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Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies is an interdisciplinary refereed journal focusing on the humanities and social sciences of the Balkan countries and the former Soviet republics. The journal welcomes contributions in the fields of history, economics, politics, international relations, culture, art, geography, literature, theology, ethnography and environmental sciences. The idea behind this initiative is to extend a cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary approach over issues of regional importance. Under this light, the journal aspires to act as an academic forum for scholars in historical as well as contemporary context on a wide range of cross-regional issues and to provide the epistemological framework for a comparative investigation, which would enhance our understanding of the Balkan, and Black Sea societies, politics and communities. Furthermore, manuscripts connecting the region with wider scopes, such as technological applications, will be also considered.

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Editorial



Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies is an Istanbul-based journal aiming at strengthening academic exchange among social scientists from Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Eastern European countries. We published the first number of the journal in December 2018 (with six research articles and two book reviews), and the second number in June 2019 (with six research articles, one review article and two book reviews). This issue is the 3rd issue of the journal and includes six research articles (five in English and one in German) and two book reviews.

The first article “Die osmanische Urbanisationspolitik auf dem Balkan: Das Beispiel Eğri Dere Palankası (Kriva Palanka)” by *Machiel Kiel* (Bonn, emeritus professor from Utrecht University), deals with the Ottoman settlement policy in the Balkans. He analyses the case of Eğri Palanka (Kriva Palanka - Republic Macedonia) utilizing the Ottoman archival sources. He shows the process of establishment and development of this strategically important pass in the Balkans during the Ottoman period and the integration of the Christian population into the Ottoman military system.

The second article “The Process of Sedentarization of Semi-nomadic Groups of the Yörüks in Parts of 16th Century Ottoman Rumeli” by *Milena Petkova* (Sofia) discusses the Turkish semi-nomadic group Yörüks who were settled in the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest. The article shows how this group were settled and their nomadic lifestyle changed in the consequence of the administrative measures by the Ottoman administration. The author utilizes Ottoman archival sources, mainly tax registers, to show the process of sedentarization.

The third article “Mapping Enemy’s Land: Russian Military-Topographic Intelligence on 19th Century European Turkey” by *Mihail Simov* (Sofia) deals with the Russian military maps depicting the Ottoman Balkans and the process of their emergence. The article shows how the Russian agents already before the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 came to the Balkans and started to prepare maps which should serve to the Russian forces during the coming war for their operations in the Balkans. It includes also important details

about how the Austrian geographer Felix Kanitz sold his maps on the Balkans to the Russian government for the use in the Russo-Ottoman War. The article shows the interesting relation between the imperial policy and cartography in the second half of the 19th century.

The fourth article “Remarks on the Prosopography of the Byzantine Administration in Northeastern Asia Minor (7th-11th c.)” by *Pantelis Charalampakis* (Athens) tries to show the social structure and administration of the Pontos. The article gives information about individuals, their positions, careers and families.

The fifth article “The Policy of the Provisional Government of Vlorë between December 1912 and April 1913” *Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics* (Budapest) deals with Albania immediately after the declaration of independence in 1912. It shows the problems and the policy of the provisional government to solve the internal and external problems of the newly emerging state during the First Balkan War.

The sixth and last article of this issue “Women of Orthodox Faith in Cyprus amid Historical Transitions” by *Areti Demosthenous* (Nicosia) deals with the Greek women, their increasing influence in the social and political life, and their contributions to the reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots.

The issue includes two book reviews, the first book is about the image of Russia in Turkey (in Russian) – reviewed by Resul Turan (Rize) – and the second book on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria (in Turkish) – reviewed by Asım Korkmaz (Edirne).

I would like to thank all the authors for their valuable contributions and all referees for their huge work during the evaluation process of the articles.

Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, Prof. Dr.

Editor in Chief

**Die osmanische Urbanisationspolitik auf dem Balkan:
Das Beispiel Eğri Dere Palankası (Kriva Palanka -
Republik Mazedonien).
Siedlungsgeschichte und demographische Bemerkungen.**

Machiel Kiel*

Abstract:

This paper deals with the development of the settlement Eğri Dere Palankası / Kriva Palanka, which was during the Ottoman times a district center. This district within the territory of Slavište was one of the centers of Christian monasteries. During the Ottoman time the villages in this part of the Balkans were *derbendci* controlling the pass in the region. They were exempted from different taxes. There are different Ottoman archival sources helping us to follow the social and economic development of the pass district. The district Kriva Palanka is a very good example for the settlement history of the Balkans.

Key words: Kriva Palanka, Macedonia, urban studies, settlement history

Lage

Die osmanische Kaza Eğri Dere Palankası/Kriva Palanka umfaßte im Großen und Ganzen die historische Landschaft Slavište. Sie wird durch ein von hohen Gebirgszügen umgebenes verzweigtes Talsystem gebildet, das im Westen des Städtchens Kriva Palanka ein schmales Becken bildet, das bis zum Paß von Stračin reicht.

Im Norden wird dieses Gebiet durch das bis auf 1700 m ansteigende Djerman-Gebirge von der ehemaligen Kaza Preševo

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geschieden. Im Süden bildet das über 2000 m hohe Ossogovski-Gebirge die Grenze zur Kaza Karatova/Kratovo. Die Talsohle des Beckens neigt sich von 680 m bei Kriva Palanka bis auf 540 m im Westen bei Mostanica und Psača hinab. Das gesamte Gebiet der ehemaligen Kaza ist von Ost nach West etwa 30 km lang und von Nord nach Süd 20 km breit. Seit alten Zeiten durchquert eine wichtige Ost-Westverbindung der Balkanhalbinsel dieses Gebiet: die Straße, die von Konstantinopel über Plovdiv - Samokov - Kjustendil nach Skopje in Makedonien und weiter nach Kosovo und Albanien führt.

Mittelalter

Schriftliche Quellen zur Siedlungsgeschichte dieser Region sind sehr dünn gesät. Die älteste bekannte Erwähnung von Slavište, als Teil des Bistums Morovižd, stammt aus dem Chrysobul von 1019 des byzantinischen Kaisers Basilius des Bulgarentöters, der damals die kirchlichen Verhältnisse des kurz zuvor eroberten Westbulgarischen, bzw. Mazedonischen Reichs von Zar Samuel neu ordnete.¹ Eine weitere frühe Erwähnung finden wir in einer Urkunde von 1321, die der Serbenkönig Milutin ausstellte, als er einige Dörfer im Bezirk Slavište dem Athos-Kloster Hilendar schenkte.² Im März 1358 schenkte dann ein gewisser Vlatko, ein kleiner Feudalherr, die Klosterkirche des Dorfes Psača in Slavište ebenfalls dem Kloster Hilendar. Die Kirche von Psača, geweiht dem Hl. Nikolaus, ist mit dem größten Teil ihres hochwertigen Freskenschmucks bis heute erhalten geblieben.³ Sie ist das wichtigste Denkmal von Architektur und Freskomalerei des Gebietes.

Einige Kilometer oberhalb des später entstandenen Hauptort des Bezirks, Kriva Palanka, erhebt sich das große Kloster von Joakim Ossogovski, das - der Vita des Heiligen zufolge - während der Regierungszeit von Kaiser Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180) gegründet worden ist. Eine durch Zar Kaloyan (1196-1207), dem Herrscher des neugegründeten Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches, für dieses Kloster ausgestellte Urkunde hat sich bis heute erhalten. 1330 betete der Serbenkönig Stefan Dečanski vor seinem Sieg in der Schlacht bei Velbužd über die Bulgaren in eben diesem Kloster. 1463, als Sultan

¹ H. Gelzer, Byzantinische Zeitschrift II; J. Ivanov, *Bългарski Starinni iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931.

² Miklosich-Müller, *Acta Serbica*.

³ Žarko Tadić, "Basilika u Psača," *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva*, V, 1939, S. 121-130; D. Cornakov - K. Balabanov, *The Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje 1961 (und spätere Ausgaben), S. 78-82 (Psača), S. 89 - 91 (Ossogovskikloster)

Mehmed der Eroberer gegen Bosnien zog, besuchte auch er die Abtei⁴, die im ältesten osmanischen Steuer- und Bevölkerungsregister des Sandschaks Küstendil aus dem Jahre 1517⁵ als mit erheblichen Steuerprivilegien ausgestattet erscheint. Der berühmte osmanische Weltenbummler Evliya Çelebi, der 1660 im Kloster Station machte, lobt in seinem Seyahatnâme⁶ die Gastfreundschaft der Mönche und erwähnt die große Zahl von Reisenden, die hier abstiegen. Der Hauptkirche des Klosters wurde zwischen 1847 und 1851 durch den heutigen, zwölfkuppeligen Bau ersetzt, finanziert durch die Zünfte von Kriva Palanka. Neben der Hauptkirche steht eine sehr schöne, der Gottesmutter gewidmete kleine Kirche aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, das beste christliche Architekturdenkmal des osmanischen Distrikts Kriva Palanka.⁷

Das Gebiet Slavište war also, bis zu dessen Untergang im Jahre 1018, Teil des Westbulgarischen Reiches gewesen, gelangte dann wieder unter die Herrschaft des Byzantinischen Reiches, bevor es um und nach 1200 für einige Jahrzehnte dem wiedererstandenen Bulgarischen Reich angehörte. Nach einem erneuten byzantinischen Zwischenspiel wurde es schließlich von den Serben erobert und gehörte in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts zum weitgehend unabhängigen Fürstentum Konstantin Dejanović, der in Velbužd, dem späteren Kjustendil, residierte.

Das administrative Zentrum Slavištes war eine Burg beim Dorfe Opila, von dem an einem "Gradište" genannten Ort noch Ruinen feststellbar sind.⁸ Östlich des heutigen Hauptorts Kriva Palanka liegt ein lang-gestreckter Engpass, der einst den byzantinisch-griechischen Namen "Sarandaporon" trug. Die Osmanen nannten den Pass "Kirk Geçit", was die gleiche Bedeutung hat (Vierzig Pässe). Im Namen des

⁴ Ivanov, 1931

⁵ Istanbul Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, MAD 170.

⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, (Ikdam ed.) vol V, S.564/65. Vergleiche auch die neue Edition in Umschrift: Yücel Dağlı - Seyit Ali Kahraman - Ibrahim Sezgin, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Bağdat Köşk Yazmasının transkriptionu, 5. Kitap, Istanbul, 2001, S. 303. Hazim Šabanović, *Evlija Čelebija Putopis odlomci o Jugoslavenskim zemljama*, II, Sarajevo 1957, S. 46/47 (mit wertvollen Anmerkungen).

⁷ Nikolovski, Cornakov, Bala-banov, *Cultural Monuments*.

⁸ Tomo Tomoski, "Morozvižka Episkopija," *Kulturno Nasledstvo*, VII, Skopje 1976/78, S. 92-115; Ivan Mikulčik, *Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini vo Makedonija*, Skopje 1996, S. 215-27 (mit Plan). Auch: Tomo Tomoski, "Entwurf einer Karte von Burgen in Makedonien," *Balkanoslavica* 11-12, Prilep 1984/85, S. 33-45.

sechs Kilometer östlich von Kriva Palanka gelegenen Dorfs Krklja hat sich diese sonst vergessene alte Bezeichnung noch erhalten.⁹

Frühosmanische Periode

Fürst Konstantin wurde 1371 türkischer Vasall. Nach seinem Tod in der Schlacht von Rovine, 1395, wurde sein Gebiet als Sandschak Kostadin-Ili ("Land Konstantins") dem Osmanischen Reich einverleibt. Von 1395 bis zu den Reformen der Tanzimat (1865) gehörte die Landschaft Slavište als Nahiye, nach 1634 als eigene Kaza, zum Sandschak Kostadin-Ili, wurde dann zur dem neuformierten Vilayet Kosovo mit Skopje als Hauptstadt angegliedert.

Das historische Siedlungsbild Slavištes muss sich bereits im Laufe des slawischen Mittelalters herausgebildet haben. Ohnehin verfügt diese stark bewaldete Gebirgsregion nur über wenige Plätze, an denen dauerhafte Besiedlung möglich ist.

Für den Sandschak Küstendil sind keine osmanischen Bevölkerungsregister des 15. Jahrhunderts erhalten geblieben. Abgesehen von einem Fragment von 16 Seiten aus 879 (1475), das nur einige Dörfer der Kazas Strumitsa und Tikveš beschreibt¹⁰, ist das älteste fast ganz erhaltene Steuerregister, das bereits erwähnte Register MAD 170 aus dem Jahr 1517. Ein weiteres sehr detailliertes und gleichfalls gut erhaltenes Register stammt aus 1550.¹¹ Beide liegen, bislang unveröffentlicht, im Osmanischen Archiv des türkischen Präsidialamts in Istanbul (B.O.A.) Das nächste Register, von 1570/73, ist vierbändig¹² und liegt seit 1980 in makedonischer Übersetzung gedruckt vor. Weiteres, allerdings noch so gut wie unberührtes Material ist in den Sektionen Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi, MAD und Ceride Odası des Istanbuler Archivs vorhanden. In der Sofioter Nationalbibliothek finden sich darüber hinaus noch drei Kopfsteuer-Register, von 1626, 1642 und von 1664/65. Eine überraschend reiche Quelle zur Geschichte Kriva Palankas im Jahre 1696/97 bildet das bisher unbekannt gebliebene Register MAD-Zeyl 2749 im BOA, das hier benutzt werden konnte.

⁹ Hristo Matanov, *Knjažestvoto na Dragaži*, Sofia 1996. Kim Istorijata na Severoistočna Makedonija ve predosmanskata epoha, Sofia 1997.

¹⁰ A.DFE 2.

¹¹ T.D. 267.

¹² T.K.G.M. - Ankara - Nr. 85, 88, 89 und 90.

Zwischen 1550 und 1570 stieg die Bevölkerung des Gebiets auf 130 Haushalte, oder ein Zuwachs von einem halben Prozent. Im Vergleich mit anderen Gebieten des Balkans ist das außerordentlich wenig und belegt die sehr geringe landwirtschaftliche Expansionsmöglichkeiten.

Nach dem Register von 1570 war die "Nahiye Slavište" für seine Verhältnisse ein relativ gut bevölkertes Gebiet mit 1.789 christlichen und nur neun muslimischen Haushalten (innerhalb der Grenzen von 1900). Sieben der muslimischen Haushalte lebten im Dorf Sveti Petka. Daß das Register hier einen Imam erwähnt, muß das Dorf wohl auch eine Moschee oder zumindest ein Mesdschid gehabt haben.

Die Grenzen des Gebiets deckten sich 1550 und 1570 nicht ganz mit denen von 1900. German, Luke, Nerav und Ogut im Norden gehörten zur Kaza Vranje. Der südwestliche Streifen mit den wichtigen Dörfern Stracin, Krilatica, Odreno, Opila und dem kleinen Ivankovci war 1570 noch bei Slavište, wurde später aber der Kaza Karatova/Kratovo einverleibt. Im Norden blieben German und Nerav bis 1912 außerhalb unseres Gebietes. Sie gehörten zur Kaza Preševo, die wahrscheinlich im 17. Jahrhundert gebildet wurde, als die sehr große Kaza Vranje aufgeteilt wurde. Das Gebiet der Nahiye Slavište umfasste 1570 innerhalb der Grenzen von 1900 - jedoch einschließlich German und Nerav - 52 Dörfer mit einer durchschnittlichen Größe von 34 Haushalten pro Dorf. Von diesen 52 Siedlungen sind, wahrscheinlich im Laufe des schwierigen 17. Jahrhunderts 16, meist sehr kleine Dörfer, verschwunden. Sieben der größten, im wesentlichen in der Nähe der Durchgangsstraße gelegenen Dörfer des Gebiets (innerhalb der Grenzen von 1900) hatten den Status von Derbendci (Paßwächter-dörfern) und genossen erhebliche Steuerermäßigungen sowie das Recht Waffen zu tragen; als Gegenleistung oblag ihnen die Bewachung der Straße. In den meisten Dörfern des Gebietes gab es zudem christliche Hilfstruppen der osmanischen Armee, die sogen. Martolosen (von armatholos/Waffenträger). Höchstwahrscheinlich handelt es sich dabei um die Überreste der Armee des Fürsten Konstantin, die sich über Jahrhunderte hinweg ihre Stellung bewahren konnte.

Der Reisende Felix Petančić erwähnt 1501 in unserem Gebiet das Dorf "Conopnize" (Konopnica).¹³ Das Register von 1570 beschreibt dieses Dorf, das mit 130 Haushalten das zweitgrößte der Gegend war (nur Petralica hatte 138 Haushalte), als Derbenci-Dorf und informiert uns, dass seine Einwohner sultanische Befehle, die ihre Rechte und Pflichten festlegten, von Bayezid II. (1481-1512), Selim I. (1512-1520), Süleyman I. (1520-1566) und Selim II. (1566-1574) besaßen. Cavalli nennt 1560 Krklje am Passeingang, wo eine schöne Karawanserei stand.¹⁴ Fresne Canaye weiß 1570 zu berichten, dass die Gegend dieses Dorfes arm und von Christen bewohnt war.¹⁵ Die Angaben der Reisenden decken sich mit dem, was das Register von 1570 berichtet, allerdings enthält letzteres mehr Informationen. Die Dörfer Baštevo, Konopnica, Krklja, Petralica, Podrji Kon und (H)rankovci waren demnach Passwächterdörfer. Beim großen, heute außerhalb des Gebietes gelegenen Dorf Stracin wird erwähnt, dass die zu bewachende Straße "von Konstantinopel nach Üsküp (Skopje) und nach Bosnien und Herzegowina" führte. Im Jahre 1615 erwähnt der bosnische Reisende Yusuf Livnjak in Stracin eine große und schöne Karawanserei.¹⁶ Da Podrži Kon nicht an der Hauptstraße lag, muss es hier andere Gründe gegeben haben, das Dorf mit dem Derbend-Status auszustatten.

In der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts scheint es in unserem Gebiet zu erheblichen Schwierigkeiten gekommen zu sein. Das zugängliche demographische Material von 1611, 1642 und 1664/65 deutet auf einen spürbaren Bevölkerungsniedergang. Dieser lässt sich auf die bekannte Kombination von niedrigeren Durchschnittstemperaturen (der "Kleinen Eiszeit"), die besonders in gebirgigen Gegenden gravierende Folgen für die immerhin schon wenig produktive Landwirtschaft hatten, auf erhöhten Steuerdruck und geringere Familiengrößen zurückführen. Im Jahre 1633/34 kam es zu einem Aufstand, der durch den Wesir Bayram Pascha (1636-1638

¹³ P. Matković, "Felix Petančić i njegov opis puteva u Tursku", *Rad Jugoslovenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*, Band 49, Zagreb 1979. Kroatische Übersetzung des gesamten, seltenen, italienischen Texts auf S. 106-164

¹⁴ P. Matković, "Dva Talianska Putopisa po Balkansom poluotoku iz XVI. vieka", *Starine Jugoslovenska Akademiji Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, vol. X, Zagreb 1878, p. 254 mit den ganzen Italienischen Tekst (= M. Cavalli).

¹⁵ Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant*. (1573) Publié et annoté par M.H. Hauser, Paris 1897, S. 34

¹⁶ Jusuf Livnjak, Manuscript Gazi Husrevbegova Library, Sarajevo. Auch in Serbo-Kroatische Übersetzung "Jusuf Livnjak, *Putopis za hadža 1614*, prijevod sa turskog: Mehmed Mujezinović, Sarajevo 1981, S. 86.

Großwesir) "ohne Kampf und Zerstörung" und mit "Wohldurchdachte Maßnahmen" beendet wurde. Diese Geschichte ist in einer großen osmanischen Inschrift aus 1043 (1634) festgehalten, die sich früher oberhalb des Eingangs einer großen Karawanserei in Kriva Palanka befand und 1931 von Jordan Ivanov in seinem "Balgarski Starini iz Makedonia" veröffentlicht wurde.¹⁷ Sie ist jetzt im Museum der Mazedonischen Geschichte in Skopje ausgestellt. Ein Teil der Maßnahmen Bayram Paschas bestand in der Gründung eines neuen Städtchens an der Karawanenstraße, zu beiden Ufern der Kriva Reka, türkisch: Eğri Dere. Dort gründete er eine kleine, von hohen Steinmauern und mit tiefen, in den Fels ausgehauen Graben, umgürtete Festung (Palanka), eine große Karawanserei, eine Moschee, ein Bad sowie ein Imaret, in dem jeder Reisende sowie sein Reittier durch die Stiftung gratis verköstigt wurde. Land- und arbeitslose Aufständische wurden durch den Wesir im neuen Städtchen angesiedelt, wo sie Beschäftigung fanden. Die Inschrift nennt, zurückhaltend, nur "eine Festung, eine Moschee und eine große Karawanserei."

Im Jahre 1071/1660 nennt der Reisende Evliya Çelebi zwei Moscheen, sechs Mescids, und 800 mit Dachziegeln, Schindeln oder Stroh gedeckte Häuser im Städtchen neben 50 weiteren Häusern in der Burg, was etwa 4000 Einwohner ergibt. Evliya lobt insbesondere die Freigebigkeit der Stiftung Bayram Paschas und stellt fest, dass viele Einwohner als Schmiede oder sonstwie im Eisengewerbe tätig waren und es sogar eine Fabrik (karhâne) zur Eisenverarbeitung gab.¹⁸ Dies wird durch die Angaben im Kopfsteuer-Register von 1664/65¹⁹ bestätigt, in dem die fünf wichtigen Dörfer Ginovci, Otošnica, Petralic, Rankovci, und Trnovo als Bergbaudörfer (me'adin) aufgeführt sind. Das Register MAD 4855 aus 1093/1680²⁰ erwähnt in der Kaza Eğri Dere 19 Dörfer zusammen mit 326 Haushaltvorständen, die als Minenarbeiter Steuerfreiheit (mu'af) genossen. Auch 1706 der Dubrovniker Marin Caboga (1706) erwähnt für dieses Gebiet die

¹⁷ J. Ivanov, *Balgarski Starinni iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931. Der ganze Vita von Joakim Ossogovski im altkirchenslawischen Urtext auf S. 404 - 418 wiedergegeben, die Bulla aus 1019 auf S. 547-555, Sultan Mehmeds Besuch, S. 150, Inschrift von Bayram Pascha, 1635, auf S. 140/41.

¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi, a.a.O. Skender Rizaj, "Rudarstvoto vo Makedonija od XV-XVIII vek," *Glasnik na Institutot za Nacionalna Istorija*, XIV, Skopje 1970. S. 91-111.

¹⁹ Sofia, Nat. Bibl. F 131 A: 46A8.

²⁰ MAD 4855, S. 18.

Metallurgie, ebenso 1836 der französische Geograph Ami Boué.²¹ Caboga fügt hinzu, dass das Eisen aus den Minen von Kriva Palanka und Samokov "die feinste Qualität des ganzen Orients hat."²² Nach Auffassung des mazedonischen Bergbauhistorikers Apostol Keramitčiev waren die Eisenminen von Slavište schon in der Antike in Gebrauch, zerfielen dann als Folge der Slaveninvasion und wurden in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, höchstwahrscheinlich unter Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) von den Türken wieder in Betrieb genommen. Speziell die große Minengruppe im Ostteil des Gebiets, um die Dörfer Kostur, Krklje und Duračka Reka (Stremoš), wo Keramitčiev detaillierte Feldstudien betrieb, war nachweisbar von ungefähr 1660 bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts ununterbrochen in Betrieb.²³ Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Bemerkung Evliya Çelebi, dass bevor der Bau Kriva Palankas die Gegend durch Räuberbanden so unsicher gemacht wurde, dass kein Reisende durchkam und die Eisenminen verlassen (mu'attal) waren.²⁴ Auch in der Inschrift von 1634 finden wir eine Anspielung auf die damals gefährliche Lage in der Gegend, wo selbst ein tapferer Eisenschmidt nicht durchkam (bir kahraman demirci mürur etmezdi). Ob die Wiederbelebung des Minenbetrieb auch zu den von Bayram Pascha genommenen Maßnahmen gehört, ist nicht sicher. Wenigstens ist die erfolgreiche Eröffnung des wirtschaftlich so wichtigen Minenbetriebs Folge dieser Maßnahmen. Dabei fällt es auf, dass die Südost Ecke des Gebiets nach den Registern von 1517, 1550 und 1570 nahezu völlig leer und unbesiedelt war, und es im 19. Jahrhundert nicht weniger als sieben Dörfer gab, wovon wenigstens Kostur, Kirklja und Duračka Reka wichtige Bergbauorte waren.

Im Jahre 1689, während des Krieges von 1683 - 1699 stürzte ein Streifzug der habsburgischen Armee, meist Ungarn und Kroaten, die sich in der benachbarte Distriktshauptstadt Küstendil mit einem Blutbad mit den Muslimen austobten, die friedliche Entwicklung des Palanesker Gebiets. Ivanov (1906) führt ein anonymes russisches

²¹ Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol V, Paris, 1836, S. 54.

²² Marin Caboga, Serbo-Kroatische Übersetzung und Originaltekst, *Spomenik*, XXXIV, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Beograd 1898, S. 222, im Originaltext dieser seltenen Quelle: "Tanto in questo loca (Samokov) quanto in Palanche sone le miniere del piu fino ferro vi è in Levante."

²³ Apostol Keramitčiev, "Za železnite rudnici vo Krivopalanečko (vo turskiot period)," *Arheološki Muzej na Makedonija, Zbornik* (1967-1974) Kniga VI-VII, Skopje 1975, S. 85-96; Ders. "Staroto rudarstvo i metalurgijata vo Zletovskata Oblast," *Istorija*, II, Skopje 1972, S. 171-188.

²⁴ Evliya Çelebi, a.a.O.

Reisebericht aus 1692, der die Eđri Palanka als ein kleines Dorf beschreibt und deutet so auf eine brutale Unterdrückung eines Aufstands, mit großen Verstörungen hin.²⁵

Ein interessantes Bild, wie Kriva Palanka sich entwickelt und von dem habsburgischen Streifzug von 1689 erholt hat, liefert das detaillierte (mufassal) Avâriz Defter.²⁶ Es listet die gesamte erwachsene männliche Bevölkerung auf, das Militär und die Zivilbevölkerung. Wir finden 70 Soldaten der Garnison, mit Namen und Patronym, 10 Moschee-Angestellten, 15 kleine und große Lehnsreiter (sipahi und za'im), 15 Asaben mit Sold und 15 Reiter (Farisan). Das schließt auf eine Militärmacht von 125 Mann, alle Muslime. Eine Überraschung bietet der Abschnitt der christlichen Bevölkerung. Es zeigt sich, dass sich außerhalb der Festung eine offene Vorstadt (Varoš) entwickelt hat, bewohnt von einer Zivilbevölkerung von 147 Haushalten. Daneben lebten in dieser Varoš 200 Haushalte von Derbendjis, christliche Para-Militärs. Innerhalb der Festung, oder auch in der Varoš gab es weiter noch zwei Gruppen von christlichen Hilfstruppen, Martolos, 156 und 128 Man, und eine Gruppe von 41 "Neue Martolosen der Burg." Diesen bilden höchst wahrscheinlich eine Aufstockung der Garnison nach dem habsburgischen Überfall von 1689. Insgesamt gab es also 797 erwachsene Männer in dem Städtchen, die meisten wohl Familienoberhäupter, was sich gut mit Evliya Çelebi's Zahlen deckt. Die Zahlen ergeben die überraschende Schlussfolgerung, dass, die Derbendjis mitgerechnet, 81% der gesamten osmanischen Militärmacht aus lokalen Christen bestand. Rechnen wir die Derbendjis nicht mit, ergibt sich immerhin noch eine christliche Mehrheit von 72%. Auf eine Zerstörung Eđri Palankas nach der Niederschlagung eines christlichen Aufstandes kaum drei Jahr vorher deutet diese administrative Beschreibung wohl nicht hin.

Das Register MAD-Zeyl 2749 enthält als Anhang eine Kopie des sultanischen Befehls, um an eine geeignete Stelle am Eđri Dere Flusses eine kleine Befestigung (Palanka) zu bauen und Leute aus den Dörfern des Bezirks als Derbendjis anzustellen oder als Martolos zu beschäftigen. Dies ist die "Geburtsurkunde" des Städtchens Kriva Palanka.

²⁵ Jordan Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia 1906, S. 192-195, 243-246.

²⁶ MAD-Zeyl 2749 von 1107 (1696/97).

Im frühen 1830er Jahren beschreibt der französische Geograph Ami Boué Eğri Palanka als ein Städtchen von 2.000 - 3.000 Einwohnern.²⁷ Es hat sich also kaum weiter entwickeln können.

Das Salnâme (Amtliches Jahrbuch) des kurzlebigen großen Eyalet Prizren von 1291 (1874) enthält einige Auskünfte über das Städtchen und seinen Bezirk. Eğri Palanka zählte damals 588 Häuser und war Hauptort von 67 Dörfern. Das heißt, dass die Kaza nach der Vilayetreform, 1864, erheblich erweitert war und Gegenden enthielt, die eine erheblich größere Zahl muslimischer Einwohner hatten als die alte Landschaft Slavište.

Es gab also 3.991 erwachsene muslimische und 5.901 christliche Einwohner, wobei nur die männlichen gerechnet wurden. Also eine Totalbevölkerung von etwa 19.784 Einwohnern (2 x 9.892). Im Städtchen gab es zwei Moscheen, ein Hamam und drei Grundschulen für muslimische und fünf für christliche Kinder. Weiter werden ein öffentlicher Uhrturm, fünf Derwischkonvente, fünf Herberge, ebenso viele Weinhäuser, sowie 150 Geschäfte erwähnt.

Im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts fand der einst wichtige Bergbau in Palanesker Gebiet ein jähes Ende. Der Bergbauhistoriker Keremitčiev (1976) schrieb dies den Folgen der serbisch-türkischen, und den direkt darauffolgenden russisch-türkischen Krieg (1876-1878) zu, die auch um Kriva Palanka zu Auseinandersetzungen führten. Das Salnâme des Vilayets Kosovo von 1314/1896²⁸ hat eine andere Erklärung. "Während man bis vor 20-25 Jahren jährlich für 10.000 Lira an Hufeisen exportierte, ist der Gewinn in dieser Branche unter dem Einfluss europäischer Wirtschaftskonkurrenz völlig untergegangen." Möglicherweise hat sowohl das eine als das andere zum Verschwinden des Bergbaus beigetragen.

Das Salnâme von des Kosovo Vilayets von 1311 (1893/94) nennt für die jetzt wieder kleinere Kaza Eğri Palanka eine Totalbevölkerung von 15.777 Einwohnern, darunter nur 510 Muslime. Im Städtchen selbst werden zwei Moscheen und eine Rüşdiye-Oberschule nebst zwei muslimischen Schulen erwähnt. Die Zahl der Kirchen und christlichen Schulen wird hingegen offengelassen.

²⁷ Boué, Ami, *La Turquie d'Europe*, S. 54.

²⁸ Yıldırım Aganoğlu, *Salname-i Vilayet-i Kosovo 1314 (1896/97)*, Istanbul 2000 (Neuveröffentlichung in Lateinschrift), S. 151-156.

Im Laufe des obenerwähnten serbisch-türkischen und russisch-türkischen Krieges, 1876/78, und auch danach, flohen viele Muslime aus dem unabhängig gewordenen Bulgarien nach Eğri Palanka, während ein Teil von dessen christlicher Stadtbevölkerung nach Bulgarien ging.

Nach dem obenerwähnten Salnâme von 1314/1896 zählte das Städtchen Eğri Palanka 753 Häuser mit 2.947 Einwohnern. Etwa 65 % davon waren Muslime. Erwähnt wird auch, dass von der Gesamtbevölkerung des Kazas (20.560 Seelen) jährlich anderthalb tausend erwachsene Männer die Hälfte des Jahres in Bulgarien und Rumänien als Tagelöhner arbeiteten, ein gutes Zeichen für ein strukturelle Überbevölkerung des Gebiets. Dies ist auch in der sehr kleinen Familiengröße (3.9 per Haushalt) ablesbar. Die Zahlen des Salnames entsprechen der Situation von einigen Jahren früher, wohl die Volkszählung von 1891, die für das Salname von 1311/1893 noch nicht zur Verfügung stand. Über die wirtschaftliche Lage wird nach dem Bericht über den Untergang der Minen berichtet, dass man verstärkt auf Ausfuhr von Obst, Äpfeln und Birnen, gepresste Pflaumen, sowie auf Weinbau und Rakiproduktion. Jährlich wurde 20-30.000 Schöffel davon exportiert (1 Istanbul Kıye/Kile = 25,6 Kilogramm). Jährlich wurde 11.900 Kıye Wein und 18.980 Kıye Raki produziert. Man muss dabei bedenken, dass nach dem Bau der Eisenbahn von Skopje nach Saloniki, 1876, der Export aus dem Gebiet von Kriva Palanka erheblich schneller und effizienter stattfinden könnte.

Um 1900 fand Kănčov eine große Mehrheit von Muslimen im Städtchen: 2.500 muslimische Einwohner neben nur 1.500 christlichen Bulgaren bzw. Makedoniern, 350 Zigeunern und etwa 20 Vlachen (Aromunen), alle zusammen etwa 4.370 Einwohner. Die im Salname von 1311 (1893/94) enthaltenen Angaben über die Bevölkerung der Kaza nennen nur 2.203 Muslime gegenüber 20.522 Christen, was nach Kănčov darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass das Gebiet innerhalb der fünf bis sechs dazwischenliegenden Jahre eine rasche Entwicklung durchgemacht habe. Diese dynamische Entwicklung lässt sich auch durch den Vergleich der Zahlen in beiden Salnames nachvollziehen.

Nach der Eroberung Nordmakedoniens durch die Serben, 1912, finden wir erneut ein verändertes Bild. Fast alle Muslime flohen oder emigrierten kurz nach 1912. Die fünf Derwischkonvente, die 1893 und 1896 noch aktiv waren, wurden zerstört und nie wiederaufgebaut. Die

wichtigste davon gehörte dem Ramazaniye-Zweig des populären Halvetiye Ordens, damals weitverbreitet in Mazedonien. Das Städtchen brach zusammen und erholte sich auch nicht mehr, weil in den Jahren zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen auch viele Makedonier der Serbisierungspolitik dieser Jahre auswichen und sich im stammesverwandten Bulgarien niederließen. 1921 hatte Kriva Palanka 2.148 Einwohner, 1953, mehr als 30 Jahre später, 2.539. Erst nach dem Zusammenbruch der kommunistischen Ordnung und der Öffnung der Grenze geht es in diesem Gebiet aufgrund des erheblich stärker gewordenen Transitverkehrs wirtschaftlich wieder einigermaßen bergauf. Eine Folge der Umwälzungen unserer Zeit ist ferner die Aufgabe mancher kleinen Bergdörfer, deren Einwohner vor allem in die Wirtschafts-Metropole Skopje gezogen sind. Im Zentrum von Kriva Palanka selbst sind noch zwei größere Abschnitte der Burgmauer von 1634 erhalten geblieben und erinnern sich alte Einwohner noch genau an die Stelle, wo die längst verschwundene Moschee und der Hamam gestanden haben.

Schlussfolgerungen

Zum Schluss können wir feststellen, dass in diesem kleinen Gebirgskanton die historisch gewachsene Toponymie fast ganz erhalten und eine zuverlässige Quelle der Siedlungsgeschichte geblieben ist. Das hier gebotene ist nur ein Baustein im reichen Mosaik der osmanischen Urbanisationspolitik und Siedlungsgeschichte. Um dieses bunten Mosaiks einigermaßen komplett zu machen ist noch viel zu tun.

Die wichtige Inschrift von 1043 endet mit einem poetischen Datumvers und einem Wunsch für dieses *ex nihilo* gegründete Städtchen, der großenteils in Erfüllung ging:

Eyleye gülzâr u âbâdân Hudâ-yı bî-zevâl

"Möge Gott es zu einem blühenden Rosengarten machen ohne Ungemach"

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The Process of Sedentarization of Semi-nomadic Groups of the Yörüks in Parts of 16th Century Ottoman Rumeli: Migration Control or Tax Control?

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Abstract:

The present article is an attempt to reveal the process of adaption of the colonized Muslim population in parts of Ottoman Rumeli – modern Eastern Upper Thrace, where the majority of the migrated population were the semi-nomadic groups of the yörüks. After the establishment of new settlement network in the region at the end of the 15th and first half of the 16th centuries, the huge pasturelands and swamps were converted to regular exploitations under the çift-hane system by the semi-nomadic groups. Last led to the sedentarizaion of some of the yörüks and changes in the settlement network. A role in the process played the ottoman state by implementing special tax policy toward the yörük taxpayers.

Key words: Ottoman Balkans, 16th Century, Yörüks, settlement, migration

What Braudel once suggested was a theoretical description of “spaces” introducing the terms and underlining the differences between “world economy” and “world-economies”.¹ He, then asserted, the Ottoman Empire as an example of being a world-economy-a

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¹ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism. 15th-18th century*. Vol. III. *The Perspective of the World*, (California: University of California Press, 1982), 69.

fragment of the world, an economically autonomous section, but also outlined its place as a power in the struggle for hegemony and economic relations in the Mediterranean world.² With all the discussion these terms lead throughout time they took a significant place in the research in the field of economic history.³

Some researches define the basic of the Ottoman economy with the farms, the household and the pair of oxen—the çift-hane system, as the key unit of taxation and land holding. Different issues referring to the methods of reclamation of agrarian space, forms and functioning of the agrarian space, production, fiscal practices and tax policy, the price revolution of the 16th century⁴, the classification of arable lands in accordance with the registered agricultural activities—core provinces and periphery territories and the adoption of fiscal practices from the medieval Balkan states,⁵ the registration and the exact data it contains,⁶ rural agrarian structure in the Ottoman Empire, are still a subject of

² Ibidem, pp. 20-22.

³ Andre Gunder Frank, *World-economies or [one] World Economy? A Critical Reading of Braudel's Perspective of the World*, 1993.

⁴ Ömer L. Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: a Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 9-28; Linda Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560 - 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 35-39; Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 112-148.

⁵ Heath Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source of Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 3-18; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Les registres ottomanes comme source pour l'histoire préottomane. Fiscalité et formes de possession de la terre arable dans Anatolie préottomane," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1976): 236-237.

⁶ Nicoara Beldiceanu, Irène Beldiceanu - Steinherr, "Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (première moitié du XVI^e siècle," *Südost-Forschungen* 4 (1978) : 1-40; Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th c.* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 36-37; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Taxation and Urban Activities in Sixteenth Century Anatolia," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1979-1980): 19-53; Spiros Asdrachas, "Aux Balkans du XV^e siècle producteurs directs et marchés," *Etudes balkaniques* 3 (1970): 46; Idem, "Sociétés rurales balkaniques aux XV^e-XVI^e siècles: Mouvements de la population et des revenus," *Études balkaniques* 13/2 (1977): 49-66; Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials. Rural Administration around Sixteenth Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 18-19; John Alexander, "Counting the Grains: Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Reading the Ottoman Mufassal Tahrir Defters," *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 19-20 (1999): 57-58, etc.

researchers' interest and many of them debatable.⁷ The debate on the "world-economy" term goes along with the economic overwhelming growth of the Ottoman empire, the reforms, the spread of political and military power, traditionally referred to as "classical age".⁸

The discussions on the economic development of the Ottoman Empire during the "classical age" could be considered and related to two important issues in the history of the Ottoman Empire: the first one, I assume, is the colonization of Muslim population in the Balkans⁹. This continuing process of migrations of population for many historians and researchers is related to the spread of Islam and the formation of

⁷Vera Mutafchieva, *Osmanska sotcialno-ikonomicheska istoriya* [Ottoman Social-economic History] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo Petar Beron), 1999, 64-89; Halil İnalçık, "State, Land and Peasant," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1914* Eds. Inalçık, H. & Quataert, D. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11-43,143-154; Linda Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660* (Leiden:Brill, 1996), 34-76; Stefka Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans 16th mid-19th Century* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), 11-61; Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 121-173; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Rural Society in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Sixteenth Century," *Turcica* 11 (1979): 136-141; Idem, "The Peasants of Saideli in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Archivum ottomanicum* 8, (1983): 215-250; Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials. Rural Administration around Sixteenth Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 44-63; Evangelia Balta, *L'Eubée a la fin du XV^e siècle. Économie et Population. Les registres de l'année 1474* (Athènes: Association des Études d'Eubée, 1989), 23-67; Idem, "Économie et espace rural en Eubée aux XV^e-XVI^e s.: du document fiscal à la construction d'un modèle," *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane* (Istanbul, 1997), 21-96; Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 23-46; Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th c.* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

⁸Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600* (NewYork: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 23-114.

⁹Mehmet T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1957), 13-29; Idem, "Rumelinin İskanında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler," III. *Türk Tarih Kongresi içinde, Türk Tarih Kurumu* (1943): 648-660; Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* C. 15, 1-4 (1953-1954): 209-237; Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler, I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* S. 2 (1942): 293.

institutions maintaining the functioning of the new religion.¹⁰ In general, the colonized population from Asia Minor to the Balkans played a key role in the “demographic” conquest of regions and what followed was the “economic” seizure of the newly populated district. Though the number of the population growth in Anatolia and what caused the movement is disputable, migration processes from Asia Minor to Ottoman Rumeli started as soon as the conquest of these territories by the ottomans.¹¹ Part of the colonized population were the semi-nomadic groups of the *yörüks* who, during a long-going process, adapted to the environment of the newly conquered lands. During this long-lasting process of colonization and transition were shown the ruling abilities of the Ottoman state and the Ottoman elite to take advantage of the migrations and the tax policy implemented to the newcomers. To some extent this policy affected the semi-nomadic groups as well and it lead to the sedentarization of parts of the *yörüks* who became *reaya* engaged in agriculture.

The migration of the *yörüks* spread to different regions on the Balkans and their adaptation proceeds with various intensity in correlation to the specific local conditions.¹² Furthermore, it is considered as heritage of the early Ottoman frontier zones, one of

¹⁰ Evgeni Radoshev, *Pomatsite. Hristianstvo i Islam v Zapadnite Rodopi s dolinata na reka Mesta XV v. – 30te god. na XVIII vek* [The Pomaks. Christianity and Islam in the Western Rhodope Mountains and the valley of Mesta river, 15th c. to – 1730s] Part 1 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Narodnata biblioteka “Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy”, 2008), 9-143; Evangelia Balta, *Les Vakıfs de Serrès et de sa region aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Athènes: Centre de Recherches Néo-Hélléniques F.N.R.S, 1995), 35-38; Vassilis Demetriades, “Vakıfs along the Via Egnatia,” *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380 – 1699) . Halcyon Days in Crete II: A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 9 – 11 January 1994*. Ed. E. Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996), 85-95.

¹¹ Michael Cook, *Population Changes in Rural Anatolia, 1450-1600* (London-New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 23-89; Huri İslamoğlu – İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th c.* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 36-145; Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects upon the Reaya”, *IIe Congrès International des Etudes du Sud-est Européennes, III Histoire et littérature* (Athènes:1970), 4-21; Oktay Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries : The “Demographic Crisis” Reconsidered, ” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004) : 183-205.

¹² Halil İnalçık, “The Yörüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 97-136; İlhan Şahin, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler* (İstanbul: Eren, 2006), 35-40.

which was Thrace¹³, becoming an area of Muslim colonization following the established pattern of the Ottoman expansion in western Anatolia. This demographic expansion proceeded along with the sedentarization of the semi-nomadic groups of the *yörüks*¹⁴. Usually following a well-defined route from summer to winter pasturelands, sometimes the nomadic groups migrated to far distanced territories in search for new pasture lands. This migration process is considered to indicate either weakened state's control or when more powerful nomadic groups made them leave the territory.

The present paper intends to draw your attention to a small part of the Ottoman imperial territories—the Ottoman *kaza* of *Eskihisar zağra* (*Zağra-i atik, Zağra-i Eskihisar*), modern Eastern parts of the Upper Thracian Valley, where on micro history level could be traced the process of establishment of a new settlement network result of colonization of Muslim population¹⁵. Our next step is to reveal the state policy toward the new-comers, or how the Ottoman authorities implemented their tax policy in the newly conquered lands in *Rumeli*. The territory of the *kaza* of *Eskihisar zağra* was part of *Paşa sancak*, one of the earliest established administrative units (*sancak*) on the Balkans.¹⁶

Turcoman migration started in the frontier zone of Western Anatolia was followed by migration to the Balkans where, in some parts of the peninsula, was established a new settlement network.¹⁷ The

¹³ Mustafa Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1957), 10-13; Mustafa Gökbilgin, "Rumelinin İskanında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler", *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi içinde* (Ankara: 1943), 648-660; Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* C. 15, 1-4, (1953-1954); Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler, I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 293.

¹⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Otman Baba ve Fatih Sultan Mehmed," *Doğu Batı Makalele* I (2005): 139-163; Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Uc (Serhad)lar," *Doğu Batı Makaleler* II (2009): 45-60.

¹⁵ Levent Kayapınar, "The Economic Growth of Kazanlak in the XVth and XVIth Centuries," *Proceedings of CEHR* 2 (2017): 227-247.

¹⁶ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Administrative System and Provincial Government in the Central Balkan Territories of the Ottoman Empire, 15th Century," H. C. Guzel, C. C. Oguz, and O. Karatay (eds), *The Turks, vol. 3, Ottomans*, 498-507.

¹⁷ Researches explain the migration process with growing population pressure related to economic shrinkage and growing poverty. Inalcik, Halil. "Empire and Population," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 - 1914*. eds. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 29-30; Leyla Erder, Suraiya Faroqhi. "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550 - 1620," *Middle Eastern Studies* 15 (1979):

military actions and the conquest of the territory were followed by the establishment of state control over the conquered lands implemented by the military, administrative and judicial representatives. The actual “demographic seizure” of the lands came after the migration of population – a process shown by the changes and/or the establishment of a settlement network. Massive *yörük* groups were located in various parts of the former Bulgarian lands – in the Maritsa valley between Haskovo and Pazardzhik, west of the rivers Mesta and Yantra, etc. Major part of the new comers to the territory of the kaza of Eskihisar zağra were the *yörüks* – well known with their pastoral life and practicing agriculture as a supplement to their economy.¹⁸

The data on the settlement network with predominantly *yörük* population in regions of Asia Minor, i.e. before they settled down in *Rumeli*, refers to small, unstable settlements which turned into small villages.¹⁹

It is the size of the village that is considered to show and determine the existence of a certain settlement over time. Prof. Ts. Georgieva suggests the following classification of the villages in accordance with the registered households: 0-5 and 6-20 households are considered as small and unstable villages; 21-40 households – middle sized villages and 41-80 households and over 80 are big, stable settlements, showing where the medieval settlement network was.²⁰ The tax registrations containing data on the settlement network of the *kaza* of *Eskihisar zağra* (detailed registers, *tapu tahrir defter*) of the second half of the 15th

3; Suraiya Faroqhi. “Rural Society in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Sixteenth Century,” *Turcica* 11 (1979): 136-141.

¹⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Empire and Population,” *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1914*. eds. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 40; Aleksey Kalyonski. *Yurutcite [The Yörüks]* (Sofia: Prosveta), 23-89.

¹⁹ İnalçık, “Empire and Population,” 38.

²⁰ Tsvetana Georgieva. *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na balgarite prez XV-XVII vek [Space and Spaces of Bulgarians in the 15th – 17th Centuries]* (Sofia: Imir, 1999), 71; Maria Kalitsin, Krasimira Mutafova. “Introduction,” *Podbrani osmanski dokumenti za Tarnovo i Tarnovska kaza [Selected Ottoman Records on the City of Tarnovo and the Kaza of Tarnovo]* (Veliko Tarnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodiy”, 2003), 26; Vera Mutafchieva and Dushanka Boyanich-Lukach, “Vidin i Vidinsko prez XV-XVI vek. Uvod [Vidin and the Region of Vidin during 15th – 16th Centuries. Introduction],” *Vidin i Vidinskiat sancak prez XV-XVI vek [Vidin and the Sancak of Vidin during 15th-16th Centuries]*. (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1975), 30.

century²¹ provide information on small and unstable villages – 72.1% and 27.9 of the registered settlements could be considered old villages, most probably they have existed during the 14th century, i.e. before the Ottoman conquest of the territory. The ethno demographic structure of the registered taxpayers shows that the majority of them were Muslims (91 %). During the 15th and throughout the 16th century some of the villages on the territory of the *kaza* of Stara Zagora are part of *Niğbolu sancak* (6 settlements) and the majority of the villages are on the territory of *Paşa sancak*. All the settlements registered in *Niğbolu sancak* are old, stable villages where the majority of taxpayers are Non-Muslims. The history of the political and historical circumstances suggest that these settlements mark the south border line of the medieval kingdom of Bulgaria at the time when it was conquered by the ottomans.²² There's no doubt that the new comers participated in the establishment of a new settlement network for they were registered as taxpayers of the small and unstable settlements. The territory of the *kaza* of Stara Zagora along with other parts of the Thracian Valley was a place where the main and ongoing military conflicts between the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian kingdom had happened. Last resulted as destruction of the settlement network and only few villages were preserved until the time of the Ottoman conquest.²³ The data of the registrations shows that along with dervishes and other Muslims the majority of the new comers were *yörüks*, which in other regions in Anatolia and in the Balkans established the same settlement network with unstable, small villages. What the data also shows is that they paid the basic land tax (*resm-i chift*, *resm-i bennak*) etc. for their agricultural

²¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), TT, 26, ff. 1-57; Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Oriental Department, Fond Hk 12/9, f. 39.

²² Milena Petkova-Encheva, "Registrations of Settlements in Eastern Upper Thrace during the 16th c. A Theory on the South Border Line of the Bulgarian Kingdom of Ivan Shishman Based on the Information of Ottoman Tax Registers of 16th c.," *Iz praktikata na osmanskata kantselariya [Practices of the Ottoman Chancellery]*. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na narodnata biblioteka "sv. Sv. Kiril I Metodiy, 2011), 186-197.

²³ Petar Nikov, "Turskoto zavladyavane na Balgaria sadbata na poslednite Shishmanovtsi [The Turkish conquest of Bulgaria and the Destiny of the Last Representatives of the Shishman Dynasty]," *Izvestiya na Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo* 7-8 (1928): 41-112; Idem, "Balgari i tatari v Srednite vekove [Bulgarians and Tatars during the Middle Ages]," *Balgarska istoricheska biblioteka* 3 (1929):109; Ivan Duichev, "Ot Chernomen do Kosovo pole. Kam istoriyata na turskoto zavoevanie v Trakia prez poslednoto desetiletie na XV vek [From Chernomen to Kosovo. Toward History of the Turkish Conquest of Thrace during the Last Decade of the 15th c.]," *Izvestiya na Trakiyskiya nauchen institut* 2 (1970): 73-105; Krasimira Gagova, *Trakiya prez Balgarskoto Srednovekovie. Istoricheska geografiya [Thrace during the Bulgarian Medieval Period. Historical Geography.]* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2002), 141-143.

activities.²⁴ The “empty” arable lands from the late medieval period seemed proper for the colonization and the environment suggested other possibilities for the new comers.

The travelers’ accounts and the Ottoman *sinurnames* describe these lands with forests, big areas of swamps and with pasturelands.²⁵ The problem with malaria and the swamps in Thrace was solved with the Sulfur containing in the wool – both clothes and sheep flocks. The environment seems to be perfect for the establishment of a new settlement network, providing plenty of space to be reclaimed and practice agricultural activities. On the other hand the pasturelands were also of great importance for the Semi-nomadic *yörüks* where they could settle with the sheep flocks.

The next registration of 1518²⁶ shows that the unstable villages were 77,1% and the registered Muslim households were 95,3% (2199 households). For 26% of them is mentioned that they were *yörük* households, for the rest of the villages the toponymical data provide information for the colonization of the *yörüks*. As we follow the data of the next registration of 1530²⁷ it shows that the 83,9% of the registered settlements were unstable villages. We could assume that during the first half of the 16th century there was an intensive, ongoing migration of Turcoman to the territory of the kaza of Stara Zagora, and the majority of them were *yörüks*. The last registration of the 16th century – in 1570, shows the increasing percent of the stable settlements – 59,8% and the unstable, small villages were only 40,2%.

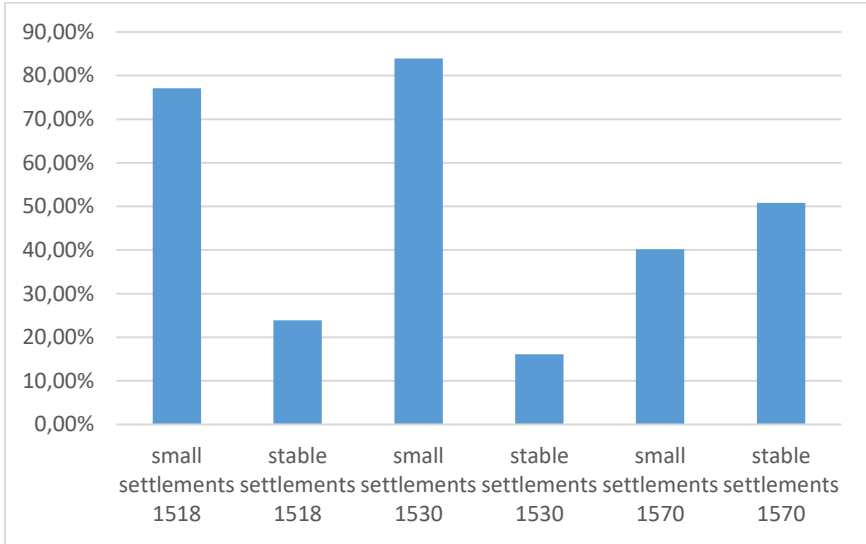
²⁴ Linda Darling, *Revenue –Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560 – 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 15-34; Halil İnalçık, “A Case Study of the Village Microeconomy. Villages in the Bursa Sancak, 1520-1573,” *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 162-173; Evangelia Balta, “Économie et espace rural en Eubée aux XV^e-XVI^e s.: du document fiscal à la construction d’un modèle,” *Problèmes et approches de l’histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Egridir* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1997), 21-96.

²⁵ Milena Petkova-Encheva, “Land Property in Ottoman Rumeli – Case Study on Land Possession System in Parts of Paşa Sancak, Ottoman Rumeli (Copies of *Huccets* and *Sinurnames* Preserved in Ottoman Tapu Tahrir Defters of XVIth Century,” 2. *Uluslararası Osmanlı Coğrafyası Arşiv Kongresi. Bildiriler. Cilt 1.* eds. Hatice Oruç, Mehmet Yıldırım and Songül Kadıoğlu (Ankara: Ankara Medya Matbaa, 2019), 779-787.

²⁶ BOA, TT 77, ff. 459-542, BOA, TT 439, ff. 322-328.

²⁷ BOA, TT 370, ff. 67-77, ff. 327-330, ff. 335-342, ff. 358-359, f. 361, f. 523.

Table 1: Settlement network of the kaza of Eskihisar zağra during the 16th century



The data shows the increasing number of the stable settlements and at the same time the number of registered Muslim taxpayers (including the *yörüks*) remains stable. What could have affected the settlement network was the political situation. These lands were no longer battlefield as they were in the late middle Ages. Now, being an integral part of the imperial territories the war conflicts were far from this region. Another reason I assume that had a strong impact on the stabilization and affected the migrations was the tax policy implemented by the Ottoman officials, and more precisely the tax on agricultural activities.

The *yörüks* did know how to practice agriculture long before their migration to Rumeli. In parts of Anatolia they were engaged in agriculture, though their main economic activity remained sheep breeding. The Ottoman registrations of the 16th centuries and on show that once the *yörüks* were registered as taxpayers on the territory of the kaza of Eskihisar zağra and engaged with agrarian production, the Ottoman state introduced a new land tax – *resm-i boyundruk*. This tax is

evident only for the *yörük* settlements. It was levied in cash, included in the timar system and referred only to *yörüks* practicing agriculture. From one hand the different taxation from the rest of the taxpayers shows not only the financial importance of the income for the state but also might refer to the endeavors of the Ottoman state to interfere in the process that could lead to a sedentary life of the *yörüks* in Rumeli.

Agriculture was the most important economic activity in the Ottoman Empire, there for it is stated to be a priority for the state. The wealth was derived mainly from tax resources in the conquered lands where the main purpose were the collected revenues, i.e. for fiscal reasons.²⁸

The detailed tax registers (*taputahrir defters*) of 1518 (TT 77) and 1570 (TT 494 и TT 498) provide interesting information on the changes in the taxation of the *yörüks* and more precisely on the *resm-i çift* tax which, only for the settlements with registered *yörüks* as taxpayers, is *resm-i boyundruk*. This tax is registered for 73 of total of 119 settlements on the territory of the *kaza* of Stara Zagora.²⁹ The last registration undertaken in 1570 refers to 139 settlements and the same tax is registered for 75 villages.³⁰ The rest of the Muslim *reaya* paid *resm-cift* tax.

The earliest information on the *resm-i boyundruk* tax can be found in the Code of Law (*kanunname*) issued under Mehmed II³¹. The Law states that: “anyone who uses one sickle for harvesting, has one granary and one cartful should pay *resm-boyundruk* equaled to 2 akçe.” Based on this part of the Code of Law Bistra Tsvetkova once suggested that the tax refers to agricultural activity on “rayet land” during the reign of Mehmed II. Further on, she suggested that it might refer to slavery as well.³²

²⁸ Halil İnalçık. “The Economic Mind,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 - 1914*. eds. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 158-161.

²⁹ BOA, TT 77, ff. 459-542.

³⁰ BOA TT 494, ff. 421-514; BOA TT 498, ff. 30-39, f. 260, ff. 355-362, ff. 625-639.

³¹ *Kanunnâme-i âli Osman - Fatih Kanunnamesi*, Abdülkadir Özcan (ed.), (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 5-22.

³² See the glossary of terms by Bistra Tsvetkova, *Fontes Turcici Historiae Iuris Bulgarici*. Academia Litterarum Bulgarica. Institutum Iuris. V. 1, Sofia, p. 319.

On the other side M. Pakalın suggests several interpretations of the *resm-i boyundruk* tax. During the first centuries of the Ottoman rule on the Balkans this tax was on fruit and vegetable gardens. Later, the term was used for agricultural activities and was collected by the *timar* holder (*sahib-i arz*).³³

Other researchers assume that the term *resm-i boyundruk* was a synonym of the taxes *resm-i çift*, *resm-i bennak*.³⁴

The Code of Law of Mehmed II states that the size of *resm-i boyundruk* tax is different than the two other taxes on agricultural activities. As long as all these taxes were on agricultural activities we could assume that the terms were used as synonyms.

The information from the detailed registers under study refers to *yörük* settlements and show that the tax was levied only from *yörük* households.

The Code of Law of Suleiman the Magnificent states the following on the mentioned tax: "If a *yörük* practices agriculture on state-owned land (*miri*), the tithe and *salarlık* goes to the *timar*-holder. He should pay two *akçes resm-i boyundruk*."³⁵ Based on these parts of the Code of Law we could assume that the tax was specified only for *yörüks* engaged in agricultural activities within the boundaries of the village lands.³⁶

The tax registrations under study allow us to estimate the amount of the tax as registered. It was 12 *akçes* paid per household (*hane*) during the end of the 15th and first half of the 16th centuries. It did not match the mentioned sum in the Code of Law of Suleiman the Magnificent and equalled to *resm-i bennak* tax and less than the *resm-i çift* tax paid by the other Muslim households. I assume that this tax was implemented by the ottoman officials that had affected both – the settlement network in the region of the *kaza* of Eskihişar zağra where the settlements by the end of the 16th century became stable, big villages

³³ Mehmet Pakalın. *Osmanlı Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. Cilt 1. (İstanbul, 1946), 241.

³⁴ Aleksey Kalyonski. *Yurutsite [The Yoruks]* (Sofia: Prosveta, 2016), 34.

³⁵ *Fontes Turcici Historiae Iuris Bulgarici. Academia Litterarum Bulgarica. Institutum Iuris*. Vol. 1, Sofia, 53.

³⁶ Aleksey Kalyonski. *Yurutsite [The Yoruks]* (Sofia: Prosveta, 2016), 48-53.

with predominantly Muslim taxpayers; on the other hand it was an important step that led some of the *yörüks* to sedentary life.

The Ottoman sources – different tax registrations, surnames, the travelers' accounts of 15th and 16th centuries show the process of the establishment of a new settlement network in the region of modern Eastern Upper Thrace. The process of seizing the territory started with the military campaigns performed throughout the conquest, by different representatives of the group of *askeri*. What followed was the allocation of representatives of administrative and judicial power and the demographic seizure of the territory. The tax registrations evidence the colonization of Muslims a great part of whom were the semi-nomadic groups of the *yörüks* colonized in the Thracian valley, where they established new villages and a settlement network. The sources reveal that the migration of Muslim population continued in the 16th century and led to the establishment of more unstable settlements and a dense settlement network. On the other hand, part of the small villages of 15th century became big settlements also with registered *yörüks* as taxpayers. The tax policy had a major effect on the stabilization process of the settlement network.

What the *yörüks* did was not only the establishment of new villages, but also the "economic" seizure of the territory. As the data shows the *yörük* groups appeared to be a part of the sedentary society engaged with agriculture. They reclaimed land in forest or swamps to grow mainly wheat. The *yörük* groups reclaimed the lands that were once a battlefield for the Byzantino-Bulgarian conflicts. The case of the kaza of Stara Zagora resembles the situation with the arable land in Çukurova for example – flood plain with marshes, where lands were converted to regular exploitations under the *çift-hane* system by nomadic groups³⁷. The information from the sources reveals the process of adaptation to the conquered lands by adapting to the local environment and agricultural production. i.e. their adoption to the economic potential of the environment. The Ottoman state and the officials also took part in the process. At first they needed population to settle down in the newly conquered lands in modern Eastern Upper Thrace where they found a rare settlement network. The migration of the Muslim population meant migration of taxpayers which was important for the

³⁷ Halil İnalçık, "The Rural Landscape and the Settlement of Nomads," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1914*. Eds. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 158-161.

implementation of the Ottoman taxation system and the governing of the territories. Once the dense settlement network was established the moving sheep locks of the *yörüks* could now longer follow their way from summer to winter pasture lands with which the Thracian valley was covered with. The Ottoman officials implemented a new tax - *resm-i boyundruk*, lower than the basic land tax paid by the rest of the Muslim reaya which in the documents under study referred only to the *yörüks* engaged in agricultural activities. Thus provoked the sedentarization of parts of the *yörüks* in the Thracian valley.

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Mapping Enemy's Land: Russian Military- Topographic Intelligence on 19th Century European Turkey

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Abstract:

At the turn of the 18th and 19th century Russia was firmly settled on the Northern Black Sea and deeply entangled in the Eastern question. Ottoman possessed territories in Southeastern Europe were to become scene of the major land campaigns during the four wars between St. Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte, fought until the end of the century. This made studying and mapping of enemy's land important task for Russia's military topographers in the course of the century.

The following article examines the history of the Russian military topographic intelligence on European Turkey in the decades between early 19th century and the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878. During that period were completed some of the earliest accurate cartographical depictions of the Balkans, product of the Russia's efforts to provide its army with precise topographical maps of the theatre of war. Main attention in the article is given to the topographical surveys, conducted by Russian military topographers, in 1820-s and 30-s and in the years prior to the war of 1877-1878.

Keywords: Russian military-topographic intelligence, Russo-Turkish wars, maps of European Turkey, Russian cartography, Balkans and Russia

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Introduction¹

Information has always been a key aspect of military campaigning and the need of it increased during the centuries in a direct relation to the growing scale and complexity of war. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought rapid developments in the field of warfare, changing the way wars were fought on a tactical and operational level as well as the logistics of an armed conflict². Geographical knowledge and accurate depictions of possible war theatres, distances and features of landscape, routes that could be used for moving troops, artillery and supply became more and more crucial for the military planning and conducting of a campaign³. Topographical maps turned into a key operational tool, topographic surveying and military mapmaking started to form important part of army staff's peace and wartime activity, special corps of military topographers and collections of topographic materials were formed⁴. Growing military needs served as a powerful incentive in transforming geography from a form of art to an accurate science and often led to the appearance of the first precise maps of areas and countries about which reliable knowledge was so far lacking.

In the 19th century the Ottoman provinces in Southeastern Europe became a scene of the major land campaigns during four Russo-Ottoman wars. Importance of the region as a main theatre of war in the conflicts between the Porte and the Russian empire meant that the tsarist army needed to be provided with reliable information about the geographical features of the country and with adequate topographic maps in order to aid its campaigning. Meanwhile this part of Europe was poorly known geographically and maps suitable for military usage were scarcely existent. Thus, exploring and

¹ This research is accomplished with the support of the Scientific Research Fund of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Bulgaria on project "DNТS/Russia, 02/17 (ДНТС/Русия, 02/17)"

² Jeremy Black, *Voennoto delo 1660-1975* (Sofia: Riva, 2010), 59-78.

³ Jeremy Black, "A Revolution in Military Cartography?," *The Journal of Military History* 1 (2009): 49-68.

⁴ Dennis Showalter, "Intelligence in the Eve of Transformation. Methodology, Organization and Application," in *The Intelligence Revolution. A Historical Perspective. Proceedings of the Thirteenth*

Military History Symposium. (Washington DC: U.S. Air Force Academy, Office of Air Force History, 1991), 17.; Valerij Gluškov, *Istoriya voennoj kartografii v Rosii. (XVIII – na XX в.)* (Moscow: IDĖL, 2007). E-book published without page numeration, available at: https://geoportal.rgo.ru/geoteka/glushkov2007_istoriya-voennoy-kartografii-v-rossii
Last visited: 04.04.2019.

mapping the Balkan Peninsula turned into one of the major and systematically carried out tasks of the Russian Corps of Military Topographers during the century. Nowadays collections of the Russian Military History Archive in Moscow (*Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Voенno-Istoričeskij Archiv - RGVIA*) testify about the activities of military-topographic intelligence on Ottoman territories, which resulted in completion of some of the earliest accurate topographic maps, depicting European Turkey and especially its central and eastern provinces. The following paper aims to examine Russia's activities on exploring and mapping Ottoman lands in Europe in the context of the military relations between the two empires during the 19th century as it focuses on the period prior to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878.

Today we mostly associate intelligence with covert operations and espionage but in the examined period exploring land and preparing maps formed major part of the intelligence work of military staffs both in times of peace and war. Specialized topographic sections and corps were formed in European countries and played major role in the genesis of the modern general staffs⁵. In the definition of the term "military intelligence" /*voennaja razvedka*/ published in the Russian "Encyclopedia of Military and Naval Sciences" of 1893 "collecting maps and plans containing valuable military information" was pointed as one of the principal means of intelligence gathering⁶. As the year of institutional formation of the military cartography in Russia is considered 1797, when the Depot of Maps was founded in St. Petersburg, along with an engraving department, with the task of provide maps for the army's needs⁷. In 1812 this body was succeeded by the Military-Topographic Depot, later in 1822 was formed the Corps of Military Topographers⁸. These institutional developments along with the technical progress and higher level of preparation of the officers in the Corps laid the basis for more systematic and sophisticated topographic surveys, some of which were carried out on territories outside Russia.

⁵ Dallas Irvine, "The Origin of Capitall Staffs," *The Journal of Modern History* 2 (1938): 174-175.

⁶ *Ènciklopedija voennyh i morskikh nauk. Volume 4* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija V. Bezobrazova, 1893), 243-244.

⁷ Gluškov, *Istorija voennoj kartografii*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Setting the basis: Russia's initial acquaintance with the geography of European Turkey

Given the St. Petersburg's military-strategic plans in the Near East, geographical features of the ottoman European provinces started to present serious interest for Russia since 18th century. Way to acquire needed knowledge at first was by extracting information from manuscripts, travel notes, notes of pilgrims and merchants and also from existing simple geographical maps. Opportunity to become more acquaint with the ottoman possessed territories and conduct field work was presented by the military campaigns during which territories were explored, data was collected, and sketches drawn in order to expand the geographical knowledge about neighboring territories and to aid future military campaigns. This way in 1738 was published "Map of military action against the Turks and operations on Dnieper and Danube in 1736 and 1738", compiled on the basis of collection of ancient maps, available in the Senate and information gathered during the military action⁹.

The Russo-Ottoman war of 1768-1774 was the first time when tsarist army crossed Danube River and had a chance to gather first-hand knowledge about the geographic features of the territories that will become main theater of war between the two empires in the coming century. Field work and topographic surveys were conducted in parallel with the campaigns and as a result an atlas entitled „Theatre of war between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Porte“ was completed soon after¹⁰. Another atlas depicting the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-1791 was printed near the end of the century¹¹.

Different type of product of the military-topographic intelligence, except general maps, were the so-called "routes" /*marshrutyj*/. They presented detailed written descriptions of routes between two points with distances and characteristics of the terrain, often accompanied by sketch-maps. Such descriptions were less technically demanding to create than topographic maps and the field work for them was possible to be done in peace times by single undercover officers. For

⁹ Sergej Fel', *Kartografija Rossii XVIII v.* (Moscow: Geoizdat, 1960), 178.

¹⁰ Konstantin Sališčev, *Osnovy kartovedenija. Čast istoričeskaja i kartografičeskie materialy* (Moscow: Geoizdat, 1948), 163.

¹¹ *Sovetskaja voennaja ěnciklopedija. Volime 1* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1976), 315.

example in 1793 a Route between Silistra and Constantinople was completed by ober-quartermaster Lepp, attached at that time to the Russian embassy in the ottoman capital¹². Another "Description of the road from Constantinople to Ochakov" made by him was printed in St. Petersburg in 1821¹³.

Topographic surveys in Russia in that time were still made largely relying on estimation by sight and primitive instrumental methods and so the maps created had limited use for constantly growing military needs. Even more difficult was to organize field work abroad, which made written descriptions preferable and easily feasible form of military-topographic intelligence on the Ottoman Empire. With the beginning of the 19th century newly acquired knowledge about the Earth's shape, implementation of more sophisticated methods of surveying and mathematical calculations together with specialized training of officers from the Corps of Military Topographers made possible to create new and more accurate topographic maps¹⁴. Meanwhile after Russia settled firmly on Northern Black Sea it became clear that lands south of Danube in future will serve as a main battlefield between the two empires, so Southeastern Europe naturally moved more into the focus of Russian military intelligence. This set the scene for more methodical gathering of geographic information and mapping of European Turkey¹⁵.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-1812 knowledge about topographic features of the lands south of Danube was widened which gave opportunity for the Depot of Maps to accumulate substantial material about enemy's lands. Shortly after the war a series of newly completed route descriptions appeared: „Military description of the road along Black sea coast from Bosphorus strait to the forts of Tulcea and Isaccea on Danube River“¹⁶; „Description of the route from Ochakov to Constantinople“¹⁷; „Military-topographic

¹² *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti Korpusa voennykh topografov 1822-1872* (Saint Petersburg, 1872), 27.

¹³ Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Voenno-Istoričeski Archiv (RGIVIA), Fond 450, Op. 1. Ed. 563.

¹⁴ Gluškov, *Istorija voennoj kartografii*.

¹⁵ Vitalij Šeremet, *Russkie I turki: razvitie sovmestnykh predstavlenij. in Rossija i Balkany. Iz istorii obštrstvenno-političeskich I kulturnyh sojazej (XVIII v. - 1878 g.)* eds. Irina Dostjan, Vladilen Vinogradov and Irina Makarova (Moscow: Institut Slavanovedenija i Balkanistiki, 1995), 288.

¹⁶ Michail Alekseev, *Voennaja razvedka v Rossijskoj imperii* (Moscow: Veče, 2010), 96.

¹⁷ RGIVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 561.

description of the Black sea coast from Tulcea to Constantinople¹⁸ were some of them. Obviously geographical data for those descriptions was collected by specially sent officers from General staff's quartermaster department, as it is often specified in the notes.

Detailed information about geography of the war theater, gathered during the campaigns of 1806-1812 we can find also in the work of Alexander Mihailovskii-Danilevskii along with a general small-scale map of territories between the Danube River and Stara Planina (Balkan) Mountain¹⁹. Marked on the map are major towns, roads and rivers south of Danube, in more detail relief is depicted in the area between Shumen and Varna, where battles were fought during the war. Increasingly scarce in detail are drawn territories to the west and especially around the town of Sofia. Even the main Balkan ridge is situated south of the present-day Bulgarian capital. The obvious lack of precise geographic knowledge about this part of the Ottoman Empire is not surprising given the fact that Russian army so far never penetrated these territories.

Beginning of systematic surveys: the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829

Powerful impulse for gathering and systematizing geographical data about European Turkey gave the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. As early as 1824 a group of four Russian officers, headed by quartermaster's colonel Fëdor Berg, was sent in the ottoman capital. Their task was "...to study the Ottoman Empire in any aspects that could influence the course of military actions in case of unwanted but possible rupture of diplomatic relations"²⁰. The fact that Berg had special training in military topography suggests that the main field of work of the group was gathering information about the topography of the future war theatre, which the collections of RGVIA can clearly prove.

The main volume of materials prepared in the eve of the war concerns the route network south of Danube and the topographic features of Constantinople area. Until the outbreak of the war main roads leading to the Ottoman capital and its vicinity were surveyed

¹⁸ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 566.

¹⁹ Alexander Michajlovskij-Danilevskij, *Opisanie Tureckoj vojny v carstvovanie imperatora Aleksandra s 1806 do 1812 goda*. (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Štaba otd. korpusa vnutrennej straži, 1843), Attached map.

²⁰ Alekseev, *Voennaja razvedka*, 99.

by the Russian officers²¹. As a result, a fairly detailed route map covering the territory between Danube River, Black Sea, northern Aegean Sea and nowadays Western Bulgaria was completed in 1827 clearly to be used in the course of the planned campaign²². Naturally main focus on that map is on roads leading from the area of lower Danube to Constantinople. A topographic map of the ottoman capital itself with its surroundings was engraved in 1828 on the basis of eye measurement surveys made in 1827²³.

Sent to the Russian diplomatic mission on Bosphorus was also first lieutenant Alexander Dugamel (in future a renowned Russian general) who did surveys of area and routes in the vicinity of Constantinople²⁴. On the base of work done by him in the eve of the war a number of maps of routes leading to the ottoman capital were engraved by the Military-Topographic Depot²⁵. A detailed 192 pages itinerary written in French and entitled "Collected descriptions of routes of European Turkey" was also prepared in 1828²⁶.

As a whole by the time of outbreak of war the Russian General staff managed to accumulate and process considerable amount of geographic material needed for the army's operations on the Balkans. Peacetime activity of Russia's topographic intelligence on ottoman territory for a first time was done in such a scale where a whole group of officers worked methodically to provide needed maps and descriptions of ottoman lands in Europe. Formally these officers were appointed as second rank officials of the Russian diplomatic mission in Constantinople but beyond any question intelligence gathering was the principal reason for their presence in the Ottoman Empire.

Nevertheless, work was done by peace which left the general picture of country's geography rather vague. The question of creating new and more precise general topographic map of European Turkey on the basis of existent ones and new surveys was also considered in St. Petersburg in the years prior to the war. Evidence for that is an undated manuscript kept in the Russian Archive of Military History entitled "Critical analysis of geographical maps of European

²¹ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 179

²² RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 846.

²³ RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 467.

²⁴ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 180.

²⁵ RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 836; 847.

²⁶ RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 852.

Turkey”²⁷. Basing on the information, containing in the document, it can be dated to the decade between 1818 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29 and most probably its appearance is related to the preparation for the pressing war. As title suggests the text analyses existing maps of different provinces of European Turkey pointing their qualities and faults. Author is noting the substantial progress in exploring those territories made in the past couple of decades, thanks mainly to the work of French officers and geographers during the Napoleonic wars. Map of Morea by Barbié du Bocage (1810) and the Map of European Turkey along the right bank of Danube by general Vaudoncourt (1818), although not lacking some inaccuracies, are pointed as the most precise so far existing and valuable pieces of the puzzle needed to complete a general map of the Ottoman provinces in Europe²⁸. Overall conclusion is that western and southern periphery of European Turkey is already relatively well explored and mapped, but the interior and eastern parts remain largely geographically unknown. Listed among the lands most poorly known are Bulgaria*, Southern Serbia, Northern and Eastern Macedonia, Inner Rumelia as well as the Black sea coast between Mangalia and Bosphorus²⁹. In other words, complete mapping of European Turkey required further direct surveys of the land.

Scarcity of even rough geographical knowledge about some territories was noted even more explicitly by the head of the Corps of the Military Topographers gen. Fëdor Schubert. In the eve of the 1828-1829 war he wrote that so far Russia was lacking not only decent but also mediocre maps of Walachia, Moldavia and Bulgaria. Even more the so far accumulated material was often misleading, so surveys in future will have to be done from scratch like in a completely unknown land, added Schubert³⁰. Thus, mapping territories of Ottoman Empire became main task for the Corps of Military Topographers during the coming war against the Porte.

In the course of the conflict of 1828-1829 Russian army for a first time penetrated deep into the ottoman European domains, crossed

²⁷ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 350.

²⁸ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 350. L. 3.

* In the context of this work the term “Bulgaria” is used to designate lands between Danube River and Stara Planina Mountain. Not to be mistaken with present-day Bulgarian state. The term “Rumelia” designates territories to the south of Stara Planina.

²⁹ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 350. L. 14-15.

³⁰ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 176.

Stara Planina Mountain and reached as far as Adrianople. Given the already noted situation gen. Schubert insisted that topographical surveys have to be based on systematical approach and to seek accuracy instead of pure volume³¹. Work of the Corps inside Russia was temporary limited to free resources, needed special instruments were provided. In the general instruction for the surveys in European Turkey, prepared by gen. Schubert, points situated mainly along the Danube and the Black Sea coast, geographical position of which had to be astronomically determined, were specified and divided into two groups depending on their priority. Admissible margins of error in the calculations were explicitly specified³². Group of officers from the General staff and military topographers under the command of gen. Ditmars was assigned to conduct the geodesic work³³. They were organized into two detachments of 8 officers and 24 topographers each. After crossing the Danube the first detachment had to conduct surveys along the Danube River and the other to follow the army south and survey the territories adjacent to the Black Sea coast³⁴. Charged to do the astronomical determinations were another two groups of 2 officers and 3 topographers each³⁵. Simultaneously topographical surveys were conducted by officers attached to the 2nd army's staff³⁶. Chosen for determination of geographical position was the astronomical method³⁷. Although lacking in accuracy compared to triangulations it was less time-demanding and easier to implement during wartime³⁸.

Methodical execution of the planned program began in the summer of 1828 and continued well after the war's end. Officers and topographers were left under the direction of gen. Kiselöv, a Russian plenipotentiary president of the divans in Wallachia and Moldavia, and continued work until 1833³⁹. For the four-and-a-half-year period

³¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

³² *Ibid.*, 150-151.

³³ *Ibid.*, 180.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 150

³⁸ Henry Gannet, *Manual of Topographic Methods* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 12.

³⁹ Pavel Gejsman, *Stoletie voennogo ministerstva. Istoričeskij očerk vznikovenija i razvitija v Rossii General'nogo Štaba v 1825-1902 gg. Volume 2* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija postavčikov dvora Ego Imperatorskogo Veličestva Tovarišestva M. O. Vol'f, 1910), 71-72.

about 200 000 square *versts** of land were surveyed⁴⁰ and geographical position of 72 points in Walachia, Moldavia, along the Danube and south of Stara Planina Mountain was determined⁴¹. Along with geographical features of terrain meticulously explored were all other objects of military importance as forts, bays, river crossings, etc. In the process detailed written descriptions of topographic and also social-economic characteristics of the country were compiled⁴².

Without a doubt the work done by Russian topographers formed a qualitative leap in exploring the topography of European Turkey and formed the basis for more precise mapping of its territory. Results began to appear in the form of topographic maps and written descriptions in the following years.

Among the series of cartographic material produced in the late 1820's and in the 1830's attention deserves the general map of the eastern part of European Turkey in 10-*verst* (1/420 000) scale completed in the staff of the 2nd army in 1828 prior to the campaign south of Stara Planina mountain⁴³. It covers territory roughly enclosed between Hermannstadt (present-day Sibiu) – Thessaloniki line on the west, Black sea on the east, Wallachia and Moldavia on the north and Black Sea straits and Chalkidiki peninsula on the south. Depicted are towns and villages, rivers, route network and relief. Attached is also a list of distances (given in *verst* instead of hours of travel as earlier) between towns in eastern and northeastern part of European Turkey. Immediately evident is that in most detail are drawn territories of Danube Principalities, the whole western Black Sea coast and mainland to about 100-150 kilometers from the coastal line. The General picture of the territories south of Danube and especially south of Stara Planina mountain is obviously achieved by putting together different route descriptions which left large blank spots of territories situated between the main road arteries. West and south-west are apparently scarce in detail which is due to the fact that those territories were far from the war theatre in all previous Russo-ottoman wars.. In 1830's completed were also maps of Wallachia, Moldavia and Babadag area in 1/84000 (2-*verst*) scale along with

* *Verst* - an old Russian unit of length. 1 *verst* equals 1.0668 kilometers.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴¹ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 584.

⁴² Aleksej Postnikov, *Razvitie krupnomaštabnoj kartografii v Rossii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 34.

⁴³ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 851.

some 400 route descriptions⁴⁴. A naval map of western Black Sea coast, based on the observations made by admiral Greig's fleet during the war, was engraved in 1835⁴⁵. A really detailed 1/12 000 scale map of Constantinople and its surroundings, depicting topography and city structure of the ottoman capital was completed also in 1835⁴⁶.

Historical record of the work of the Corps of Military Topographers printed in 1872 mentions about the existence of other two maps of Eastern Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1/84 000 scale engraved in late 1840's and early 1850's⁴⁷. In 1868 when the question of creating new general map of European Turkey was raised again in St. Petersburg, we found a map of Eastern and Western Bulgaria in 1/84 000 scale listed among the starting material for the work⁴⁸. Such map or maps were not found present in the collections of the Russian State Archive of Military History in Moscow nowadays and the mentioned source says that in some point lithographic stamps for them were scraped away along with others and only limited number of printed copies was preserved⁴⁹. Judging the quality of those maps without having visual idea of them is of course not possible but the very fact that stamps were not preserved gives a reason to think that they were not of high quality.

All in all the Russo-Ottoman war of 1828-1829 could be defined as a beginning of a new period in topographical surveying of European Turkey from the Russian Corps of Military Topographers and in mapping the region as a whole. Field work done in the war years and after that gave Russia enough material to process for the next couple of decades. Nevertheless, large blank spots remained. In detail was surveyed mainly the north-east corner of the Balkan Peninsula, territories along Danube and Black Sea coast and to some extent area near the ottoman capital. Still far too insufficient remained materials concerning territories to the south-west, but for that time, given the Russian naval strength in Black Sea and the followed period of peace with the Porte, these lands seemed an unlikely war theater in near future. Only in the second half of the century they will become

⁴⁴ Gejsman, *Stoletie voennogo ministerstva*, 71.

⁴⁵ RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 278.

⁴⁶ RGVA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 473.

⁴⁷ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 462.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 584.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 462.

an object of through topographical surveys done by Russian military topographers.

In 1830-s and 40-s due to the technical progress, elaboration of methods and overall accumulation of experience and knowledge Russian cartography experienced a distinct upward trend. The period of peace gave opportunity for the Corps of Military topography to concentrate its efforts on profound surveying and mapping of the vast territory of Russia. The number of personnel of the Corps was constantly growing and in mid-50-s reached a peak for the whole period until October revolution⁵⁰. For a period, mapping of ottoman territories wasn't a priority of the Russian geography.

A new Russo-Ottoman war that later grew into a Crimean war broke out in 1853. This time Russian army didn't undertake major land offensives in European Turkey, so it had no direct possibility to conduct large scale surveys in previously unexplored territories. During the military campaigns topographic work was focused mainly on the neighboring Asian provinces of Ottoman Empire⁵¹. Nevertheless, RGVIA keeps a series of maps completed in 1853-1855 which's appearance will have to be related to that conflict. Except couple of small-scale maps printed in 1853-54⁵² a general "Detailed map of European and Asian Turkey" in 1/2 600 000 scale was completed in 1855 by lieutenant-colonel Tutikov from the Corps of Military Topographers⁵³. This is in fact the earliest detailed road map of Ottoman Empire engraved in Russia where postal, paved and earth roads as well as trails are depicted by different graphics. Comparing it to the already mentioned 10-verst map of 1828 we see that here towns in present-day Western Bulgaria are presented much more densely no matter the smaller scale.

⁵⁰ Gluškov, *Istorija voennoj kartografii*.

⁵¹ Mark Kudvjavcev, *O voenno-topografičeskoj službe I topogeodezičeskom obezpečeníj vojsk* (Moscow: RIO VTS, 1980), 54.

⁵² RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 318, 305/1.

⁵³ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 321.

Post-Crimean years: Russia's military strategy against the Porte and the completion of a new military-topographic map of European Turkey

Consequences of the Crimean defeat marked the beginning of a difficult period in Russia's eastern policy. The period of „concentrating of Russia“ as Chancellor Gorchakov called it didn't mean the strategic interests of St. Petersburg in the Near East were forgotten. The new political and military situation conditioned by the Paris peace treaty meant a possible future Russo-Turkish war will be fought in very difficult circumstances. Initial strategic plans of a hypothetical future campaign against the Porte were laid down in the mid 1860-s. In 1866 general Obruchev presented to the Emperor Alexander II a report that analyzed the conditions and traced out the necessary strategy of Russia in a at the time unwanted but possible war with the Ottoman Empire. Given the absence of naval fleet in Black Sea, wrote Obruchev, army can achieve success only by decisive land offensive to the ottoman capital and the troops will have to make their way through the lands to the west of the main war theatre in the campaign of 1828-1829. Special attention was given to the necessity of careful preparation which has to include through exploration of the possible war theatre, its geographic and topographic features and providing the army with adequate topographic maps⁵⁴.

Meanwhile in the course of military reforms in Russia the military-topographic branch of the army's staff was reorganized. In 1865 a Military-Topographic Department was formed within the structure of the newly founded full-time body ahead of the army called Main Staff /*Glavnyj Štab*/. In 1866 new instructions concerning the Corps of Military Topographers were approved according to which the Corps from then on became subordinate to the chief of the Main Staff and its work was now restricted only to executing tasks of military importance and not to domestic mapmaking⁵⁵.

One of the first major tasks of the reformed Corps was to prepare new and more precise topographic map of European Turkey. The question was first discussed in the Consultative Committee of the Main Staff in the end of 1866, a resolution of the minister of war for preparing such a map followed in January 1867. The map should be in 10-*verst* scale, specified the resolution, and to cover the territory

⁵⁴ RGVIA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7622, L. 64-64 ob.

⁵⁵ Gluškov, *Istorija voennoj kartografii*.

between Northern Moldavia on the north, 40th parallel on the south, Danube delta on the east and the Austrian border on river Una on the west⁵⁶.

Work on the first sheets of the map started right away but soon it became clear that the existing material is far too insufficient to achieve the needed result. With the absence of points with reliably determined geographical position, to situate on the map even the major towns in present-day Western Bulgaria like Sofia or Vratsa with accuracy under 20-30 *versts* proved impossible⁵⁷. Only possible solution in this situation were instrumental surveys and astronomical determinations conducted by officers from the Corps of Military Topographers. But how this could be organized in time of peace with the Porte?

A possible solution was proposed by the Russian ambassador to the Porte Nikolai Ignatiev and discussed in his correspondence with the minister of war⁵⁸. Ignatiev suggested to organize a wide-scale expedition in European Turkey under the pretext of measuring the arc of the meridian from the town of Izmail to the isle of Candia or in other words to continue the Struve Geodetic Arc⁵⁹. In this more seemly form a proposition was made to the Porte which agreed to allow a group of Russian geodesists and astronomers on its territory to complete the work. St. Petersburg had to provide all the funding and present the results of the expedition to the Ottoman government⁶⁰. The whole undertaking was given the form of a joint initiative, but the main role of the Ottoman officers was to keep an eye on their Russian colleagues⁶¹.

The decision of the Porte to allow the mission may seem awkward. It is hard to believe that Ottoman authorities were unaware of the fact that Russian geodesists and astronomers were nothing more than intelligence officers doing preparation work for a possible war. In a report of his trip in European Turkey Georgy

⁵⁶ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 583-584.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 585.

⁵⁸ RGVIA, Fond 402, Op. 3, Ed. 80, L. 1.

⁵⁹ The Struve Geodetic Arc is a chain of survey triangulations established in the period 1816-1855 stretching from Hammerfest in Norway to the Black Sea, through ten countries and over 2,820 km, which yielded the first accurate measurement of a meridian

⁶⁰ Nikolaj Starodymov, "Otvažnyj razvedčik Nikolaj Artamonov zadolgo do vojny sformoroval razvedyvatel'nuju set' v Turcii," *Voенno-istoričeskij sbornik* 10 (2001): 47.

⁶¹ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 82, L. 4.

Bobrikov, one of the expedition members, wrote that grand vizier opposed to the attempts of the French ambassador to describe the expedition as a prelude to a coming military offensive with the argument that in 1829 Russian army found a way to Adrianople even without accurate maps and except that St. Petersburg kindly agreed to present the results of the planned calculations to the Porte⁶². We can suppose that the influence of gen. Ignatiev among the ottoman officials also played its role. As a matter of fact this wasn't the first time when Russian topographers did surveys on ottoman land with the allowance of the Porte. In 1834 staff-colonel Vorončenko was sent to Asian Turkey for gathering military-geographic and statistical data⁶³. His "Military Description of Asia Minor", completed in 1837 was the first extensive work of this kind⁶⁴.

That's how in September 1867 in Constantinople arrived an expedition prepared by the Main Staff of the Russian army which's task was officially formulated as measuring the arc of the meridian from the town of Izmail to the Isle of Candia. Head of the expedition was capt. Kartaci and among the other participants were capt. Nikolai Artamonov, capt. Georgy Bobrikov, first lieutenant Skalon and capt. Bykov from the Corps of Military Topographers. After about a month spent in ottoman capital in waiting for an official sultan's permission Russian officers set by sea and rail to the town of Ruse* chosen for a starting point of the expedition⁶⁵.

Once arrived in Ruse officers decided that since the lands of interest are poorly explored geographically "for getting a better notion about the geographic position of mountain ridges, roads and towns" most useful will be to make as many astronomical determinations as possible. To cover more territory expedition split into two groups led by captain Kartaci and captain Artamonov⁶⁶. During the next two months the group led by captain Kartaci made two trips - one from Ruse through Tarnovo, Gabrovo, Karlovo, Tatar Pazardzhik and Plovdiv to Stara Zagora and the other - from Varna through Burgas to Adrianople. Meanwhile Artamonov and his men

⁶² RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 82, L. 2-3.

⁶³ Valerij Gluškov, *Nikolaj Dmitrievič Artamonov – voennyj geodesist i kartograf* (Moscow: Nauka, 2007), 23-24.

⁶⁴ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 283.

* Used in this article is the modern-day name of the town

⁶⁵ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 82, L. 6.

⁶⁶ *Zapiski voenno-topografičeskogo otdel Glavnogo Štaba. Volume 32* (Saint Petersburg: Voennaja Tipografija, 1871), 6.

travelled from Ruse to Sofia passing through Svishtov, Pleven, Lovetch and Troyan then returned to Ruse to set again on the route Ruse-Shumen-Sliven-Adrianople⁶⁷.

Pretty indicative for the purposes of the expedition is which regions are traveled over by the Russian officers. These are mainly the lands of today's Central Northern Bulgaria, Central and Western Stara Planina Mountain and the sub-Balkan region. Visited were towns as Ruse, Svishtov, Pleven, Lovech, Tarnovo, Shipka, Klisura, Kazanlak, Troyan, Karnare, Zlatitsa and others. These territories not only were poorly known geographical but also match exactly with the hypothetical theater of war in a future campaign on the Balkans. Understandably Russians pay special attention to Central Stara Planina, from where according to the initial plans troops will have to make their way into Thracian plane and towards the Ottoman capital. Key for this plan is having good knowledge of the mountain passes. In 1868 in St. Petersburg was published a "Military-statistical collection for year 1868", large part of which was devoted to the Ottoman Empire and included detailed description of all the mountain passes in Stara Planina and their suitability for heavy transportation. Conclusion is that the notion of the mountain's impassability is due more to legends than real geographic factors and pointed as most convenient is the Shipka pass⁶⁸.

As a result of the 1867 military-topographic expedition the astronomical geographic position of 35 towns and villages was determined, surveyed was the main Stara Planina Mountain ridge, many inaccuracies in older maps were corrected. Collected data formed the mathematical basis for the new 10-*verst* topographic map of European Turkey⁶⁹. Not to be underestimated is also the fact that Russian officers had the opportunity to get first-hand idea about the features of the future theatre of war. Later Nikolai Artamonov, one of the members of the expedition, headed the intelligence section in the staff of the Russian Danube army during the war of 1877-1878 and the experience gain in 1867 without a doubt helped for the effective carrying out of his duty.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁸ *Voенно-statističeskij sbornik na 1868 god* (Saint Petersburg: Voennaja Tipografija, 1868), 292.

⁶⁹ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 493.

The 1867 expedition brought much data needed for mapping European Turkey but nevertheless work on the map was going slowly⁷⁰. In 1869 in Constantinople once again arrived Nikolai Artamonov, by that time already enlisted in the Corps of the Military Topographers⁷¹. His official mission was to present to the Porte the list of astronomical determinations made in 1867 and also to further verify the geographical position of some points⁷². This time the Russian officer spent almost eight months in Ottoman Empire as for that time traveled the route Constantinople-Adrianople-Plovdiv-Sofia-Svishtov. Visited were also a number of towns in nowadays Western Bulgaria as Berkovitsa, Slivnitsa, Chiprovtsi, etc.⁷³. This clearly characterizes Artamonov's mission as a continuation of the 1867 expedition with the purpose to gather missing data about the territories to the west. The fact that namely Artamonov was assigned with the job is due to his appointment as an editor of the 10-verst map of European Turkey. During his mission he managed to determine the geographical position of 37 more points and also did surveys for the mapping of Constantinople and its surroundings in $\frac{1}{2}$ versts (1:21 000) scale⁷⁴.

In the beginning of the 1870-s the work on the new general topographic map of European Turkey went in full scale. Intelligence gathering continued in parallel by using all possible means. In May 1871 the minister of war wrote to the ambassador in Constantinople Nikolai Ignatiev the following letter: „During the work on the 10-verst map of European Turkey a need arose to fill some blank spots with topographical data that could be collected only on field. For that we see necessary to send on a mission under your direct command staff-captain Bykov from the Corps of the Military Topographers to conduct the work [...] In case of your approval he will be sent immediately in Constantinople from where will have to travel at first to Ruse and Silistra, since that region is less known for us.”⁷⁵

Ignatiev gave his approval underlining that all the work should be done in very discrete fashion due to the high suspiciousness of

⁷⁰ *Istoričeskij očerk dejatel'nosti*, 587.

⁷¹ Gluškov, *Nikolaj Dmitrijevič Artamonov*, 28.

⁷² Starodymov, „*Otvažnij razvedčik Nikolaj Artamonov*”, 49.

⁷³ *Zapiski voenno-topografičeskogo otdela*, 89-135.

⁷⁴ Gluškov, *Istorija voennoj kartografii*.

⁷⁵ RGVIA, Fond 401, Op. 2, Ed. 85 (1871 g.), L. 1.

Ottoman authorities⁷⁶. Unfortunately, the archives don't keep a record about the actual conduction of the mission so we cannot speak about the results of it. More likely to assume is that it didn't take place at all. Nevertheless, the cited document gives us an idea about the work going on in St. Petersburg and about the provinces of European Turkey presenting main interest.

In 1873 Georgy Bobrikov was sent on a "private trip" to Turkey as a "retired officer" with the task to gather military-statistical and topographic information about Bulgaria⁷⁷. Despite local authorities' suspiciousness he reported that during his month-long trip managed to travel over, together with the dragoman of the Russian consulate in Ruse, the vicinity of Ruse, Tulchea and Razgrad⁷⁸. A year later on a mission in Ottoman Empire was sent the famous geographer and explorer and also officer from the general staff Mihail Venjukov. In his memoirs he points out as a purpose of his trip "collecting data about military important objects"⁷⁹. From the Main Staff he was given maps and plans of the territory near Danube River which probably needed verifications and further field checks. These and other similar examples characterize the first half of 1870-s as an especially active period of the Russian military-topographic intelligence on European Turkey, result of the ongoing work on completion of the 10-*verst* map. Other sources of topographic material except field surveys were also sought constantly.

With the task to search and provide every possible material that could be useful for the completion of the 10-*verst* map was entrusted the Russian military agent in Constantinople Alexander Zelëni. In July 1871 he wrote to the minister of war that with the indifference of the Ottoman government to the topography of their own country useful for the Main staff could only be surveys made by European specialists. In connection with this he reported of his newly established contacts with an employee of the Austro-Hungarian company doing research for the construction of railways in Rumelia. This man offered the Russian agent 25 detailed route descriptions and maps of the supposed rail routes which Zeleni defined as „... pretty rich topographic material for adding to our existing maps of European

⁷⁶ RGVIA, Fond 401, Op. 2, Ed. 85 (1871 g.), L. 2.

⁷⁷ RGVIA, Fond 401, Op. 2/926, Ed. 48 (1873 g.), L. 3.

⁷⁸ RGVIA, Fond 401, Op. 2/926, Ed. 48 (1873 g.), L. 14.

⁷⁹ Michail Venjukov, *Iz vospomonanii*. Volume 2 (Amsterdam, 1895), 191.

Turkey”⁸⁰. From St. Petersburg answered that all except 7 of these descriptions were already delivered by the military agent in Vienna but those 7 present an interest and Zelëni was given the task to provide them. During the next months they were sent one by one to St. Petersburg to be copied before being returned back to the company's office in Constantinople⁸¹.

In 1874 Zelëni managed to get copies of topographic maps of European and Asian Turkey made by European specialists commissioned by the Porte. These materials were appreciated by the Russian Main staff as exceptionally valuable and providing knowledge about poorly explored and in the same time really important from military point of view countries⁸².

All the gathered material and first of all work done by topographers on field in 1867 and 1869 made possible to finish the new 10-verst topographic map of European Turkey in 1876, right on time before the outbreak of a war against the Porte. Printed on 17 sheets and edited by col. Nikolai Artamonov this map was superseding everything Russia done until then on mapping Ottoman lands. Relief, towns and villages, roads (paved, unpaved), mountain roads and trails, rivers, altitude above sea level, administrative and state borders were depicted in detail as well as military infrastructure – strongholds, forts, redoubts, blockhouses, etc.⁸³ The map of Artamonov, as it became known, was a major „weapon” used by the Danube army staff during the operations on the Balkans in 1877 and in the beginning of 1878.

Archives also keeps interesting information of one more Russian operation aimed on providing the army with the most precise possible maps of European Turkey. On October 26, 1876 the Chief of Staff of the Russian Army gen. Fëdor Gejden received from the former Chief of the Corps of the Military Topographers, gen. Ivan Blamberg, at that time in Vienna a letter of intriguing information. Blamberg reported his acquaintance in Vienna with Felix Kanitz, the famous traveler, ethnographer, geographer and expert on Southeast Europe, who showed him his unpublished orographic, hydrographic and topographic maps of the Balkan Peninsula, proposing that these

⁸⁰ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 89, L. 21-22.

⁸¹ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 89, L. 33-34.

⁸² RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 93, L. 74.

⁸³ RGVIA, Fond 450, Op. 1, Ed. 341.

works be purchased by Russia for the need of the coming war. "I was delighted with these maps, and I allow myself to express my opinion that their acquisition by our government would be a real find in the current circumstances", added Blamberg in his note, including samples and illustrations from the maps in question⁸⁴. The announcement was clearly taken with interest in St. Petersburg because in a rapid letter of reply the Chief of Staff thanked for the information provided and reported that the military agent in Vienna, Fëdor Feldman, would be commissioned to investigate the matter and contact Kanitz⁸⁵.

The materials proposed by Kanitz included 1) an oro-hydrographic map of Bulgaria in a 7-*verst* scale, covering the area from the Danube to the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains and from the Black Sea to Zaječar and Aleksinac; 2) an administrative-ethnographic map of Bulgaria, indicating the boundaries of the *sancaks* and *nahiyas* and the composition of the population by nationality and religion in each point and 3) an alphabetical index of all the populated places in the Danube Bulgaria. The ethnographic works of Kanitz in three volumes were added to all that. The conclusion made in St. Petersburg was that the oro-hydrographic map could also serve as a military road map and that it had a definite advantage over the newly completed 10-*verst* map both in terms of scale and the number of the populated sites that were about 30 % more than those in the Russian map. The price determined by Kanitz for all of this was 20 000 credit roubles – a significant amount for the time. Nevertheless, the Military Scientific Committee was confident that the materials offered would bring a certain benefit in view of the approaching war and they should proceed with their purchase and that the Russian military agent in Vienna would be entrusted with the conclusion of the "deal"⁸⁶.

Military agent Feldman, comparing the newly engraved 10-*verst* map to the map of Kanitz concluded that the later is more detailed, it implements mathematical calculations made by Russian topographers but is also enriched with lots of data collected personally by the Hungarian explorer. His overall conclusion was that "The ethnographic map can be extremely useful in organizing civilian rule

⁸⁴ RGVA, Fond 864, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 1.

⁸⁵ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 16.

⁸⁶ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 17 – 19

in Bulgaria, and the oro-hydrographic map can greatly benefit the Danube Army"⁸⁷.

Finally, after some negotiation, on 5 January 1877, Feldman and Felix Kanitz signed a contract (preserved today), according to which the latter committed himself, against 20 000 roubles (2000 roubles in advance), to supply 1000 copies of his oro-hydrographic map to the Russian side, with the printing costs included in the specified amount⁸⁸. On April 10, 1877, only two days before the declaration of war, Feldman informed the minister of war that Kanitz had completed his part of the deal and handed over 1,000 copies of his map, with 900 of them immediately sent to the Danube Army headquarters by the military agent, and the rest together with the ethnographic map to the Headquarters in St. Petersburg. Attached to the report was the receipt for 20 000 roubles that Kanitz had received⁸⁹. In the Headquarters were satisfied with the materials they had purchased: "Given the speed with which the deal negotiated with Kanitz was carried out, our army was secured in time with the most reliable map of Bulgaria," says a letter from the minister of war to the Emperor from September 1877⁹⁰.

Conclusion

Activity and extent of Russian military-topographic intelligence on European Turkey from early 19th century to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 followed the dynamics of military-political relations between St. Petersburg and the Sublime Porte and the geography of conflicts between the two Powers. Surveying and mapping of European domains of the sultan by Russian military topographers started from the north-eastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula and developed west and south, in accordance with the military needs and available resources. Twice during the examined period, the tsarist army had to operate in territories, where it never set foot before. These consequently marked the periods of greater activity

⁸⁷ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 31

⁸⁸ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 33

⁸⁹ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 41

⁹⁰ RGVA, Fond 846, Op. 16, Ed. 7632, L. 47

of topographic intelligence in the form of field surveys and following completion of maps. By the time of the 1828-1829 war the Russian Corps of Military Topographers had enough human and scientific resource to conduct topographic surveys of parts of European Turkey. This also marked the beginning of precise surveying and mapping of Northern and Eastern Balkans on the basis of contemporary knowledge and methodology. Preparation for a hypothetical war with the Ottoman Empire in the 1860-s and 70-s once again moved the focus of Russia's military-topographic intelligence on the Balkans, as this time surveyed were also territories in the interior of European Turkey. Stimulated by current military needs, actions of exploring and mapping the region were nevertheless carried out continuously and persistently during in the decades between 1820-s and 1870-s and could be examined as a reflection of the alterations and in the same time consistency in Russia's eastern policy and military strategy. Results of the work done by Russian topographers, in the form of maps and written descriptions, nowadays can also serve as source for researchers interested in different aspects of natural, ethnic, social and economic history of the region.

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Remarks on the Prosopography of the Byzantine Administration in Northeastern Asia Minor

(7th-11th c.)

Pantelis Charalampakis*

Abstract:

This paper presents part of the Project entitled *Mobility of people and families in Byzantium's northeastern frontier. A contribution to the prosopography of the military and political administration in the Armeniakoi area (7th-11th c.)*. The ongoing research on Pontos brings together, for the first time, all the evidence on the administration and especially the prosopography of the region. The collected material provides useful information on the careers and mobility of individuals and families alike. The presented brief case studies contribute to the better understanding of the administrative and social history of the Pontos in Byzantine times.

Key words: Asia Minor, Pontos, Byzantine administration, prosopography, sigillography

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This paper is a brief presentation¹ of a large research Project focusing on Byzantine prosopography in Northeastern Asia Minor. The Post-Doctoral Research under the title *Mobility of people and families in Byzantium's northeastern frontier. A contribution to the prosopography of the military and political administration in the Armeniakoi area (7th-11th c.)* was conducted thanks to an IKY scholarship. This research is co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Social Fund- ESF) through the Operational Programme «Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning» in the context of the project “Reinforcement of Postdoctoral Researchers” (MIS-5001552), implemented by the State Scholarships Foundation (IKY). The Project was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Olga Karagiörgou (Research Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, Academy of Athens) from April 2017 to April 2019.



[Figure 1: Map of Byzantine Asia Minor. The Pontic *themes* are underlined.]

The area of the Armeniakoi in Northeastern Asia Minor, also known as Pontos, one of the most important and at the same time the most vulnerable to attacks, included several military-administrative

¹ Parts of this paper have been presented in the following conferences: 18 Jornadas de Bizancio / 18th Congress of Byzantium of the Sociedad Española de Bizantinística (SEB), University of Barcelona, (30/01-02/02 2019); XII International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography, The Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (28-29/05 2019). Due to the enormous amount of information processed and the limited available space here, the statistical data presented in this paper deliberately refrains from providing references for each mentioned individual; instead, references are kept to minimum, containing only the more comprehensive works on the subject.

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districts, the so-called *themes*, as well as minor units which played a crucial role in Byzantine history not only from a military point of view, but also within the framework of political, diplomatic and cultural contacts of Byzantium with the neighbouring people and newcomers.

The main objective of this Project is to create prosopographic lists for all the *thematic* and *non-thematic* Byzantine officials who served in the Pontos area from the 7th to the 11th century. So far, it comprises over 300 prosopographic records. These entries include all the necessary information regarding the sigillographic, literary and epigraphic sources and bibliography, as well as complementary information, such as the decoration of seals issued by these officials. Byzantine lead seals form the core of this research, with about 400 specimens registered to date.

The starting point for this research is the experience gained from the ARISTEIA II-4492 Research Project under the supervision of Dr. Olga Karagiörgou, where the prosopography of the *themes* of the Anatolikoi, Hellas, the Kibyrraiōtai and the Opsikion was prepared. All the information has been included in the *TAKTIKON*, a digital database on the prosopography and administrative structure of the Byzantine *themes*.²

The present text is a summary of an ongoing investigation on the Pontic area: the prosopography of the administration of the Armeniakoi, Chaldia, Kolōneia and Sebasteia *themes*. Eventually, this information will be also added in the *TAKTIKON* database. Four main topics will be presented here: An overview on the prosopography and administrative structure of the four large districts in the Pontos area (in order of importance) – the Armeniakoi, Chaldia, Koloneia and Sebasteia (**Figure 1**); specific issues related to the study of officials in the Pontos area; examples of selected individual careers; and some remarks on the artistic aspect of the sources used.

² *TAKTIKON* is being developed at the Academy of Athens by Dr. Olga Karagiorgou (Project's Instigator, Research Centre for Byzantine and Post-byzantine Art of the Academy of Athens), Dr. Pantelis Charalampakis and Dr. Christos Malatras. For more information, see Olga Karagiorgou, Pantelis Charalampakis and Christos Malatras, "State officials in the themes of Opsikion, the Anatolikoi and the Kibyrraiotai: new and recently revisited sigillographic evidence," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 26 (2016): 247-252.

I. Overview of the *themes* of the Armeniakoi, Chaldia, Koloneia and Sebasteia (Figure 2)

Armeniakoi

So far, 123 individuals known through sigillographic and literary evidence have been registered. The number of seals has reached as many as 146 specimens and a few unpublished ones are expected to be added later. The *stratēgoi* amount to 47 individuals, attested from 667 A.D. and the establishment of the *theme* to ca. 1000 A.D., but mostly in the 8th and 9th century. From these, 29 are evidenced through seals only, 14 through literary sources only and 2 from combined evidence of seals and literary sources. Among the *stratēgoi* we find the family names: Agelastos, Bourtzēs, Kamoulianos, Kourkouas, Mousele, as well as some unusual names of various origins: Ashkirash, Baristerotzēs, Lalakōn, Olbianos, Filommatēs, Sabōrios.

The *kritai* amount to 38 individuals, attested from ca. 950 A.D. to ca. 1033 A.D. From these, 32 are evidenced through seals, only 4 through literary sources and 2 from combined evidence. Among the *kritai* we find the family names: Choirosphaktēs, Chrysēlios, Gymnos, Kamatēros, Korinthios, Malesēs, Maurikas, Melias, Mitylēnaios, Monomachos, Promoundēnos, Proteuōn, Spanopoulos, Splēnarios, Tzitas, and the rare first name Pothos.

Regarding these two large categories, the *stratēgoi* and the *kritai*, two remarks can be made on the names: first, that the family names do not repeat, that is, there are no family names attested in both categories. Considering the amount of evidence which has been lost or the number of seals which are inaccessible, it could be said that it would be rather conjectural to conclude that those families were engaged exclusively either in the military or the civil administration respectively. Second, one can note that the number of Armenian names in the category of the *kritai* is insignificant, with so far only one known instance. There could be two explanations for this: that the Armenian families had been Byzantinised (this is the case of Melias), or that the army needed the Armenians, known for their military skills, much more than the civil administration needed them. Moreover, it is remarkable that all the known *stratēgoi* and the *kritai* of the Armeniakoi are attested up to the late 10th and the mid-11th century respectively. The absence of *stratēgoi* after the 10th c. does not mean that the *theme* disappeared, but rather that its function was altered at about that time. Apart from the *kritai*, officials with fiscal or other duties also continued to operate there up to

the mid-11th century. These are, for example, the *prōtonotarioi*, with 14 individuals, known exclusively through seals that date from ca. 825 to ca. 1050 A.D. Among them we find the family names Artabasdos and Timōnitēs; the *anagrafeis* with six individuals, from ca. 950 to ca. 1025 A.D. and the family name Blemmydēs; and the *chrysoteleis*, with one or two individuals known from seals dated ca. 1025-1050 A.D. (although it is possible that both specimens were issued by the same person).

Chaldia

In Chaldia, so far 119 individuals have been identified through seals and literary sources, and one more person (*stratēgos*) is known from an inscription (dated 884-885 A.D.).³ Among them, one finds 33 *kommerkiarioi* (**Figure 3**), 25 *stratēgoi*, 22 *kritai*, 8 *prōtonotarioi*, 7 *doukai* and 6 *dioikētai*. Some of the family names encountered are: Areobindēnos, Argyros, Boilas, Brachamios, Chaldos, Doukas, Drosos, Hexakionitēs, Kourkouas, Makrembolitēs, Morocharzanēs, Palaiologos, Fōkas, Promoundēnos and, Tetragōnitēs.

OFFICE	ARMENIAKOI	CHALDIA	KOLŌNEIA	SEBASTEIA
<i>anagrafeus</i>	X	X		
<i>archōn</i>			X	
<i>bandoforos</i>	X			
<i>basilikos</i>		X		
<i>chartouarios</i>	X	X		
<i>chartouarios tēs arklas</i>	X			
<i>chartouarios tou dromou</i>	X			
<i>chartouarios tou oxeos dromou</i>	X			
<i>chrysotelēs</i>	X		X	
<i>dioikētēs</i>		X		
<i>domestikos</i>		X		
<i>doux</i>	X	X	X	X

³ *PmbZ* 20239; Gabriel Millet and David Talbot-Rice, *Byzantine painting at Trebizond* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1936), 23, fn. 1; Gabriel Millet, "Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde," *BCH* 19 (1895): 433-434; Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), 316; Basilikē Blysidou et al. (eds.), *Ē Mikra Asia tōn thematōn: Ereunes panō stēn geōgrafikē fysiognōmia kai prosōpografia tōn byzantinōn thematōn tēs Mikras Asias (7os-11os ai.)* (Athens: EIE, 1998), 459 (no. 3).

<i>drouggarios</i>			X	
<i>ek prosōpou</i>		X		
<i>episkeptitēs</i>	X			
<i>epoptēs</i>	X			
<i>forologos</i>		X		
<i>katapanō</i>		X		
<i>komēs tēs kortēs</i>	X	X		
<i>kommerkiarios</i>	X	X		
<i>kommerkiarios tēs apothēkēs</i>	X			
<i>kritēs</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>parafylax</i>			X	
<i>prōtokentarchos</i>		X		
<i>prōtonotarios</i>	X	X	X	
<i>prōtostratōr</i>	X			
<i>stratēgos</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>taxiarchēs</i>				X
<i>tourmarchēs</i>		X		

[Figure 2: List of offices attested in the four Pontic *themes*.]

Kolōneia

In Kolōneia we find 29 individuals, of which one is known through an inscription (dated 903-904 A.D.).⁴ The most important among them are: 6 *stratēgoi*, 12 *kritai*, 4 *prōtonotarioi*, and 3 *doukai*. The family names attested in this *theme* are: Eugenianos, Gabras, Kekaumenos, and Fōkas. Although the name of Kallistos Melissēnos appears in scholarly literature among the officials of Kolōneia in his capacity as *doux*, it is very likely that this person never existed.⁵

Sebasteia

Not much is known about the small *theme* of Sebasteia, and so far, only 7 individuals of no special importance – except perhaps Leōn

⁴ Pantelis Charalampakis, “Short notes on the prosopography of the Byzantine *theme* of Koloneia (part I),” *KAREN / The Journal of Institute of Black Sea Studies* 2/2 (2016): 8-11.

⁵ On Kallistos Melissēnos, see Pantelis Charalampakis, Short notes on the prosopography of the Byzantine *theme* of Koloneia (part II) [forthcoming].

Argyros⁶, *stratēgos* – have been attested. Among the remaining officials, one notices Ēlias, *spatharios* and *taxiarchēs* of Sebasteia (first half of the 11th c.),⁷ meaning that he was commanding a group of 1.000 infantrymen.

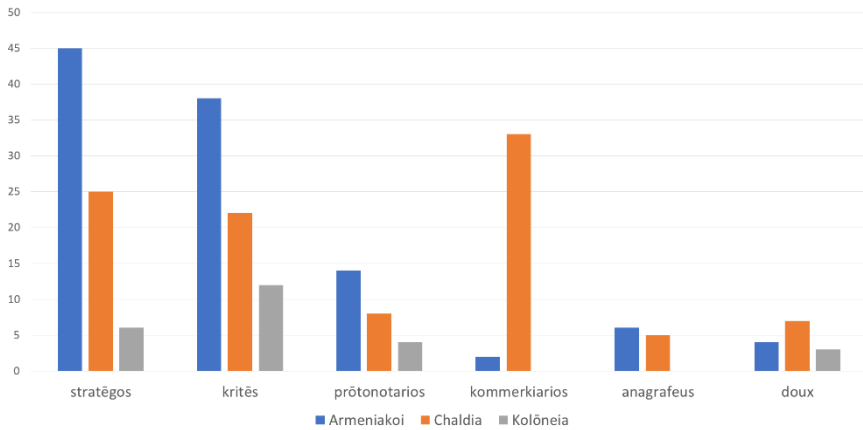
II. Specific issues related to the study of the Byzantine officials in the Pontos area

The *kommerkiarioi* in Chaldia

It is worth to begin this overview of specific issues by considering the great amount of *kommerkiarioi* in Chaldia (**Figure 3**). Unlike most of the territories in the Empire where this office seems to disappear from record comparatively early, in Chaldia the *kommerkiarioi* are attested throughout the Middle Byzantine period. This can be explained with the dominant position of Trabzon and the trade routes connecting the East and the West. Despite the existence of other routes, this one, given the evidence provided by the *kommerkiarioi*, was busy and apparently safe, at least compared to the Southeastern Asia Minor border. At the current state of knowledge, it appears that the only other *theme* with a high number of *kommerkiarioi* was that of Chersōn, something which should perhaps be explained with trade routes as well.

⁶ The Argyroi were a powerful family in the 10th-11th c. On this Leōn, see *PmbZ* 24399. Although we know of seals issued by Leōn Argyros as imperial *prōtospatharios* and *stratēgos* (Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), 620-621), it is impossible to identify the place where he served; it could have been Sebasteia or another place in his career, because it was common for high officials to switch posts every now and then. For this reason (and contrary to Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 2 (Berlin and Amsterdam: Akademie Verlag - Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), 179, 442), it is not correct to ascribe the title of imperial *prōtospatharios* to his career stage in Sebasteia. After Sebasteia, Leōn Argyros was promoted to *magistros* and *domestikos of the Scholai* (Kōnstantinos Porphyrogennētos, ed. Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J. H. Jenkins. *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), ch. 50.149, 150-152). Paul Stephenson, "A Development in Nomenclature on the Seals of the Byzantine Provincial Aristocracy in the Late Tenth Century," *REB* 52 (1994): 191, does not seem convinced that the aforementioned seals were issued by Leon, *stratēgos* of Sebasteia in 911 A.D., and ascribes them to a younger homonymous.

⁷ Eric McGeer, John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art, vol. 4: The East* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), no. 49.1. See also: *PBW*: Elias 20102; Geōrgios Lebeniōtēs, *Ē politikē katarreusē tou Byzantiou stēn Anatolē* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Byzantinōn Ereunōn, 2007), 653 (no. 472); Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 491 (no. 3).



[Figure 3: Comparative chart of main officials in the three larger *themes*.]

The non-thematic officials before and during the thematic administration

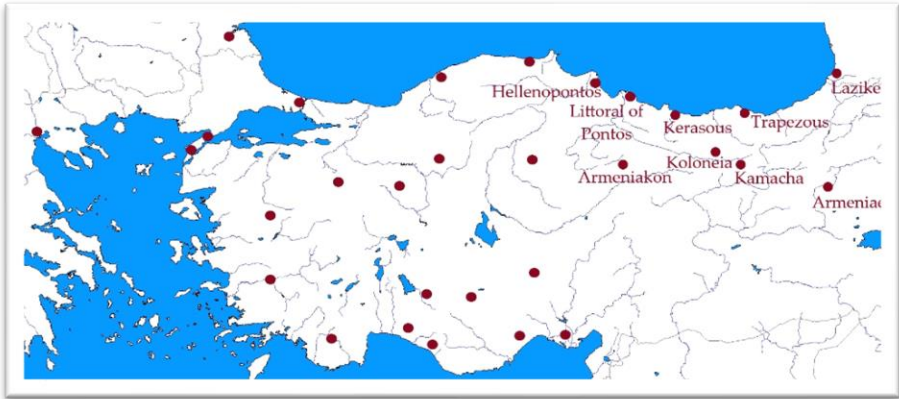
Leaving the *thematic* officials aside for a while, it is interesting to observe some of the non-*thematic* officials included in the research, the *kommerkiarioi* of the *apothēkai* of the Pontic areas, active from 663 to 730 A.D. (Figures 4-5). A total of 14 individuals who were sometimes working in pairs have been registered. They are evidenced through seals only.⁸ Figure 4 indicates the years, the geographical areas, and the officials' names, while figure 5 demonstrates the Pontic area where these *kommerkiarioi* were attested, but also all the other *apothēkai* of the Empire (mostly in Asia Minor) in which they were active.

⁸ Federico Montinaro, "Les premiers commerciaux byzantins," *TM* 17 (2013): 351-538; Efi Ragia, "The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine empire (ca. 600-1200). I.2. Apothekai of the Balkans and of the islands of the Aegean Sea (7th-8th c.)," *Byzantinoslavica* 69 (2011): 86-113; Efi Ragia, "The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine empire (ca. 600-1200). I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th-8th c.)," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 19 (2009): 195-245; Wolfram Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.-9. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau, 2002).

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE ADMINISTRATION

YEARS	Littoral of Pontus	Kerasus	Hellenopontos	Trapezus	Armeniakos	Kolonia	Kamacha	Armeniae
663-668	Stefanos		Stefanos					Petros Petros
674-675								Petros Petros
675-676								Petros Petros
675-677								Petros Petros
677-678								Petros Petros
678-679								Petros Petros
679-680			Kosmas					Petros Petros
680-681								Petros Petros
687-688								Ioulanos
688-689			Ioulanos					Ioulanos
689-690		Kosmas		Kosmas				Kosmas
690-691								
705-707		Theofylaktos						
707-708		Theofylaktos						
713-714		Theofylaktos						
714-715			Sinetos					Sinetos
717-717			Sinetos					Sinetos
717-718		Anonymus [2]						
720-721	Anastasios							
721-722	Anastasios							
		Anastasios	Anastasios	Anastasios				
722-723	Anastasios							
723-724	Anastasios							
724-725	Anastasios							
725-726	Anastasios							
726-727	Anastasios							
727-728	Anastasios							
728-729	Anastasios							
729-730	Anastasios							

[Figure 4: The *kommerkiarioi* of the *apothēkai*.]



[Figure 5: Map of the *apothekei* where the *kommerkiarioi* under consideration were active.]

From the remaining non-thematic officials, it is important to mention the *dioikētēs* of Neokaisareia, the *episkeptitēs* of Tefrikē, the *archōn* of Kerasous, and the officials in Amisos: *dioikētēs*, *ōrreiarios*, *chartoularios*, *parafylax*, and *tourmarchēs*. The *ōrreiarioi* in particular were rather numerous in the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th c.

The *archōn* of Kolōneia

A unique seal of a certain Grēgorios, *archōn* of Kolōneia is kept at the Hermitage. The seal is dated in the 9th century (ca. 825-875 A.D.) and was published by B. A. Panchenko.⁹ On the obverse there is a cruciform invocative monogram of Laurent type V, with inscription in the quarters (“Mother of God, aid your servant”). On the reverse, there is an inscription in five lines, of which only four are visible due to the specimen’s preservation. The inscription reads: + Γρη\γοριφ \ ἄρχο[v]τι \ Κολων\[ιας] (“Mother of God, aid your servant Grēgorios, *archōn* of Kolōneia”). In a recent study, the inscription was read in a

⁹ Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage, M-0677 (ex RAIK collection): Boris’ Panchenko Amfianovich, “Kolektsii Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v” Konstantinopole, Katalog” molivdovulov” (= Catalogue des plombs de la collection de l’Institut archéologique Russe à Constantinople), *IRAİK* 9 (1904): 367 (no. 211 (215), fig. table II, no. 13) [date: 9th-10th c.]. See also: *PmbZ* 2510; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 488 (no. 3); Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 114.

different way, by replacing the geographical name of Kolōneia with that of Boleron – an area in the Balkans.¹⁰ A recent high-quality photo of the specimen¹¹ has provided the opportunity to confirm Panchenko's reading, and now it is beyond doubt that Grēgorios was in fact serving in Kolōneia.

The established view in scholarly literature suggests that a Byzantine official ranked as *archōn* was authorized to serve in the islands and the coastal cities exclusively. However, the aforementioned case of Grēgorios points to a different interpretation: that an *archōn* could be serving at any place, regardless of its geographic location. In support of this, one may refer to other examples of officials in a non-maritime place: we encounter an *archōn* of Kastoria, of Lopadion, of Nicaea, of Strymōn, etc.¹² Although the existence of an *archōn* of Lydia has been interpreted within the general idea that this particular area kept its status even after the creation of the *theme* of the Thrakēsioi, it cannot be the same for all the other cases, Kolōneia included, since there was no eparchy of Kolōneia (nor of Lopadion, nor Strymōn). This information comes to support the view expressed by the Dumbarton Oaks Seals editors (see here, footnote 12) and can help scholars take a fresh look on the issue of the *archōn* in the Middle Byzantine period.

The term *thema* on Byzantine seals

A very particular case in Byzantine sigillography and in the field of Byzantine *thematic* administration is the presence of the term *thema* (singular) on Byzantine seals. It is not related to the so-called *Armeni(a)ka themata* (plural) and is attested in combination with various other geographical areas. In our case, it exists in one of the seals' inscriptions related to Chaldia: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Θεοφάνη or Θεοφίλω, βασιλικῷ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ δομestikῷ θέματος

¹⁰ Werner Seibt and Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. 2. Teil, Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung* (Vienna: ÖAW, 2004), 224 [date: first half of the 9th c.].

¹¹ I would like to thank Dr. Elena Stepanova, The State Hermitage, for providing me with photos of the seal.

¹² Lopadion: John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art, vol. 3: West, Northwest and Central Asia Minor and the Orient* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), no. 55.1 [date: 11th c.]; Nicaea: Jean Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Paris: IFEB, 1960), 85 [date: 10th c.]; Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 3, no. 59.1 [date: 11th c.], with commentary in favor of the view which is also adopted in this paper; Strymon: John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art, vol. 1: Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991), no. 37.1 [date: 9th c.].

Χαλδίας (“Lord, aid your servant Theophanēs – or Theophilos –, imperial *spatharokandidatos* and *domestikos* of the *theme* of Chaldia”).¹³ It is extremely rare to find the term *thema* on a seal and in fact all ten known specimens (**Figure 6**) mentioning the word are dated in the second half of the 10th century. So far, there has been no explanation or suggestion about this issue.

NAME	OFFICE	AREA OF ACTIVITY
Theofanēs / Theofilos	imperial <i>spatharokandidatos</i> and <i>domestikos</i>	<i>theme</i> of Chaldia
Stefanos	imperial <i>prōtopatharios epi tōn oikeiakōn</i> and <i>anagrafeus</i>	<i>theme</i> of Opsikion
Christoforos	imperial <i>klērikos</i> and <i>kouboukleisios</i> and <i>exarchos</i>	<i>themes</i> of the Anatolikoi and of the Kibyrraiōtai
Bardanios	imperial <i>spatharios</i> and <i>domestikos</i>	<i>theme</i> of the Kibyrraiōtai
Nikētas	imperial <i>spatharokandidatos</i> and <i>chartouarios</i>	<i>theme</i> of the Kibyrraiōtai
Eufēmianos	imperial <i>stratōr</i> and <i>chartouarios</i>	<i>theme</i> of Hellas
Iōsēf	imperial <i>vestitōr</i> and <i>abydikos</i> and <i>kommerkiarios</i>	of Thessalonikē, of the West and of the <i>theme</i> of Hellas
Theofilos	imperial <i>spatharios</i> and <i>prōtonotarios</i>	<i>theme</i> of Hellas
Stefanos ...	imperial <i>prōtopatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou</i> and <i>epoptē</i>	<i>theme</i> of the Thrakesioi
Michaēl Monokaritēs	<i>prōtopatharios</i> and <i>chartouarios</i>	<i>theme</i> of Paphlagonia

[Figure 6: The term *thema* in seal inscriptions.]

Combinations of *themes* in Byzantine administration

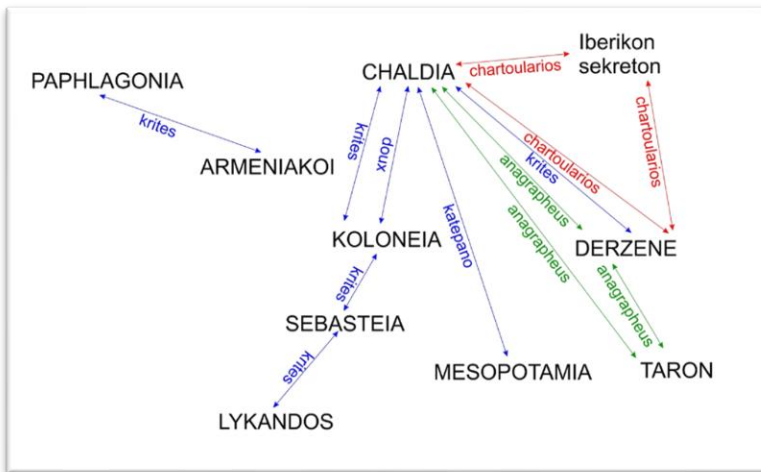
The combination of *themes* is yet another very complicated issue, not always explained through historical evidence. A rather interesting case is that of Iōannēs Chaldos, *patrikios* and *doux* of the Armeniakoi, of the Boukellarioi and of Thessalonikē, in 995-996 A.D.¹⁴ It is not quite clear whether he held office in all three areas at the same time (i.e. if he

¹³ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 32.5 [date: 10th c.]. See also *PmbZ* 28098.

¹⁴ Jacques Lefort et al. (eds.), *Actes d'Ivroun. I. Des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1985), no. 8; Skylitzēs, ed. Ioannes Thurn. *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1973), 357. See also: Nicolas Oikonomides, “A propos de la première occupation byzantine de la Bulgarie (971-ca 986),” in Nicolas Oikonomides, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 581-589 (no. XXV): 584; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 380 (no. 2); Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990): 221.

was commanding a large army, consisting of units from various *themes*, perhaps in the absence of other high military commanders, during the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars), or if he served in the Armeniakoi before moving to the Boukellarioi and, finally, to Thessalonikē (i.e. he kept mentioning his previous posts for prestige).

Other cases of officials exercising jurisdiction over a combination of *themes* are known through sigillographic evidence. In this respect, **figure 7** demonstrates a scheme with the possible combinations. Blue colour indicates two combined themes and green indicates three. Red also marks three, but with the inclusion of an area (Ibērikon sekreton) which is not part of the Pontos region studied in the research Project.



[Figure 7: Combinations of *themes* in the Pontos area.]

The term *forologos*

The term *forologos* is arguably unique in the *thematic* administration of the Middle Byzantine period and designates a tax collector. According to the Miracles of Saint Eugenios,¹⁵ this was a person – whose name remains unknown – active in the Trabzon area around 1050-1075 A.D., who might have been either a *dioikētēs* or, less probably, a *kommerkiarios*, and it is impossible to clarify which of the

¹⁵ Jan Olof Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996), 350 (Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis*, 29.1871-1872, 1876; 30.1890-1891).

two before more evidence is available. The date is not clear either. Rosenqvist, who published the source, dated the 29th miracle to the 11th-12th c. Yet, based on the information about the *forologos'* father, Methodios, active in the era of Kōnstantinos Monomachos (1042-1055 A.D.), perhaps we may date this *forologos* approximately to the third quarter of the 11th c. To the contrary, there is no clue about the date of the 30th miracle mentioning yet another *forologos*, named Theodoulos and also active in Trabzon (Chaldia).¹⁶ It is possible that the anonymous *forologos* in Trabzon (i.e. Methodios' son) can be identified with the *forologos* whom Psellos recommended to the *kritēs* of Macedonia. This anonymous *forologos* originated from a rich family in the Black Sea area (without further information) and desired to be appointed in his home place, so Psellos wrote to his contact in order to help him move there.¹⁷

The term *apografeus*

The aforementioned Methodios, father of the anonymous *forologos*, also held an obscure office called *apografeus* in the source. His duty was to register the domains in the entire Asia Minor, Chaldia included and specifically mentioned.¹⁸ It is not clear what the nature of his office was, but probably he served as *anagrafeus*, although the text does not specify if he was appointed in Chaldia only. Perhaps he was moving from one *theme* to another. Since there is no *apografeus* in the *Taktika*, it seems more reasonable to favour the *anagrafeus* identification. Less probably, the person was an *epoptēs*. The term *apografeus* is attested much later, from the second half of the 12th century onwards and the unique seal mentioning this word, discovered in Bulgaria, is dated in that same period.¹⁹

The term *bandoforos*

The *bandoforos* of the Armeniakoi, i.e. the standard-bearer of a *bandon*, a small military unit as a division of a *tourma*, is another very rare term, again unique for the *themes*. So far, through the Byzantine *Taktika* and in particular that by Filotheos composed in the late 9th

¹⁶ Rosenquist, *Dossier of St. Eugenios*, 350 (Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis*, 30.1890-1891).

¹⁷ Psellos, ed. Kōnstantinos Sathas. *Mesaionikē Bibliothēkē*, vol. 5 (Venice: Phoenix and Paris: Maisonneuve, 1876), 439-440 (no. 172). For another *forologos*, active in the *doukaton* of Antioch, see: *PBW*: Anonymus 156 (Skylitzēs, 395-996; Zōnaras, ed. Mauricius Pinder and Theodoros Büttner-Wobst. *Epitome historiarum*, vol. 3 (Bonn: Weber, 1897), 588).

¹⁸ Rosenquist, *Dossier of St. Eugenios*, 238 (Lazaropoulos, *Logos*, 5.606-611). On the date see: 238-239.

¹⁹ Ivan Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. 3 (Sofia: NAIM-BAN, 2009), no. 835

century, we have only known *bandoforoī* attached to the palace guard. Of course, the office is mentioned in Maurikios' *Stratēgikon* and Leon's *Taktika*, though in a different context, unrelated to the *thematic* administration. In our case, the officer is an anonymous person, native of Boōn, in Polemōnion (on the Black Sea coast), and grandfather of Saint Iōannēs, bishop of Gothia. He must have been active around the last quarter of the 7th c.²⁰

III. Notable officials and family relations

A selected number of individuals – officials related to the area under investigation – shall be presented below, in order to illustrate the valuable types of information which can be inferred from our prosopographic study. These examples are indicative about several significant aspects of Byzantine social history among which mobility, development of individual careers and the role of family connections.

Kōnstantinos Promoundēnos ca. 1040-1070 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>hypatos</i> and <i>kritēs</i> of <i>Charsianon</i>
2	<i>patrikios</i> , <i>vestēs</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and of the <i>Anatolikoi</i>
3	<i>vestarchēs</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and of the <i>Anatolikoi</i>
4	<i>vestarchēs</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and of the <i>Armeniakoi</i>
5	<i>vestarchēs</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and <i>praitōr</i> of the <i>Boukellarioi</i>
6	<i>magistros</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and of the <i>Anatolikoi</i>
7	<i>magistros</i> , <i>vestēs</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>Vēlon</i> and of the <i>Thrakēsioi</i>
Leōn Promoundēnos ca. 1040-1060 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>protospatharios</i> <i>epi tou Chrysotrikinou</i> , <i>prōtonotarios</i> , <i>kritēs</i> of the <i>hippodrome</i> , of <i>Chaldia</i> and of <i>Derzēnē</i>

[Figure 8: Kōnstantinos Promoundēnos' career.]

²⁰ Marie-France Auzépy, "La Vie de Saint Jean de Gothie (BHG 891)," in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat Khazar*. ed. Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: CNRS, 2006), 69-85. See also *PmbZ* 4280A; George Huxley, "On the *Vita* of St John of Gotthia," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 162.

Kōnstantinos Promoundēnos (**Figure 8**) had a remarkable career in the Asia Minor *themes* in the period ca. 1040-1070 A.D., with the Armeniakoi somewhere in the middle of his *cursus honorum*.²¹ He had previously served in Charsianon and the Anatolikoi, and later in Boukellarioi, the Anatolikoi and the Thrakēsioi. Another family member, Leōn Promoundēnos, was serving at the same time (ca. 1040-1060 A.D.) in the neighbouring *themes*: *prōtopatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, *prōtonotarios*, *kritēs of the hippodrome*, of Chaldia and of Derzēnē.²² It is interesting to note that officials who most probably (although their birthplace has not been identified) did not originate from the East were taking positions only there.

Leōn Areobindēnos	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>spatharokandidatos, asēkrētis and kritēs of Chaldia and of Derzēnē</i>
Matthaios Areobindēnos	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>megas asēkrētis and kritēs of Chaldia and of Derzēnē</i>
Nikolaos Areobindēnos	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>spatharokandidatos and prōtonotarios of Chaldia</i>
Nikolaos Areobindēnos	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>spatharokandidatos, asēkrētis and kritēs of Chaldia and of Derzēnē</i>

[Figure 9: The Areobindēnos family.]

The family of Areobindēnos (**Figure 9**), originating from the area of the capital (Constantinople), was very much attracted to the East or perhaps had migrated there. This is the only way to explain how four members of the family were serving in Chaldia (and Derzēnē) at about

²¹ Valentina S. Shandrovskaia, “Sfragistika,” in *Iskusstvo Vizantii v Sobraniyah SSSR. Katalog vystavki* (Moscow: Sovetskiy Hudozhnik, 1977, vol. 2), no. 713; SBS 5 (1998): 143.

²² Maria Campagnolo-Pothitou and Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Georges Zacos au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2016), no. 124. See also: Seibt and Wassiliou-Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 179; PBW: Leon 20289.

the same time (first half of the 11th c.): three *kritai* (Leōn²³, Matthaios²⁴, Nikolaos²⁵) and one *prōtonotarios* (Nikolaos²⁶).

Similar is the case of Christoforos Mitylēnaios (**Figure 10**), the famous poet, who also served in the East exclusively and ended his career as *kritēs* in the Armeniakoi and Paphlagonia (ca. 1040-1050 A.D.).²⁷ Theodōros Proteuōn (**Figure 11**) also served as *kritēs* of the Armeniakoi (ca. 1025-1050 A.D.).²⁸ He did not have a brilliant career like the aforementioned officials, but it is interesting to note that another member of his family was serving at the same time in the Balkans.

²³ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 61.3; Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris: BnF, 2001), no. 27. See also: Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 317; PBW: Leon 20101; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 463 (no. 7).

²⁴ Nikolaj P. Likhachev, *Istoricheskoe znachenie italo-grecheskoi ikonopisi izobrazhenija Bogomateri* (Saint Petersburg: Izdanie Imperatorskogo Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, 1911), 30 (table VII, no. 22). See also: Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 464 (no. 9).

²⁵ Cheynet, *Sceaux Zacos*, 55.

²⁶ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 32.35a-c; Valentina S. Šandrovskaja and Werner Seibt, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Staatlichen Eremitage mit Familiennamen. 1. Teil. Sammlung Lichačev – Namen von A bis I* (Vienna: ÖAW, 2005), 46; Cheynet, *Sceaux Zacos*, 55, fn. 111; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 290 (no. 3), 620 (no. 8). See also: Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 317; *PmbZ* 26086; PBW: Nikolaos 20205; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 466 (no. 8).

²⁷ Vatic. gr. 1357, f. 82 r. (see: Eduard Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios* (Leipzig: August Neumanns Verlag, 1903), XI). See also: PBW: Christophoros 13102; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 362 (no. 8), 383 (no. 18) [date: 1034-1055]; Geōrgios Lebeniōtēs, “To thema/doukato tōn Anatolikōn kata to deuteron ēmisy tou 11ou aiōna,” *Byzantiaka* 25 (2005-2006): 90 (no. 28); Seibt and Wassiliou-Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 200; Nicolas Oikonomides, “Life and society in eleventh century Constantinople,” in Nicolas Oikonomides, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 1-14 (no. XXI): 1-2; Jean-Claude Cheynet, Cécile Morrisson and Werner Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris: BnF, 1991), no. 193.

²⁸ Valentina S. Shandrovskaya, “Chto izvestno o Protevonah,” in *Vizantijskie Očerki. Trudy rossijskikh uchenykh k XIX mezhdunarodnomu kongressu vizantinistov* (Moscow: Indrik, 1996), 221-222, fn. 24; *SBS* 6 (1999): 110 [date: ca. 1060]; McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 22.23c; Vitalien Laurent, “Mélanges d'épigraphie grecque et de sigillographie byzantine. II. Sceaux byzantins inédits,” *Echos d'Orient* 31 (1932): 442-443 (no. 13); unpublished seal - France: Paris, IFEB 1166. See also: Vitalien Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin, vol. II: L'administration centrale* (Paris: IFEB - CNRS, 1981), 443; Seibt and Wassiliou-Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 193; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 382 (no. 16).

Christoforos Mitylēnaios ca. 1020-1060 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>prōtopatharios and kritēs of Charsianon</i>
2	<i>imperial prōtopatharios and kritēs of Mesopotamia</i>
3	<i>imperial prōtopatharios and kritēs of the Anatolikoi</i>
4	<i>prōtopatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou, kritēs of the Vēlon and of Paphlagonia</i>
5	<i>patrikios and kritēs of Paphlagonia</i>
6	<i>patrikios anthypatos and kritēs of Paphlagonia and of the Armeniakoi</i>
7	<i>magistros and anthypatos</i>

[Figure 10: Christoforos Mitylēnaios' career.]

Theodōros Prōteuōn ca. 1020-1060 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>prōtopatharios and kritēs of the Kibyrraiōtai</i>
2	<i>prōtopatharios and kritēs of the Armeniakoi</i>
3	<i>prōtopatharios, kritēs of the Vēlon and koiaistōr</i>
4	<i>patrikios and kritēs of the Vēlon</i>
Nikēphoros Prōteuōn ca. 1050-1055 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>ek prosōpou of Morra and Philippopolis</i>
2	<i>archōn (doux) of Bulgaria</i>

[Figure 11: Theodōros Prōteuōn's career.]

The case of Alexios Mousele (**Figure 12**) is different. Mousele, also attested as Mousoulakios, which seems to be a diminutive form, was a family of Armenian origin active in Byzantium from the 7th until the 12th century. Alexios Mousele, *drouggarios tēs viglas*, was sent by Empress Eirene to the *theme* of the Armeniakoi in order to settle the issue of revolt against her. There Alexios was unofficially proclaimed *stratēgos* by the local army in September 790 A.D. He was clearly on the side of Eirene's son, Kōnstantinos. Shortly after, under Kōnstantinos VI, in October 790 or a little later, he was officially appointed *stratēgos* of the Armeniakoi. Later, probably in December 791 A.D. and while still serving in the same *theme*, he was promoted to *patrikios*. At about the same time, however and for reasons unknown to us but probably

related to his refusal to recognize Eirene, whom Konstantinos had just released and restored to the palace, Alexios was removed from his post and was confined in Constantinople. The local army protested, asking for Alexios to be sent back in charge. At some time between late December 791 A.D. and late January 792 A.D., Alexios returned and stayed in the Armeniakoi until July of that same year the latest, when he was arrested and blinded under the suspicion of plotting against the emperor.²⁹ There is a point worth of attention: that Alexios' popularity among the Armeniakoi and his promotions may not have been due only to his skills. Grēgorios Mousoulakios, most probably a relative, was very powerful at that time, serving as *komēs* of Opsikion for several years. One may suspect thus that Grēgorios' influence both in the palace and the Armeniakoi – himself being of Armenian descent – assisted the promotion of Alexios in the *theme* of the Armeniakoi.

Alexios Mousele October 790 – December 791 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>spatharios</i> and <i>droungarios tēs Viglas</i>
2	<i>prōtopatharios</i> and <i>stratēgos of the Armeniakoi</i>
3	<i>patrikios</i> and <i>stratēgos of the Armeniakoi</i>
Gregorios Mousoulakios 766-786 A.D.	
Career stage	Title(s) / Office(s) / Area
1	<i>imperial spatharios</i> and <i>komēs of Opsikion</i>
2	<i>patrikios</i> and <i>komēs of Opsikion</i>
3	<i>anthypatos patrikios</i> and <i>komēs of Opsikion</i>

[Figure 12: Alexios Mousele and Grēgorios Mousoulakios.]

IV. The artistic aspect

In addition to the textual information provided by various sources on prosopography, iconography can reveal further, sometimes

²⁹ Theofanēs, ed. Carolus De Boor. *Theophanis Chronographia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883), 466-467; Zōnaras, 292-294; McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DŌSeals* 4, no. 22.41; *SBS* 5 (1998): 183; John Nesbitt, "Review of Laurent, Vitalien. *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin, vol. II: L'administration centrale*. Paris: IFEB - CNRS, 1981," *Speculum* 58.3 (1983): 771-772; Vitalien Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin, vol. II: L'administration centrale* (Paris: IFEB - CNRS, 1981), no. 665. See also: *PmbZ* 193; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 376 (no. 15) [date: 791-792, as *patrikios*]

fascinating details about the individuals of the time. It is of particular interest to observe a few rare and unusual examples which illustrate the diversity of the iconographical evidence originating from Pontos. Among the scenes of religious character, the most peculiar example is a stylite's pillar on the seal of a *kritēs* of Kolōneia from the Dumbarton Oaks collection (second quarter of the 11th c.).³⁰ A rosace combined with a cross adorns the seal of Basileios, *prōtonotarios* of Chaldia from the same collection (late 10th-early 11th c.).³¹ This floral cross – unique in sigillography – reminds us of the medieval Armenian crosses, yet so far there is no known parallel of this particular motif. Among the less common – although not completely unknown – depictions are those of a peacock. One such example can be observed on the seal of Geōrgios, imperial *spatharios* and *kommerkiarios* of Chaldia (second half of the 10th c.).³² A sphinx – again a unique motif in sigillography – is visible on the seal of Fōtios, imperial *prōtospatharios epi tōn oikeiakōn* and *kommerkiarios* of Chaldia (second half of the 10th c.).³³

In a recent study Alicia Walker³⁴ considered the peacock as a symbol borrowed from Islamic art. This is open to interpretation, because already in Greek Antiquity, and later in Christian art, this bird symbolized the soul's immortality. Furthermore, in the second half of the 10th c. the use of animals, birds and fantastic creatures was popular in Byzantium.³⁵ Nevertheless, Walker's suggestion reveals an interesting perspective on the issue and raises the question of the origin of the Sphinx, as well as another unidentified creature (another peacock?) depicted on a seal mentioning the term *thema* discussed above.

³⁰ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 48.5. See also: *PBW*: Anonymus 20267; *Lebeniōtēs, Politikē katarreusē*, 570 (no. 142); Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, p. 487, fn. 2; Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 147, fn. 38 (Andreas?).

³¹ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 32.33. See also *PBW*: Basileios 20246; Blysidou et al., *Mikra Asia*, 466 (no. 7).

³² McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 32.18a-b.

³³ McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *DOSeals* 4, no. 32.25; *SBS* 5 (1998): 81; George Galavaris, "Seals of the Byzantine Empire," *Archaeology* 12 (1959): 267 (no. 5) [date: 11th-12th c.]; Basilikē Penna, "Mē thrēskeutikes parastaseis se byzantines sfragides (10os aiōnas): kataboles kai ermēneutikes proseggiseis." In *Ē proslēpsē tēs Archaiotētās sto Byzantio, kyriōs kata tous Palaiologeious Chronous, Praktika Diethnous Synedriou (Spartē 3-5 Noembriou 2012)*, ed. Georgia Xanthakē-Karamanou (Athens: Papazēsē, 2014), 278-279, fig. 2.

³⁴ Alicia Walker, "Islamicizing Motifs in Byzantine Lead Seals: Exoticizing Style and Expression of Identity," *Medieval History Journal* 15/2 (2012): 397-398.

³⁵ Penna, *Parastaseis*, 275-303.

The iconography of officials is a fascinating side-topic which deserves a study of its own.³⁶ It is worth mentioning the rare – rather unique – instance of a portrait of a *thematic* official from a manuscript.³⁷ The person in question is Theodoros Gabras, depicted together with his wife Eirēnē. He was *topotērētēs* of Kolōneia and was later promoted to *doux* of Chaldia. The miniatures come from a manuscript which he himself commissioned and was finished in May 1067 A.D. The representation is of particular importance because the Byzantines generally avoided depicting themselves in portraits and when they did so, it was only on very special occasions (e.g. as donors of a religious establishment or in invocation to a Holy Person).

Conclusion

The ongoing research Project on Pontos brings together, for the first time, all the evidence on the administration and especially the prosopography of the region from the 7th to the 11th c. The collected material provides useful information on the careers and mobility of individuals and families alike.

These brief case studies and the relevant examples have demonstrated how the research on individuals, especially through sigillography, can help us understand better the Pontos' social history in Byzantine times.

It should be emphasized that prosopographic catalogues like the ones developed within the *TAKTIKON* Project (including the one about Pontos) can serve as powerful research tools that will be useful in any future study related to linguistics and the institutional, social and artistic history of a region. Furthermore, they are indispensable in the research of mobility of individuals and families within the administrative network of the Empire as well as its geographic space. Prosopography can be also applied in the study of devotion and the

³⁶ Regarding sigillography, this fairly understudied topic has been briefly discussed in Olga Karagiorgou, “‘The Emperor’s New Clothes’: Looking anew at the Iconography of the Tondi,” in *The Tondi in Venice and Dumbarton Oaks. Art and Imperial Ideology between Byzantium and Venice*, ed. Niccolò Zorzi, Albrecht Berger and Lorenzo Lazzarini (Rome and Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani – Viella, 2019), 97-98, with fn. 17.

³⁷ The original is kept in St. Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai (codex Sinaiticus graecus 172), but several pages from it were taken and transported by Porfiriy Uspenskiy, a Russian scholar, in the 19th c. and they are kept today in Saint Petersburg’s State Library (codex graecus 291). A detailed study on Gabras is currently under preparation by the author of this article.

cult of Saints; the administration; the origins, forms and popularity of certain names, and many more.

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PmbZ = *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I: 641-867, B. I-VI and Abteilung II: 867-1025, B. I-VIII*, ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann et al. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1998-2013.

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The Policy of the Provisional Government of Vlora between December 1912 and April 1913

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Abstract:

As to the period between November 28, 1912 and April 24, 1913, quite little information has been published on the conditions of operation of the Provisional Government, on the direct effects and consequences of the independence proclamation and on the foreign and domestic policy of the government. Present study aims to fill in this gap through the investigation of Austro-Hungarian and Albanian (archival) sources. The paper focuses attention first of all on the local conditions of the Provisional Government and on his policy towards the Ottoman troops, and the armies of the Balkan Allies.

Key Words: Balkans, Albania, Albanian independence, Balkan Wars

The proclamation of independence and Albania's secession from the Ottoman Empire were undoubtedly the most important moments in the 20th century history of the Albanian nation. Soon after the proclamation commenced the self-organisation of the state with the Vlora Provisional Government being its most important body headed by Ismail Qemali.

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As to the period between November 28, 1912 and April 24, 1913, quite little information has been published on the conditions of operation of the Provisional Government, on the direct effects and consequences of the proclamation and on the foreign and domestic policy of the government. The present study aims to fill in this gap through the investigation of Austro-Hungarian archive sources.

Both the Albanian and international experts agree that the territory controlled by the Provisional Government spread across approximately 4.000 km² (approximately a sanjak) with a population of 250-300.000 people as of November-December 1912, out of which 30-35.000 could be Turkish soldiers taking refuge in the region,¹ practically in the Vlora-Lushnja-Berat triangle. The other Albanian-inhabited areas were occupied by the Balkan allies, while this remaining territory was isolated by blockades and frontlines. Austro-Hungarian sources suggest that it was only the presence of the Ottoman army that prevented the Balkan allies from invading this bit of land also. As the Ottoman troops represented the empire, the Vlora-Lushnja-Berat triangle is to be regarded as such an area where, in December 1912, *co-existed* the “new Albanian power” and the ruins of the “old Ottoman rule”.² To put it differently, both the Provisional Government and the remains of the already defeated Ottoman army, unable to perform frontline battle were in control of the area. This concept is further supported by the fact that in November-December 1912, the areas south of Shkumbi still had direct contact on land with the Ottoman army that was successfully defending Ioannina. And this army was still fighting for the Empire.³

¹ Vlora, Ekrem Bey. *Lebenserinnerungen*. Bd. 2. München: Oldenbourg, 1973. 3; Puto, Arben. *Historia diplomatike e çështjes shqiptare*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave, 2003. 124; Schmidt-Neke, Michael. *Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912–1939). Regierungsbildungen, Herrschaftsweise und Machteliten in einem jungen Balkanstaat*. München: Oldenbourg, 1987. 25; Puto, Arben. *Shqipëria politike 1912–1939*. Tiranë: TOENA, 2009. 44f; Gurakuqi, Romeo. *Shqipëria 1911–1914*. Tiranë: UET-Press, 2012. 463–466.

² Kriegsarchiv Vienna (KA), Militärkanzlei Seiner Majestät (MKSM), 18–1/7, Thomas, Bruno. *Bericht über Albanien. I. Die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse in Albanien 1913*, 2. 14. and *ibid.* Hofmann, Johann. *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 10–11.

³ KA, MKSM, 18–1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 14. and *ibid.* Hofmann, *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 10–11.

In the months following the declaration of independence, the Provisional Government exercised direct influence only in Vlora and its surrounding countryside.⁴ Gjirokastra, Tepelena and Përmet recognised Ismail Qemal Vlora as Prime Minister in the winter of 1912–1913. Only after the spring of 1913, along with the slow retreat of the Serbian army and the Anatolian troops shipping home, could the other Albanian administrative districts recognise the rule of the Vlora Government.

The independent Albania led by the Provisional Government faced grievous problems. The majority of the great houses declined submission to the new power; according to centuries-old traditions their members formed parties and controlled their followers from the centre of their estates: the Toptanis from the Durrës–Tirana–Kruja triangle, the Vrionis from Fier and Muzeqe and the Vloras from Vlora. The remainder of the Albanian-controlled southern territories belonged to the Libohova and the Delvino families. Every such party could mobilize an army of one to three thousand people. The Muslim landlords of the area had no aversion to national sentiments, but many of them was still nursing hopes of attaining a well-paid office in the Ottoman administration. In the winter of 1912–1913, their best interest was to promote the stabilization of the Albanian situation and the restoration of order. Interestingly, most of them expected not of Istanbul but of the great powers with Adriatic interests to achieve these ends and to reorganise the political and economic life (construction of schools and establishment of banks etc.): mainly of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that had already proved its capability in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵

The local officials were mainly agha and bey families the majority of whom withdrew to their estates with their soldiers and there sought to wait and see how the events would eventually turn out. Most of them like the members of the intelligentsia pledged loyalty to one of the major houses and thus hoped for a better future.

⁴ *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës dhe veprimtaria e saj – nëndor 1912 – janar 1914*. Edited by Dhimitër Kotini. Tiranë: Drejtoria e Përgjithëshme të Arkivave Shtetërore, 1963. 15.

⁵ KA, MKSM, 18–1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 1–5, 14, 21; idem Hofmann, *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 10–22, 29 and idem. Adrario, Karl. *Bericht über meine Reise durch Süd-Albanien*. 5.

By late autumn of 1912 the countryside population had been left without any higher authority to control them. Anarchy set in, and due to the war conditions and the lack of state control, waves of violence ensued. Robberies, murders and showdowns continued to go unpunished. The rivalry between interest groups increased which prevented these groups to pursue a policy along their joint interests. The only organisations that still worked were the troops gathering around the great houses and the bey families.

The deluge of Albanians from the Central Balkans fleeing from the Serbian army only worsened the situation. As to their numbers, only estimations are available, as part of them was always on the move because of the Serbian advance, and because after the Greek blockade had been lifted in early April, many Muslims must have shipped to Istanbul so that they could settle down in Anatolia. The refugees set up their temporary shelters around major Central and Southern Albanian towns such as Durrës, Berat and Vlora. They numbered approximately 60.000 in the Durrës and Elbasan Sanjaks respectively, and about 5000 around Vlora.⁶

The government was also hard put, because the Ottoman empire, and the army, the strongest local representative of the empire's power, considered the declaration of independence as treason. The Ottoman military leaders who were fighting in the West Balkan only received word with many days' delay of the events of 28th November, 1912. Pasha Esat Halasti assumedly ordered that Qemali be arrested and dragged to Ioannina. However, Myfit Bej Libohova, former member of the Ottoman Parliament managed to convince him that with such a move he would only put in jeopardy the loyalty of his Albanian troops. After their discussion Pasha Halasti decided to order the officials who were loyal to the empire to cooperate with the Qemali administration.⁷ A few days later, on the 2nd of December it was already his autonomous decision to send a telegram to Vlora, ordering Qemali to organise the independent Albania. The Pasha also

⁶ Österreichisches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (ÖStA HHStA), Politisches Archiv (PA), XII/422/6n, report by Rudnay, Durazzo, 31.03.1913., No.109. and telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 09.03.1913., No.1182.

⁷ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, letter by Lejhanec, Valona, 03.12.1912., No.71 and *ibid.* 6a, telegram by Rudnay, Durazzo, 26.11.1912., Nr.5908.

indicated however, that any kind of independence inspired by the Monarchy or Italy, was out of the question.⁸

It was only on 3rd December that the Grand Vizier received detailed information about the 28th November Vlora events from the father of independence. Qemali announced that he and the delegates of the Albanian nation formed the Provisional Government, because, as he pointed out, the empire could no longer defend the Albanian-inhabited territories against the external adversaries.⁹

Grand Vizier Kâmil's response arrived on 9th December. Hardly could Kâmil Pasha conceal his bafflement, as he thought that the declaration of independence had been no less than an uprising against the empire. He deemed the new arrangement rather unfortunate, as it meant that there were no longer such power that could prevent the partition of Albania between Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. Kâmil Pasha attempted to influence the Provisional Government by claiming, that the Ministers' Council of the Young Turk Government resolved on 23th October to give complete autonomy to Albania under the leadership of an Ottoman prince, and the relating decree was already being prepared.¹⁰ He warned Qemali that the events might turn out for him much as they previously did for the Crimean Khan, who declared independence but still lost his power to Russia.¹¹ Qemali thanked the Vizier for the offer, but found it belated, as independence had been declared which entitled the London Conference of Ambassadors to determine the future of the country.¹²

Two weeks after the receipt of the Grand Vizier's letter 200 Turkish riders set out for Vlora on unknown initiative. Qemali sent 50 soldiers to hold them at the Linec Pass (26 kms from the Southeast of Vlora),¹³ but an armed conflict was in the interest of neither of the parties.¹⁴

⁸ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 1912.12.04., No.753; Nr. 49. telegram by Esat Halasti to Nazim Pasha to Valona, 2.12.1912., *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 54.

⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegrams by Lejhanec, Valona, 04.12.1912., No. 753. and 06.12.1912., No.1187.

¹⁰ Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen 2*, 26.

¹¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XIX/Berchtold/1, Bd.IV. 11.12.1912., 466.

¹² Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen 2*, 26.

¹³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 12.12.1912., No.2552.

¹⁴ *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 11.

Qemali sent another letter in Turkish to the Grands Vizier on 18th December, 1912. The letter was written in a conciliatory tone and emphasised the motifs behind the declaration of independence: the Albanians wished to avoid foreign control and the partition of their fatherland. Qemali argued, that it was also in Istanbul's best interest to support a friendly Albania that could act as a balancing power among the hostile states of the peninsula, an idea which was also promoted by the great powers' policy.¹⁵ Another argument to support the foundation of the new state was the nationality principle which was promoted by the Balkan allies and was also accepted by the great powers. Qemali said, it would be a shame not to capitalise on these benefits, and he requested [!] the Grand Vizier to grant him the freedom necessary to establish a government that might satisfy both states.¹⁶ There is no knowing if this letter was ever answered. After this, however, the Ottoman authorities also blocked the telegram and mail traffic in Vlora, and thus contributed to the isolation of Qemali and the town.¹⁷

The Ottoman army in Central and Southern Albania

¹⁵ Demeter, Gábor. *Kisállami törekvések és nagyhatalmi érdekek a Balkán-háború idején (1912–1913)*. Debrecen: Hungarovox, 2007. 167–177.

¹⁶ ÖStA HHSStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 18.12.1912., No.4019.

¹⁷ ÖStA HHSStA PA/XII/417/Jänner-März 1913, telegram by Rudnay, Durazzo, 27.02.1913., No.3772.

In November-December 1912, three Ottoman army groups and a few minor independent corps were present in Central and Southern Albania. Around Ioannina, the Albanian Esat Halasti Pasha and his brother, Vehib Halasti Pasha led an army of 30-40.000 men (out of which, according to Myfit Libohova the Albanian soldiers could number around 12.000¹⁸), while the 5th army group and the remains of the Vardar army controlled the territory between the Shkumbi river and Berat.¹⁹ It was the latter two that posed a real threat to the Vlora government, as the Halasti brothers were unable to send considerable reinforcements if they were to hold Ioannina.

The 5th army group under the command of Kara Said withdrew from Kumanovo to the region of Berat. Only 12.000 people were still alive of the army group out of which approximately 4.000 were stationed around the town. These troops were disciplined and maintained good relationship with the local population as well. They were no longer fit for front battle: in early January, 1913 one battalion was for example complemented with 1.000 local insurgents and a machine gun, and was ordered to Himara. One day later the battalion turned insubordinate and turned back. Kara Said established a more or less operating military administration, which also tolerated the presence of the Provisional Government representatives on the territories it controlled. It was this Ottoman army that prevented the Serbian troops from crossing the Shkumbi river. Due to the desertion of the Albanians, only 6.000 Turkish troops had remained of the army group by January 1913.²⁰

A sovereign division of the Vardar army fled to Albania under the leadership of Cavid Pasha, who originally defended the sanjak of Novi Pazar. The Serbian army was chasing him when reached the Adriatic at Durrës. Cavid Pasha had approximately 5.000 men left. They set up camp in the Vlora region and until May 1913, when the

¹⁸ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 03.12.1912., No.568.

¹⁹ Source of the data and military events of the Ottoman forces: KA, MKSM, 18–1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 10–14. and idem. Hofmann, *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 8–10, 28.

²⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/415/5r, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 07.01.1913., Nr.3848.

troops were finally shipped home, they had posed a constant threat for the Provisional Government.²¹

To the south of them in Delvino there were 4-5 battalions stationed, comprising partly Albanians under the leadership of Mehmet Ali Delvino Pasha. The Albanian landowner marched his troops from Bitola to his homeland, where he introduced military administration. In early December at Saranda about 500-1.000 underequipped Greek soldiers disembarked who, on their way to Delvino, unsuspectingly walked into the imperial army armed with a machine gun and four quick firing mountain guns. Mehmet Ali Pasha pushed them into the sea and thus he prevented for months the Greek occupation of this part of South-Albania. The Pasha never supported Qemali's policy but neither did he threaten him with attack. With his forces he covered Esat Halasti from the coast, kept the *çamër* territories under surveillance, and successfully protected his family estates as well.

The hostile attitude of the Ioannina Ottoman army against Qemali was due not only to the proclamation of independence, but also to the fact that the head of the Provisional Government sent messages to the Albanian soldiers in the army urging them to desert. On the one hand, Qemali saw the imperial army as a threat, and therefore tried to weaken it by all means. On the other hand, he visioned peaceful relations with the Balkan states – and so, in the name of the independent Albania, he objected to all armed conflict whatsoever. Thirdly, he firmly believed that when setting the final borders, the great powers would not take into consideration where the troops of the Balkan allies are being stationed, that is, he found it senseless for the Albanian soldiers to shed their blood in the Ottoman army.²²

The Premier's messages made thousands of Albanians desert from the Ottoman forces along with their officers, taking their weapons and ammunition. Although after 20th December the Provisional

²¹ Mikić, Djordje. 'The Albanians and Serbia during the Balkan Wars.' In *East Central European Society and the Balkan Wars*, edited by Béla K. Király and Dimitrije Djordjević, 174. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987; Sax, Carl. *Nachtrag zur Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*. Wien: Manzische k.u.k. Hof-,Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1913. 642.

²² ÖStA HStA PA/XII/417/6b, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey, Vienna, 18.12.1912., Prot.Nr.3986.

Government sent no more such messages, Qemali's propaganda still demoralised the remaining Albanian troops of the Ottoman army in the long run.

As to the desertion the Ottoman field officers were helpless: they applied martial law and amnesty but to no avail.²³ Only after Musa Hamit Demi's visit were the relationship between Qemali and the Ottoman military leaders settled: there were no more messages urging the Albanians to desert, and the Ottoman leaders took cognizance of the Provisional Government (see later). The Provisional Government had not much business to do with the Ioannina high command. All that passed between was that from early 1913 a few members of the Provisional Government sent a number of telegrams to the Ioannina Ottoman forces in connection with Çamëria among other things, in which they ordered the forces led by Halasti to look after the general defence of the southern territories.²⁴ Qemali, however, had no mind to provide active support for the Ottoman forces to this end.

Owing to Qemali's propaganda approximately 3-4.000 Albanian soldiers deserted from Berat until March 1913. In Ioannina only 2 of the original 12 Albanian redif battalions held their ground, the rest fled for home. The majority of the Albanian regulars of the nizams however, kept their position and continued to fight until the ceasefire. It is important to note about those who deserted from Ioannina, that most of them went to Çamëria to fight against the Greek attackers in their fatherland while others gathered around Gjirokastra and Delvino and returned under the leadership of Esat Halasti.²⁵

The Ottoman troops stationed in Middle Albania posed much more significant threat for the Vlora government in the long run than Esat Halasti Pasha, as these troops indeed had the opportunity to forcefully abolish the Provisional Government which, from an imperial point of view, was simply considered rebellious. The Turkish commanders of Berat had a basically hostile attitude towards Qemali's

²³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 26.12.1912., No.5354.

²⁴ Pl. Nr. 119. telegram by Myfit Libohova to Esat Halasti Pasha to Ioannina 27.12.1912., *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 88–89.

²⁵ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/420/6f, report by Bilinski, Ioannina, 04.03.1913., No.9. 3-4.

policy, but at the same time they were very much aware of their real situation: their troops were unfit for battle and besides, they had to pull through in Albanian-inhabited territories. Therefore, in order to survive the war, they did not risk an armed conflict.²⁶

Virtually all Albanian troops deserted from Berat to Qemali's summons. Those few who remained, with some officers among their numbers pledged loyalty to Qemali in a letter and undertook to provide information for the government in Vlora.²⁷ The Premier strove to keep the remaining Turkish military away from the port and its vicinity and tried to encumber their efforts to get supplies. He also attempted to persuade the high commanders in Berat to capitulate and lay down their arms. Furthermore, he sent telegrams to the governments of the Adriatic great powers in which he urged that those troops be shipped home to Anatolia.²⁸

The Provisional Government and the Armies of the Balkan Allies

Although the Provisional Government did not participate directly in the fight against the Greek, according to the Albanian historiography, between December 1912 and March 1913 the government was mostly preoccupied with how the Greek could be driven out from the country.²⁹

During this period a minor Greek force (1-3.000 soldiers) stationed in Himara and posed a constant threat to the city of Vlora.³⁰ To the south, fights continued in Labëria and Çamëria mainly along the road leading from Ioannina to Vlora and along the coastline. The Greek free corps here, led by trained officers and equipped with machine guns and cannons, fought against irregular Albanian insurgents. Resistance proved to be successful until the fall of Ioannina, as the siege prevented the Greek royal army from directly supporting Epirotean and Cretans Greek bands. In mid-December Eqrem Bej Vlora, whom

²⁶ *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 11.

²⁷ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 18.12.1912., No.4008.

²⁸ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegrams by Lejhanec, Valona, 01.12.1912., No.204., and 03.12.1912., No.568. and No.598.

²⁹ *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 65–66, 71–72, 76–78, 83, 86–88.

³⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/420/6f, report by Bilinski, Ioannina, 1913.03.04., No.9, 4.

Qemali consequently denied supplies and other support, travelled to the spot to support the Albanian free corps (the Premier declared on more than one occasion that the independent Albania wishes to live in peace with her neighbours). The position of the Greek troops was further weakened when thousands of armed Albanian soldiers appeared between Delvino and Prevesa (cca. 6.000). It is almost certain that they deserted from Ioannina in order to fight here.³¹

The Greek blockade became efficient following the fall of Ioannina.³² The control of the sea was expanded as far as Durrës, because on the Adriatic sea unexpectedly turned up one of the strongest Ottoman cruisers, the *Hamidie*, and the Greeks worried that arms and ammunition might be loaded ashore from her.³³ Athens lifted the blockade on 14th April, 1913 after the first agreements on the shipping home of the Anatolian troops had been concluded. Until the end of March, the Greek warships successfully prevented Qemali from travelling to London and participating in the conference of ambassadors.

The Serbian army that invaded Middle-Albania to the Shkumbi had no indirect connection with the Vlorë government. They occupied the long sought after marine port and then their attention shifted to the siege of Shkodra and the invaded territories of the Middle-Balkans. In South Albania there was no threat of a Serbian-Albanian clash.³⁴

The first semi-official contact between Qemali and the Serbians took place in February 1913. The Premier could less and less tolerate his being locked up in Vlorë and the negative attitude of the Adriatic powers as to his European travel. He started negotiations with the Serbian authorities so that these would not keep him from traveling.³⁵ The Beograd government took advantage of Qemali's approaching

³¹ Godin, Marie Amelie. *Aus dem neuen Albanien. Politische und kulturhistorische Skizzen*. Wien: Roller, 1914. 61; ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 11.12.1912., No.2343.

³² Demeter, Gábor. *A két Balkán-háború hadtörténete (1912–1913)*. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008. 282–294.

³³ KA, Militärkanzlei Franz Ferdinand (MKFF), Akt. 106/40–41, Türkischen Kreuzer *Hamidié*, 07.03.1913., Nr.1917.

³⁴ Lalaj, Ana. 'Shpallja e pavarësisë dhe disa aspekte të veprimtarisë së qeverisë e Vlorës.' *Studime Historike* 51, Nr. 1–4 (1997): 101.

³⁵ KA, MKSM, 18–1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 18.

them and started a new Albanian policy. Živojin Balugčić, the former Serbian consul in Salonica who had decades of experience about the Albanians, was sent to Durrës, and colonel Paunović was appointed the military leader of the port city. The arrival of the Serbian diplomat and the new commander mitigated the tension between the Albanians and Serbians in Middle Albania as both of them sought to maintain good relationship with the Muslim landowner and bey families.³⁶ Contact was made through Hamdi Bej Toptani from Durrës. His task was to organise a secret meeting somewhere around the Shkumbi river between Balugčić and Qemali. Eventually the meeting failed to take place, as the Premier only wanted to speak about his traveling to Italy, while the Serbian diplomat wanted to win the Vlora government over for the ideas of his own government.³⁷

The Beograd government sent not only Serbian diplomats to Middle Albania but also Macedonian Albanians, such as Fehim Bej Zavalani, the leader of the Bitola Albanian Club, who was also a follower of the Young Turk ideology.³⁸ To put it differently: the Serbian military authorities managed to gain for their ideas the support of a Muslim who had acquired quite a name for himself in the national movement. Until 1913, the Zavalani held negotiations with Serbian government authorities on a number of occasions and supposedly he also drew a monthly allowance from Beograd.³⁹ Fehim Zavalani, along with other Albanians from Bitola, arrived in Durrës at the end of February, 1913, and there joined Hamdi Toptani.

The task of Zavalani and Balugčić was to gain Qemali's support for a temporary Serbian occupation of smaller Albanian territories (as for example in the case of Berat sanjak), or possibly for a Serbian-Albanian personal union or for the idea of an independent Albania under Serbian supremacy. In return they promised to promote the

³⁶ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6i, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 03.03.1913., No.8/201.

³⁷ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Mérey, Rome, 08.03.1913., No.1049. and ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6i, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 23.02.1913., No.3176.

³⁸ Fehim Zavalani Bey (1859–1935). Elsie, Robert. *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*. London – New York: Tauris, 2013. 498f.

³⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/VII/Fasz. 423, report by Halla to Pallavicini to Constantinople, Monastir, 04.05.1913., No.48; *ibid.* XII/422/6i, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 03.03.1913., No.8/201.

Premier's travel in Europe.⁴⁰ During the negotiations the bey of Bitola tried to act as a personal mediator between Qemali and the Beograd authorities.⁴¹

The head of the Provisional Government refused to participate in any negotiations that could possibly affect the future of Albania. He still expected the great powers to decide about the fate of his country and never relinquished his idea to personally take part in the great powers' negotiations leading his own delegation. For Qemali, the negotiations between Albania and Serbia finally became irrelevant when the *Mekong* arrived in Vlora on 28th March, 1913 (see later).

The Qemali government aspirations in domestic policy

In the months following the proclamation of independence, the Provisional Government started to operate in almost impossible conditions: due to the Greek maritime blockade and the fact that the telegram cable connecting Vlora with Bari had been cut off, the town became totally isolated.⁴² The central bureaucratic system and the administration in general collapsed, and in the countryside total chaos ensued. What is more, the new state law situation created new problems.

Until the great powers in London decided on a finalised organisational framework, the government aimed to build out a temporary public administration. The first attempt at this was made in the aforementioned Vlora-Lushnja-Berat triangle.⁴³ The objective was not merely to restore order and collect taxes, but the government also wanted to demonstrate the self-organising and self-administering skills of the Albanians.

In the country the reorganisation of the administration could only be attempted at such places where no imperial or other invasion forces were stationed. Such places were growing in number (until April 1913 especially in the former Berat, Elbasan and Durrës

⁴⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6i, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 03.03.1913., No.8/201. and report by Bilinski, Ioannina, 15.03.1913., No.17.

⁴¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6i, telegram by Rudnay, Durazzo, 21.02.1913., No.2893.

⁴² ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/415/5r, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 07.01.1913., Nr.3848.

⁴³ Puto, *Historia diplomatike*, 124.

sanjaks).⁴⁴ Apart from some territorial reorganisation, the administration of the Provisional Government retained the Ottoman system of sanjaks and kazas. Basically, a part of the former officials everywhere tried to restore office routine on their own. Qemali either ratified the appointment of the former functionaries or later approved certain changes, or from his Vlora office he appointed officials from the local aristocrats.⁴⁵ He could provide no more support. Thus in Vlora and its vicinity the Provisional Government kept operating the former administrative system.⁴⁶

Interestingly enough, Durrës established its own administrative system in December led by Hamdi Bej Toptani right after the Serbian invasion. The locals already in the first days of occupation informed the Serbian military authorities that they came under the legislation of the Provisional Government and not that of the Ottoman Empire. It is however important to note, that the town only namely acknowledged the authority of the Provisional Government; Ismail Qemal Vlora gained no influence whatsoever over the port town.⁴⁷ During the winter the inhabitants laid the foundations of a municipal system which was assigned to take over the control of the town and its vicinity following a possible Serbian withdrawal. The civilian-administrative, juridical and police bodies organised by Hamdi Bej Toptani never planned to further acknowledge the authority of the Vlora Government after the withdrawal of the invasion forces.⁴⁸

The Provisional Government had no sufficient domestic income to operate the administration. On the land, the imperial army used up all available resources, while the Greek blockade prevented the port from profiting from the tariffs. Formerly the latter had been the most

⁴⁴ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417, Jänner-März, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 25.04.1913., No.24.

⁴⁵ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, letter by Rudnay, Durazzo, 03.12.1912., No.78. and letter by Lejhanec, Valona, 03.12.1912., No.71.

⁴⁶ KA, MKSM, 18–1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 3–4, 7–9 and Hofmann, *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 11, 29; Puto, Arben. *Pavarësia shqiptare dhe diplomacia e fuqive të mëdha (1912–1914)*. Tiranë: 8. Nëntori, 1978. 116, 139.

⁴⁷ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, reports by Rudnay, Durazzo, 05.12.1912., No. 82. and 06.12.1912., No.83.

⁴⁸ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417, Jänner-März 1913, report by Rudnay, Durazzo, 03.02.1913., No.35, Beilag.

important income for the town of Vlora: it amounted to a monthly 120-140.000 French francs.⁴⁹

The government basically could rely on two domestic income source: the saltworks in the port and the taxes collected in and around Vlora. The former yielded nicely in peacetime, the equipment and the buildings alone were worth as much as 5.000 Turkish liras. Qemali placed one of his confidants in charge of the works, so he could directly obtain the profit.⁵⁰ Indirect tax collection was executed in accordance with the tax obligations prior to 28th November, however, this time the amount was used not by the imperial bureaucracy but by the Provisional Government. While the government held office, the population never failed to pay the due taxes.

Ismail Qemali founded his actions on the hope that the fate of Albania will be decided by the great powers. It was they whom he expected to mark the final borders of his country and to stop the Serbian and Greek armies, and so he considered any kind of struggle as unnecessary and aimless. Basically this was the reason why he kept demoralising the Albanian soldiers fighting around Ioannina during the winter of 1912-1913.⁵¹

Yet he needed his own armed forces to protect his government, maintain order and defend against possible Albanian rivals and against Ottoman, Serbian or Greek attacks.⁵² The first such remarkable force at his disposal comprised the warriors of two Kosovarian warlords, Isa Boletini and Riza Bej Gjakova. These fighters were well-armed and had gained considerable battle experience while fighting against the Turkish and Serbian regular forces. They were also disciplined, "psychologically strong" and according to the contemporary Austrian spy, First Lieutenant Johann Hofmann, they were also known for their self-confidence and courage. Both Boletini and Riza Bey assured that they were never wanting in discipline: they kept drilling their soldiers on the fields around Vlora. The only problem with these warlords was that there was only one thing that

⁴⁹ Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen* 2, 6.

⁵⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/419/6e, report by Lejhanec, Valona, 07.05.1913., No.32.

⁵¹ „We have nothing to do with the war of Turkey" he stressed on a number of occasions. Godin, *Aus dem neuen Albanien*, 60.

⁵² KA, MKSM, 18-1/7, Thomas, *Bericht über Albanien*, 2. 10.

made them loyal to the government: they expected it to liberate Kosovo vilayet. The two leaders behaved like two medieval knights: due to their authority they possessed the right to do whatever they pleased and nobody dared to order them around. Hierarchically speaking they were on a level with the government rather than under it. It is true however, that they never took advantage of their position and indeed stood ready to protect the Provisional Government.

Qemali already started to organise his own armed force in December 1912. Soldiers could be recruited from three places basically: from the former policing crew of the empire (eg. gendarmerie), from the Albanian soldiers who had deserted from the Ottoman army and from the volunteering insurgents. The Premier also called to arm men from the colonies (e.g. Boston), but to no real avail.⁵³

In December 1912 Ismail Qemal Vlora originally meant to set up an army of 3.000 comprising deserting soldiers and officers whom he expected to come over to the Vlora government along with their equipment taken from the imperial army. He established a secret committee with the assignment to enlist the soldiers and win them for the cause of the independent Albania. To set up the army he also requested the Adriatic powers to provide a support of 100-200.000 Kronen. At that time, however, Vienna and Rome did not support the idea of an independent Albanian army.⁵⁴

Finally, he managed to enlist around 100 people with some Anatolian Turkish gendarmes serving in Albania among their number as well. As the deserting soldiers were well equipped with weapons and ammunition, and the army warehouses had been raided earlier, most of those enlisted entered service carrying their own weapons. Everybody had a rifle, handgun and bandoliers with 100-200 pockets for ammunition.

The scope of authority for the gendarmerie operations ranged as far as Lushnja, Berat and Gjirokastra (i.e. as far as the Albanian banner

⁵³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 05.12.1912., No.1171; *ibid.* XII/417, Jänner-März 1913, telegram by Nuber, New York, 19.02.1913., No.2677.

⁵⁴ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegrams by Lejhanec, Valona, 12.12.1912., No. 2503. and 26.12.1912., No.5354.

represented the Provisional Government), but first of all they were stationed on the southern roads leading to Ioannina in posts set up every 10 kilometres. 20-50 of the gendarmes kept guard on the Llogara pass so that they could observe the Greeks landed in Himara. The gendarmes were responsible for maintaining order, patrolling and, in principle, apprehending deserters, but due to the free corps ravaging the region they hardly ever left their blockhouses.

Qemali's elder son, Edhem Bej Vlora, inexpert in military matters, became in charge of the gendarmerie of the Provisional Government, but occasionally the Premier himself acted as their commander. Minister of war, Mehmet Dërralla had no influence whatsoever over the corps. Besides the gendarmerie bigger towns also retained their police force of a few dozen people. These operated in accordance with the old regulation and were led by the local kadis. In Vlora, Minister of justice Poga also issued a few orders to the police.

Ismail Qemali's greatest Albanian rival in South-Albania was undoubtedly Eqrem Bej Vlora and his party at that time. While the young bey accepted his uncle's position and the situation in aftermath of the proclamation of independence, he tried to limit his opponent's possibilities to his best abilities. Eqrem did not strive to secure the power for himself, partly because he believed that his uncle would be able to overcome his personal feelings, partly because he was well aware that due to his strong sympathy with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy he would fail to secure the necessary support. In the contemporary context his youth was also regarded as a disadvantage (he was 27 years of age at the time).⁵⁵

Eqrem Vlora however found political allies, namely Vice Premier Nikollë Kaçorri⁵⁶ and Murat Bej Toptani.⁵⁷ Although his contemporaries voiced several reasons for their opposing Qemali, the primary pretext for the confrontation was that Qemali had failed to organise the armed resistance against the armies of the Balkan states and had hindered those wishing to fight, not to mention his letters in which he had urged the Albanian soldiers of Ioannina and Berat to desert. His rivals made Qemali responsible for the Greek occupation

⁵⁵ Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen* 2, 15.

⁵⁶ Nikollë Kaçorri (1862-1917). On his life see Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 228f.

⁵⁷ KA, MKSM, 18-1/7, Hofmann, *Bericht über Albanien 1913*, 4-6.

of South-Albania. The confrontation was mainly expressed verbally, through background intrigues. Unlike Eqrem Vlora, Myfit Bej Libohova⁵⁸ supported Qemali and he also emphasised that offering resistance would have been utterly senseless.⁵⁹

The Muslim Tosk aristocrats who participated in the defence of Ioannina also held Qemali accountable for the lack of armed resistance as in Çamëria and around Ioannina during the winter of 1912-1913 intense clashes continued between the Albanians and the regular and irregular Greek forces. The Muslim aristocrats and the fighting Albanian soldiers joined forces to organise defence. They were very much aware of the fact that they would lose to Greece those kazas and sanjaks where the Albanians were in minority compared with the Greek populace, but they also regarded Ioannina as the natural capital of South-Albania which was to be defended at all cost - either for the Empire *or* for an independent Albania.⁶⁰ The hostility Qemali and the Provisional Government displayed deeply embittered them, but they also resented the inhabitants of the northern, Catholic, tribal territories for not offering resistance. The Albanian free corps were on their own, the Provisional Government denied them any direct support between 28th November and 15th-18th December, which further fuelled the rumour that the Premier obeys Athens only, and means for Epirus and Himara to be parts of Greece.

The Tosks were generally disappointed in the Adriatic powers, with special regard to the Monarchy as they passively witnessed the events of the Balkan war. Although the various South-Albanian aristocratic groups sent several letters and telegrams to Rome and Vienna (the nobles of Çamëria even requested Austria to grant them access into the monarchy), they always received a negative or an evasive answer.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Myfit Libohova (1876-1927). On his life see Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 280–282.

⁵⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/VII/Fasz. 429, report by Lejhanec, Constantinople, 20.02.1913., No.8; Vlora, Ekrem. *Lebenserinnerungen*. Bd. 1. München: Oldenbourg, 1968. 275.

⁶⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6b, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey, Vienna, 18.12.1912., Prot.Nr.3986, 4.

⁶¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6b, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey, Vienna, 18.12.1912., Prot.Nr.3986. 5.o. and ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/420/6f, report by Bilinski, Ioannina, 04.03.1913., No.9, 1–5.

The Tosk aristocrats who had come from Ioannina, Gjirokastra and Serfice sanjaks and lived in Ioannina during the siege, decided in early December that they would personally call Ismail Qemali to account for his telegrams and messages in which he had urged the soldiers to desert. They selected Musa Hamit Demi and sent him to Vlora to demand answers from the Premier. It was also one of Demi's task to persuade the Provisional Government about the necessity of the armed resistance. After their meeting Qemali altered his policy and sent no more such messages. Demi could also convince the Premier that the Ottoman corps in Ioannina under the leadership of Esat Pasha Halasti actually defended the potential southern borders of Albania and they prevented the Greek army from invading the remaining Albanian territories, therefore dividing the defence would not prove to be a good idea. At the same time Qemali, in the name of the Provisional Government, refused to launch a joint Turkish-Albanian action against the Greek.⁶²

On 20th December, 1912, Ismail Qemal Vlora sent a congratulating telegram to the Ottoman high command in Ioannina for their victory over the Greek troops.⁶³ Musa Hamit Demi, after spending a week in Vlora, also returned to Ioannina. He was accompanied by one of the ministers, Mithat Bej Frashëri whose was entrusted with the task of heartening the soldiers to keep on fighting. During Frashëri's stay in Ioannina the Albanians of the town even toyed with the idea of overthrowing Qemali and putting a new Premier in power. This however never happened, as the local Austro-Hungarian consul warned the conspirators against an open Albanian-Albanian clash and its possibly dire consequences.⁶⁴

From the perspective of domestic policy, the government proved unsuccessful between December 1912 and March 1913: it failed to create an operating administration and to maintain order. Practically

⁶² ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/415/5r, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 07.01.1913., Nr.3848.

⁶³ Nr. 105. telegram by Qemali to Esat Halasti Pasha to Ioannina, 20.12.1912., *Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës*, 80–81.

⁶⁴ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6b, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey, Vienna, 18.12.1912., Prot.Nr. 3986. 1–4.o. and *ibid.* Jänner-März 1913, report by Bilinski, Ioannina, 12.02.1913., No.4.

it operated as a city administration, while it was the one and only organisation that aspired to legitimately represent the interests of Albania outside the country. The government had not much influence in the countryside either: unoccupied territories remained under the control of the leaders of the great houses or under that of the Ottoman troops.

When assessing the performance of the government, one must not forget however, that under such circumstances even the most prepared body of experts would have been bound to fail. Foreign governments considered the Qemali administration as illegitimate and thus the Provisional Government so much depended on the decisions taken at the London conference and on the daily events of the Balkan that it was impossible for it to start any significant domestic reforms from the beginning. The only task the government could perform was to represent internationally and, to a smaller extent, domestically that *Albania has a government*.⁶⁵

The foreign policy of the Provisional Government

The Government, isolated in Vlorë, maintained “proper” relations with the Adriatic great powers only, through their local consulates. Though neither Vienna nor Rome supported overtly the Albanian government, for their own interests they maintained their diplomatic presence in Vlorë which greatly contributed to the stabilization of the region.⁶⁶ Their influence was based on the Albanian policy they pursued in former decades and on the fact that it was these consulates through which any information from the outside world could reach the port town. Their prestige was further increased by the Albanian expectations, as both the Provisional Government and the population expected these two great powers to drive out the invading troops. It is important to note however, that the maritime blockade also hindered these two consulates, as they could only send sporadic reports to their Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and thus neither the Ballhausplatz nor

⁶⁵ Godin, *Aus dem neuen Albanien*, 71; Puto, *Historia diplomatike*, 124; Gurakuqi, Romeo. ‘Principateja shqiptare dhe Mbretëria e Greqisë në kontekstin e marrëdhënieve ndërkombëtare 1913–1914.’ *Hylli i Dritës* 29 (2010): 96.

⁶⁶ Godin, *Aus dem neuen Albanien*, 106; Puto, *Shqipëria politike*, 45–47.

the Consulta had exact information as to the South-Albanian situation.⁶⁷

It was this lack of information and the communicational difficulties that necessitated that the two Adriatic powers dispatch spies and agents into Albania. While the Greek blockade never ceased to control the shore, with proper determination both the Italian and the Austro-Hungarian warships could anchor along the coast. As to the Italian agents, no archive sources have so far been published. It is known however, that Conrad, Chief of General Staff of the Monarchy dispatched at least seven intelligence officers to Albania whose tasks he liaised with the joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These agents were required not only to collect information but also to promote the (military) interests of their home countries. To be more exact, they had to plan a possible contraband of arms, organise Austro-Hungarian friendly Albanians. Qemali often protested against the latter activities.⁶⁸

The most important link between the Adriatic powers and the Provisional Government was undoubtedly the fact that Vienna and Rome provided the operating funds necessary for the Qemali government. In the first half of December 1912, Qemali applied to the great powers for a contribution of 100-200.000 Kronen to support the Albanian national aspirations.⁶⁹ Both ministries of foreign affairs were willing to provide the loan, but they also expressed their desire to control how this sum was being used.⁷⁰ So far no information has surfaced in the Vienna archive sources as to whether the Monarchy provided any funds for Albanian governmental purposes between December 1912 and March 1913, and if so, how much. What is known is that the Qemali family, in order to maintain power, drew regular allowances from Vienna (for example in March, 1913 they received 5.000 francs) and presumably from Rome as well. It is also a fact, that the Albanian Premier, during his travels in Europe, received 20.000

⁶⁷ Godin, *Aus dem neuen Albanien*, 108.

⁶⁸ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6g, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey to Rome, 20.02.1913., No. 210. and ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6m, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 19.02.1913., No.2590; Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen* 2, 17.

⁶⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6b, Tagesbericht, Vienna, 15.12.1912. [No. n/a]

⁷⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Mérey, Rome, 16.12.1912., No.3363.

francs in the capitals of both great powers for governmental purposes, which amount he spent in total during the travels.⁷¹

Significantly higher amounts were spent supporting the refugees in the Albanian territories controlled by the Provisional Government. Vienna and Rome liaised the organisation of humanitarian aid on equal terms down to the most meticulous detail: the assigned diplomatic offices assessed the needs in joint reports, requested financial support and foodstuff together, received aid of equal amount and value and distributed it together according to jointly received orders. Although the foreign armies present and the poor infrastructure posed significant difficulties, the Austro-Hungarian and Italian consuls conscientiously travelled the region and strove to compile exact and detailed lists, statistics and assessments of the circumstances, conditions and needs.⁷² To a lesser extent, help was needed by those hundreds who wanted to ship to Anatolia from the Albanian harbours,⁷³ and to a greater extent by those fleeing to Middle-Albania from Macedonia and Kosovo.

In March, 1913, following a brief liaising, the Ballhausplatz and the Consulta agreed to allocate a daily amount of 500 Kronen to the refugees in and around Vlora as long as the Greek blockade would last. The aid was not merely of financial nature, but also meant shipping corn, wheat, flour, salt and beans to Albania.⁷⁴ However, the humanitarian support continued after the Greeks lifted the blockade on 14th April: both parties offered a further amount of 20-20.000 francs. The distribution was assigned to a committee comprising employees of the Italian and Austro-Hungarian consulates and officials of the Provisional Government. This aid was also meant for the refugees around Berat.⁷⁵ At the end of April an Italian and an Austro-Hungarian warship set out for Vlora, with 20-20.000 francs

⁷¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/421/60, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey to Rome, 17.04.1913., Prot.No.3056.

⁷² ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6n, report by Rudnay, Durazzo, 31.03.1913., No.109.

⁷³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 26.12.1912., No.5354.

⁷⁴ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6n, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 09.03.1913., No.1182. and a handwritten draft telegram by Berchtold to Mérey to Rome, Vienna, 15.03.1913., No. 275.

⁷⁵ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6n, report by Lejhanec, Valona, 15.04.1913., No.15.

worth of medical equipment (medical instruments, medicine, tents, blankets), foodstuff and ready money aboard.⁷⁶ The Vlora government was not the only beneficiary of this shipment: the Ottoman military commands of Fier and Berat also received their share, thus the aid reached the remaining Ottoman troops as well.⁷⁷

The conditions in Vlora proved to be almost unbearable for Ismail Qemal Vlora. He had served for decades as an Ottoman chief official, where he had got used to being respected and to a certain due distance between himself and the ordinary people. In the house of Xhemal Vlora however, anybody could walk up to him and present the most insignificant problems. Such were the “physical” circumstances under which the Premier was struggling to influence the policy-making of the great powers.⁷⁸

The most important objective for his government was to properly represent the Albanians before the great powers and the other Balkan states. Accordingly, Qemali and a few other members of his administration started planning a European tour as early as December, 1912. The Premier originally intended to visit the capitals of the great powers with a delegation of 3-8 members carefully selected on the basis of religious equality, and wanted to finish his tour in London so that he could officially represent Albania at the Re-Union negotiations where the final decisions were taken.⁷⁹ Qemali would have welcomed representatives of all Albanian-inhabited regions, like Hasan Bej Prishtina and Nexhip Draga as representatives of the Albanians of the Middle-Balkans.⁸⁰ Another objective of the tour was to secure credits for the new state.

⁷⁶ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6n, letter by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Austrian Monarchic Red Cross [sic!], 1913.04.21., No.1808. and telegram by Mérey, Rome, 07.05.1913., No.1912.

⁷⁷ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/422/6n, report by Lejhanec, Valona, 07.05.1913., No.31.

⁷⁸ Godin, *Aus dem neuen Albanien*, 94.

⁷⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 03.12.1912., No.568. and letter by Lejhanec, Valona, 03.12.1912., No.71. vertraulich; furthermore ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/418/6d, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 17.12.1912., No.766.

⁸⁰ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/418/6d, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 20.12.1912., No.4525. and ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 09.12.1912., No.1852.

In principle, Vienna and Rome never opposed to an Albanian delegation taking a European tour (via their consulates in Vlora they even assured Qemali that they would provide all necessary means, such as interpreters, etc.), but both great powers insisted that the Premier must not be among the members of the delegation.⁸¹ Accordingly, Italian consul de Facendis and Austro-Hungarian consul Lejhanec were ordered to retain Qemali in Vlora by all means and convince him that he was far more needed in Albania than in London.⁸² The experts of both great powers were absolutely positive that in the event of the Premier's leaving, Albania would surely lose any remaining illusion of order.

However, Qemali kept insisting (as Austro-Hungarian sources suggest "rather stubbornly") all along on his leading the delegation. He argued that he was the only Albanian who had diplomatic relations and adequate experience, what is more, his leadership would greatly stabilise his government and consolidate the situation in Albania. He even tried to win the support of the Adriatic powers by delegating members who expressly had a friendly disposition towards Italy and Austro-Hungary – but to no avail.⁸³

In February-March, 1913, Qemali once again made efforts to travel Europe. As the great powers still declined to provide any support, Qemali started negotiations with the Greek commanders in charge of the blockade at Vlora and with Balugčić, Serbian diplomat who had arrived in Durrës and asked them for support. In return, he offered certain concessions.⁸⁴ These offers, however, only served to buy Qemali time: he only made them to gain support for leaving the country, as he himself expected answers to all questions from the London conference. It is proven by the fact, that once the *Mekong* appeared, Qemali immediately suspended all negotiations with the Balkan allies.

⁸¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XIX/Berchtold/1, Bd.IV., 1912.12.04., 446–447.

⁸² ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/418/6d, telegram by Berchtold to Lejhanecnek (No. 24.), to Mérey (No. 284.), Vienna, 20.12.1912. and Puto, *Pavarësia shqiptare*, 354.

⁸³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegrams by Lejhanec, Valona, 09.12.1912., No.1852.; 28.12.1912., No.5731. and telegram by Mérey, Rome, 31.12.1912., No.6207.

⁸⁴ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417/6c, telegram by Rohm, Corfu, 09.03.1913., No.1185. and ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/417, Jänner-März, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey to Rome, Vienna, 24.02.1913., No.216.

The yacht of Ferdinand François Bourbon-Orleans,⁸⁵ Prince of Montpensier and descendant of Skanderbeg broke through the blockade and made a surprise appearance in the port town. In early March, the prince and his henchman, Albert Ghica⁸⁶ were still staying in Trieste and there caused quite a stir among the Viennese and Roman diplomats when they announced the prince's claim to the Albanian throne. After his visit to Trieste Montpensier anchored in various Italian ports and planned to contraband a shipment of arms into Vlora and in return to request the Provisional Government to proclaim him the monarch of Albania; thus he wished to present a fait accompli to the European great powers.⁸⁷ However, the regular and aggressive control and threatening harassment of the Italian civil and military authorities and the increased presence of imperial and royal warships on the Adriatic Sea made him reconsider and abandon the idea.⁸⁸ On 27th March Montpensier's yacht appeared along the shore of Corfu, and the next day the ship - with the prince standing aboard clad in British navy officer uniform - broke through the blockade and cast anchor in Vlora.⁸⁹

On his arrival the French prince and his yacht with the Albanian flag on the mast were cheered upon by the crowd gathering in the port. After disembarking he donated 1000 francs to the poor and distributed hundreds of postcards depicting him and fliers with Albanian captions about him. He behaved as a future monarch albeit he never said if it was the antant or the Balkan allies or a third party that supported his ambitions.

Qemali and Montpensier contacted each other without hesitation. Although the Italian and the Austro-Hungarian consuls warned the prince that the two Adriatic powers did not regard favourably Qemali's trip to Europe, Montpensier still started negotiations with

⁸⁵ Ferdinand Montpensier (1884-1924). On his life see Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 317f.

⁸⁶ Albert Ghica (1868-1925). On his life see Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 167.

⁸⁷ KA, B 1450 Nachlaß Conrad, Akt. 82, telegram by Manussi to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trieste, 01.03.1913., Geh.Nr.93/1.

⁸⁸ ÖStA HHStA, XII. Türkei, Kt. 419. 6e., Herzog von Montpensier, report by Citterich Brindisi, 19.13.1913., No.17. and telegram by Mérey, Rome, 22.03.1913., No.3357.

⁸⁹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/419/6e, Herzog von Montpensier, report by Lejhanec, Valona, 31.03.1913., No.9; Puto, *Shqipëria politike*, 86–88.

the Premier. Although he was not proclaimed monarch, he received certain promises, that the Provisional Government would favour him as a likely candidate in London.⁹⁰ The negotiations soon drew to an end: the prince agreed to transport the delegation to Italy. The three most important members of the committee were Qemali (the politician), Luigj Gurakuqi (the intellectual) and Boletini (the soldier), but Qemali's two sons (Edhem and Qazim) and Boletini's sons (7 altogether) were also aboard. The Premier did not let anybody have their say when selecting the members of the delegation: only his henchmen could participate. Before his departure he issued orders to remove from the government all those in his opposition whom he perceived as a potential threat: Kaçorri, Mithat Frashëri and Abdi Bej Toptani.⁹¹ The delegation set out with 900 Turkish lira for travel expenses.

They arrived in Brindisi on 30th March, whence Ismail Qemali immediately travelled to Rome, while his companions went to Bari.⁹² The Premier negotiated with San Giuliano, the Italian minister of foreign affairs and two days later with Kajetán Mérey, Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Rome. Both diplomats received Qemali with mistrust and endeavoured to convince him to return home as soon as possible.⁹³ Neither party offered any promises or encouragement.

The delegation arrived in Vienna on 10th April. Here the representatives of Ballhausplatz and also the heir presumptive Franz Ferdinand contacted them, the latter attempting to get them to acknowledge Prince Urach's claim to the throne. In Vienna negotiations took place not only with the Albanian Premier: the

⁹⁰ Kemal, Ismail. *The Memoirs Ismail Kemal Bey*. Edited by Sommerville Story. New York, 1920. Reprint 1997 by Renzo Falashi. 374f; Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen* 2, 17.

⁹¹ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/419/6e, Herzog von Montpensier, report of Lejhanec, Valona, 31.03.1913., No.9. and telegram by Lejhanec, Valona, 30.03.1913., [No. illegible]

⁹² Musaj, Fatmira. *Isa Boletini (1864–1916)*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave, 1987. 171.

⁹³ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/421/6o, telegram by Berchtold to Mérey to Rome, 01.04.1913., No.333. and handwritten report by Mérey, Rome, 10.04.1913., No.24.

general staff and the joint minister of war made enquiries with Boletini about the military situation and a possible cooperation.⁹⁴

The negotiations in Rome and Vienna clearly indicate that what worried the Adriatic allies was that Qemali's delegation might support the claims of Montpensier while the Ballhausplatz and the Consulta took all possible efforts to eliminate those claims. Qemali however took interest primarily in the future borders of Albania and in acquiring as much information as possible.⁹⁵ It was presumably during these negotiations that the head of the Provisional Government developed the principles he wished to represent in London: 1. Albania must utterly break away from the Ottoman Empire; 2. the future monarch may not be Muslim, the final decision as to his person is to be taken later; 3. the borders of Albania must be justly set, that is, the country cannot lose many important towns (although it remains unknown which towns he meant exactly); he however agreed that Ioannina come under the control of Greece; 4. guarantees of great powers are necessary, but these cannot overinfluence the shaping of the future administration.⁹⁶

As Qemali was aware that every important decisions would be made in London, he soon left Vienna for Paris and then arrived in the British capital. During his travels he gave several interviews and did his best to win the European press to the cause of Albania. In London, the delegation was courteously received. Although the members might have no say in the matters discussed at the conference, they could freely get in touch with Grey, minister of Foreign Affairs as well as with the representatives of the Triple Alliance.⁹⁷

In London however, Qemali radically modified his concepts of domestic politics. Soon after he had left Paris he came to know that his greatest opponent, Esat Toptani Pasha had surrendered Shkodra and with his army of thousands of troops he had set out for the South. For the Premier this arrangement spelled disaster.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Musaj, *Isa Boletini*, 173.

⁹⁵ Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen* 2, 19.

⁹⁶ ÖStA HHStA PA/XII/421/60, telegrams by Mérey, Rome, 01.04.1913., No.178. and 03.04.1913., No.387.

⁹⁷ Musaj, *Isa Boletini*, 176; Puto, *Shqipëria politike*, 91–94.

⁹⁸ Kemal, *The Memoirs Ismail Kemal*, 376.

The news on the fall of Shkodra on 24th April brought about a radical change in the Albanian domestic policy. For the politically active Albanians the surrender of the fort town signified not the fall of the last Ottoman fortress in Europe, but the emergence in an already troubled domestic political atmosphere of the powerful Esat Toptani Pasha who, considering his influence and the capability of intrigue was equalled by Qemali only. In return for Shkodra Esat Toptani struck a deal with Montenegro and Serbia: the withdrawing troops could retain their weapons and ammunition and the two Slavic countries would support the Pasha's hegemonic aspirations in creating his own principality in Middle-Albania. Esat Toptani and his army of 10.000 soldiers set out for the South at the end of April and planned to personally adjust the future fate of Albania to his own political ambitions.

The conflict between Ismail Qemali and Esat Toptani marked the onset of a new phase in the history of the independent state. While the events of the London conference were taking place, the relationship between the two most influential Albanian politicians rapidly deteriorated. The only reason why they could avoid the outbreak of a civil war in September 1913 was that the Albanian and Macedonian refugees from the Middle Balkans who were staying in Albania at the time attacked the territories that had been annexed by Serbia. The two politicians' duel ended when Bekir Agha made an unsuccessful coup attempt, which allowed the International Commission of Control to overthrow Premier Ismail Qemali and to take over the control in the country. Upon Qemali's downfall the first national government of the independent Albania also resigned.

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Women of Orthodox Faith in Cyprus amid Historical Transitions

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Abstract:

A fully effective participation of women of faith in political life could contribute significantly to the prevention of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations, making for a more humane global society. The focus of this article is the contribution of Orthodox Christian women to the life and culture of Cyprus, a country with a history of conflict and division across ethnic and religious lines, something not rare in the Middle East. The northern section of Cyprus has been under Turkish rule since 1974. This has a majority Muslim population; albeit with an existing Christian presence composed of Christians, Maronite inhabitants as well as foreign workers. A survey conducted in the summer of 2019 sheds light on the image of women of faith in daily life and society. Central to my analysis is women's struggle for reconciliation between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots amid the United Nations' continuing efforts for a settlement to the Cyprus conflict. The role of women is examined along with a brief historical outline of each period, which is important in order to understand their effort and achievements.

Keywords: Cyprus, gender, Orthodox Church, Christian women, Muslim women, financial crisis, reconstruction, reconciliation, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots.

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History of Cyprus, the Orthodox Church, and Changes affecting Women's Status

The word 'ἐκκλησία' ecclesia is comprised of two Greek words: *ek*, which means "out from and to", and *kaléō*, which means "to call." In antiquity 'Εκκλησία του Δήμου' was the Church of the Municipality, a main democratic assembly in ancient Athens, and was held on the hill of Pnyx, the Market or the Theatre of Dionysos. The assembly was open exclusively to all male citizens, over the age of 20, who had political rights. The assembly was established by Solon in 594 B.C. In contrast to the Church of the Municipality, the Orthodox Church allowed women to come to services. Moreover, women have a religious duty to participate in the Holy Sacraments as well as educate their children in this direction. However, segregation was practised within the Church with a designated area *Gynaikonitis*¹ for women to pray. In the Byzantine Church of Ayia Sophia in Constantinople, the throne of the Queen was placed at the front of the Gynaikonitis. The end of the Ottoman Empire in Cyprus marked an end to women's segregation in the Churches. Nevertheless there remains to this day the unwritten rule that women stand on the left side of the inner Church building while men stand on the right. However, it is now common practice for younger couples to stand together with their children as a family without any censure by more traditional members of the congregation.

There have been several times when the doctrine of the first Church in our region has been accused of a kind of misogyny. These criticisms however need to be viewed in light of their historical context. It would be unfair to omit referring to what was happening in Corinth at the time the Apostle Paul wrote the two Letters to the Corinthians. In his first letter Paul admonishes women who do not cover their head in worship. «Every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonours her head; it is the same as having her head shaved. For if a woman does not cover her head, she might as well have her hair cut off; but if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved, then she should cover her head" (*I Corinthians, 11:5-6*). From the time of classical antiquity until the Byzantine Era, Corinth had been the centre of

¹ In Ancient Greece the part of the house reserved for women was called "gynaecium" (γυναικείον) or gynaeconitis (γυναικωνίτις, *gynaikōnitis*). These women's quarters are similar to the Indian and Muslim Zenana. The *gynaecium* is the counterpart to the *andron*, or male quarters.

organized prostitution as well as the so-called sacred prostitution. There, in the temple of Aphrodite a significant number of female servants, called *hetairai* were employed. These women wore their hair short and did not cover their head. According to apostle Paul, a failure to cover the hair would readily identify a woman as a prostitute. In the *Letter to Galatians* (3:28) the same Apostle, emphasizes sexual equality in the matter of salvation: "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." All who are in Christ have same salvation status before God. However they do not have the same function (Brown, 1976, 570). Although there is evidence that sacred prostitution did exist, it was not the main form of prostitution in ancient Greece (Stephanie Budin, 2009).

In 45 A.D. the Apostles Paul and Barnabas (both of Jewish descent) visited the island and stopped in Paphos, then the capital of Cyprus, where they preached Christianity. Jews and adherents of idolatry were displeased by this and asked them to leave the island. According to tradition, Paul was tied and beaten receiving forty but one (i.e. 39) lashes by friends of a sorcerer, called Elymas. During this period male and female inhabitants of Cyprus, converted to Christianity. At that time the religions that existed on the island were Judaism, the religion of the Twelve Olympians, idolatry, as well as the practice of sorcery (Papadopoulos, 2011). As Christians they learnt the new message of this religion, which espoused love, humility and the elevated status of women. This had a positive impact on family relations and social life on the island. It is worth noting here, that the legal and social status of women was considerably lower than that of men. Judith Wegner (1988) describes the status of women at that time as resting somewhere between the level of a chattel and of a person, which kept women nearly as *res* (objects).²

During the reign of Emperor Zeno the autocephaly (*juridical independency*) of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus was granted (478 A.D.).³ Through the Byzantine Era women were confined to the home

² An entity possessing no powers, rights, or duties is no person at all but merely an object or chattel. In the advent of the Religion of Islam in Arabia, women were treated like *res*. Sharia, the Muslim Law, lifted the status of women at that time, from *res* to personhood with limited rights and many duties. See Said Ramadan, *Islamisches Recht. Theorie und Praxis*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), 50-51.

³ See John Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972²), 23ff.

and could go out only with the permission of their husband or guardian. Parents arranged the marriage of their daughters usually between the ages of 13-15. Women's education was generally limited to reading and writing. Very few women acquired a wider learning. The Codex Justinianus decreed that a married woman sitting at a table with other men and without her husband was grounds for divorce (Book V, The Civil Law, XIII). These Laws were in force in Byzantine Cyprus as well. *Scenicae* (in Greek 'θεατρικές') used to perform in the theatre and earn their living from prostitution for the upper class; they were deprived of the right to become public officers or work in the judicial system. Byzantine Law was more inclusive regarding women's social status than their British and American counterparts, which until the nineteenth century deprived women of the right to make contracts and wills. According to Codex Justinianus if a husband predeceased the wife, she took control of his property as well as her own and became the head of the household and the legal guardian of any underage children (Harris, 2015). Flourishing monasticism was the central feature of cultural life during this period (Kyrris, 1996). This together with the existence of widespread poverty at the time was the impetus for many women entering the Monastic life. Famous monasteries in Cyprus for women were the following: Monastery of Agios Herakleidios situated in the centre of the ancient city-kingdom Tamassos. Quite impressive was Timios Stavros (Holy Cross) Monastery in the middle of Omodos village in the epicentre of the wine-growing district of the island. Also important in this period was Ayia Napa Monastery in the eastern part of the island. The Monastery of Panagia Apsinthiotissa in Kerynia was known in western medieval sources as the Abbey of Abscithi and was most probably a women's convent (Hackett, 1972).⁴

During the Lusignan Period (1191-1489) Cypriots struggled for cultural and religious survival against their politically and militarily

⁴ Due to the patriarchal structure of this period, most monasteries were male: Kykkos Monastery in Troodos where one of the three holy icons of the Virgin Mary made by Apostle Luke is to be found, Machairas also dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Stavrovouni Monastery in the Larnaca district, famous for the piece of the Cross of Jesus Christ left there by Queen Helen (Mother of the Emperor Constantine) after returning from her mission to Jerusalem in the 4th century. Panayia tou Sinti Monastery in Paphos district, an UNESCO World Heritage Site. Apostolos Andreas Monastery is situated just south of Cape Apostolos Andreas, the north-easternmost point of the island in the Karpass Peninsula. See Nicholas Coureas, *The Foundation rules of Medieval Cypriot Monasteries: Makhairas and St. Neophytos* (Nicosia: The Cyprus Research Centre, 2003), 124-125.

powerful new masters. The then newly established Latin hierarchy subjugated the Orthodox Church and deprived the Greek Community of its traditional leadership. During the Crusades Cyprus was used a point of departure for operations and contacts, a place of refuge and the only remaining corridor for pilgrims. There were persecutions against Orthodox Christians, with some of them converting to the Latin denomination in order to pay less tax and be granted more privileges by the ruling class. The Venetian occupation (1489 - 1571) was worse than the Lusignan rule; the island was treated like a neglected province: hygiene and public health deteriorated, resulting in a steady decline of the native population (Hill, 2010). Women, mothers and grandmothers experienced so much poverty and hardship in their daily lives that many preferred to have the Ottomans as rulers, who had been promising gifts and security should Cyprus come under their rule.

The Ottoman Empire (1571-1878) began with changes in the religious groups. The rule of the island was in the hands of a military aristocracy appointed by the Sultan and headed by the *Beğlerbeğ*, whose responsibilities were both administration and defence. On the social level Muslim Law became the driving power of all activities. According to this Law, Christian people who were not believers like the Muslims were deprived of certain privileges the latter enjoyed. The same rules also applied for Jews. As noted by Jacob Marcus (1938) on page 16: "It is forbidden to the tolerated peoples living on Moslem territory to clothe themselves in the same manner as the chiefs, the scholars and the nobles. They should not be allowed to clothe themselves in costly fabrics which have been cut in the fashions which are forbidden to them, in order that they may not offend the sensibilities of the poor Moslems and in order that their faith in their religion should not be shaken by this (poor Moslems may regret their faith when they see how well-dressed the Christians and Jews are)". They were also forbidden to make much noise on their Sunday or Shabbat celebrations. They had to be quiet when celebrating their own festivals. As personal testimony, my great grandmother, Chatzimaria,⁵ who was born in 1863, used to tell my mother stories regarding these prohibitions. When her daughter Loutsia, my grandmother, was growing up, her mother always wanted to dress her in red clothes, a

⁵ She was called Haji-Maria. Haji is a prefix denoting those who made the pilgrimage to the Holy Sites in Jerusalem. It derives from the Arabic *Hajji*, denoting one who has successfully completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. My great grandmother came from a rich family where women were allowed to go abroad and visit Palestine.

colour she was forbidden to wear during her own childhood under Ottoman rule because this was forbidden to the non-Muslim.

The role of the Orthodox Church as the leader of the nation (Ethnarchy) was strengthened through the *Khatti Sheriff of Güllhane* (or Khatti Khumayun) reforms promulgated by Sultan Abdul Mejid (19th century). The acquired privileges of the communities were confirmed by *the Law of Tanzimat*, a decisive legislation, as it granted administrative autonomy of communal affairs to all Christians and other non-Muslim communities living in the Ottoman Empire.⁶ Although during this period most women were illiterate, their adherence to the liturgical life and customs of the Church not only kept the faith alive but provided an impulse for many Muslims to come to the Church as well as attend Christian ceremonies. The traveller Pietro della Valle recounts his experience of a celebration at the Monastery of Agia Napa on Sept. 9th 1625, describing how Christians with several Muslims danced, sang, and ate together.⁷ The company of Muslim Cypriots at the festival of Agia Napa was not at all unusual. Other such shared festivities were those of Panagia tou Kykkou Monastery, that of Panagia Troothidissa Monastery, etc. One holy site that is officially recognised by Turks to this date, despite the partition, is the Monastery of Apostle Andreas in the north east of the island.⁸ That the Orthodox Church has been a shelter for Turkish Cypriots is evidenced by the toponymes,⁹ of many purely Turkish villages and villages with a Turkish majority with names of Christian Saints. For instance the villages: "Agios¹⁰ Ioannis", "Agios Nikolaos", "Agios Isidoros", "Agios Georgios" et al.¹¹

⁶ See George Serghides, *Internal and External Conflict of Laws in regard to Family Relations in Cyprus* (Studia Juris Cyprii, Vol. 1, Nicosia, 1988), 32.

⁷ See Excerpta Cypria, *Materials for a History of Cyprus*, transl. by C. D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1908), 213. Also see Halil Inalcik, "*Ottoman Policy and Administration in Cyprus after the Conquest*", *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organisation and Economy, Collected Studies* (London, 1978), 5-23.

⁸ Official Turkish travel guides acknowledge this Monastery to be a sacred place for all Cypriots. See *Historical and Archaeological Places of Famagusta Area*, published by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Youth, Department of Antiquities and Museums, (Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti, 1982), 15: "The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is a holy place both for Turks and Greeks."

⁹ *Toponymes* are names of places.

¹⁰ *Agios* means Saint.

¹¹ See Costas Kyrris, *Peaceful Coexistence in Cyprus under the British Rule (1878-1959) and after Independence* (Nicosia: Public Information Office, 1977), 29f. Idem, "*Symbiotic*

Food preparation, traditionally women's domain, meant that women were mostly responsible for the adherence of the fasts in the Orthodox Church calendar. It is important to note here that up to one third of the days of a year Orthodox Christians fast from animal products including fish. This rule was established in the 1st century A. D. in order to protect people's health, even though at that time the link between the consumption of animal products and cancer had yet to be made. However, people followed this rule (Kypri & Protopapa, 2003). From a theological point fasting is regarded as the only kind of sacrifice Christian Orthodox believers may make for God.

British Rule (1878-1960) in Cyprus offered wider opportunities for political activity of the Church, despite the serious encroachments on its civil jurisdiction and privileges. In 1895 the first Law regarding education was passed; it provided for separate Educational Councils for the Turkish and Greek community respectively. According to Pantelides (1982, 7) during British Rule the education, through its orientations and objectives and through constitutional provisions, had become "one of the main agencies in widening the gap between the two communities". A defining characteristic of this period is the changes in women's dress. Women had the freedom to choose their own clothing, whether it be colourful or not and removed the veil, which was a practise showing respect and submission. Although early Christian teaching ordered women to cover their head and Islam to this day obliges especially married women to wear the veil, it is important to note that this practice has its roots before the social establishment of the monotheistic religions. In the prehistoric period, well before people lived in settlements, men worshipped woman as the mother of life. In ancient Crete there was the worship of the Goddess Mother (*Θεά-Μητέρα*). In ancient Greece Amazon-women (*Αμαζόνες*) would hunt accompanied by their guards. This changed when the male realized his crucial role in procreation. Consequently, the female was obliged to show submission to the male by covering her head.¹²

Elements in the History of the two Communities of Cyprus", Proceedings of the International Symposium on Political Geography (Nicosia, 1976), 243ff.

¹² To this day matriarchal societies exist in various parts of the world such as in Indonesian Sumatra and Africa e.g. the Tuareg tribe in the Sahara. See Georg Stathia, *Divorce according to the Civil Code* (in Greek, Athens 1985), 7f. John Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usages* (Madras: Higginbotham, 1906), 78f. Julius Jolly, *Hindu Law and*

The London-Zurich Treaty established the Republic of Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios III, in his role as the *Ethnarch* (leader of the nation) of the people of Cyprus, became the First Head of State. Art. 87 of the Constitution provided two Communal Chambers, the Turkish and the Greek, each having jurisdiction in matters of religion, education, cultural affairs and personal status of their respective community.¹³ In the twenty-nine years following the war of 1974 there had been no communication at all between Turks and Greeks until the first checkpoint opened in 2003. During this time the educational system had been exposed to propaganda. No common language was practiced. Coexistence had been hidden even by historiography. However recently and due to economic interests, communication between the two communities has been improved. For example, the year 2018, on first of October, on the day the establishment of Cyprus Republic is celebrated, 21 thousand Greek Cypriots from Cyprus Republic passed checkpoints and visited the Turkish side mostly for shopping because the Turkish lira was low and commodities were cheaper there. Many women went to the other side and bought Turkish sewing and knitting wool. Besides, on that day 14 thousand Turkish Cypriots visited the south.¹⁴ Cyprus is evolving into an intercultural society interacting among its citizens belonging to different cultural groups.¹⁵

The island of Aphrodite once again faced another threat to its existence with an acute financial crisis in 2013. A €10 billion international bailout by the Euro-group, the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund was announced, in return for Cyprus agreeing to close the country's second-largest bank, the Cyprus Popular Bank (also known as Laiki Bank), imposing a one-time bank deposit levy on all uninsured

Custom (Calcutta: Greater India Society, 1928), 103f. Also Alexander Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den Alten Arabern*, Vol. 8 (Leipzig: O. Schulze, 1884), 10ff.

¹³ See Cyprus Constitution in:

http://www.kypros.org/Constitution/English/appendix_d_part_v.html (accessed 23 October 2019).

¹⁴ Published in *ikypros.com*. See <http://ikypros.com/?p=331817> (accessed 23 October 2019).

¹⁵ The 'campaign' for multiculturalism has mainly developed in Western democratic societies, where the central question has been: "How is it possible to respond to the demands by minority groups for equality and the preservation of their cultural uniqueness, while giving primacy to the national interest and national unity?" Al-Haj Majid, "Multiculturalism in deeply divided societies: the Israeli case", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 26 (2002), 170.

deposits there, and possibly around 48% of uninsured deposits in the Bank of Cyprus, the island's largest commercial bank.¹⁶ This disaster created real poverty: for the first time in my life I encountered women in a rich place like Cyprus has often been regarded, begging for small change in order to buy milk and bread for their children. Voluntary Church associations, run mostly by women, started organizing the 'Community Markets of Love and Offerings' (*Κοινωνικά Παντοπωλεία Αγάπης και Προσφοράς*). Stalls were set up outside every Church building where donations of food and clothing for those in need could be made. This system operated until the end of 2018. Now, there are only 'community markets' run by the Bishop of each town where provisions are given on presentation of an official card indicating economic disadvantage. Cypriot Orthodox women, internalising the principles of their faith, contributed actively through volunteer work with charitable associations, which aim to assist the unemployed and their families. Their participation in a variety of projects of reconstruction¹⁷ was instrumental in the recovery of the economy.

Cyprus Constitution and the Greek Orthodox Church

The rights of the Ethnarch are a dominant factor in the Church-State relations in Cyprus.¹⁸ Even today, it is hard to have a State President elected without the approval of the Archbishop. In addition, the selection of the Minister of Education and Culture is a direct or indirect choice of the Archbishop. This may explain why there has only been one female Minister of Education since the formation of the Republic.¹⁹ The Orthodox Church is 'protected' by State Law. Article 110, §1 of the Constitution provides that the Autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus shall continue to have the exclusive right of regulating and administering its own internal affairs and property

¹⁶ "Distressed investing in Cyprus after the bail-in". *International Financing Review*, 19 June 2013. In: <https://www.ifre.com/story/1283303/guest-comment-distressed-investing-in-cyprus-after-the-bail-in-6fwcm3lnjv> (accessed 23 October 2019).

¹⁷ See <http://www.sigmalive.com/archive/simerini/news/social/495036> (accessed 23 October 2019).

¹⁸ Victor Roudometof & Michalis N. Michael, "Church, State and Politics in 19th Century Cyprus», in: *Mannheimer Beiträge zur Klassischen Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns*, vol. 16/17 (2010): 97-104. Halil Alasya, "The Privileges granted to the Orthodox Church of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire", in: *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, vol. 3, eds. Theodoros Papadopoulos & Menelaos Christodoulou (Nicosia: Kypriakai Spoudai, 1973): 24-38.

¹⁹ Klairi Angelidou was Minister of Education and Culture from 1993 till 1997.

in accordance with the Holy Canons and its Charter in force for the time being and the Greek Communal Chamber shall not act inconsistently with such right. This is expressed in the curricula as one of the aims of education: *“To promote Greek and Christian values in order to support young students become virtuous citizens. To give multicultural orientation in a united Europe without any racism or prejudice.”* (Cyprus Government, Ministry of Education and Culture, Aims of the school year 2010-11, number of envelope 7.1.05.23).

Public school children have two hours a week of compulsory lessons in religious catechism; this is for all grades except in the last grade of Lyceum, where it is only one hour. The curriculum is based on the doctrine and practice of Orthodox Christianity. Pupils of other denominations or religions have permission to opt out of this lesson, if they wish. Some days before the main Feasts of Orthodoxy, all pupils attend a Church service accompanied by their teachers during class time. This practice was obligatory until 2014; school children may now choose if they want to go to Church or stay at school.

Women’s Every Day Religiosity

Getting up in the morning, a devout Christian Orthodox woman completes her five minutes of Morning Prayer, called in Greek *πρωινή προσευχή*, burns incense and lights the oil lamp, which is usually kept in the home. The light of the oil lamp symbolizes the eternal existing Light of God. This goes back to the doctrine laid down in the Symbol of Faith that God in Christianity is Light.²⁰ The light of the lamp is a reminder of the existence of God. This is a widespread Orthodox ritual, which is practised predominantly by the woman of the household - due to her role as the homemaker - and it is a ritual known to offer comfort and assuage anxiety. I remember when my cousin’s daughter was a university student who stayed in an apartment alone and was afraid at night, followed the advice of her spiritual father, reverend Constantinos Stratigopoulos who suggested that she keep an oil lamp lit as a symbol of God’s protection. She found this truly helpful.

In Cyprus one in three marriages ends in divorce with every second marriage in a compromised position. It is easy to imagine how

²⁰ Orthodox Christian Creed: *«And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God ... Light of light; true God of true God; begotten, not made ...»* See <https://oca.org/orthodoxy/prayers/symbol-of-faith> (accessed 23 October 2019).

the financial crisis has compounded the many problems women are called to face: those of poverty, rejection, and unemployment. Pastoral instructions given, especially during the Sacrament of Confession, support women and provide them with hope and guidance. Prayer is another supporting pillar of help. Religious practices such as the nightly prayer of *Akathist Hymn*²¹ of the Virgin Mary, is kept mostly by women. The recitation of this hymn has a meditative effect created by the frequent repetition of the word 'rejoice': «Rejoice, You through whom joy will shine forth!». The Akathist Hymn of Saint Marina, a much respected female Saint in Cyprus, ends in one chapter with the verse: "Rejoice, thou through His help you took out of your soul all fears» (*Χαίρε φόβον τον παράλογον εκβαλούσα σης ψυχής*). It is a matter of fact, that due to the help of the Christian faith very few suicides are committed in Cyprus; there are no official records of suicides committed by women.²²

A number of studies have shown that faith and spirituality are important factors in overcoming substance abuse (Tsironis, 2012). The results confirm the importance of faith in society, if religion is practised on a personal level and not political, far from any radicalization. The significance of religiosity is apparent in many statistics such as that of the global Gallup Poll in 2009: 75% of those surveyed in Cyprus responded positively to the question: "Is religion important in your life?" In the last few decades we have also witnessed an increased interest in monasticism with a number of organised missions from Mount Athos in Greece visiting the laity in Cyprus. These were led by Metropolitan of Limassol Athanasios, and the Abbot of Vatopedi Monastery, Panosiologiotatos Ephraim.²³

All Orthodox Christians are responsible for one another, especially in regions where conflicts and wars affect daily life. Women in Cyprus may hold diverse views but in the Church they remain a

²¹ An Akathist Hymn (*Ακάθιστος Ύμνος*, "unseated hymn") is a type of hymn usually recited by Eastern Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Christians, dedicated to a Saint, holy event, or one of the persons of the Holy Trinity. The name derives from the fact that during the chanting of the hymn, or sometimes the whole service, the congregation is expected to remain standing in reverence, without sitting down (*ἀ-, a-, "without, not"* and *κάθισις, káthisis*, "sitting"), except for the aged or infirm.

²² Cyprus has lowest suicide rate in the European Union.
<https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/07/16/cyprus-has-lowest-suicide-rate-in-the-eu/>
 (accessed 23 October 2019).

²³ They have radio and TV channels as well as Journals. See *Πεμπτοσία*,
<http://www.pemptousia.gr> (accessed 23 October 2019).

single extended family. Jesus established one Church, a point that Paul later echoed in the *Letter to Ephesians 4:4-6*: “There is one body and one Spirit... One Lord, one faith, one baptism.” The Christian Orthodox faith is a source of strength and sustenance through adversity. Women have demonstrated their ability to contribute to the workforce as well as be homemakers. In addition, they contribute greatly to voluntary work with the needy. Many are involved as volunteers with such associations as ‘*Hope for Children*’, an NGO that contributes decisively to the protection of the rights of the child,²⁴ where 71% of volunteers are women. The same applies to the Pancyprian Association ‘*One Dream one Wish*’ (Ενὰ Όνειρο, Μία Εοχή) which supports sick children and their parents,²⁵ as well as *PASYKAF* (the Cyprus Association of Cancer Patients and Friends).²⁶ Community service is an area in which women excel. This may be attributed to Helgesen’s *Female Advantage* (1995) but it is also due to the desire to follow the Christian command to ‘Love your neighbour as yourself.’ “There is no commandment greater than this” (Mark 12: 31). Two years ago Father Nikodimos Voreas, a missionary monk from Athens visited Cyprus; I will not forget the impressive number of people, mainly women, who attended his talks which focused on the aforementioned verse from the New Testament and explaining that visiting the Sunday Church service does not ‘take us to Paradise’. One must actively seek out and help the needy. A combination of actions and faith is required.

Commemoration of the dead does not belong to every day religiosity, although it is common practice for women of an older generation to visit the cemetery at dusk in order to light the oil lamp on the grave of family members. Although Priests in large communities commemorate the dead on Saturday Liturgy, this is not practical for most people who reserve this day to run the family errands. For this reason, commemoration for the dead is performed at the end of the Sunday service. Orthodox women contribute actively to many of the commemorative rituals especially in the preparation of koliva, which are always served at the “*Mnymosina*”. Koliva is ritualistic food consisting of boiled wheat and seeds, which symbolise the rebirth of the soul after burial. Funeral customs such as the

²⁴ <http://www.uncrcpc.org> (accessed 23 October 2019).

²⁵ <http://www.enaoniromiaefxi.com/enaoniromiaefxi/page.php?pageID=9> (accessed 23 October 2019).

²⁶ <https://www.bestrong.org.gr/el/support/organizationscancersupport/?id=3874> (accessed 23 October 2019).

wailing, the dressing in black mourning, and the decoration with flowers is to this day a women's domain. Another duty of the Orthodox woman is the baking of the Prosfhora (*Πρόσφορον*). These are loaves of bread, which are offered in the Eucharist. Before the bread is baked a special seal is used to make an impression bearing the sign of the cross and symbolic letters for Jesus Christ Victorious. In addition, women are responsible for the continuation of traditional wedding customs, practiced mostly in village communities. These include the bride's female relatives dancing around her whilst holding woven baskets laden with the bride's heirlooms; sewing of small crosses with red thread on the bed the couple will sleep on; decorating the house of the new couple with flowers, delivering the invitations, etc. Konstantinos Giagkoulis in his *Cypriot Customs* stresses the role of women in preparation of all Sacraments of the Church, which is sine qua non for the happy celebration and successful integration of all the community.²⁷

Image of Women of Faith in Daily Life and Society

The Christian baptism, performed in early infancy, is only the beginning of the path to becoming a practising Christian in later life. Through their special role in the family as mothers, grandmothers and teachers, women have born the responsibility of transmitting the teachings and precepts of the Orthodox Christian faith. Results of a survey conducted by the Institute of Historical Research for Peace examined people's personal views relating to faith, education, ordination of women and other religious issues.²⁸ Around 93% of the total sample said that they believe in God. These are 1302 out of the 1400. Only 1% - a total of 14 persons said they do not believe; 6% they did not want to express whether they believe or not; this is 84 persons. Those who gave a positive answer (1302 persons) were asked to respond to further questions. To the question «*who taught you to believe in God?*» the responses suggest that the majority were taught by a

²⁷ Konstantinos Giagkoulis, *Cypriot Customs* (in Greek, Nicosia: Vivliothiki Kypriou kai Laikon Poiiton, vol. 67, 2008), 22f.

²⁸ Those questioned were women and men aged 18-34 from both rural and urban areas of Cyprus. For the purposes of this article, this research was conducted by the Institute of Historical Research for Peace, in the summer of 2019. Out of the people who took part in the research, 800 live in towns and 600 come from villages. Their nationality is Greek-Cypriot. All identify as Christian. I would like to thank Eleni Pozotou, Polyxeni Paschalidou, Neophytos Vasiliou and Stelios Stavrinidis for operating this survey via personal interviews, telephone calls, and e-mails.

female relative with grandmothers and mothers taking the lead.²⁹ As one's home indicates one's identity (McDowell, 2003), one's mother often indicates one's religion. This happens in Orthodox Cyprus as our survey showed. However, in the world des Islam, the father gives the religious adherence. This is one of the reasons why the bride often goes and lives with her parents-in-law in the Turkish community.

To the question «*who is better at fulfilling his/her religious duties at home?*» women again scored higher than men.³⁰ 'The question on weekly Church attendance showed a clear difference along gender but also generational lines. That is, grandmothers were seen to be regular Church attendants scored higher by a wide margin in relation to mothers. This can be attributed to the fact that most grandmothers are retired or housewives and thus have fewer demands on their time; regular Church attendance not only includes the Sunday service but feast days and commemorative events as well. To the question «*which family member attends Sunday service twice a month?*» nearly half of the respondents declared their grandmothers.³¹ Only 25% of respondents said that their Church attendance is limited to major Feasts like Christmas and Easter as well as weddings and christenings.³² Many Cypriots are not regular Churchgoers,³³ but are in the habit of many Orthodox Cypriots think that by visiting a Church on a Saint's feast day, lighting a candle and venerating the icon have fulfilled their religious obligations.

To the question «*when you were a child, who used to take you to Church on Sunday?*» over half of the group surveyed said that their

²⁹ By their mother 35%, by their grandmother 38%, by father 5%, by grandfather 5%, by a girlfriend 5%, by female teacher at school 3%, by male teacher 2%, none of the above 7%.

³⁰ My mother answered 25%, my father 10%, my grandmother scored the highest at 45%, my grandfather 10%, my sister 5%, my brother 2%, none of the above 3%.

³¹ My mother said 20%, my father 15%, my grandmother 45%, my grandfather 10%, my sister 6%, my brother 2%, none of the above 2%.

³² In answer to the question «*do you attend Church services only on Christmas and Easter Day and for funerals and weddings?*» 25% said 'yes', 65% said 'no', 10% said 'not sure/I do not want to say'.

³³ There is a famous joke, which refers to the Greek Orthodox people's attitude to Church attendance: There were mice hiding in the Church. For this reason the Protestant clergyman said: "I have read the whole Bible out loud but they won't leave the Church building!" The Roman Catholic priest said: "I have sprinkled holy water around the Church ten times but they are still here!" The Orthodox priest said: "I have given them the Sacrament of Orthodox Confirmation; they left successfully and they did not return until Easter!"

grandmother was the family member who took them to Church on Sundays.³⁴ Giving alms to the poor is a basic obligation in the Orthodox faith. Results of the questionnaire³⁵ reflect the patriarchal structure of Cypriot society where men remain the highest wage earners and consequently make up the highest percentage of alms givers. Sunday schools, which are mainly organized by female teachers, theologians, philologists, and/or the priest's wife, are considered valuable by half of those questioned (50%).³⁶ An impressive 85% of the respondents considered summer Church camps were successful in imparting the faith to young people.³⁷ Vasiliki Mitropoulou argues that the task of transmitting faith is a never-ending process which necessitates not only skills, but the integration of modern technologies in the classroom as well as extra curricular activities. The role of women Theologians is highly important in this regard.³⁸ Responses to the question «*who are the better teachers of religion at school, men or women?*» emphasized that women's natural aptitude as teachers places them in the lead over men.³⁹ Although John Chrysostom describes the father and mother as jointly responsible (*συνυπεύθυνος*) for the Christian education of their children, the main weight of responsibility is in fact borne by the mother (Bourneli, 2004, 150).⁴⁰

The question «*do you approve of the Orthodox Church not ordaining women as priests?*» elicited responses that showed that the majority do

³⁴ "When you were a child, who used to take you to Church on Sunday?" My mother 15%, my father 10%, my grandmother 55%, my grandfather 5%, my sister 3%, my brother 2%, none of the above 10%.

³⁵ To the question «*which member of your family gives food/money to the poor?*» responses were: My mother 30%, my father 40%, my grandmother 20%, my grandfather 2%, my sister 1%, my brother 1%, none of the above 6%.

³⁶ The important question «*to which extent did Sunday school contribute to your Christian education?*» was answered as follows: Contributed greatly 50%, contributed significantly 30%, no contribution 20%.

³⁷ The question «*are the summer Church camps successful in transmitting the faith to teenagers?*» was answered as follows: Very successful 50%, somewhat successful 15%, partly successful 20%, and not at all 15%.

³⁸ Vasiliki Mitropoulou, *New Technologies and Religious Education* (in Greek, Thessaloniki: Baniias, 2007), 57ff.

³⁹ Men 22%, women 45%, neither 18%, I do not know 15%.

⁴⁰ John Chrysostom (349 A.D. – 407 A.D.), Archbishop of Constantinople, was an important Early Church Father. He is known for his preaching and public speaking, his denunciation of abuse of authority by both ecclesiastical and political leaders, and his ascetic sensibilities. He is most famous for composing the Sundays Divine Liturgy which bears his name.

not hold strong opinions either way.⁴¹ Orthodox Christian Women do not need sacramental ordination in order to devote their lives to the Church and the good of society (Koukoura, 2005, 34). The Orthodox Church is generally regarded as a benign patriarchy; this acceptance of the status quo is evident in the answers prompted by the question: «Do you understand the reasons why women cannot get ordained in the Orthodox Church?» 25% said Yes, 30% No, and 45% said it was not relevant.

«Who in your opinion dresses most respectfully when in Church?» is a controversial issue in contemporary Cyprus due to current fashions.⁴² Secularization in Cyprus is manifested mainly through the way teenagers dress. Since there is no written dress code for attending Church some young women attend the Sunday service with totally inappropriate clothing: wearing skirts that are very short or that leave too much of their bodies exposed. Kykkos Holy Monastery which is frequented by large numbers of visitors, provides a service which hands out garments to wear in case they are dressed immodestly to enter the sacred site. It is not unknown for a parish priest to refuse Holy Communion to women who may be immodestly dressed or wearing lipstick.

Most people thought that the era in which people showed the strongest faith was during Ottoman rule.⁴³ The holy book of Islam on the one hand recognizes Christians as people of revelation book, which categorizes them as privileged non-Muslims and thus tolerated by Dar al-Islam and on the other hand as non-believers, which means they are obliged to pay taxes including the *jizya* (head tax) and enjoying a lower legal status (*status juris minoris*) than that of Muslims (Panayiotides, 1995, 71). The depiction of Christians in the Koran is presented in the following quotation: «And they say: None shall enter the garden (or paradise) except he who is a Jew or a Christian. These are their vain desires. Say: Bring your proof if you are truthful» (The Cow, 2:111). This *status juris minoris* according to Muslim Law served to galvanise the faith of Christians and strengthen their resolve to remain in the religion of their fathers. This spirit of keeping their religion against all odds exists in the historic memory of the elderly; evidence of this can be found in the results of the survey with anecdotes of grandparents

⁴¹ Answers as follows: Yes 35%, no 40%, I do not have an opinion 25%.

⁴² Responses as follows: Men 60%, women 15%, I do not know 25%.

⁴³ «In which era do you think people believed and practiced their faith the most?» During Ottoman rule 45%, during British rule 40%, in Cyprus Republic 5%, I do not know 10%.

remembering the past and scolding their grandchildren: “You are free to believe in God and you do not do properly. Our parents were not free but they did!”

To the question “*Who works more efficiently in the voluntary sector?*” once again women took the lead with 65%.⁴⁴ An equal number of men and women were surveyed. It seems natural that some of them are not satisfied with neither’s work (10%). The clarifying question, “*Which one of the following reasons explains why women are more efficient?*” emphasized women’s natural strength in inter-social skills.⁴⁵ Participation in politics is relatively good in Cyprus. Out of the 56 parliamentary seats only 10 belong to women. The question is now whether these MPs are women of faith. Only 39% of the respondents believed that it is possible for women of faith to serve in Parliament. This result reflects the overwhelming public perception that a political career is irreconcilable with Orthodox Christian belief. In the last electoral campaign, the candidates’ stance on the issue of child adoption by LGBT couples was a determining factor for some voters.

Over half of those surveyed expressed their disapproval of Church interfering in state politics. These results reflect the attitudinal change of the populace towards the Church.⁴⁶ The Ethnarchy role of the Archbishop does not hold the same status as it used to. In addition, Cyprus is the only Orthodox country⁴⁷ where Bishops, Metropolitans, and the Archbishop are elected by all citizens including women in a system with representatives similar to the election system in the USA. This has the advantage of people voting for the candidate they regard as worthy of the role of their Bishop. Besides, Bishops are accountable to the public; as a matter of fact they give reason for their actions. The disadvantage of this system is that

⁴⁴ 65% Women, 20% men, neither 10%, and I do not know 5%.

⁴⁵ Women create more inclusive world 29%. They have better inter-social skills than men 42%. Women have a humble attitude 8%. I do not know 21%.

⁴⁶ «*Do you like the Church leaders interfering in State politics?*» was the next question resulting in: Very much 28%. Yes, sometimes 15%. Not at all 57%.

⁴⁷ In Greece, Rumania, Russia, and alia the Holy Synod made up of the Bishops is responsible for voting the new Archbishop etc. *Magna Charta of the Church of Greece (Katastatikos Chartis)*, Law 590/1977, chapter 2, article 4, §VII.

http://users.uoa.gr/~nektar/orthodoxy/history/katastatikos_xarths_ekklhsia_ths_ella_dos.htm (accessed 23 October 2019). Regarding the Church of Cyprus, see *Magna Charta of the Church of Cyprus (Katastatikos Chartis)*, chapter 2, article 19-30.

http://filokalia.org.cy/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/katastatikos_xartis2.pdf (accessed 23 October 2019).

for purposes of the election, candidates' campaigns are similar to political ones which sometimes cause people to get fanaticized: «Candidate X is no more than a businessman, Y is a holy person, etc.»

«*When you have a problem, whom do you trust more?*» 52% trust the priest, 21% the priest's wife, 20% a Christian female psychologist, and none of the above 7%. These figures indicate that a high percentage of people of both sexes trust women of faith for advice. It means that out of every 4 people who might have a problem, 2 trust a Christian woman with whom to discuss it. Over half of those surveyed stated that they would forbid their daughter from taking monastic vows. The increased secularization of Cypriot society can be seen through the general parental objection to their children electing monasticism as a way of life. There are even lawsuits in court against the Metropolitan of Limassol Athanasios by parents of monks accusing him of proselytizing their children to take monastic vows.⁴⁸ However, it seems that these accusations have no evidence of guilt, since the monks were adults and after having finished their PhD when they got to know their spiritual father, Metropolitan Athanasios.

The last questions of the survey dealt with the European Union and its possible effect on religious attitudes: «*Do you think with the accession to E.U. people became more secular?*» Yes 23%, no 35%, I do not know 42%. Furthermore, it became evident from the answers of the last question that a general dissatisfaction exists regarding European Union and the way it functions.⁴⁹

Expressions of Secularism and Atheism

It is interesting to note that the number of nuns in the Cypriot monasteries at the beginning of 20th century was far greater than that of monks. The largest female Monastery, Ayios Georgios Alamanos, outside of Limassol, had 150 dedicated nuns (1965). Despite there being many Monasteries for men, the number of monks was relatively low: at a ratio of approximately ten to one. One can only conjecture as to the reasons why this was so: the patriarchal structure of Cypriot society where daughters were considered a liability as well as the

⁴⁸ <https://www.alphanews.live/cyprus/dikastirio-aperripse-ton-ishyrismo-oikogeneias-monahoy-gia-prosilytismo-binteo> (accessed 24 October 2019).

⁴⁹ *The reasons for the E.U. being responsible for the secularisation of society* are as follows: 18% because is a non-religious Association. 27% its priorities are economic and political. The E.U. is not what it should be 40%. I do not know 15%.

extremely limited options available to women during this time may have given young women the impetus to enter a monastery. The last two decades in contrast to earlier periods, have seen Cypriot monasticism face difficulties due to the older nuns dying and insufficient novices to replenish the dwindling numbers. Secularism and the influence of social media as well as the control parents exercise on their children's decisions regarding their religiosity, prevent faithful young women from entering a monastic life. This is quite a paradox given that we live in a time where it is quite common for young people to rebel against their parents and pay no heed to parental wishes; but when it comes to decisions like entering monastic life, the will of the parents prevails.

The famous Monastery of Stavrovouni (the mountain of the Holy Cross, *To Bounó tou Stavrou*) founded by St. Helena, the mother of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine I, was banned to women or became "*avaton*" (ἀβάτον) in 1988. According to the spokesman for the Church of Cyprus, this change of status was necessary in order to provide an incentive for monks to stay in Cyprus and not leave for the exclusively male monastic communities of Mountain Athos in Greece. The then first lady Androulla Vassiliou (wife of President George Vassiliou 1988-1993), supported by womens' organizations belonging to the communist party, reacted against this decision with demonstrations. However, they did not start legal proceedings against the Monastery because women of faith could not sue against the Church.⁵⁰

A step towards secularisation affecting women's life was the decriminalization of abortions by Cyprus Parliament March 2018. This controversial matter, "which had remained largely stagnant out of fear of reprisal from the Church" as *Cyprus Mail* put it,⁵¹ was voted into law with 33 votes in favour, eight against and five abstentions. It allows termination of an unwanted pregnancy up to 12 weeks of gestation. In the case of rape, an abortion can take place up to 19 weeks. The number of abortions that took place unlawfully reached over 9,000 the previous year, and a large number of women and teenagers went to the north to private Turkish gynecologists for the

⁵⁰ <http://city.sigmalive.com/article/19962/giati-i-moni-stavrovounioy-apagorevei-tin-eisodo-stis-gynaikes> (accessed 24 October 2019).

⁵¹ <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/03/30/parliament-decriminalises-abortion/> (accessed 24 October 2019).

abortions. The Association of Priest's Wives has petitioned against this legislation as the number of abortions has exceeded the number of births on the island, a statistic confirmed by Dr Marios Liasides, President of Cyprus Gynecologists' Association during an interview by Sigma TV, on March 29, 2018.

The right of homosexuals to enter a cohabitation agreement or a civil marriage is viewed by the Orthodox Church as a product of the growing influence of atheism, as stated by Archbishop Chrysostomos the II. The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus on the 26th of November 2015 passed the Law on Civil Partnerships conferring the possibility to "two heterosexual or homosexual persons" to conclude a "written agreement", known as the *Civil Partnership Agreement* (section 4 of Law 184(I)/2015).

Cypriot people want to belong to the Church, as the above survey has showed. This is also apparent from the number of marriages contracted in the Church with a religious ceremony. According to Article 111 of the Constitution, religious marriage is recognized by State. After the introduction of the Civil Partnership Agreement some expressed the fear that this would serve as a catalyst against religious marriages. This has not been the case as shown by the statistics as couples' preference for a Church wedding remains strong. Only those who have an obstacle, which prevents a religious marriage, go to the Registrar's Office. This constitutes only 15% of the whole number of marriages/partnerships contracted on the island yearly and it includes many foreign citizens who belong to other religions. As Cyprus is a bridge in the Mediterranean, every year around 2.500 civil marriages of Israelis take place in Cyprus Republic. These marriages cannot be celebrated in Israel in a rabbinic wedding due an existing obstacle according to Jewish Law; for this reason couples come to Cyprus, and celebrate their wedding here (most of them in Aradippou municipality by Larnaca). Then they return home where Israeli State recognizes them as valid weddings. There are also mixed marriages between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus (around 10% of the total civil marriages number)⁵² and a few between Muslims and Jewish people albeit not without the traditional conflict of laws. According to Muslim Law when the father is Muslim, the child is Muslim. According to Jewish Law when the mother is Jewish, the

⁵² Democracy of Cyprus: *Demographic Report*, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, Population Statistics (Nicosia 2018).

child is Jewish. So this raises the question of identity for a child whose father is Muslim and the mother Jewish. The answer depends on the *ius domicilii* (Law of the domicile) of the new couple (Demosthenous, 1999). Mainly the Christian women experience the negative consequences of mixed marriages between Muslim men and Christian women in Cyprus. There have been cases where the Muslim man abandoned his Cypriot wife and returned to his country of origin taking their children with him.

Women's Initiatives for Peace and Reconciliation in Cyprus

Reconciliation between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus is one of the most important tasks of faithful Greek Cypriots although this has proven to be a challenging task.⁵³ In Cyprus, women's efforts for reconciliation had met with disapproval, which made any active involvement in informal or formal peace activities difficult. This is a direct consequence of the military intervention of 1974 which created a climate that is not conducive to rapprochement; in fact many Cypriots consider this is tantamount to treason as my personal experience testifies: In 2009, during the radio program «*Culture and Peaceful Coexistence*» which I compiled and presented for the Cyprus State Broadcasting Corporation, a listener attacked me and my invited guest for presenting some poems written in Greek by Turkish Cypriots, something culturally significant.⁵⁴ The interest by women and girls in becoming involved in peace process in Cyprus stemmed from their experiences during the war, whether primarily as relatives of victims or refugees.⁵⁵ This was one of the main reasons that women and girls, especially after the war, became aware of the necessity to strengthen the potential for transformation and reform in spite of many difficulties. The participation of women and girls and the inclusion of gender perspectives in both formal and informal peace processes are crucial in the establishment of sustainable peace.

⁵³ In *Timothy I* (5:8) we read: "If anyone does not provide for his relatives, and especially for his own family, he has disowned the faith and is worse than an unbeliever". Who does not come for his relatives and more specifically his intimates commits the sin of infidelity and becomes even worse than the infidels. Considering that the Turkish Cypriots lived as neighbours with us many years, Christians, have both, a cultural and religious duty to reconcile with them and join efforts for a united Cyprus free from any kind of intolerance and violation of Human Rights.

⁵⁴ According to the opinion of that listener "people who worked for reconciliation in Cyprus were 'traitors'!" On that day I realised that it is a duty and a deep necessity to work for reconciliation.

⁵⁵ Cypriot women were victims of rape and inhumane treatment as enclaves.

On a global level, women have long been active in peace issues. In groups and individually, women have lobbied for the goal of disarmament. During the First World War, nearly 1,200 women from warring and neutral countries came together to protest against the conflict, and formed the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)*. Since then, women around the world have continued to pursue the goal of disarmament. The cases presented below include activities by individuals or groups and non-governmental organizations women leaders who contributed decisively in creating a better understanding between the island's two main population groups with a history of conflict and enmity. These efforts and activities were welcomed by many other groups and have had a positive impact on Cyprus' civil society.

KAYAD Toplum Merkezi (KAYAD Community Centre) is a Turkish-Cypriot women's organisation working in the field of community development in the Cypriot community. It was established in 1997 and has growing membership since then.⁵⁶ Meral Akinci is the president and initiator of KAYAD. The objectives of KAYAD include: Working for human rights in general and women's rights specifically; raising the awareness of the special needs of the girl child; strengthening women's position in the society; working for international peace and understanding as well as for tolerance, acceptance, kindness, rights and responsibilities, communication skills and many more. The objectives include working to establish ethical and moral values in the society but mainly promoting the understanding of "*Unity in Diversity*". This means respecting and valuing all kinds of diversity: race, personality, economical and cultural background, ability and disability, belief, language, sex, appearance, health, age diversity. To this end, Meral Akinci collaborates with well-educated women which include Nehe Miralay, Serpil Cananoglu and Gülsen Simge.

The next case of women working for peace includes women journalists. Among them is Sevgul Uludag, an initiator for peace and a journalist for the Turkish Cypriot newspaper "*Yeniduzen*".⁵⁷ Sevgul

⁵⁶ At the national and international level, KAYAD has been in collaboration with UNOPS (United Nations Office for Project Services).

⁵⁷ Sevgul Uludag together with Sener Levent were honoured by his excellency the Minister of Culture of Greece and also his reverence the Bishop of Kykkos Nikiforos during the second International Meeting of the *World Forum for Religions and Cultures* in

Uludag with a group of journalists writes and publishes her views helping people to understand what democracy means and how this can be achieved. The Centre for World Dialogue is another effective initiative for promoting peace in Cyprus. Its co-founder Jila Faramarzi, often says that there could be no peace among nations without peace among religions. The *Centre for World Dialogue* is a non-governmental organization established in 1995 in order to promote greater understanding between the peoples of the world, especially those in the Middle East. According to Jila Faramarzi "people talking face to face are no longer enemies but other human beings with problems to solve". Jila Faramarzi whose country of origin is Iran, has been a Cypriot citizen for decades. She lives with her family in Nicosia and as a Muslim woman decided to help the promotion of mutual understanding between Turkish Cypriot Muslims and Greek Cypriot Christians through multicultural meetings and seminars, something of great importance. The Centre has a famous library with books on Islam and other World Religions, Judaism, Buddhism etc. dealing with multicultural issues and helping students and other visitors to view things in a global direction. The Centre has achieved a great deal in a very short time, hosting a series of highly successful conferences, arranging meetings and seminars that addressed a variety of issues, as well as publishing a quarterly journal, the "*Global Dialogue*".

Neshe Yasin is a Turkish Cypriot poet, peace activist and journalist. She is well-known for her pioneering contribution to conflict resolution through her poetry and other peace-promoting activities. Her poems and articles are regularly translated into the Greek language from the Turkish and both communities in Cyprus, as well as Turkey and Greece are familiar with her work. She has been a columnist for newspapers published on both sides of the island as well as in Turkey and Greece. The lines of her poem "my country has been divided in two; which of the two halves should I love?" succinctly expresses the feelings shared by many Cypriots towards their divided country. The words were set to music composed by a Greek Cypriot musician and is a very popular song performed by many singers in Cyprus.

The first political party of the island was AKEL, established in 1926. Its youth wing, the United Democratic Youth Organisation

Nicosia (May 2003) for their contribution to the civil society and the freedom of press in Cyprus.

(EDON)⁵⁸ is a communist political organisation in Cyprus (founded in 1959). Members are Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots from both parts of the island. Since the forties many Turkish Cypriots have been active in this party. The organization supports a federal solution to the Cyprus dispute. Although it responded negatively to the Annan Plan, EDON supports strongly rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots. In recent European Parliamentary elections (held in May 2019) a Turkish Cypriot, Professor Niyazi Kızılyürek, was elected with AKEL Party. It was the first time, Greek and Turkish Cypriots voted for a Turkish candidate and this is an achievement mostly of women voters who were tired with the division hoping that by voting for a Turkish Cypriot to be in the European Parliament as representative of Cyprus Republic, it will enable a better understanding of both Cypriot Communities and facilitate access to European Union for Turkish Cypriots.

The Bureau of Bi-communal Reconciliation and Strengthening of Civil Society in Cyprus was established on the initiative of Katie Clerides, the daughter of a former President of Cyprus. Although initially established under the auspices of the Democratic Rally⁵⁹, its members are people from different political parties and from all cultural groups and communities of the island: Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians and Latins. The Bureau's main objectives are as follows: to underline the support of organised groups for bi-communal contacts between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots; to develop a political language which will take into account the multicultural character and traditions of Cypriot society and promote the idea and the necessity for reconciliation by organising activities (lectures, panel discussions and other programmes). This initiative initially faced difficulties because it was established after the war, a time when many members of the Democratic Rally were not particularly in favour of contacts with the Turkish Cypriot community.

Another important initiative promoting dialogue between the two communities in Cyprus is the establishment of *Hands Across the Divide (HAD)*, a bi-communal Association which came into being as a result of a conference organised by the British Council entitled

⁵⁸ In Greek, “Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Οργάνωση Νεολαίας” (ΕΔΟΝ), Eniaia Dimokratiki Organosi Neolaias.

⁵⁹ Democratic Rally is the right wing party in Cyprus.

"Communication in Divided Societies: What women can do." This conference brought together women from conflict areas around the world such as Northern Ireland, Israel, and Palestine. The need for a strong bi-communal women's voice was the main conclusion of the conference. After a London workshop in February 2002, HAD became the first internationally recognised Cypriot bi-communal Association. It was responsible for the promotion of various group activities such as press releases and letters to the respective leaders on the eve of their direct talks as well as the collection of messages of peace from the public in *Eleftheria Square* sent to the north. These were used to form a "mountain of peace" installation in the park adjacent to Rauf Denktash's residence. Numerous TV, radio and newspaper articles have been written about HAD and projects are already lined up.⁶⁰

Kyproula Makri is a Greek Cypriot Inspector of Special Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, TV presenter of the news in Sign Language and Sign Language Interpreter. She participates in various bi-communal projects involving the deaf community and the disabled. She often organises bi-communal seminars for deaf children (both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) at the Buffer Zone in Nicosia. Greek and Turkish deaf children came together, participated in common activities, made drawings and created a big poster for Peace. Moreover, she was group leader of a bi-communal delegation to Washington D.C. comprised of an equal number of Greek and Turkish Cypriot teachers of the Deaf. The programme entitled "*Deaf Education Teacher Training*" took place at the Centre of Global Education at Gallaudet University, the World University for the Deaf. Under her initiative individual contacts and meetings with people and organisations of the Turkish-Cypriot community were made regarding the education and rehabilitation of the deaf and the disabled people there. This level of collaboration between the two main communities in this field was a precedent for Cyprus.

The work of the Institute of Historical Research for Peace in Nicosia forms a pioneering step towards peace building. The Institute of Historical Research for Peace (INISME) is a not-for-profit NGO dedicated to the resolution of conflicts, to the promotion of research,

⁶⁰ Women founding members are the following: Tina Adamidou, Maria Hadjipavlou, Derya Beyatli, Neshe Yashin, Sevgul Uludag, Magda Zenonos and Fatma Azgin.

to education for Peace, and to international exchange programmes.⁶¹ According to its profile, Historical thinking is the process of understanding history in depth and it can serve as a tool for predicting future possibilities and probabilities. Peace is hidden by historiography, which places greater emphasis on learning about wars and victories whilst neglecting the treaty making process or the national victories of neighbouring countries. The Institute has the following objectives: to examine the potential for peaceful coexistence among the Cypriot communities; to become acquainted with the unknown Turkish Cypriot neighbour and his/her language which can contribute to the Peace process; to establish close contacts aiming at cooperating with scientists in our field from the Turkish Cypriot community; to publically promote the importance of looking back in order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past; to use the particular strength, wisdom and capability that women have shown across the centuries to promote peace and partnership; to study via research the archaeological, theological and historical development of Muslim places of Worship; to try to find a creative new form of coexistence in countries with heterogeneous populations espousing different values. The Institute of Historical Research for Peace has organised many interesting activities taking the form of projects, workshops as well as summer schools. These include research studies on interreligious relations between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus (16th-21st cent.), and a weekly radio programme broadcast by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation titled "*Our Neighbours and Us*", had as its aim the peaceful coexistence in the Middle East. This programme ran for nine whole years. Women who work voluntarily for our projects are, amongst others, Eliana Maltezou, Marianna Pozotou, Maria Skoufari, and Koulla Stavriniidou.

Education in a Multicultural Cyprus (2017) is the book edited by Iacovos Psaltis, Nicos Anastasiou, Hubert Faustmann, Maria Hadjipavlou, Hakan Karahasan and Marilena Zackheos; it is dedicated to all teachers with a pro-active vision for peace. It is the result of a project aiming at collaboration between Turkish and Greek teachers. All are members of the Cyprus Academic Forum, a meeting platform for Turkish and Greek women academics too.

⁶¹ The Institute was registered in the year 2000 and before checkpoints were opened (2003). At that time any project between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots could only be carried out by non-governmental organizations.

<http://www.ellines.de/inisme/>

Women's initiatives for peace and reconciliation in Cyprus are quite important and one could say that they resemble the pieces of art on the island, which although they cannot work for peace, are a silent witness to the peaceful coexistence, which had been a noble tradition for centuries.⁶² A British observer in 1881 wrote: "Nicosia... is unique in one respect as being perhaps the only city in the East where Mahomedan and Christian religions are tolerated side by side. The old Cathedral of Santa Sophia is now a mosque and above the walls of the town Greek Church spires rise up side by side with Moslem minarets and in the busy and picturesque bazaars Greeks and Turks are freely mixed". When we get together for a new project we chant the following song: "We, women, deserve better! Sunset, and the masses are grieving. Sunset, blood red gives way to evening. We deserve better! Sunrise, and our children will play together. Sunrise to find nations in peace forever. Sunrise for the future is brighter. Because... We deserve better!"

Faith Shapes Women's Life towards Non-violent Actions

At the Police Academy of Cyprus⁶³ police training is founded on the principle that non-violent behaviour requires two kinds of faith: faith in God and faith in human beings. These are not mutually exclusive. To this end, the religiosity of Orthodox women believers plays a crucial role, particularly their participation in the Holy Sacraments. Cypriot women in their majority have faith in God, and know that this should be demonstrated through love and respect for their fellow human beings. For a Christian, the issue at stake is not the combat against war and violence, but the elimination of the things that provoke violence and war (Tsetsis, 2007, 61). Cyprus is the only country where the house for the young couple is gifted by the bride's parents and not the bridegroom's, as happens in Greece, in Turkey and neighbouring countries. The girl owns the house and takes her future husband to live with her with the acceptance of his parents. This means that a new couple is more likely to live in close proximity to the woman's parents who subsequently help with the upbringing of their grandchildren. As a matter of fact, many disagreements with the mother-in-laws do not take place. Women have a better quality life

⁶² Kyrris, op. cit. 1977, 29f. Idem, 1976, 243ff. Areti Demosthenous, "The Potential of Peaceful Coexistence Among the Cypriot Communities in the New Millennium", *Études et Documents Balkaniques et Méditerranéens* 24 (Paris, 2001), 8ff.

⁶³ Where I have the honour to be external lecturer. Director of the Police Academy is also an academic woman, Dr Kyriaki Lambrianidou.

here compared to that in Greece. All these factors combined, help to create an environment conducive to the raising of children. In the New Testament Apostle Mark emphasizes: "But at the beginning of creation God made them male and female. For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. So they are no longer two, but one flesh" (10:6-8). In Cyprus this order finds fulfilment literally. Traditionally, when a couple's first-born is a boy he is given the name of the paternal grandparent. The first daughter is given the name of the maternal grandparent. This tradition is more egalitarian than in Greece, where the expectation still exists that the first two children should bear the names of the paternal grandparents.

The Sacrament of Confession is another aspect of Orthodox religiosity which, albeit indirectly, contributes to peace and non-violence. Women practice this regularly, men usually once a year. Absolution is granted on condition the faithful forgive others: this has helped to reduce domestic violence. A priest in Limassol, Father Michalis Christofi, who is also a medical doctor, told me that he has observed people with this disordered habit making a considerable recovery after visiting him regularly for Confession. In the past this Sacrament empowered many Orthodox Cypriots to start a new life after the adversities of the war and the financial crisis. Thus, participation in Confession is more than a religious observance. The priest's role encompasses that of a counsellor and a mediator, which edifies believers at all stages of life.

From my perspective as an Orthodox Christian woman living in Cyprus, I remember that as a child at primary school I was often the recipient of negative criticism on account of my parents' liberal attitude to other religions.⁶⁴ My father was the village Orthodox priest and although this was forbidden by the basic Church teaching, he used to give holy water (*Ayazma*) to Muslims and Jews coming to him

⁶⁴ As a result of my family upbringing, there were times when as a schoolgirl I would express my belief that not all Turks are the enemy, arguing that there were very kind Turks as well; this view was considered provocative, even heretical, by my teacher and fellow students. Given the war of 1974, it was quite understandable that at school my views could not be freely expressed. The year of the war, I was in the fourth grade. Moreover, there was an implicit expectation that I uphold the perceived values supporting the country's national interests and not the opposite.

for advice.⁶⁵ My mother, Electra, raised me with recounts about Turkish Cypriots and their kindness, hospitality and friendship.⁶⁶ "Today I have cooked *sarma* (Turkish word for Greek dolmadakia, meaning stuffed grape leaves), exactly how Sherifa's mother used to make them", she used to tell us. "Today, we have *bulgur* (a grain dish made from crushed wheat) my Turkish friend's best dish!"

Christian Maronite Women

Maronite Christians form a special group of Christians who belong to the Latin Church. The Maronites get their name from Saint Maron (350-410 A.D.) who lived near Mount Taurus in "Syria Secunda", an administrative division of the Byzantine Empire. Between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries Maronites moved to Cyprus from the ancient territories of Syria, the Holy Land and Lebanon in four principal migrations.⁶⁷ After the war in 1974 and with the intervention of the Pope Paul VI, Maronites were permitted by the Turkish forces to remain in their villages of Kormakitis and Karpasha respectively. Ayia Marina and Asomatos are used for military purposes and no people are allowed to live there. Women in Kormakitis and Karpasha live there with restrictions. Most of their families earn their living through agricultural work. Greek Orthodox populations exist in the villages of Ayia Triada and Rizokarpaso. The Cyprus Government in collaboration with the Turkish Cypriot Authority established a Committee in charge of the reconstruction of Churches and Monasteries. Women live in a traditional way, sewing

⁶⁵ My father, reverend Emilianos Demosthenous. He believed that as we bless baptized people with Ayiasma in order to stay healthy, we also bless non-baptized people in order to be enlightened and protected by God.

⁶⁶ During British rule in Cyprus, British authorities appointed a Turk to each Greek village to supervise the payment of taxes as part of their 'divide and rule' strategy. This was not conducive to friendly relations between the ethnic groups. My maternal grandfather, as a member of the community board was obliged to maintain good relations with the supervisor's family. As a result of this, their children and my mother (born in 1928) grew up together and was best friends with their daughter Sherifa. After the intercommunal violence of 1955-1959 Turkish Cypriots were taken to ghettos designated for Turkish Cypriots, so my mother and her Turkish girlfriend were separated. Sherifa's family was taken to Koutrafas camp near Vizatzia in Nicosia district. I will never forget the happy expression on my mother's face when she received a letter by post from Sherifa in the seventies.

⁶⁷ Guita Hourani, "A Reading in the History of the Maronites of Cyprus from the Eighth Century to the Beginning of British Rule", *Journal of Maronite Studies*, Vol. II (2010), No 3, 2f. Also see Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313-1378, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus*, Volume LXV (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 2010), 19f.

their own clothes, baking their own bread, and teaching religion at home to their children. Reconciliation needs positive experiences. In history wars have not been about facts but understanding; there is no room for multiple interpretations (Fuchs, 2010).

Conclusions

Women in Cyprus in their absolute majority (99%) do not identify themselves as atheist. Their religiosity sustains them through the adversities that have plagued the island such as internal conflicts, war, and financial crisis. The fact that there is no record of suicides by women in Cyprus, unlike other countries, is a testament to Cypriot Orthodox women's resilience. Secularisation's growing influence is mainly evident in the changes in the marriage contract, in social life, and recreation. Cypriot Orthodox women's efforts towards reconciliation have acted as a catalyst for the creation of an optimistic outlook regarding a settlement of the political problem. Based on the 2019 survey by the Institute of Historical Research for Peace, the majority of the respondents were taught religion by a female relative with grandmothers and mothers taking the lead. In addition, 41% of citizens consider an Orthodox Christian woman as trustworthy and 40% believe that there should be more accountability and transparency in the E.U.

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BOOK REVIEW

E. V. Bahrevsky, Ĭ. A. Svistunova, *Obraz Rossii v Turtsii: Ĭstorcheskoe Razvitie i Sovremennoe Sostoyanie* [The Image of Russia in Turkey: Historical Development and Current Status], Moskva: Rossiskiy nauchno-issledovatelskiy institut kulturnogo i prirodnogo naslediya imeni D.C. Lihacheva, 2019, 233 p., ISBN: 978-5-86443-274-7

Resul Turan*

Turkish-Russian relations have a history which goes back to more than 500 years. Most of the history comprises rivalry and wars. For this reason, to write Russian history without Turkish history and vice-versa seems impossible. Despite the common past, in Turkey, Russia and Russians image were studied very little. Lots of studies about "*Russian image in Europe*", "*Image of Russia in Arabic World*" were studied, which is

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possible to find in Europe. However, the grim historical rivalry between Russians and Turks has been the subject of very few studies. As a complete work, a new book, was published in Moscow, *Obraz Rossii v Turtsii: İstorcheskoe Razvitie i Sovremennoe Sostoyanie (The Image of Russia in Turkey: Historical Development and Current Status)* by E.V. Bahrevsky, İ.A. Svistunova.

On the book cover, there is a guard, called “kavas” in 1870’s Russian embassy in Istanbul. Writers of the book try to draw the general framework of Russian image in Turkey from historical, cultural, and political aspects. The book deals with the issues of actual image of Russia in Turkey, the Ottoman Empire period, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the World War II, and the Cold War years, the period from 1980’s up to the jet crisis of 2015, spy crisis and afterward. In short, the book offers a general framework of Turkish-Russian relations, from Ottoman sultans to President Erdogan for ordinary and professional readers.

The book consists of 6 chapters. Chapter 1 starts with the chapter in which contemporary Russian image in Turkey is tackled with data from sociological surveys. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with Ottoman period and give general information about Ottoman history as a background. According to the chapters, the image has been shaped by the historical process, which is why the memory about the past conflicts is always alive and ready to be remembered. Also, the book points out that there is no stable bad or good Russian image, it is changeable from time to time. Despite the long term relations, a milestone in the Russian-Turkish relations is accepted with the conquest of Istanbul by Turks. The city allowed Ottomans to be an empire and also to use the titles, symbols of Roman emperors. On the other hand, they intensively enjoyed Islamic titles “Khalife” and symbols which belong to the Islamic world. All these symbols made the Ottomans more powerful state against Russia.

During the last Ottoman period, the Muslim migration from Crimea and Caucasia to Anatolia has an unignorable effect on Turks. Those migrations were one of the most important triggers forming Russia’s bad reputation. That process, after the Russian Revolution of 1917, continued with White Russians’ migration to Ottoman lands. Afterwards, the Russian image seemed to be evaluated positively. Republic period, especially Turkish-Russian friendship in the 1930s, changed with the Cold War period. In the historical process, the period in which the propaganda and ideas imported from West, was the chief point in the relations. However, in Syria 2015, Turkey's downing of Russian warplane was expected to lead “New Cold War”.

Besides, the existing political relations and problems, the image shaped by not only Russia but also by the old Soviet countries. Some countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Moldava, also the countries in South Caucasia, Middle Asia, and Baltic, with the historical tie, still have effects on Russia's image in Turkey. It is important that the Russian image in Turkey was also formed by the attitude of Russia towards the people in Soviet territory, like the deportation of Meshetian and Crimean Turks to Central Asia by Joseph Stalin in 1944, Karabag crisis with Armenia, Soviet attempts to seize Eastern Anatolia -Kars, Ardahan, Erzurum, Igdir- and Chechen War.

Surveys used in the book were conducted in Istanbul, Adana, Antalya, Ankara, İzmir, Trabzon, and Samsun. From different ages, people in different regions of Turkey gave their ideas about Russia for the survey. According to the results, Turkish people find Russian leader V.V. Putin closer to themselves among the European and American leaders in 2018. Contrary to the past relations in Turkey, it seems that Russian popularity increased. In the surveys, there are many questions, some of them are as followings; which group of people in Turkey take a fancy to Russia? Which generation in Turkey sympathises Russia? Which profession of group people support Russia more? What are the bad things in Russian culture for Turkish people? What is the reason for the fact that a part of people in Turkish society sees Russia as a burden? There is another question about whom the most remembered Russian leader according to Turkish people from historical perspectives. As an answer, first four are V.İ. Lenin, İ.V. Stalin, Petro, Tsarina Katerina. Most popular authors and artists are L.N. Tolstoy, F.M. Dostoyevski, M. Gorki, and A.S. Pushkin.

In chapter 4, with the result of Russian pressure, the Muslim immigration from Balkans, Caucasia, and Crimea has a vital role in Turkish-Russian relations. With the advent of time, after the revolution in 1917, it is estimated that nearly half a million White Russians passed through Istanbul, Turkey between the years 1918-1920. During that period especially, the beautiful Russian women were blamed to petrify Turkish men by Turkish women. That is why, it is claimed that the Russian image was shaped also by non-muslim immigrants.

The writers, in chapter 6, claim that the image of Russia as a good partner or enemy changes suddenly in Turkey. That change is determined by Turkish relations with the European countries. From this aspect, the bad image of Russia was shaped because of enslaving Turkic people, closing mosques and tombs. Long term Russian wars have an

image in Turkish family, most of the mothers say to children “I gave you muscovy” (seni Moskova veririm), which is a bad impression on children about Russia.

In chapter 7 mainly focuses on Cold War period by giving references to educational, cultural and political the developments in Turkey. In Chapter 8, writers mention the following issues; in 1900s, Turkish politics distrusted Russia, especially the collapse of the Soviet Union and Chechen Question negatively shaped Russian image. However, the image also changes among the Islamists, Nationalists (Milliyetçiler-Ulusalcılar).

Chapter 9 is about Russian-Turkish Crisis in 2015; it is written that the relations with European powers shaped the policy of Turkey towards Russia. Also, in each conflict with Russia, the historical memory reminds of past events again such as Soviet Russian policies toward the Muslims in Caucasia and Middle Asia. Despite this common memory, which is the *Moskof gavuru* image of Russia, it emphasizes that The July 15 coup attempt opened a new era in Turkish Russian relations. In the last chapter, it is advised that the prejudices coming from history in the relations between the two countries should be erased. Today most people in Turkey believe that Russia is the real power behind the Armenian Question.

To determine the Russian image in Turkey, the book writers have used Turkish and Russian sources. That is why, it can be said that there is a balance of sources. Among the sources which the writers have used, there are Turkish literature, songs, Russian archives, and the results of sociological research. The authors use positive language dealing with Turkish-Russian relations. The book ends with the recommendations for elimination of prepossessions and promoting of cultural and humanitarian relations between modern Russia and Turkey. The book includes a lot of important knowledge about the relations, also a good reference for future studies which is why it should be translated to the Turkish language.

BOOK REVIEW

Bülent Yıldırım, *Bulgaristan'da Türk Varlığı ve Nüfusu (Bulgar İstatistik Kurumunun Verilerine Göre 1880-2011)* [The Turkish Presence and Population in Bulgaria (According to the Data of the Bulgarian Statistic Institution 1880-2011)], Istanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2018, 140 p. ISBN: 978-605-2022-56-6.

Asım Korkmaz*

The Bulgarian geography has been a popular location for those people who migrated from east to west since the earliest periods of history. The fact that this geography is on the migration route of the tribes that invaded Europe has enriched the demographic structure of this region throughout history. Moreover, the richness of the vegetation and climate has been effective in making it an attractive residential area. For these reasons, Bulgaria has actively witnessed the settlement in different periods of history.

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The Turkish tribes coming to Europe from the north of the Black Sea crossed the Danube and landed on the Bulgarian mainland in the Balkans. Especially during the Middle Ages, the Turkish tribes such as Ogurs (Bulgarians) Pechenegs, Uzes and Cuman-Qipchaqs played their role in here acquiring the Turkish identity. With the Turks coming from the north of the Black Sea and becoming members of the Christian faith after a while, the Muslim Ottoman Turks began the settlement activities in the Bulgarian geography in the 14th century as a necessity of their beliefs from the south of the Black Sea. In the course of time, the Ottoman conquest covering the entire Bulgarian geography conducted in here acquiring a Turkish-Islamic identity. The Yuruk-Turkmen groups in Anatolia were settled in different parts of the Bulgarian geography and led to fundamental changes in the socio-cultural and ethnic structures of Bulgaria. The Ottoman rule in Bulgaria came to an end with the effect of the nationalist movement in the 19th century. The fate of the Muslim Turks, falling outside from the Ottoman administration, brought dramatic events. The Muslim Turks had to return to their ancestral lands as a result of oppression and persecution from the lands which they had come from centuries ago with the perception of a new homeland. An important academic study related to the Turkish presence during the period from the end of the 19th century to present-day in Bulgaria and the migration fact was presented the scientific community in titled "*Bulgaristan'da Türk Varlığı ve Nüfusu (Bulgar İstatistik Kurumunun Verilerine Göre 1880-2011)*" (*The Turkish Presence and Population in Bulgaria (According to the Data of the Bulgarian Statistic Institution 1880-2011)*) by Bulent Yildirim.

The book consists of 3 chapters as well as introduction and conclusion sections. In the introduction, the subject is approached from a general framework. The brief information about the chapters of the book and the research studies used in the chapters is given. Besides, in introduction the naming problem of immigrants with the expressions like Bulgarian Turks, Bulgarian immigrant and the concept confusion are mentioned.

In the first chapter, the chronological information about the Turks who crossed the Black Sea from two different routes is narrated through the available literature. It is emphasized how and under what conditions the Turks settled in the region. The last subtitle of this chapter provides information on the scope of the Ottoman rule in Bulgaria for nearly five centuries. The content of the Ottoman administration in the Bulgarian geography, the places where the Muslim Turks settled, and the

innovations brought by the Ottomans to the region are mentioned together with the details.

In the second chapter, Yildirim touches on the events that ended the Ottoman rule that had lasted for several centuries and the migration waves to Anatolia as a result of these events. The Bulgarian nationalism played a leading role in the displacement of the Turkish population. As a result of wars, the persecution of Muslim Turks is explained in detail in this chapter. The second part of this chapter describes how and under what circumstances the migrations took place in detail. The migrations beginning towards the end of the 19th century continued until the end of the 20th century occurred sometimes compulsory and sometimes the agreement of Bulgaria and Turkey periodically. The author explains that although the administration changed in Anatolia, the migration from the Bulgarian geography to Anatolia was continuous. In the last part of this chapter, the author evaluates the whole migration phenomenon with projection population calculation method.

In the last chapter, Yildirim gives the number of Turkish population according to the settlement places in the statistical data arranged by the governments that took the lead in the Bulgarian geography. The author determines the total number of Turks according to all censuses conducted by Bulgarians. The Turkish presence in the Bulgarian geography based on official statistical data is examined. The author interprets the Turkish population and mentions the desultoriness among the data. With the graphs and tables that he prepared, the author comments the change experienced by the Turkish population in Bulgaria.

In the conclusion, Yildirim makes a general consequence about the results of the immigration case in which the Muslim Turkish presence in the Bulgarian geography had to live and the place of the Turkish population in the general census conducted by the Bulgarian governments.

This scientific study, which Bülent Yildirim composed on the basis of the official state data prepared by the Bulgarians and enriched with the researches about that period, relates the story of the Muslim Turks who were forced to return to Anatolia a few centuries later with an academic point of view. The most important inference of this study is that despite the forced or voluntary migration, Bulgaria is the country with the highest number of Muslim Turkish population in terms of indigenous community in Europe. With half a million inhabitants, Muslim Turks are an essential part of this country. Based on biased and incomplete population data staged by the Bulgarian state, the author identifies the

population of Muslim Turks and expresses the Turkish presence in Bulgaria.

The study evaluates the painful memories of Turkish Muslim population in Bulgaria. The migration sequence, based on official numerical data, has given the study a unique character. On the other hand, this study sheds light on the removal of Turkish-Islamic culture from the Bulgarian geography. Despite all the bitter practices such as oppression, violence, exile and massacres, the Muslim Turkish reality in Bulgaria has existed since the 14th century.