominate in the subsequent period covered by my book. I have also given an overview of Dubrovnik's relationship with the Ottoman Empire in a chapter included in the forthcoming book on the Ottoman Balkans to be published by Sakarya University press.

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