General Information

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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, polities and communities. Furthermore, manuscripts connecting the region with wider scopes, such as technological applications, will be also considered.

The journal is published online with two issues per year (June and December) commencing in 2018 and themed issues are anticipated. Submitted manuscripts should be original and not published or under consideration for publication elsewhere. Their length should not exceed 8.000 words. The manuscript will be subject to anonymous peer-review by at least two members of the scientific committee. The use of graphics and images in colour is encouraged and not subject to limitations (within reason). However, it is the responsibility of the individual authors to acquire copyright permission if needed. The language for manuscripts is English and Turkish. Articles, other than in English or Turkish, will be occasionally accepted. Articles must have an abstract of up to 150 words in English.

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Design and Page Setting

Cengiz Yolcu

Conditions of Publication

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Guidelines for Submission: Each issue will include articles, review essays, and shorter book reviews. All articles are to be submitted in electronic form to the journal editorial board at http://dergipark.org.tr/balkar. Submissions are to be up to 8,000 words in length and may be accompanied by footnotes and a bibliography. Transliterations will be kept to a minimum, and when used will follow the standard adopted by the appropriate scholarly bodies in the respective language areas. Articles are expected to be written in English though submissions in other languages can also be considered. Review essays are to be up to 4,000 words in length. They may review one or more books and may also focus on multiple works of a single author, works in a series, or publications around particular historical sources. Book reviews are to be 1,000 words in length.

Review of Submissions: All submissions are evaluated through a double-blind review process and include review both by editorial board members and external reviewers. *Publishable Copy*: Articles are to be submitted via electronic means in Word format and accompanied by a copy in pdf format. The pictures and figures should be sent separately in 200 dpi resolution in tif format.

General Style Rules: 1. The text must be formatted with 1.5-inch margins and be double-spaced. 2. A separate cover sheet must be included with the manuscript title, author's name, ORCID iD Number, professional affiliation, complete mailing address and telephone number. 3. A short abstract of 70–100 words in English (including also five key words) should accompany the article. 4. Capitalization: authors should be consistent in their use of capitalization. 5. Italics: the titles of works and periodicals should normally be italicized. Foreign words should also be italicized. 6. In general, foreign words and phrases, both in main text and footnotes should be provided in translation. All non-Roman alphabets should be transliterated according to the rules of international transliteration. 7. All articles should include footnotes. 8. All articles should have a bibliography at the end of the article. 9. Illustrations, tables, maps and figures must be numbered consecutively in the text and captions identifying the source of any image or data should be used. Figure title: below the picture; Table title: above the table. 10. For further reference, The Chicago Manual of Style Online (http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org) is recommended.

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Editorial

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The *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* is an Istanbul-based journal dedicated to enhancing academic exchange among social scientists from Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Eastern European countries. We initiated the journal in 2018 and have since published eleven issues. The current, twelfth issue comprises six research articles and one book review.

The first article of this issue by *Elmedina Duranović* on "Trade Relations between Bosnia and Ragusa in the Late 13th Century," sheds light on the economic landscape of Bosnia during this period, focusing on its trade relations with Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Based on original data records, Duranović outlines the economic position of Bosnia, highlighting its orientation towards agriculture and livestock breeding, much like its neighbours. Despite the predominance of the slave trade in the documented exchanges between Bosnia and Ragusa, Duranović brings attention to other significant aspects of Bosnian exports. Notably, the article discusses the departure of Bosnian boys to study crafts in Ragusa and other Dalmatian coastal cities, providing a broader view of economic relations in medieval Bosnia.

Liviu Cîmpeanu's "John Hunyadi (ca. 1395-1456): An Outline of His Political and Military Career According to the Latest Research" addresses the paucity of modern scientific work on John Hunyadi. Initiated six years ago, Cîmpeanu's research re-evaluates both older and newer sources, presenting a comprehensive synthesis of Hunyadi's life. While previous historians focused primarily on his anti-Ottoman campaigns, this article expands the narrative to include Hunyadi's intricate involvement in the political landscape of Central Europe in the mid-15th century.

In "Cultural and Religious Diversity in Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century: Through the Eyes of German Travellers," *Ergün Özsoy* leverages travel accounts as vital historical sources. Özsoy examines the observations of Protestant theologians Gerlach and Schweigger, who visited Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. These accounts offer detailed insights into the religious and cultural diversity of the city, highlighting how the Ottoman Empire managed and facilitated such diversity amidst the broader religious and cultural conflicts in Europe.

Nevena Rudinac's "Which Side Are You On? Integration of Two Conflicting Ethnic Identities in Young Adults from Serbo-Croatian Mixed Marriages" explores the challenges faced by young adults from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages in reconciling their dual ethnic identities. Based on narratives from individuals born during the 1990s—a period marked by brutal conflicts between Serbs and Croats—the study reveals how participants formed coherent ethnic identities. These identities ranged from cosmopolitan and Yugoslav to more integrated forms of dominant Serbian identity, highlighting the complex process of identity formation in a post-conflict society.

Miloš Todorovic's "Orthodoxy in Diplomacy: An Overview of the Serbian Orthodox Church's Religious Diplomacy and Role in International Relations" examines the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church as a non-state actor in Serbia's international relations. Following the revitalization and politicization of religion in Serbia during the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the Church has become increasingly involved in the country's diplomatic efforts. Todorovic explores the Church's multifaceted roles, including advising diplomats, engaging in track II diplomacy, and participating in other small-scale initiatives, underscoring its significance in Serbia's foreign policy.

Arif Akbaş's "East-West Comparisons: Cultural Diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina" delves into the cultural richness of Bosnia and Herzegovina, shaped by its unique history at the crossroads of Eastern and Western influences. The long Ottoman period left a lasting impact on the region's architecture, attire, and cuisine, while interactions with Christianity and European elements further enriched its cultural landscape. Akbaş explores how Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats maintain distinct identities while fostering interactions, creating a unique mosaic culture. This article reflects on the enduring legacy of Eastern and Western paradigms blending harmoniously, encapsulated by the Bosnian proverb, "Knowing the depth of the river after crossing the bridge."

Finally, *Hümeyra Kesici* offers a comprehensive review of Özgür Yılmaz's book "İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi (1840-1852)," (Batumi and its Surroundings (1840-1852) according to British Consular Reports) providing critical insights into the historical context and significance of the work. This review underscores the value of consular reports as primary sources for understanding regional histories.

Together, these articles offer valuable contributions to our understanding of historical and contemporary issues in South-eastern Europe. For the preparation of this issue, I would like to express my gratitude to the authors of these excellent articles and the referees for their hard work and valuable efforts during the evaluation process. I also extend my thanks to the editorial board members, especially Cengiz Yolcu and Elia Khubieva, for their support in the publication of this issue.

Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, Prof. Dr.

Editor in Chief

Research Article

Trade Relations between Bosnia and Ragusa in the late 13th Century

Elmedina Duranović[*]

Abstract:
Based on a rather modest number of original data records, this paper outlines the economic position of Bosnia in the second half of the 13th century. Assuming that the Bosnian population was predominantly oriented towards agriculture and livestock breeding, as was the case with its neighbours, the paper focuses on the trade related to agriculture and livestock breeding relying therein on the trade records as the most preserved archival documents at our disposal. Notwithstanding the fact that the slave trade was the most developed and therefore mostly recorded intercourse between Bosnia and Ragusa (Dubrovnik), this paper draws attention to other items related to Bosnian export. Hence, the paper discusses data on departure of Bosnian boys to study crafts in Ragusa and other Dalmatian coastal cities, which is a segment not to be neglected in an overview of economic relations in Medieval Bosnia.
Key words: Bosnia, Ragusa, 13th century, trade.

Introduction

The second half of the thirteenth century brought changes to the Bosnian society which consequently led to a rise of the medieval Bosnian State that existed in the following century and a half. Scarce primary written sources which would have contributed to resolving the abovementioned issue, do not justify neglecting or denying the importance of this period.

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The Ragusan (Dubrovnik) Archives, well known for their valuable material for medieval studies, do not offer much information about Bosnia when it comes to the second half of the thirteenth century. One of the reasons lies in the fact that Bosnia and Ragusa were not immediate neighbours at that time and this distance between the two affected the extent of their mutual relations. Moreover, it is important to note that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Ragusan Archives just established its systematic recording of documents and notarial deeds which subsequently developed into the present day system. Interestingly, it is the second half of this century when we notice for the first time the archival records regarding the trade items which held an important place in trade exchange between Bosnia and Ragusa.[1] Hungarian diplomatic materials, gathered in the well-known collections of published sources, do not offer much different picture either.[2] Not many historians have opted to study the timeframe due to the aforementioned problems and the evident lack of sources. Therefore, almost everything we know about this period comes from the general surveys of the Bosnian medieval history, and not from the specialist scholarly articles dealing specifically with the issues from this time.[3]

Agriculture and livestock breeding (animal husbandry), the basic economy branches in medieval Bosnia, have not been paid the deserved attention in the historiography of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina. We find data on Bosnian livestock and agricultural products recorded only from the moment they became an object of trade; however, even then they were analysed only in that trade context. The greatest contribution to the study of the economy of medieval Bosnia was made by Desanka Kovačević-Kojić whose papers are indispensable for any type of study of this issue. However, as it may be observed from the number of available original data,

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[1] A part of the archival material created in this period was published in: Gregor Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski i notarski spisi (1278-1301)*, vol. 1 (Beograd: SKA, 1932).

[2] The available diplomatic material from the second half of the 13th century comprise only one document authored by the Bosnian ruler and that is a Latin translation. All other documents from this period are of papal or Hungarian provenance, which affected the content of the documents.

Augustin Theinera, *Vetra Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, Tomus primus (1216-1352), (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1863); Ferdinandus Knauz, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis, II (1273-1321)*, (Strigonii: Typis descripsit Gustavus Buzárovits, 1882); Tadija Smičiklas (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, II-VIII (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904-1910).

[3] The starting point in getting to know this topic is provided by the synthetic works of prominent historians. Vjekoslav Klaić, *Poviest Bosne do propasti kraljevstva*, (Zagreb: Tiskom dioničke tiskare, 1882); *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463*. (Sarajevo: HKDN, 1998); Vladimir Ćorović, *Historija Bosne* (Banja Luka – Beograd: Glas srpski – Ars Libri, 1999); Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (Beograd: SKZ, 1964).

the emphasis of her studies was not on the thirteenth century, but on the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century.[4]

Given that the slave trade was pretty known during the second half of the thirteenth century,[5] it was a topic that a large number of authors covered by their works. Considerable attention was paid to the very appearance of slavery, enslavement, the legal and social position of slaves, sale contracts, slave prices, the struggle of the secular and church authorities to ban the slave trade, i.e. bring it under control, and the slave trade as an integral part of migrations of the Slavic population in the Middle Ages.[6]

Considering the presented situation in historiography, the aim of this paper is to analyse the available sources and present the gained knowledge about the economic life of medieval Bosnia in the second half of the 13th century. Well aware of the fact that the few available sources only partially clarify the questions raised, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the second half of the 13th century in the history of medieval Bosnia happens to be crucial in understanding the events that shaped the following centuries. It is a long line of interconnected events that eventually culminated in the fourteenth and, consequently, the fifteenth century.

Ban Priesda: A Central Figure in Bosnian Politics

The central figure in the Bosnian political life in the second half of the thirteenth century was *ban* Priesda, previously known as a "vice ban" to ban Ninoslav,[7] who turned to securing domestic political activities and

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[4] Desanka Kovačević, „Prilog proučavanju zanatstva u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 10 (1959): 279-296; Desanka Kovačević, *Trgovina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* (Sarajevo: NDNRBiH, 1961); Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, **„Privredni razvoj srednjovjekovne bosanske države"**, in *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine, I, Privreda i društvo srednjovjekovne bosanske države*. ed. Enver Redžić (Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1987), 85-190.

[5] The main sources for the study of the slavery phenomenon in medieval Bosnia are the purchase and sale contracts kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, but only from the 70s of the 13th century, when the Ragusa (Dubrovnik) government made a decision that trade deals exceeding 10 perpers had to be concluded in writing. Gregor Čremošnik, „Dubrovačka kancelarija do god. 1300." *Glasnik* 39/2 (1927): 231.

[6] The historiographic production on this topic is voluminous and covers almost all its segments. Review of literature in: Elmedina Duranović, „Žene iz Bosne na tržištu roblja u Dubrovniku 1279-1301.", in *Žene u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, ed. Emir O. Filpović (Sarajevo: Društvo za proučavanje srednjovjekovne bosanske historije – Stanak, 2015), 38-40.

[7] Back in 1233, a certain "nobilis uir Vbanus dictus Priesda" is mentioned as a relative of the ban Ninoslav, but we cannot say with certainty that this Priesda is the same person who succeeded Ninoslav on the ban throne. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, III (1201-1235) (Zagreb: JAZU, 1905), 389-390; Theiner, *Vetra Monumenta historica*, 120; cf. Mortiz Wertner, „Beiträge zur bosnischen Genealogie", *Vijesnik Kr. hrvatsko – slavonsko – dalmatinskoga Zemaljskoga arhiva*

the borders right after he regulated his personal relations with the Hungarian king in the context of the so called "post-crusade actions". The exact time of Priesda's accession to the throne is not known. It should be looked for in the period between 1249, when his predecessor ban Ninoslav appeared for the last time in the sources,[8] and 1255, when the charter of the Hungarian King Béla IV mentioned Priesda with the title of Bosnian ban.[9] So, in the period between 1249 and 1255, Priesda came to the position of the Bosnian ban and remained until 1287, when he was last mentioned alive in the sources. Actually, in 1287, in the presence of his three sons, he donated *župa* of Zemunik in Bosnia to his unnamed daughter and her husband, Prince Ladislav Babonić.[10] We assume that he died soon after that and was succeeded by his eldest son Stjepan I.[11]

Ban Priesda, managed to ensure peace within the Bosnian borders. In doing so, he was very much „blessed" with the turmoil in the Hungarian kingdom and he tried to keep friendly relations with his neighbours. In order to strengthen the reputation of the Bosnian State, Priesda made two significant dynastic marriages of his children with prominent families in the neighbouring countries and thus somehow approached the Hungarian royal family. One of those marriages proved to be a very important move at the time when Bosnia was raised to the level of a kingdom. By the end of 1284, Priesda's eldest son Stjepan I married Elizabeth, daughter of the former Serbian king Dragutin.[12] The new Bosnian bride had strong ties with

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VIII/1 (Zagreb, 1906): 235-239; Jaroslav Šidak, *Studije o „crkvi bosanskoj" i bogumilstvu* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1975), 188.

Priesda is again mentioned in 1240 as a member of ban Ninoslav's entourage during his visit to Ragusa, when he issued one of his charters. Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, I/1 (Beograd-Sremski Karlovci: SKA, 1929), 7.

[8] In March 1249, ban Ninoslav issued Ragusa a charter, in which he confirmed their rights and privileges from 1240, and promised them help in case they went to war with the Serbian king Uroš I. Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae Bosna Ragusii* (Viennae: Apud Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858), 32-34; Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, 9-10.

[9] While confirming the donation of the *zupe Novake*, on March 30th 1255, the Hungarian king Bela IV addressed Priesda as a Bosnian ban. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, IV (1236-1255) (Zagreb: JAZU, 1906), 594-596.

[10] Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay (A Blagay-család oklevéltára)*, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos, 1897), 53-54; Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, VI (1272-1290) (Zagreb: JAZU, 1908), 588-589. Cf. Neven Isailović, „ Povelja bana Prijezde I kojom dodjeljuje župu Zemunik svojoj kćerki i zetu, sinu bana Stjepana III Babonića", *Građa o prošlosti Bosne* 5 (2012): 9-25.

[11] In a letter of the Ostrogony archbishop, which is usually dated 1287, Stjepan I is mentioned with the title of Bosnian ban for the first time. Ferdinandus Knauz, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis, II (1273-1321)* (Strigonii: Typis descripsit Gustavus Buzárovits, 1882), 422-423.

[12] Stephen I was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of the former Serbian king Dragutin. By the end of 1284, notes about this marriage were made in the Dubrovnik archive, because the Dubrovnik municipality decided to send 147 perpers to Dragutin as a wedding gift. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 136-137.

the Hungarian rulers, and the Bosnian ban has seen that as an opportunity to get closer to the Hungarian rulers, primarily by expanding his own reputation. With the marriage of Priesda's son Stjepan to Elizabeth, the Bosnian ruling house became connected, not only with the Serbian royal house of Nemanjić, but also with the Hungarian court since Elizabeth's mother Katarina was daughter of the Hungarian king Bela IV. At the same time, Stjepan and Pavao Šubić became related because they were married to sisters. Namely, Pavle was married to Urošica, Elizabeth's sister.[13] By marrying his daughter, whose name remains unknown to us, in 1287 ban Priesda strengthened his relations with the Slavonian noble family Babonići.[14] The most powerful representatives of this family were ban Radoslav I and his brother Stjepan III, whose eldest son Ladislav was married to the daughter of ban Priesda.[15]

Peaceful period in Bosnian history favoured the development of economy, which is confirmed by the increase in trade between Bosnia and Ragusa, and archival sources recorded trade items for the first time. The lack of fundamental archival documents concerning Priesda's political career resulted in a pretty much neglectful approach within the scholarship on thirteenth century Bosnia. However, it is precisely him who is considered to be the founder of the ruling Bosnian dynasty,[16] and his rule over Bosnia is also known for being the time of restructuring the Bosnian Diocese which, later on, led to establishing a special ecclesiastical organization in Bosnia, also known as the Bosnian Church.[17]

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[13] Marko Perojević, „Prijezda I, Stjepan I Kotroman“, in *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463* (Sarajevo: HKDN, 1998), 232-238.

[14] Ljudevit Thallóczy, „Historička istraživanja o plemenu goričkih i vodičkih knezova“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 3 (1897): 333-409.

[15] Pejo Ćosković, „Kotromanići (Kotromanovići)“, in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, VII (Kam-Ko) (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2009), 724.

[16] Although we cannot rule out the possibility that he was related to the predecessors of Ban Kulin and Ban Ninoslav, Ban Priesda is the first known individual who we can claim without any doubt as belonging to the famous Bosnian medieval ruling family of Kotromanić. The latest view on this topic with a review of older literature: Emir O. Filipović, *Kotromanići: stvaranje i oblikovanje dinastičkog identiteta u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu - Filozofski fakultet, 2022), 58.

[17] With the decision to move the seat of its diocese from Bosnia to the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in the middle of the 13th century, the Catholic diocese was left without its head in Bosnia whichopened up the possibility of forming a new church organization known as the Bosnian Church. More on this topic, with a review of older literature: Dženan Dautović, „*Regio Nullius Diocesis*: Kako je Bosna ostala bez biskupije? Procesi i posljedice“; in *Prijelomne godine bosanskohercegovačke prošlosti*, ed. Sedad Bešlija (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Institut za historiju, 2021), 75-92.

Although known sources from the second half of the 13th century do not trace the growth of the Bosnian Church, its appearance with a name and structure at the time of ban Stjepan II Kotromanic, at the beginning of the following century, clearly indicates the fact that we should

ELMEDINA DURANOVIĆ

Natural Resources, Agriculture and Trade in Medieval Bosnia

The areas included in the medieval Bosnian state were rich in diverse plants and animals, as well as natural resources. River valleys, fertile fields and plains, and hilly and mountainous areas rich in pastures and forests allowed breeding of various domestic animals, as well as the cultivation of cereals, which was the basis for more permanent settlement of this area.[18] Agriculture as well as livestock farming as a side branch of agriculture remained the principal occupation of most of the population whose final products were predominantly used to satisfy the local needs. Over time, the exchange of goods (surplus agricultural products) developed into real trade, even on the international level. The first preserved document testifying to trade relations between Bosnia and Ragusa dates back to 1189. The famous *Kulin ban's charter* is the first in a series of charters drawn up to regulate trade relations between these two medieval states.[19] Almost all subsequent rulers of the medieval Bosnian state issued similar charters that basically constituted trade contracts. Certain favours, such as the exemption from paying customs duties, were intended to open the Bosnian state to the rest of the world through capable Ragusa merchants and their role in land and sea traffic. In the following centuries, certain changes were introduced in the business between Bosnia and Ragusa for the purpose of adjusting to new circumstances, that is, the development of the Bosnian economy, but the charter of Ban Kulin remained the blueprint defining the relations between Bosnia and Ragusa.[20]

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look for its beginnings in the second half of the 13th century. Sima Ćirković, „Bosanska crkva u bosanskoj državi“, *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine, I, Privreda i društvo srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1987), 207-210.

[18] On the importance of river courses in the construction of settlements and the formation of the first administrative units, see: Pavao Anđelić, *Studije o teritorijalnopolitičkoj organizaciji srednjovjekovne Bosne* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982).

[19] Bosnian Ban Kulin issued his charter on 29th August 1189, as a result of agreements reached with Krvas, the then Duke of Ragusa. In this charter, ban Kulin promised merchants from Ragusa that he would protect them and help them in the territory of the Bosnian banate, and that he would compensate them for any damage they might suffered from the state treasury. One of the most important provisions of this charter was the merchants' exemption from paying any taxes - customs duties. Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, „Kulinova povelja i bosansko-dubrovački odnosi“, in *Osamsto godina povelje bosanskog bana Kulina 1189-1989*, ed. Asim Peco (Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1989), 37-44.

[20] As the trade in Bosnia developed, by the beginning of 14th century, the Bosnian ban Stjepan II introduced customs duties to be an important source of income for the public treasury but without threatening the existing trade on the Bosnia-Ragusa route. Desanka Kovačević, „Razvoj i organizacija carina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni“, *Godišnjak Istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 6 (1954): 229-248.

Given the fact that we do not have any records on renewal of the trade contracts between Ragusa and Bosnia in the second half of the thirteenth century, that is to say, during the reign of ban Priesda and his successors, it is reasonable to assume that the contracts did not exist and that the economic relations were mainly based on the principles set up in the previously concluded contracts between abovementioned entities, i.e. the ones concluded during the reign of ban Kulin and/or ban Ninoslav, as indicated above.[21] The importance of trade relations between Ragusa and Bosnia in the late thirteenth century may be observed in the provisions of the Statute of the City of Ragusa dated 1272. Namely, one of the provisions of this document referred to regulation of disputes between Ragusans and Bosnians. The Statute foresaw that Ragusans could appear before the Bosnian court and pursue their claims only if they had an authorization issued by Ragusan prince, which would underlie the judgment of the Bosnian rulers as the final one and valid in Ragusa as well. The same was expected to apply vice versa.[22]

It is interesting to note that in this period exactly, when we do not have official charters of the Bosnian ruler, the first indications of products that were the subject of trade between the two parties, Ragusa and Bosnia, were recorded. While agriculture products were not included in the trade deals with Ragusa, the situation with livestock farming was relatively different. Archival records from Ragusa, business book records more precisely, contain data concerning first Bosnian exports to Ragusa, namely wax and leather. Assuming that the abovementioned products were of Bosnian origin, one can easily conclude that these data may be considered the first ever on beekeeping in medieval Bosnia and thus livestock, as beekeeping is mostly seen as a specific branch of animal husbandry.

In 1296 there was a case of handing over 350 pounds weight of wax between two Ragusan merchants in the Bosnian marketplace of Vrhbosna.[23] Yet the abovementioned document did not imply that the wax was domestic Bosnian product; nevertheless, this piece of information is definitely an indicator of wax trade in Bosnia in the late thirteenth century.

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[21] Ban Ninoslav issued as many as four charters to Ragusa. He issued the first one in the spring of 1240 when he visited Ragusa with a group of his lords, thereby renewing the contract between Bosnia and Ragusa concluded during the reign of Ban Kulin. This charter also promised peace and friendship with Ragusa, freedom of movement, personal and property security for merchants coming from Ragusa to Bosnia. Over the following nine years, he issued three more charters with the same or similar content. Josip Nagy, *Prva utanačenja izmedju bosanskih banova i Dubrovnika* (Dubrovnik: Štamparija Jadran, 1931), 25-26; Desanka Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 10.

[22] *Statut grada Dubrovnika*, ed. end trans. A. Šoljić, Z. Šundrica, I. Veselić (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv, 2002); Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 11.

[23] SAD, Div. Canc, III, 75v (5.11.1296); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 165-166.

From other archival records one can learn that trade also included leather, as can be seen in case of dispute over smuggled goods which was conducted before a court of law in Ragusa in December 1296. Witnesses in this case, all merchants from Ragusa, had to testify twice before the court. One of the merchants left his goods to another one, also from Ragusa, as he had to go before the Bosnian ruler to ask for repayment of existing debts. According to one of the witnesses, all goods were leather while other claimed that there was also wax among the goods.[24] Another court case conducted during the month of July 1284 provided interesting data about trade articles between Bosnia and Ragusa. Namely, the Bosnian ruler Ban Priesda hired Marin de Gayma, a merchant from Ragusa,[25] to buy a horse from former Count of Ragusa Johannes Georgio. Interestingly, Marin de Gayma failed to fulfil his contractual obligations so the case was brought before the Count of Ragusa. According to judicial decision taken in this case, Johannes Georgio was granted Marin's vineyard as a compensation for unpaid amount of money, but Marin never took over the horse, nor did he respond to court calls.[26] As Johannes had to return to Venice, his hometown, he received a written permission from the Count of Ragusa to do whatever he found appropriate in the given situation. Consequently, Johannes decided to leave the horse tied up in the square in front of the municipal building and went to Venice.[27] On the other hand, Marin de Gayma explained his failure to appear before the Court by his lack of knowledge of Latin language as all court calls addressed to him were written in Latin. Finally, he was forced to commit to payment of foreseen 300 perpers, until Christmas at the latest,[28] so it seems very likely that he took the horse in the end. The agreed price of the abovementioned horse, as well as the owner of the horse, indicated that it was a horse of a noble race, most probably Andalusian type of horse.[29] This fact also indicated the social status of the Bosnian ruler, as he asked for such a horse, but certainly some other luxurious goods as well.

Considering the circumstances of trade between Bosnia and cities on the Adriatic coast in the late thirteenth century, one could easily note that most frequent commercial item were slaves as many archival records note the export of slaves from Bosnia. As this fact was heavily exploited by

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[24] SAD, Div. Canc., III, 60-61v (16-24.9.1296); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 159-162; Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 12.

[25] Marin (de Gayma) participated in trade with Bosnian slaves. SAD, Div. Canc., I, 108v (7.11.1282); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 97.

[26] SAD, Div. Canc., II, 2 (1.7.1284); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 118-119.

[27] SAD, Div. Canc., II, 2v (2.7.1284); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 119-120.

[28] Esad Kurtović, *Konj u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, 2014), 41-42.

[29] Relja V. Katić, *Stočarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* (Beograd: SANU, 1978), 116.

historians to claim how the Middle Ages were „dark" in their essence, situation in Bosnia at that time was not very much different from any other in the region. Slavery was very much present throughout the Middle Ages in all parts of the world. Slaves were used as extra labour force at homes, although less on lands or ships; still slavery could be seen as an everyday life phenomenon of that time. [30] Person could lose his freedom and become a commodity in various ways: by capture, sale, debt, but also by voluntary sale. Due to debts and poverty, people sold themselves or one of their family members into slavery in order to survive, and there were not rare cases of violent capture of the free population and their sale into slavery.[31] One of the oldest ways of enslaving the free population was war captivity.[32]

However in case of Bosnia, archival records show us that certain social structure was entangled with the concept of slavery as some Bosnian slaves were enslaved by their birth, that is to say, that they inherited their social status from their parents who were slaves. Slave trade was a very profitable business. Slaves were traded by both smaller and larger traders, and the upper classes of society were often involved in this trade. Even the Bosnian ruler ban Priesda owned a couple of slaves as can be noted from a court hearing held in April 1279 in Ragusa on the complaint of a person named Gregory. Given indictment indicates that the Bosnian ruler was in possession of a number of slaves and took an active role in their trade.[33] On the other hand, a secondary source in this case shows that the Bosnian ruler used to donate slaves to certain individuals, which was something very common in Medieval as well as in Bosnian society of that time.[34]

The main trade centres to which slaves from Bosnia were delivered were the Neretva valley, i.e. Drijeva and Ragusa. Only part of the large number of slaves exported from Bosnia remained in Ragusa and was used

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[30] The manner of slavepower utilization in Middle Ages is the main reason of female presence in slave markets. Duranović, „Žene iz Bosne", 37-52.

[31] Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz jugoslovenskih zemalja u Dubrovnik tokom srednjeg veka* (Novi Sad: SANU - Filozofski fakultet, 1995), 17.

[32] Information about a large number of 'heretics' who were taken to Hungary after the Hungarian wars in Bosnia during Ban Ninoslav is actually an indication that a large number of the Bosnian people were taken into slavery at that time. Theiner, *Vetra Monumenta*, 452. Cf. Anto Babić, „Društvo srednjovjekovne bosanske države", in *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine, I, Privreda i društvo srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, ed. Enver Redžić (Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1987), 72.

[33] Gregorius, son of Vysclauis, sued a well-know slave-trader Geruasio de Bucignolo for selling two Bosnian female slaves (which belonged to the Bosnian ban) in Ragusa instead of exporting them to Apulia as agreed previously. SAD, Praecepta rectoris, I, 20 (26. 6. 1279); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 22.

[34] Priesda, ban of Bosnia, gave a slave as a gift to Ragusan citizen Benedecito de Gondula. SAD, Deb. Not., I, 66 (18.7.1281); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 58.

as labour force. [35] Over time, the import of slaves from the hinterland exceeded the needs of Ragusa, so the surplus was exported via Ragusa and other Dalmatian cities to distant countries. Thus, Ragusa got an intermediary role in this type of trade, and merchants from Ragusa were most interested in the Italian market, because selling slaves in those parts could make a lot of money.[36] By purchasing a slave the owner also secured a document (*carta servitutis*),[37] with which he proved his ownership rights, and accordingly he could resell, gift, pledge, release or give the slave as a dowry. Since slave trading in Bosnia was not regulated in this way, such documents were drawn up upon the arrival of slaves to Ragusa or another Dalmatian city. Freeing slaves was not a rare phenomenon, either. This was also done in front of a notary and then a document on the release or the so-called *carta libertatis* would be issued. [38] A slave could buy his freedom himself, and one of his relatives could do the same. It happened quite often that masters, in order to save their souls, freed their servants before death or by will without any compensation.[39] However, the conditions under which masters freed their slaves could be different.[40] Once freed, slaves

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[35] Most of the slaves, predominantly of Bosnian origin, were owned by Ragusian nobles, followed by artisans and merchants. Almost every wealthy house in Ragusa had its own slaves. Until the beginning of the 14th century, every nobleman's daughter was accompanied by a dowry, or a certain amount of money that could be used to buy a slave. Vuk Vinaver, „Trgovina bosanskim robljem tokom XIV veka u Dubrovniku", *Anali* 2 (Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU, 1953): 130; Dinić-Knežiević, *Migracije*, 20.

[36] Available sources show that Bosnian slaves were mostly exported to Venice and Bar. Vinaver, „Trgovina", 1953, 132; Nenad Fejić, „Trgovina bosanskim robljem u Barceloni krajem XIV i početkom XV veka", *Istorijski časopis* 28 (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1981): 27-48.

[37] The Statutes of Dalmatian cities determined that every citizen who bought or sold a slave for himself had to have a so-called *carta servitutis*, a document used to prove his authority over certain goods. Each card had to have the signature of a notary and his permanent mark of authentication, as well as the signature of a judge. Gregor Čremošnik, „Pravni položaj našeg roblja u srednjem veku", *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 2 (Sarajevo, 1947): 70. In the Statute of the City of Trogir, it is stated that the purchase of servants and maids is possible only with a notary document, and if there is no such document, the servant or maid can initiate a lawsuit in court and be acquitted. Nada Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1972), 163.

[38] We have already mentioned the case from July 1281, from which we find out that the Bosnian ban Priesda presented a slave to Benko Gundulic. If the institution of slavery in Bosnia had been regulated as in the Dalmatian cities, Priesda would have been sent, together with the slave, the official document - *carta servitutis*. However, since such a thing did not exist in Bosnia, the formal proof that Radovan was Benko's slave had to be made only in Ragusa. That's why Radovan had to personally confirm in front of a notary that the slave was Benko's, and based on that statement, Benko received an official document on his right (*carta servitutis*). Čremošnik, „Pravni položaj", 70; Vinaver, „Trgovina", 143.

[39] More examples: Duranović, „Žene iz Bosne", 48.

[40] Slaves could gain their freedom if the master got someone to replace them in their previous jobs. Thus, at the beginning of 1281, the slave Dobrost acquired another slave named Radost for her mistress, the widow Desaca from Ragusa, and thus gained her freedom. However, she

became free to decide on their future fate. However, it is very likely that they did not return to Bosnia. They were often sold into slavery again, even to the same masters, or they put themselves into their service for free. The reasons for this were very clear. The impossibility of finding a new job and obtaining the conditions for a normal life forced the freed men to put themselves in the service of other people again and thus lose their freedom for the sake of existence.

Trade and Economy in the Second Half of the 13th Century

Taken as a whole phenomenon, trade between Bosnia and Ragusa in late thirteenth century was on the rise. As could be seen in the abovementioned cases, majority of trade was related to slaves, nothing new we could claim, but one could note that slave trade was at its peak exactly in late thirteenth century. Major stakeholders in those cases were Ragusan merchants with a very small percentage of the local Bosnians included in business. Most of Ragusan merchants went to Bosnia to take over their „goods" while small number of them relied on the local Bosnian merchants and their export.[41] Reselling slaves was a lucrative business so that a large number of people were involved in it in addition to those whose main occupation was the slave trade.[42] The development of this type of trade is also evidenced by the provisions of the Statute of the City of Ragusa, which provided for payment of customs duties on the sale of slaves.[43]

No archival record is available to confirm the existence of certain market places in Bosnia at that time. Still, it is reasonable to assume that there were already existing market places, although to a much lesser extent than compared to those in later period. The absence of such market squares can be seen in data concerning slave trading. Namely, when given data about their origin, it was usually said to be general place of their purchase (land or parish) but one could never find an exact market place mentioned where slaves were acquired. However, we must note that there were certain spots where trading took place even if it was of a temporary character. This

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had to undertake that in the event that Radost escapes, she will pay a certain amount in money or return to the service of Desaca. SAD, Deb. Not., I, 37 (2.1.1281); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 42.

[41] According to certain estimates, the Bosnian merchants participated in only 20% of total sale of slaves in 1281. Vinaver, „Trgovina",127.

[42] Vinaver, „Trgovina", 131.

[43] The tax (customs) was paid on the day the slave was sold. Only the Venetians were exempted from customs duties. Part of the amount that was paid belonged to the prince. This provision on the payment of customs duties is also proof that slaves were exported from Ragusa to other ports of the Mediterranean sea. Vinaver, „Trgovina",132; Fejić, „Trgovina", 27-48.

did not imply that all those places were permanently populated areas. Nevertheless, it seems so logical to assume that those small squares grew out of the existing villages and were characterized by type of local economies operated by the majority of its population.[44] As there are records from Ragusa from late thirteenth century, we can note that Ragusans started lingering longer in the Bosnian territory and consequently founded their own colonies. Back to late 1296 we can trace records in the Ragusan court on certain disputes relating to Ragusan merchants who lived in Bosnia for a longer period of time, that is to say, much longer than usual trade travel would have lasted. In a dispute which took place a bit later and that was related to wax trade, we can follow a Ragusan merchant who lived in the parish of Vrhbosna in a house owned by another Ragusan merchant, Prodan de Cosala.[45] Not many things were known about Prodan de Cosala. Still, archival records referred to him on 31st March 1283, when he sold a slave named Radoslava, originally from Vrbas,[46] but we could not find his name in the list of those who took loans from Ragusan wholesalers. In some other court cases dated 1296 we can trace back his trade ties across Bosnia as we can see his servants going to Ragusa to complete certain trade deals on behalf of him. The fact that Prodan de Cosala was involved in slave trading indicates the wide range of his trade deals as well as a wide range of his expanded trade network.

All listed cases indicate that Ragusan merchants owned their homes in Bosnia. At first instance, we noted the examples from župa Vrhbosna,[47] but we can assume that they possessed their real estate in other parts of Bosnia, as well. Still, the case of Vrhbosna is very important as we do not have records from other areas in late thirteenth century. Nevertheless, Vrhbosna cannot be considered as an important commercial centre though we can see a developing story in this case.[48]

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[44] Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978), 25-27.

[45] SAD, Div. Canc., III, 60-61v (16-24.9.1296); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 159-162; SAD, Div. Canc., III, 75v (5.11.1296); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 165-166.

[46] SAD, Div. Canc., I, 123 (28.3.1283); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 102.

[47] „... in partibus Verboxenie in domo Prodani de Cosal..." Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 166.

[48] At this time Vrhbosna served as a market place, as can be concluded against the fact that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a small but functioning Ragusan colony. However, due to lack of archival records, it is hard to perceive the structure of its economy. Nevertheless, the available documents help us to understand push and pull effects for Ragusans to come to Vrhbosna. Mladen Ančić, *Na rubu Zapada. Tri stoljeća srednjovjekovne Bosne*, (Zagreb:Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 196-197.

The Role of the Ragusan Archives

Based on the well-preserved archival records held in Ragusa, as well as on certain provisions written in the Statute of Ragusa, one can observe a major trade development between Bosnia and Ragusa. Still, one should also keep in mind the existing trade with some other coastal cities, Trogir for instance. A collection of archival records, containing data about trade in Trogir, refers to Bosnia as to a slave trading partner of Trogir. It was recorded in this collection that a slave of a Bosnian origin was sold in Trogir in 1272.[49] Similarly, the same collection contains data that indicate the importance of economic relations of Bosnia with Dalmatian cities. In the testament by one of Trogir's noblemen (Duymus Domiche) one can note information about a deposit, in a total amount of 150 pounds, left by a Bosnian man named Radoisclavo.[50]Although the details are not very much clear in this case, partly due to the fact that the document has been heavily damaged, this is important input information about trade ties between Bosnia and Trogir. Still, it is the Ragusans who have pioneered in trade ties with Bosnia as all archival records kept in Ragusa are full of very valuable information about trade links between Ragusa and Bosnia.[51]

There are Ragusa office records and notary records on another form of clear economic communication between Bosnia and Ragusa developed by the end of the 13th century; that is departure of Bosnian boys to Ragusa to study crafts. While majority of population satisfied their existential needs by cultivating land and employing themselves in agriculture, there was also a number of people who were engaged in manufacture. A clear division between those who were engaged in agriculture and those engaged in handicrafts production (making tools, weapons, vessels, fabrics and other items for everyday use) cannot be made easily. However, archival records do refer to some Bosnian boys who were sent to Ragusa for apprenticeship in late thirteenth century. Written contracts between masters and boys, or their parents, remain the main source of data in reconstructing this type of training as well as the conditions under which the training was conducted. Those contracts usually specified the craft type, the training duration, the boy age and place of origin and certain rights and obligations of both parties thereto. In given circumstances trainings lasted

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[49] Miho Barada, *Trogirski spomenici*, vol. 1 (21.X.1263-22.V.1273) (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948), 404-405.

[50] Miho Barada, *Trogirski spomenici*, vol. 2 (31.I.1274-1.IV.1294.), JAZU, Zagreb, 1948, 117-118; Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 10.

[51] Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 10, 15.

for several years.[52] For instance, a boy named Dragoje from Bosnia entered into apprenticeship with a tailor Bogdan for six years. During this time, Dragoje was to study the craft and to help his master as well.[53] This type of contract usually meant free work in all jobs in the masters' household, that is to say, not only the craft work needed to get the qualification for an independent performance, but everything that master could ask him to do. Therefore, masters were keen to make those contracts for a long time to be able to use as much as possible of free labour force.[54] On the other hand, masters were obliged to give those boys all the tools necessary to perform a specific craft properly as well as to provide clothes, shoes and food during their stay. In given circumstances, conditions were not easy and certain kinds of punishments were foreseen in cases of escaping before the expiry of the contracts or committing some kind of fraud.[55] A few years later two more agreements about Bosnian boys who left for Ragusa for apprenticeship on tailoring were recorded. They had single master but different contract duration of eight and ten years respectively.[56] As we can see, the Bosnian population tried to secure their future and existence by learning crafts and going to work in the Ragusan area. That brought a kind of relief for the family and partial financial security with monetary earnings, which is necessary for the existence of other family members.

Summary

Livestock farming and agronomy were the primary segments of Bosnian medieval economy of which very little archival data have been preserved. In given natural conditions such as relief features, layout of mountains and hills, river basins and valleys, livestock farming and agronomy were the most suitable forms of economic endeavours. Most of the population in the Middle Ages cultivated the land to which it was tied by typical feudal relations and could not leave the land without the permission of its master. Existing agriculture tools were predominantly used by manpower, except plows which were used by livestock power which is one of the arguments why we can claim that animal husbandry represented an ancillary economic branch of agriculture. To put it precisely, agriculture somehow involved the livestock farming while it was not always the case vice versa. A part of population was exclusively engaged

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[52] Kovačević, „Prilog proučavanju zanatstva", 289.
[53] SAD, Deb. Not., I, 79 (30.10.1281); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 69-70.
[54] Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije*, 60.
[55] SAD, Deb. Not., I, 79 (30.10.1281); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 69-70.
[56] SAD, Div. Canc., I, 143 (4.11.1283), 148 (17.12.1283); Cf. Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski*, 115-117.

in cattle breeding while artisanal production was carried out mainly within the framework of „domestic work" which met the basic needs of the population and the feudal lords. In the course of the second half of the 13th century, several Bosnian boys were recorded to have gone to study crafts in Dalmatian coastal cities. Interestingly, Bosnian rulers Priesda and his successor Stephen I did not renew their predecessors' contracts with Ragusa, but it is precisely from the time of their reign that we have first recorded specific trade items between Bosnia and Ragusa such as wax, animal skins and slaves. The slave trade was the most developed as recorded by numerous documents in Ragusan notary and office files. Given the fact that most of those records related to trade between Bosnia and Dalmatian coastal cities, one can easily conclude that trade was an important branch of economy. However, the trade activities were predominantly carried out by foreigners, mainly citizens of Ragusa, who came to Bosnia and exported the necessary articles, primarily raw materials, while local Bosnian traders were not recorded at that time.

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Research Article

John Hunyadi (ca. 1395-1456).

An Outline of His Political and Military Career According to the Latest Research

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Abstract:

The lack of modern scientific work on John Hunyadi led us, six years ago, to initiate research for a monograph dedicated to his life and times. This work is based on a critical re-evaluation of the sources, as well as both older and newer literature on the topic. In the following pages, we present a synthesis of our research to the international academic community, focusing not only on John Hunyadi's anti-Ottoman campaigns, as most historians have done before us, but also on his involvement in the complex politics of Central Europe in the mid-15th century.

Key Words: John Hunyadi, The Kingdom of Hungary, Later Crusades, military history, Central Europe, Ottoman Empire.

Introduction

The "latest" Romanian monograph on the life, career, and times of John Hunyadi was published by Professor Camil Mureşan from the

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University of Cluj in 1968.[1] It was only in the last three decades, that the medievalists Adrian Andrei Rusu, Ioan Drăgan, and Ioan-Aurel Pop published a series of studies related to the ethnicity, confession, and social background of John Hunyadi and his family.[2] One might think that Hungarian historiography abounds in specialized works on this particular historical topic, but the latest scientific monograph dedicated to Hunyadi belongs to the medievalist Elekes Lajos and was published in 1952.[3] This well-documented work, but biased by the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the time, was the basis of all subsequent popularization works, signed by Zsusza Teke (1980), Dezső Dümmerth (1985) and Pál Földi (2004).[4] A simple parallel reading reveals that even the work of Camil Mureşanu is largely tributary to the monograph signed by Elekes Lajos.

Recent studies by medievalists Pál Engel and Tamás Pálosfalvi should also be mentioned. These works clarify essential aspects of John Hunyadi's history, emphasizing his early career and his first battles with the Ottomans, as well as his itineraries as Lord Governor of Hungary (1446-1453).[5] Even in Western historiography, there are only three monographs on John Hunyadi, written by Charles-Louis Chassin (1856), Vilmós von Zsonlay (1967), and Joseph Held (1985).[6]

Because of the great significance of historical sources on John Hunyadi, some recently published and others still unpublished but accessible online (especially in the database: hungaricana.hu), the historiographical works mentioned above are outdated. Thus, it is necessary to bring the topic "up to date." We propose a critical re-

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[1] Camil Mureşanu, *Iancu de Hunedoara* (Bucureşti, 1968) (2nd edition).

[2] Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara şi românii din vremea sa* (Cluj-Napoca, 1999); Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440–1514* (Bucureşti, 2000); Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Hunedoreştii. O familie europeană* (Cluj-Napoca, 2020).

[3] Elekes Lajos, *Hunyadi* (Budapesta, 1952).

[4] Teke Zsusza, *Hunyadi János és kora* (Budapesta, 1980); Dümmerth Dezső, *A két Hunyadi* (Budapesta, 1985); Földi Pál, *Hunyadi János a hadvezér* (Budapesta, 2004).

[5] Pál Engel, "Hunyadi János itineráriuma," *Századok*, 118, 5 (1984), 974–997; Pál Engel, "János Hunyadi: The Decisive Years of His Career, 1440–1444", János M. Bak, Béla K. Kiraly (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York, 1986), 103–123; Pál Engel, "János Hunyadi and the 'of Szeged' (1444)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae*, XLVII, 3 (1994), 241–257; Pál Engel, "Hunyadi pályakezdése", Marius Diaconescu (ed.) *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania/Az erdélyi román nemesség* (Satu Mare, 1997), 91–109; Tamás Pálosfalvi, „Az 1442. márciusi törökhadjárat. Adalékok Hunyadi János első törökellenes harcaihoz," *Történelmi Szemle*, XLIII, 1–2 (2001): 43–54.

[6] Charles-Louis Chassin, *La Hongrie. Son génie et sa mission. Étude historique suivie de Jean de Hunyad. Récit du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1856); Vilmos von Zsolnay, *Vereinigungsversuche Südosteuropas im XV. Jahrhundert – Johann von Hunyadi* (Frankfurt-Koblenz, 1967); Joseph Held, *Hunyadi: legend and reality* (Boulder, New York, 1985).

evaluation of all traceable sources and historiography to prepare a scientific monograph on the military career of John Hunyadi, which we plan to complete next year. Until then, we present the latest results of our research on the life, career, and times of John Hunyadi to the international academic community.

The Hunyadis

From the Romanticism of the 19th century, through the National Socialism of the first half of the 20th century, and up to certain extremist currents of our times, nationalist historiographies have sought (and found) the most original arguments to claim John Hunyadi for their nations. He has been depicted as Romanian, Hungarian, Szekler, Serbian, and more recently, Cuman. Of course, this kind of debate no longer deserves a place in the dialogue between scholars, which should be based exclusively on sources. However, it is addressed in a work of historiography, such as the one published by the medievalist Radu Lupescu from Cluj, which examines historical writings about John Hunyadi in the 19th and 20th centuries.[7] For our approach, three essential documents from 1435 and 1439 attest to "John called the Wallachian, son of the late Voicu of Hunedoara." [8] Thus, it is clear that at the Court of Buda and among the nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Hunyadis were perceived as Romanians. In the Middle Ages, ethnicity was secondary; the Hungarian nobility included Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Romanians, Poles, Czechs, Germans, and Italians. The only two conditions to be part of the Hungarian nobility were belonging to the Catholic faith and holding an estate in the kingdom, either granted or confirmed by the monarch.[9] As we shall soon see, the Hunyadis fulfilled both.

Another issue related to the rise of the Hunyadis is their geographical origin. Inspired by Professor Ştefan Pascu, academics from Cluj have insisted over the past half-century on the Transylvanian origin of the Hunyadis, considering them local Wallachian noblemen from the District of Haţeg in Hunedoara County. This theory is based on the late writings of Humanist and Enlightenment scholars from the 16th and 18th

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[7] Radu Lupescu, "Istoriografia română şi maghiară referitoare la Ioan de Hunedoara (I-II)," in *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*," XXVI, 2008, 139-162; *ibid*. XXVII, 2009, 311-332. For the alleged Cuman origin of the Hunyadis, see László Rásonyi, "The Old-Hungarian Name *Vajk*. A Note on the Origin of the Hunyadi Family," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungariae*, XXXVI, 1-3 (1982), 419-429.

[8] Pop, *Hunedoreştii*, 83-92.

[9] Ioan-Aurel Pop, „*Din mânile valahilor schismatici...". Românii şi puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2017) (2nd edition), 445-464.

centuries, who, recording rumors or mere suppositions, stated that John Hunyadi's father was a Transylvanian Wallachian. The kinship between the Hunyadis and the cneji (Romanian gentry) of Haţeg was also invoked, but recent research has shown that this relationship developed after the family immigrated to Transylvania.[10]

The academics of Cluj deliberately ignored the chronicles of John of Thurocz and Anthony Bonfini, written at the behest of Matthias Corvinus, which state that Voicu/Buth, the grandfather of their royal patron, came from Wallachia and immigrated to Transylvania at the invitation of Sigismund of Luxembourg. It seems unlikely that the cultivated monarch would have tolerated a simple author's license that highlighted the not-quite-illustrious origins of his family.[11] On the contrary, King Matthias doesn't seem to have been pleased by this story, thus, Anthony Bonfini tried, by humanistic literary means, to link the Hunyadis to the *ginta* Corvina of Ancient Rome.[12]

An independent source, the anonymous Chronicle of the Styrian Counts of Cilli, political enemies of the Hunyadis, confirms the narrative of the two chroniclers. It clearly states that John Hunyadi was born into a low-ranking knightly family from Wallachia.[13] We believe that these three independent sources from the 15th century unequivocally prove the Wallachian origin of the Hunyadi family, a fact that any serious Hungarian historian no longer questions.[14]

Anthony Bonfini, the humanist chronicler of Matthias Corvinus, calls the village of origin of the Hunyadis *Corvina* or, in the Hungarian edition of the text, *Hollos*[15], a toponym that would be translated into Romanian as *Corbeşti* or *Corbeni*, that is "The Descendents of the Raven". Could it be about one of the homonymous villages in Argeş County? This is an unanswered question, but we cannot overlook the fact that by the middle of the 15th century, the villages of Corbeni and Corbii de Piatră

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[10] Ştefan Pascu, "Rolul cnezilor din Transilvania în lupta antiotomană a lui Iancu de Hunedoara," *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie*, VIII, 1-4, 1957, 25-27, note 1.

[11] Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. I, Elisabeth Galántai, Julius Kistó (eds.) (Budapest, 1985), 237; Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades,* tomus III. Decas III, I. Fógel, B Ivány, L. Juhás (eds.) (Lipisiae, MCMXXXVI), liber IV, 95.

[12] *Ibid.*, liber IX, 219-224.

[13] Franz Krones v. Marchland, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, vol. II *Die Cillier Chronik* (Graz, 1883), 102.

[14] See the point of view of the Hungarian historiography in Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, Translated by Tamás Pálosfalvi, English edition by Andrew Ayton (London-New York, 2001), 283.

[15] Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades,* III, liber IV, 95.

were in the possession of a certain Mogoş, a familiar name among the Hunyadis. Of course, any attempt to establish a concrete connection between the Hunyadis and these two villages with raven names in Argeş County remains speculative.[16]

The available sources are silent about the social status, the wealth, and the exact place of origin of the Hunyadis. From John of Thurocz, we learn that the fame and military virtue of Voicu reached the ears of Sigismund of Luxemburg, who invited him to Transylvania, where he was granted the royal estate of Hunedoara. Anthony Bonfini takes over the story but confuses Voicu with *Corvinus* himself, who is none other than John Hunyadi.[17]

The chronicles are confirmed by documentary sources, specifically four charters from 1409-1410, which attest that Sigismund of Luxembourg, the king of Hungary, granted the royal estate (not the castle) of Hunedoara, located in Alba County, to Voicu the Wallachian, a knight of the royal household, and his family. Contrary to earlier interpretations, the donation did not include the Hunedoara Castle, with its extensive domain of market towns, villages, forests, and mines. Instead, it was the modest royal estate of Hunedoara in Alba County. In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, owning castles and fortresses was a prerogative of royalty and barons, not knights of the royal household, who were considered gentry. A monarch could appoint a knight as castellan of a royal fortress, but this was not the case for Voicu, who received only the Hunedoara estate from King Sigismund. As the Hungarian version of the toponym *Hunyadvár* attests, the estate was a remnant of the domain that once served the homonymous Árpádian *castrum* (located on the Sânpetru Hill, near today's Corvin Castle), abandoned long before the Great Mongol Invasion of 1241. By the mid-13th century, the local nobility took control of the royal counties of Hungary, turning them into "noble counties." Consequently, the Árpádian hillfort of Hunedoara was abandoned, and its domain was divided. During the 14th century, the seat of Hunedoara County was moved to the nearby Deva fortress, strategically located on the middle course of the Mureş River, while the domain of the former Árpádian hillfort, reduced to a simple royal

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[16] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "*Ex bono tirone miles fortissimus, ex milite imperator optimus emersit.* Reflections on the Beginnings of John Hunyadi's Career", Zoltan Jusztin (ed.), *Politics and Society in the Central and South-Eastern Europe (13th – 16th centuries)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2019), 179; Rita Emőke Szilágyi, Levente Nagy, "Câteva date noi despre genealogia familiilor Olahus, Hunyadi şi Dracula (Vlad Ţepeş)," *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XL, 2022, 137-138, 141-145, 156.

[17] Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I, 237; Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades,* III, liber IV, 95.

possession, was annexed to Alba County. This modest estate was the object of King Sigismund's grant to the knight Voicu and his large family in 1409. The remains of the royal fortress at Hunedoara, specifically the right to own a fortified residence there, were acquired by John Hunyadi only in 1439, in historical circumstances that we will discuss further below.[18]

One can trace the first three generations of the Hunyadis in the donation charters of the Hunedoara royal estate. The first attested member is Şerb, the family's patriarch, though nothing else is known about him, and he probably never left Wallachia. The second generation includes Knight Voicu and his paternal brothers, Mogoş and Radu. Knight Voicu of Hunedoara is specifically mentioned only once, in 1414, during a dispute with his neighbors from the village of Zlaşd, now part of the municipality of Hunedoara. It has been claimed, without documentary support, that Voicu served the famous Italian *condottiere* Filippo Scolari, naturalized in the Kingdom of Hungary. However, it was actually John Hunyadi who was in Scolari's military retinue, as we shall see below. Voicu disappears from the sources after 1414 but is not recorded as deceased until 1435. Notably, at the Court of Matthias Corvinus, Voicu was known as *Buth*, a term in old Romanian meaning "grandfather." From the third generation of the Hunyadi family, the charters mention *Johannes* (the future John Hunyadi), *Johannes* the Younger, and Voicu the Younger. John the Younger was his brother's loyal companion until 1441. Additionally, John Hunyadi had five sisters, all married to nobles from his entourage, the so-called *familiares*, and his political allies.[19]

The Wallachian origin of the Hunyadis strongly suggests that the family originally belonged to the Orthodox rite. However, shortly after immigrating to Transylvania, they converted to Catholicism. Except for Radu-Ladislaus, who appears to have converted in a special ceremony evidenced by his adoption of a Hungarian name, the rest of the Hunyadis seem to have adopted the Latin rite simply by attending Catholic mass with the other nobles of Transylvania. Thus, by converting to Catholicism and receiving the royal donation diploma in 1409, the Hunyadis fully met the conditions for being admitted into the ranks of the nobility of the

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[18] Cîmpeanu, "*Ex bono tirone*", 180-181; Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Prestige and Power: The Estates of John Hunyadi (1409-1456)", Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, Cristian Ploscaru, *Social and Administrative Elite in the Romanian Space (15th – 19th centuries)* (Konstanz, 2021), 191-195.

[19] Radu Lupescu, "Matthias Hunyadi: from the Family Origins to the Threshold of Power", *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Trandition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Cout 1458-1490* (Budapest, 2008), 39-44; Cîmpeanu, "*Ex bono tirone*", 179, 181-184.

Kingdom of Hungary. These were the main premises for the brilliant career of John Hunyadi in the following decades.

Squire, Knight, and Baron of the Hungarian Kingdom (1410 – 1439)

Most historical papers on John Hunyadi focus on his great anti-Ottoman campaigns, overshadowing the beginnings of his career, which were at least as spectacular. A notable exception is the eminent Hungarian medievalist Pál Engel, who analyzed the decisive years of Hunyadi's early career in two comprehensive studies, published in 1986 and 1997.[20] Based on these papers, I conducted a new critical analysis of all the sources on the topic, attempting to provide answers, even if provisional, to questions regarding John Hunyadi's parents, the year and place of his birth, his name and confession, as well as his *cursus honorum* - from squire to knight, and from knight to baron of the Hungarian Kingdom.

At the end of the 15th century, the Italian humanist Anthony Bonfini recorded the following legend in his *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, written under the patronage of King Matthias Corvinus: During one of his travels in Transylvania, King Sigismund fell in love with a beautiful and clever Romanian girl of noble origin, whom he left pregnant. The sovereign gave her a ring engraved with his coat of arms as a sign of recognition, instructing her to appear at court after their child was born. To avoid disgrace, the girl married a Wallachian nobleman who understood and accepted the situation. She gave birth to a son and named him John. One day, while the mother was holding her son on her lap, a raven swooped down and snatched the royal ring from the child's hand, flying away. Devastated, the woman sent her husband after the "cursed bird," which was eventually shot down with an arrow, and the ring was recovered. When John reached adolescence, his mother sent him to King Sigismund's court, where the king immediately recognized his son by the coat-of-arms ring she presented.[21] Not coincidentally, this beautiful legend was written by Anthony Bonfini around 1490, when Matthias Corvinus, his royal patron, was attempting to secure the succession to the Hungarian throne for his illegitimate son, Duke John Corvinus.[22]

The reality, however, was less spectacular. Preserved sources reveal that John Hunyadi was the son of Voicu the Wallachian and, probably,

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[20] Engel, "János Hunyadi: The Decisive Years of His Career," 103–123; Engel, "Hunyadi pályakezdése," 91–109.

[21] Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades,* III, liber X, p. 224-225.

[22] András Kubinyi, *Matthias rex* (Budapesta, 2008), 140-144.

Elisabeth Muşina of Răchitova from Ţara Haţegului (not from Marginea in Banat, as previously stated in the earlier literature). Their marriage took place before they immigrated to Transylvania. At that time, kinship ties between Wallachian boyars and the *cnezi* (Romanian gentry) of Haţeg were common.[23]

Recently, historians have agreed that John Hunyadi was born in 1405 or 1407, overlooking sources that attest to him entering King Sigismund's service as a teenager,[24] which happened in 1431. Under no circumstances can a man of at least 24 years of age be considered a teenager, especially by medieval standards, where adult life began at 14, the age at which noblemen's sons were knighted. A thorough reading of the sources, especially of two diplomas issued by Ladislaus the Posthumous in 1453, containing essential information for the early career of John Hunyadi, reveals that he entered the services of King Sigismund twice, once as a teenager, as a squire (*ipse Johannes, regnante gloriosissimo principe domino Sigismundo, tunc rege* [..] *annos Juveniles laudabili indole exegit*...), and the second time when he was already a knight, in 1431(...*preclare enim indolis miles* [*Johannes de Hwnyad*]*, et imperiali obsequio dignus,* **tunc** *primum regiis militibus connumeratus, et succesiue consiliis admissus, integra fide deuotisque obsequijs, prefato auo nostro* [*Sigismundo*] [...] *pro susceptione imperialium Infularum* [...] *procedenti* [...] *fideli semper sollicitudinis diligencia, inseparabiliter adhesit*).[25] Thus, it is very likely that the young John Hunyadi entered the service of Sigismund of Luxembourg around 1409/1410, when his father Voicu received the Hunedoara estate from the sovereign. Therefore, he must have been born around 1395–1396.

Voicu and Elisabeth Muşina baptized their son with the name of *Ioan*, John, but throughout his life, he was known as Iancu/Janko, both among friends and foes. This variant of his name is attested the earliest in 1444.[26] Peter Ranzanus, one of the humanist scholars in the service of

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[23] Ioan Drăgan, "Familia Muşina de Densuş/Morsinai de Răchitova – rudele Hunedorenilor", Gianina-Diana Iegar, Péter Levente Szőcs, Gabriela Rusu, Florela Vasilescu (eds.), *Evul Mediu neterminat/A befejezetlen középkor/The Unfinished Middle Ages. Omagiu profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 ani/Tanulmányok Adrian Andrei Rusu professzor közöntésére 70- születésnapja alkalmából/Studies in honour of Professor Adrian Andrei Rusu on his 70th birthday* (Cluj Napoca, 2022), 127-141.

[24] Engel, "Hunyadi pályakezdése," 91-92.

[25] Magyar Nemzeti Országos Levéltára (MNL. OL.), Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL) 37618 and MNOL, DL 14605 (transumpt)/ József Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. X, (Pest, 1853), 347–356, nr. 174; MNOL, DL 37617 and MOL, DL 14604 (transumpt)/ Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora magyarországán*, X, 356–363, nr. 175 (transumpt).

[26] *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd bin Mehemmed Hân/The Holy Wars of Sultan Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan*, Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443-1445* (ASHGATE, 2006), 41-106, *passim*.

Matthias Corvinus, wrote that the father of his royal patron was known by the Romanian name of *Iancu*, a diminutive of the name of John.[27] It is impossible that the king, from whom the author gathered his information, did not know the very name of his illustrious father. Last but not least, we must mention that in the Kingdom of Hungary, our hero was known as Hunyadi János, a name phonetically adopted by both the Germans and Austrians as *Hun[i]adt Enusch*,[28] as well as by the Romanian voivodes of Moldova and Wallachia, who referred to him as *Ianăş voevod ot Huniadia.* (1450, 1452, 1453).[29]

As shown above, John of Thurocz, Anthony Bonfini, and the anonymous chronicler of the Cilli counts, independent of the first two, state clearly that John Hunyadi was born in Wallachia. Given his ethnicity and geographic origin, it is certain that he was baptized in the Orthodox rite. Still, he converted to Catholicism along with his entire family after they immigrated to Transylvania sometime before 1409. Even the most intransigent theologians of the Latin rite did not question baptism in the eastern rite, except in extremely rare cases. Thus, there was no need for a new Catholic baptism. The preserved sources do not even suggest that the Hunyadis converted in a special ceremony, meaning they, including young John Hunyadi, began to attend Catholic mass along with the other nobles of Transylvania.[30] Andreas Pannonius, a veteran of John Hunyadi's campaigns who dedicated his old age to both God and the pagan Muses of the Old, provides some plausible data on the early conversion of the Hunyadis. The old scholar recalled in the second half of the 15th century that his former captain, when he was a young squire at the Court of Sigismund around 1410, distinguished himself by his military skills and piety, spending his nights in prayer at the chapel of the royal residence in Buda, which could only have been of the Catholic rite.[31] However, it should also be emphasized that later on, John Hunyadi became a crusader champion of the Catholic Church and the Church Union from Ferrara-Florence, concluded in 1439. At the same time, he was a persecutor of the

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[27] Petrus Ranzanus, *Epithoma Rerum Hungararum*, P. Kulcsár (ed.) (Budapest, 1977), 34.

[28] *Die Cillier Chronik*, 93, 97, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 118, 119, 120, 121, 149; Constantin I. Karadja, *Poema lui Michael Beheim despre cruciadele împotriva turcilor din anii 1443 şi 1444. Publicată după manuscrisele Pal. Germ. 334 şi 312 din Biblioteca Universităţii de la Heidelberg* (Vălenii de Munte, 1936), 22, 29, 38, 42, 44.

[29] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, seria D. *Relaţii între Ţările Române*, vol. I (1222–1456),. Ştefan Pascu *et alii* (eds.) (Bucureşti, 1977), 410-412, nr. 300, 413-415, nr. 302, 421-422, nr. 306, 432-433, nr. 316.

[30] Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 26.

[31] Andreas Pannonius, in Fraknói Vilmos, Ábel Jenő, "Két magyarországi egyházi iró a XV. századból," *Irodalomtöréneti emlékek*, vol. I (Budapest, 1886), 23.

anti-unionist Orthodox priesthood, headed by the "pseudo-bishop" John of Caffa.[32] There are historical sources suggesting that he was a protector of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia, whose hierarchs embraced the Church Union of Florence in 1439.[33]

The modest estate of Hunedoara could not cover the material needs of Knight Voicu's large family. Thus, around 1410, the young John Hunyadi sought his fortune at the Court of Buda, like many other sons of nobles in the Kingdom of Hungary during the late Middle Ages. The humanist Andreas Pannonius, who knew him personally, wrote that Voicu's son began his career as a squire in the king's entourage. He quickly stood out for his vigor and skill during daytime military exercises and, as mentioned earlier, for his deep religiosity, manifested during overnight prayer hours in the Court chapel.[34]

However, in 1412, King Sigismund embarked on a prolonged European journey to organize a new anti-Ottoman crusade.[35] Young John Hunyadi was left behind; thus he entered the service of Filippo Scolari, also known as Pippo Spano of Ozora, Count of Timiş. Much later, Matthias Corvinus stated that his illustrious father learned the craft of war under the severe authority of this famous *condottiere*, first becoming a knight and then a captain of the troops. After being in Pippo Spano's retinue for several years, around 1420, John Hunyadi somehow joined Evrenosoğlu Ali-Beğ, the *akıncı* chieftain of Ottoman Albania. The circumstances in which this drastic change took place are not known; our hero was either captured or deserted from under the iron fist of the Count of Timiş, as suggested by the trust he enjoyed from the Ottomans. First, *Janko* groomed the pasha's horses, but in time, he joined the raids of Evrenosoğlu Ali-Beğ's *akıncı* raiders, learning not only their language but also their military tactics. Around 1425, probably to escape a conversion to Islam, John Hunyadi fled to Despot Stefan Lazarević of Serbia. He remained at the chivalric court in Belgrade until the death of the Serbian sovereign in 1427. During this period, he met Ladislaus Szilágyi of Horogszeg, whose daughter, Elisabeth, he married in 1429. The marriage

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[32] Iulian Mihai Damian, "The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church in the 1450': Archbishop John of Caffa and the Crusade in East-Central Europe", Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon (eds.), *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time* (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), 143-153.

[33] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, D, I, 384-387, nr. 276.

[34] Andreas Pannonius, in Fraknói, Ábel, "Két magyarországi egyházi iró a XV. századból," 23.

[35] Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Kaiser an der Schwelle der Neuzeit 1368-1437* (München 1996), 162-190.

of John Hunyadi and Elisabeth Szilágyi resulted in their first son, Ladislaus, being born in 1430.

Given the family ties of the Serbian despots with the Styrian counts of Cilli, it seems that after 1427, John Hunyadi was briefly in their service, already commanding his own "lance," a military unit consisting of a man-at-arms (heavily armored horseman) and three or four mounted archers. Despite the visceral antipathy between the Hunyadis and the Cillis, the young knight went with his men, whose number increased to three "lances" (three men-at-arms and nine horse archers), into the service of the Croatian nobleman Demeter Csupor de Monoszló. In 1431, John Hunyadi accompanied Csupor as a member of his retinue to Italy to witness the coronation of Sigismund of Luxembourg as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. On this occasion, John Hunyadi, who had meanwhile been knighted, entered the service of the monarch for the second time. However, upon arriving in Lombardy, he was dismissed along with other courtiers due to the royal treasury's insufficient funds. Consequently, John Hunyadi entered the military service of Filippo Visconti, Duke of Milan. For two years, the wandering son of a Wallachian boyar served one of the most illustrious princes of the Renaissance. Some historians even claim that he met the famous *condottiere* Francesco Sforza, the future Duke of Milan. Hunyadi certainly acquired the military art of *quattrocento* Italy, combining heavy cavalry and infantry units armed with firearms, which he later applied successfully in his anti-Ottoman campaigns. Moreover, John Hunyadi saved a substantial sum from his wages, making him attractive once again to the eternally indebted Sigismund of Luxembourg, who had received the imperial crown in the meantime. In 1433, upon the emperor's return to the Holy Roman Empire, the young knight rejoined his retinue, lending his sovereign considerable sums, for which he was richly rewarded with donations and pledges consisting of estates, market towns, and entire districts. Additionally, John Hunyadi became a knight of Sigismund's household, accompanying him in his travels to Germany, Hungary, and later Bohemia. Returning to Hungary for a short time in 1435, John Hunyadi and his brother John the Younger distinguished themselves in battles with the Ottomans on the southern frontier of the kingdom, temporarily entering the service of the Transylvanian voivode Ladislaus Csáky. In the autumn of 1436, John the Younger also joined the military campaign launched by the Transylvanian voivode to support Vlad Dracul, lord of Wallachia, who was facing a massive invasion of *akıncı* raiders from the lower course of the Danube.

In the meantime, John Hunyadi, as a knight of the royal household, had to accompany Sigismund of Luxembourg to Bohemia, where he took

part in battles against the Hussite heretics. During this period, he gained further military knowledge and had the opportunity to observe the effectiveness of the formidable wagon fortress, wagenburg, and the Hussite heavy infantry against cavalry. It is certain that he implemented Hussite tactics, as he later successfully applied them against the Ottomans in the campaigns he led as voivode of Transylvania..

At the court in Prague, John Hunyadi became known, admired, and envied for his appearance, wealth, and dancing skills with the ladies of high society. After the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg on December 9, 1437, he remained in the service of Albert of Habsburg, Sigismund's son-in-law and heir to the throne. Hunyadi took part in battles against the Hussites, who challenged Albert's rule, and against the Ottomans, who threatened the southern frontier of the Kingdom of Hungary. At the court of King Albert, who reigned simultaneously over the Holy Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Kingdom of Hungary, John Hunyadi joined the entourage of the Hungarian baron Nicholas Újlaki, through whom he obtained his first military dignities.

According to Anthony Bonfini, another key figure in the early career of John Hunyadi was *Franciscus Cenadio*, identified by the Hungarian medievalist Pál Engel as Francis Tallóci, captain of Belgrade and *ban* (military governor) of Severin. Under his authority, John Hunyadi and his brother, John the Younger, took on the defense of the fortresses in the Banate of Severin as a kind of private enterprise. Around September 20, 1439, Francis Tallóci was captured by a group of Ottoman *akıncı* during a campaign south of the Danube. Consequently, King Albert appointed John Hunyadi and John the Younger to the vacant dignity of the Banate of Severin, whose defense had been entrusted to them by the former ban, recently enslaved by the Ottomans. Practically, the king confirmed *de jure* a situation that existed *de facto*. The close connection Hunyadi had with Francis Tallóci (both then and after the latter's ransom) and the political influence of Nicholas Újlaki, the ban of the neighboring military province, the Banate of Mačva (today Mačva, Serbia), contributed to John Hunyadi's appointment as ban of Severin.[36]

With this office, John Hunyadi also became a baron, as the Banate of Severin was considered one of the most important military provinces in the Kingdom of Hungary, after the Voivodeship of Transylvania and the Banates of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Two documents from 1457

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[36] See the critical analyses of the sources and bibliography of this outline at Cîmpeanu, "*Ex bono tirone*", 186-198.

unequivocally attest that King Albert of Habsburg donated the fortresses of Hunedoara, Geoagiu, and Şoimuş to John Hunyadi, likely as a result of his promotion to baronial rank. In the Kingdom of Hungary, possession of fortresses was a baronial privilege. Although the donation charter for the three fortresses is not preserved, it is interesting that the diploma by which John Hunyadi was given possession of Hunedoara fortress was kept until the mid-16th century in the archive of the noble family Cândea, whose ancestors were members of his retinue. It is clear that it was not Voicu but John Hunyadi who received the fortress of Hunedoara, which by that time was, at best, a ruin located on Sânpetru Hill, near today's monument. Practically, Hunyadi received the right to hold a fortress on his parental estate. However, he did not have the financial means to build the current castle "on a rock, in the outskirts of the market town Hunedoara" (Bonfini) until 1442, when he was appointed as Voivode of Transylvania.[37]

Voivode of Transylvania (1441 – 1445)

After the sudden death of King Albert of Habsburg in the fall of 1439, a civil war broke out in the Kingdom of Hungary between the loyalists of Queen Elizabeth, the pregnant widow of the deceased sovereign, and those of Wladislas III Jagiello, King of Poland. Among those who pledged allegiance to the Jagiellonian candidate in 1440 were Nicholas Újlaki and his companion, John Hunyadi, who, as ban of Severin, had already earned a reputation as an anti-Ottoman hero. As it turned out only a few months later, King Wladislas gained a loyalist in John Hunyadi, described by John of Thurocz as "born to bear arms and fight wars." Hunyadi also had a private army of 50 "lances," comprising 50 men-at-arms and 150 mounted archers, totaling 200 men.

In the first days of 1441, the royal army led by Nicholas Újlaki and John Hunyadi defeated the loyalists of Queen Elizabeth near the Benedictine abbey of Bátaszék, in Tolna County (today in Hungary), in a terrible battle where the soldiers of both camps slaughtered each other "as if they were foreigners from overseas and countries" (John of Thurocz). In recognition of this victory, Wladislas Jagiello rewarded Nicholas Újlaki and John Hunyadi with the joint dignity of Voivode of Transylvania around mid-February 1441 at the latest, not a month later, in March, as stated in earlier historiography. Our hero was about 45 years old when he occupied this important position, becoming the fourth most powerful

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[37] *Ibid.*, 198-200; Cîmpeanu, "Prestige and Power", 196-198.

man in the Kingdom of Hungary after the king, the palatine, and the judge royal of the Court.[38]

In the summer of 1441, Murad II allowed Ishak Beğ, the *akıncı* chieftain of Semendria (the former seat of the Serbian Despotate, conquered by the Ottomans in 1439), to undertake a massive raid on the southern borderlands of the Hungarian Kingdom. John Hunyadi secretly mobilized his troops in Timişoara and set out against the Ottoman invaders, whom he surprised about 14 km from Semendria. In the ensuing battle, the Transylvanian voivode relied on his heavy cavalry, which was clearly superior to the lightly armored Ottoman horsemen. This tactic, learned in his youth while in the service of the Milanese duke Filippo Visconti, proved effective. Although it was not a large-scale confrontation, John Hunyadi's success over Ishak Beğ represented a significant moral victory. It demonstrated that the feared Ottoman *akıncı* could be defeated and inspired the Christians to resume the anti-Ottoman offensive.[39]

Following this defeat, Sultan Murad II planned a military campaign of retaliation in the spring of the following year, as the Republic of Ragusa informed Wladislas Jagiello as early as September 17, 1441. Contrary to the claims of medieval chroniclers, the Ottoman attack in the spring of the following year didn't take John Hunyadi by surprise. He had enough time to call all the Transylvanians to arms by carrying a bloody sword through their settlements. No later than February 1442, Mezid Beğ, *mirahor* (master of the horse) at the Sublime Porte, invaded Transylvania leading an Ottoman army of 16,000 men. The army entered the province through the Iron Gate, devastating the southwestern counties of Hunedoara and Alba.

The Transylvanian host gathered in Cluj and then moved camp to the episcopal city of Alba Iulia. In the first skirmish at the nearby village of Sântimbru on March 18, 1442, the personal contingents (*banderia*) of John Hunyadi and György Lépes, the bishop of Transylvania, were defeated by Mezid Beğ's *gazi* warriors. However, only four days later, on March 22, 1442, the voivode and his entire host managed to catch up with the Ottoman invaders and inflicted a decisive defeat on them at the Iron Gate of Transylvania while they were retreating loaded with slaves and booty. John Hunyadi sent the captured trophies to King Wladislas in Buda, including a large wagon loaded with severed heads, on top of which the heads of Mezid Beğ and his sons were impaled on separate

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[38] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Războiul civil din Ungaria 1440-1442 și începuturile carierei lui Iancu de Hunedoara," *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu* XXVII (2020), 35-67.

[39] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "*Magnificus Johannes de Hunyad, wayuoda Transylvanus, validam potentiam sevissimos Turcorum debelasset, triumphum victorie reportando,*" *Transilvania* 4 (2019), 88-89.

spears. The sovereign decreed public celebrations in honor of his captain and announced the victory throughout Christendom.[40]

In the meantime, Sultan Murad deposed Vlad Dracul from the Wallachian throne on the pretext of collaborating with John Hunyadi during the recent military events in Transylvania. The padishah granted the princely seat of Târgovişte to an Ottoman pasha, probably with the rank of beğlerbeğ, whom he sent north of the Danube at the head of 12,000 Ottomans. Alarmed, the Wallachian boyars called the voivode of Transylvania for help. In July 1442, John Hunyadi crossed into Wallachia with his troops and defeated the contingent of the pasha, whose name is not even mentioned by the sources. John Hunyadi then granted the rule of Wallachia to Basarab II, considered the true heir of the ruling house.

Enraged beyond measure, Murad II sent Şehabeddin, the *beğlerbeğ* of Rumelia, leading a host estimated by contemporaries to be around 80,000 men to solve once and for all the question of the Wallachian voivodeship. In August 1442, John Hunyadi and his army passed south of the Carpathians, where they merged with the Wallachian army of Basarab II and set out together against Şehabeddin. The decisive battle took place on September 2, 1442, on the upper course of the Ialomiţa River, north of Târgovişte. The Ottoman horsemen were defeated by the heavy cavalry and the Hussite war wagons of John Hunyadi, who used, for the first time in his career, the wagenburg tactic, which he had learned during his stay in Bohemia. The *beğlerbeğ* and the surviving Ottomans retreated chaotically south of the Danube, leaving Wallachia in the anti-Ottoman alliance. In response to the invasion of Wallachia, the voivode of Transylvania launched two campaigns of retaliation against the borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, the first in the fall of 1442 and the second in the spring of 1443. John Hunyadi sent war trophies again to Buda, from where Wladislas Jagiello announced the miraculous victory from *Germany* to *Italy* and *Turkey* (Anthony Bonfini).[41]

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[40] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Bătălia inexistentă: Sibiu, 22 martie 1442. O analiză critiă a izvoarelor privind bătălia decisivă dintre Iancu de Hunedoara şi Mezid Beğ", Gianina-Diana Iegar, Péter Levente Szőcs, Gabriela Rusu, Florela Vasilescu (eds.), *Evul Mediu neterminat/A befejezetlen középkor/The Unfinished Middle Ages. Omagiu profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 ani/Tanulmányok Adrian Andrei Rusu professzor közöntésére 70-születésnapja alkalmából/Studies in honour of Professor Adrian Andrei Rusu on his 70th birthday* (Cluj Napoca, 2022), 149-161.

[41] Liviu Cîmpeanu, Claudiu-Ion Neagoe, "Iancu de Hunedoara versus Şehâbeddîn. Un bilanţ al izvoarelor/Jean Hunyadi versus Şehabeddin. Un bilan des sources," *Istros* XXVIII (2022), 305-376.

News about the victories of the Transylvanian voivode over the Ottoman invaders reached the Holy See. The Pope was trying to organize a crusade to support the Byzantine Empire, which had recognized papal supremacy at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439. Thus, Cardinal-Legate Giuliano Cesarini was in charge of the diplomatic, political, and military preparations for the upcoming military expedition, which lasted until the fall of 1443. King Wladislas appointed John Hunyadi as captain-general of the army, which was composed of the retinues of several Hungarian prelates and barons, Polish volunteers, 8,000 Serbian horsemen under the command of George Branković, the exiled despot of Serbia, 600-700 Bosnian horsemen, a contingent of Wallachian light cavalry under Voivode Basarab II, crusaders, and Bulgarian *voynuk.*

By mid-October 1443, the great crusader army crossed the Danube near the fortress of Belgrade and marched along the Great Morava River in the direction of the Haemus Mountains. Following the old Roman road known as *Via Militaris*, their main objective was the conquest of Edirne (Adrianople), the European capital of the Ottoman Empire. In a proper tour de force, the army commanded by Wladislas Jagiello, John Hunyadi, George Branković, and Giuliano Cesarini engaged in five major battles, three of which were against the army of Murad II himself. After conquering the cities of Niš and Sofia, the Crusaders forced the Pass of Trajan's Gate but were repelled by the Ottoman defenders. They marched further east, guided by Bulgarians who joined them, attempting to force the Zlatitsa Pass. However, according to the later chronicler Idris Bitlisi, the padishah "surrounded that pass with the iron sabers of the *gazi* warriors," leading to a decisive confrontation on December 12, 1443, in which the crusader army failed to break through the positions of the main Ottoman army.

Faced with the numerical superiority of the enemy and threatened by the cold and the danger of running out of supplies, King Wladislas's war council decided to retreat along the same route. On the way back, two more major confrontations took place, at Meştitsa and Kunovica (in today's Bulgaria and Serbia, respectively), where the rear guard commanded by John Hunyadi and George Branković managed to repel the Ottoman attacks. In the battle of Kunovica on January 2, 1444, John Hunyadi captured Çandarlı Mehmed Beğ, the brother of the grand vizier Halil Paşa, who would play an essential role in future events. After arriving back in Belgrade, Wladislas Jagiello and John Hunyadi decided to

demobilize the army, despite requests from despot George Branković to remain under arms and resume the offensive with the arrival of spring.[42]

This tour de force by the Crusader army "persuaded" Sultan Murad to ask George Branković, his father-in-law, to mediate a truce with King Wladislas of Hungary. Sultana Mara Branković wrote to her father, asking for the release of Çandarlı Mehmed Beğ, but she secretly communicated the sultan's "offer": the restoration of the lost Serbian Despotate in exchange for the mediation of a Hungarian-Ottoman peace and, of course, the acceptance of the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte. With political cunning, George Branković made John Hunyadi an offer he couldn't refuse: he promised him the entire fortune he owned in the Kingdom of Hungary in exchange for concluding a peace treaty with Murad II. Greedy for power and wealth, the voivode of Transylvania accepted, and thus, he and the despot sent a messenger to the Sublime Porte to conclude peace.

In July 1444, George Branković and his family donated a considerable part of their immense fortune to John Hunyadi under the guise of compensation for the expenses incurred during the previous anti-Ottoman campaigns. In reality, this was proof of honoring the previously concluded agreement. Meanwhile, an Ottoman envoy arrived with the ten-year peace treaty, which was ratified by John Hunyadi and George Branković on August 15, 1444, in Oradea (not in Szeged, as earlier historiography claimed). A week later, the Ottoman garrisons evacuated the fortresses and lands of the Serbian Despotate, allowing George Branković to regain his lost realm. The entire "affair" was a masterstroke by Sultan Murad, who, despite the territorial concessions, deprived the Christians of the valuable military aid of the Serbs and gained time to organize the defense.[43]

It is impossible to specify whether Wladislas Jagiello and John Hunyadi foresaw the consequences of the agreement with Murad II. They tried to replace George Branković with Vlad Dracul, re-enthroned by Murad II in the spring of 1444, but not through direct military intervention, in order not to jeopardize the delicate negotiations with John Hunyadi, but through the Byzantine emperor, John VIII Palaeologus, who

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[42] John Jefferson, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438-1444* (Leiden-Boston, 2012), 295-356; Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389-1526* (Leiden-Boston, 2018), 105-120.
[43] Pál Engel, "János Hunyadi and the Peace «of Szeged» (1444)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* XLVII, 3 (1994), 241-257.

supported the Wallachian pretender to recover his paternal throne by sea.[44]

The battles during the Long Campaign proved that the fierce Ottoman army was not invincible, but according to the Hungarian historian Tamás Pálosfalvi, this was only a "war of illusions." The successes achieved on the battlefield convinced Giuliano Cesarini that the crusade had to continue, being one step away from excommunicating John Hunyadi and George Branković, the artisans of the Peace Treaty signed in Oradea.

However, the voivode of Transylvania concluded this peace not only for personal reasons but also for strategic ones, to gain time for the military preparations of a new crusader army. During the peace negotiations with the Sublime Porte, this army was already under banners at Szeged, where its commanders, King Wladislas and John Hunyadi, took the crusader oath on August 4, 1444. The plan for the new military expedition was much more complex than the previous one: Emir Ibrahim of Karaman was to lure Murad II into Anatolia, while a crusading fleet would blockade the Dardanelles and Bosphorus Straits to prevent the sultan's passage to Europe. Meanwhile, the crusader army led by the King of Hungary and his voivode would attack the Ottoman provinces in Rumelia with all its might, aiming to remove the Ottomans from Europe once and for all.

The new crusader army had approximately the same composition as the one that fought in the Long Campaign, with the difference being that the Serbs were partially replaced by a contingent of 4,000 Wallachian horsemen provided by Vlad Dracul. Once again, Wladislas Jagiello appointed John Hunyadi as captain-general of the army. On September 20, 1444, the Crusaders crossed the Danube at Orşova and advanced towards Varna through Ottoman Bulgaria, following the route Vidin-Nicopolis-Shumen. Unlike the previous campaign, King Wladislas's army encountered no serious resistance from the Ottomans, except for the garrisons of the fortresses along their way, which were easily conquered by the Crusaders. To everyone's surprise, the Venetian-Burgundian-Papal fleet in the Bosphorus could not prevent Murad II's army from crossing the Bosphorus Strait from Asia to Europe, due to the effective use of Ottoman artillery, which kept the ships at bay. Contemporaries also

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[44] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Relaţiile lui Iancu de Hunedoara cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova, 1442-1456. O reevaluare (I)," *Analele Putnei* XV, 2 (2019), 12-14; Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Vlad Dracul, diplomaţia ungaro-otomană şi răscumpărarea de robi creştini în contextul Cruciadei de la Varna (1444)," *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* XXXVIII (2020), 151-152.

suspected the treachery of the Genoese from Pera, whose ships were believed to have ferried the Ottomans across the strait.

On the evening of November 9, 1444, Sultan Murad pitched his camp only a few kilometers from the Crusader positions near Varna. The next day, on November 10, 1444, while the two enemy armies were facing each other, according to the Franciscan Andreas de Palatio, an eyewitness of the events, a strong wind arose that tore the flags and banners from the Crusaders' lances, which was an ominous sign for the further course of the battle. John Hunyadi and his elite cavalry dominated the battlefield almost the whole day, but, contrary to the advice given by the captain-general, Wladislas Jagiello was convinced by his entourage to try a cavalry charge against the janissaries defending Sultan Murad. This reckless attack was fatal to the king, which led to the collapse of the entire crusader army, fleeing in disarray. Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini also lost his life in the chaos that ensued. By nightfall, the battlefield was won by the Ottomans. John Hunyadi managed to regroup around him a good part of the "Hungarian cavalry" (Andreas de Palatio), with which he retreated in close ranks towards the Danube, which he crossed at Târgul de Floci in Wallachia.[45]

Lord Governor of Hungary (1446-1453)

Shortly after crossing the Danube into Wallachia, John Hunyadi was arrested by Vlad Dracul, seemingly due to a long-standing conflict over the coinage in the Transylvanian-Saxon city of Sighişoara. Vlad Dracul owned the city until 1442, when he was deposed from the Wallachian throne by the sultan, and the Transylvanian voivode took over the coinage without any intention of returning it. John Hunyadi may have also been considered responsible for the temporary disappearance of Mircea, son of Vlad Dracul, who led the Wallachian horsemen during the Crusade of Varna.

Some contemporaries believed that the voivode of Wallachia intended to deliver his Transylvanian counterpart to the sultan. Certain retainers of John Hunyadi reached Palatine Lawrence Hédervári, who was appointed as regent of Hungary during the absence of King Wladislas. The regent, along with other prelates and barons of the realm, sent an ultimatum to the ruler in Târgovişte, demanding the release of the

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[45] Jefferson, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad*, 357-487; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 120-141. See also the report of the Franciscan Andras de Palatio in Anatolii Lewicki (ed.), *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, tomus II. (Cracovia, 1891), 459-469, nr. 308.

voivode of Transylvania and threatening a military invasion otherwise. The threats from Buda, combined with the safe return of Mircea to Wallachia, compelled Vlad Dracul to release John Hunyadi after only a few days of captivity. To smooth things over, the lord of Wallachia loaded the Transylvanian voivode with gifts and assigned him an armed escort to accompany him to Braşov, where he arrived on November 25, 1444. Despite this gesture, the break between the two great men was definitive. Only certain political reasons led to temporary collaboration between them, such as the Hungarian-Ottoman truce concluded in the summer of 1445, mediated by the Wallachian voivode.[46]

The disappearance of King Wladislas Jagiello in the Battle of Varna once again brought the Kingdom of Hungary to the brink of the abyss, in a situation even more precarious than after the sudden death of Albert of Habsburg in 1439. During the first months of 1445, the strangest rumors circulated about the missing king. Some claimed that he had been miraculously saved by a band of Greek volunteers and was presumably continuing guerrilla warfare against the Ottomans in the Balkans,[47] or that, on the contrary, he had been captured by the Byzantines and was being kept under heavy guard in a fortress,[48] or even that he had arrived in Poland and was expected to return to the Kingdom of Hungary at any moment.[49]

However, most rumors heralded the death of King Wladislas, leading the Estates of Hungary to meet in Pest for a Diet on May 7, 1445, to debate the dire political situation of the realm and to find solutions, even if temporary ones. Besides measures for the internal pacification of the kingdom, such as returning all usurped castles, cities, and estates to their rightful owners and dismantling some illegally built fortifications, the main decisions of the Diet concerned the election of seven captains. These captains were to ensure peace and prosperity within their areas and to bring the underaged Ladislaus the Posthumous to the Hungarian throne if Wladislas Jagiello was not found by the feast of the Holy Trinity on May 30 of the same year. The first measure practically confirmed the *status quo*: the Kingdom of Hungary was divided among seven mighty

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[46] Cîmpeanu, ”Relaţiile lui Iancu de Hunedoara cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova (I),” 15-16; Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Beiträge zum Münzwesen des Johannes von Hunyad. Ein unbekannter Denar aus dem Jahre 1447," *Transylvanian Review* XXXII, Supplement No. 2 (2023), 182-183.

[47] *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, 454-458, nr. 306.

[48] Walerand de Wavrin in Imber, *The Crusade of Varna*, 133-134.

[49] Rudolf Wolkan (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, I. *Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431-1445)*, vol. I. *Privatbriefe* (Viena, 1909), 567-568, nr. 192.

barons, including John Hunyadi, who controlled all the regions east of the Tisa, i.e., the Voivodeship of Transylvania, the Banate of Severin, and the Captaincy of Belgrade. Although the second measure seemed clear, it was not easy to implement, as Ladislaus the Posthumous, along with the Crown of Saint Stephen, was in the "custody" of his uncle, Frederick III of Habsburg, King of the Romans. With the stubbornness and perseverance typical of his dynasty, Frederick III did not give up the infant king, who represented his advantage in relations with the Hungarian Kingdom.[50]

Present at the Diet in Pest was also Pietre Vasquez, the envoy of the Veneto-Burgundian-Papal fleet that had failed the previous year to block the passage of Murad II's army across the Bosphorus and had wintered in Constantinople. Rumors about the miraculous survival of Wladislas Jagiello after the Battle of Varna had reached the Byzantine capital, prompting the captains of the fleet, the Burgundian knight Walerand de Wavrin and Cardinal Francesco Condulmieri, to plan an expedition to conquer all the fortresses of "Thrace" to find the lost king. For this adventure, however, they needed the support of John Hunyadi's land army, so they sent Vasquez to the Kingdom of Hungary.

The voivode of Transylvania and the other prelates and barons at the Diet in Pest promised the envoy to support the crusader fleet with 8,000 - 10,000 men, who were meant to reach the Danube by mid-August. The positive answer received by Pietre Vasquez was the signal that Walerand de Wavrin and Francesco Condulmieri were waiting for to set off with their fleet of eight war galleys, through the Black Sea, up to the Danube, where they would merge with John Hunyadi's army. In the first phase, the crusader fleet joined Vlad Dracul's cavalry in Brăila, and the combined forces subsequently conquered the Ottoman fortresses of Turtucaia, Giurgiu, and Rusciuk. Meanwhile, at the beginning of August, a message arrived from the voivode of Transylvania, announcing that the mobilization of his army was still in progress and that it would reach the Danube only in the first decade of September. In fact, John Hunyadi arrived there on September 14, when the Crusader fleet and the Wallachian horsemen were besieging the fortress of Turnu (Măgurele).

The Christian forces, whose numbers increased considerably with the troops brought by the Transylvanian voivode, besieged the Ottoman outpost at Turnu (Măgurele) in vain. Their attempt to conquer the mighty fortress of Nicopolis, located across the Danube on the southern bank,

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[50] János M. Bak, Pál Engel, James Ross Sweeney, Paul B. Harvey Jr. (eds.), *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae/The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. II. 1301-1457 (Salt Lake City, 1992), 106-111.

was also unsuccessful. In the meantime, the recently mobilized troops of the Ottoman borderlands appeared near Nicopolis, where the Christian allies also drew up their battle lines. Against all expectations, the Turks did not engage in battle but turned their backs and headed south into Ottoman Bulgaria.

As he later explained to Walerand de Wavrin and Francesco Condulmieri, John Hunyadi forbade his army to pursue the Ottomans due to the lack of supplies and the danger of being routed by a massive Ottoman counterattack, which could jeopardize the entire Kingdom of Hungary. After this failed campaign, the Transylvanian voivode dismissed the crusader fleet, which sailed back to Constantinople, while he and his land army returned to the Kingdom of Hungary.[51]

John Hunyadi actually intended to keep the peace with Murad II, mediated in the same summer by Vlad Dracul, to regroup his forces for an offensive anti-Ottoman campaign in retaliation for the defeat at Varna. Peace with the Sublime Porte was also necessary due to the threats from Roman King Frederick III of Habsburg and the Styrian count Ulrich Cilli. In the summer of 1445, the King of the Romans attacked the western counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying several cities, including Kőszeg, under the pretext that Hungarian border troops had plundered his Austrian dominions on several occasions. In the autumn of the same year, the Hungarians tried through diplomatic means to recover the lost fortresses and cities and to release Ladislaus the Posthumous and the Crown of St. Stephen from the "custody" of King Frederick III. However, all negotiations failed, making it clear to everyone that the succession to the Hungarian throne would remain unresolved for many more years.[52]

In 1445-1446, Ulrich Cilli tried to take the Banate of Slavonia by force, ruled by the family of Francis Tallóci, the spiritual father of John Hunyadi. During this armed conflict, two members of the Tallóci family lost their lives, and many of their estates were usurped. Thus, besides his duty to maintain the internal peace of the Hungarian Kingdom, our hero had personal reasons to begin a full-scale *vendetta* against the Styrian count.[53] In March-April 1446, John Hunyadi launched a retaliation campaign against the Styrian domains of the Cillis, employing the *akıncı*

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[51] Walerand de Wavrin in Imber, *The Crusade of Varna,* 134-134-165; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 142-144.

[52] Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 288; Georgius Fejér, *Genus, incunabula et virtus Joannis Corvini de Hunyad, regni Hungariae gubernatoris* (Buda, 1844), 103.

[53] Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Cilleiek és Tallóciak: küzdelem Szlavóniáéert (1440-1448)," *Századok* 134, 1 (2000), 74-84.

tactics he had learned in his youth. The Transylvanian voivode also hired Ottoman and Wallachian mercenaries due to the peace he had concluded with the sultan. Despite the devastation caused by this campaign, it had no significant political or military consequences, as the voivode's mixed troops failed to conquer any fortresses. Moreover, during the same year, John Hunyadi was forced to recognize Ulrich Cilli as the ban of Slavonia.[54]

The prelates, barons, and nobles of Hungary realized that the succession to the throne would not be resolved soon and that anarchy was about to sweep the entire kingdom, which was threatened from the outside by both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Thus, on June 13, 1446, the Estates gathered for a new Diet in Pest, during which they unanimously elected John Hunyadi as lord governor of the Hungarian Kingdom. His enormous prestige, immense wealth, and the popularity and support he enjoyed in the Hungarian army, of which he had been captain-general during the great anti-Ottoman campaigns of 1443-1444, greatly contributed to his election."I took the heavy burden of the governorship on my shoulders," stated John Hunyadi in the diploma confirming his election as lord governor, as well as the rights and obligations derived from this dignity. By means of this diploma, his authority was limited to the power of the previous kings. The main tasks of the governor were to ensure internal peace, defend the kingdom from external threats, and bring Ladislaus the Posthumous to the throne in Buda.[55]

The negotiations between Frederick III and the great Hungarian embassy delegated to Wiener Neustadt in the spring of 1446 got bogged down due to the stubbornness of the Habsburg monarch. All subsequent diplomatic interventions remained fruitless. Thus, in November-December of the same year, John Hunyadi undertook a military campaign of retaliation against Lower Austria. The governor was accompanied by several barons of the kingdom, at the head of their private retinues (*banderia*), and by several contingents of Ottoman and Wallachian mercenaries, whose presence terrified the civilian population. Although the campaign reached the suburbs of Vienna, it had no concrete military results, serving instead as a demonstration of force intended to bring the King of the Romans to the negotiating table. However, the only condition Frederick III accepted was the surrender of the city of Győr to its

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[54] Pálosfalvi, "Cilleiek és Tallóciak", 88-90.

[55] Bak, et alii (eds.), *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae/The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, II, 112-115.

suffragan bishop, Augustus Salánki. Thus, the new round of Hungarian-Habsburg negotiations in 1447 remained without any notable results.[56]

Moreover, in the spring of 1447, Lord Governor John Hunyadi needed to preserve peace with Roman King Frederick III to address a new internal conflict with the Bohemian John Giskra, who had held Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) under his iron fist since the Civil War of 1440-1442. Despite the alliance treaties of 1444 and 1446, and the fact that at the Diet of May 7, 1445, he had been "elected" (i.e., recognized) as one of the seven captains of the kingdom, Giskra and his Hussite mercenaries terrorized the entire northern region of the realm, attacking and plundering the nobility and neighboring towns.[57] To put an end to this unrest, in June-July 1447, John Hunyadi attempted to deliver a decisive blow by attacking the fortress of Zólyom (today Zvolen, Slovakia), the "headquarters" of Giskra's dominions in Upper Hungary. However, the garrison repelled the attack, forcing the governor's army to withdraw without achieving their objective.[58] By mid-July, the Lord Governor concluded a new peace treaty with the famous mercenary captain at Rimaszombat (today Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia), which however was ignored by the Hussite rebels.[59]

In the meantime, John Hunyadi prepared a new military expedition to avenge the defeat Murad II inflicted on him in the Battle of Varna on November 10, 1444. Unlike the previous campaigns, this new expedition was not supported by the Holy See. The new Pope, Nicholas V (elected on March 6, 1447), did not proclaim a crusade and urged John Hunyadi to postpone the war up to the last moment. Similarly, the other princes of Christendom were reluctant, providing John Hunyadi with nothing more than generous promises. For instance, Alfonso of Aragon, the King of Naples, promised him no less than 100,000 gold florins.[60]

Instead, John Hunyadi concluded an alliance with the Albanian hero Skanderbeg and replaced the Serbian military power with that of Wallachia and Moldavia, bringing them again under the hegemony of the Hungarian Kingdom. In the fall of 1447, John Hunyadi killed Vlad Dracul

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[56] Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora magyarországón*, X, 205-206, nr. 95; 206-207, nr. 96.
[57] Cîmpeanu, "Războiul civil din Ungaria 1440-1442," 54-55, 59-62, 66; Bak, et alii (eds.), *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae/The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, II, 108.
[58] MNOL, DL 14128.
[59] Francisc Zichy (ed.), *A Zichy és Vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára/Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*, vol. IX (Budapest, 1899), 169-171, nr. 129.
[60] Guglielmo Fraknói, "Alfonso re di Napoli, candidato di Giovanni Hunyadi al trono di Ungheria dopo la bataglia di Varna," *Corvina* 2 (1922), 50-59.

after accusing him of betraying the Christian cause. He granted the Wallachian rule to Vladislav II, a member of the rival ruling house called *Dăneştii*. At the beginning of 1448, the lord governor also provided military support to Peter II to seize the Moldavian throne. Voivode Peter managed to overthrow his nephew, Roman, who was left without support after Vlad Dracul lost his throne and life a few months earlier. Consequently, the new voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia provided a significant military force of approximately 8,000 men to the lord governor of Hungary.[61]

On the other hand, the lord governor enjoyed the broad support of the prelates and barons of the Hungarian Kingdom, who not only approved the levy of a series of extraordinary taxes for the material support of the future campaign but also joined his army in large numbers, leading their retinues. In September 1448, John Hunyadi wrote to Pope Nicholas V (who had urged him until the last moment to postpone the armed conflict with the Ottomans) that the war had already been decided, the army gathered, and the orders given, so that no one and nothing could prevent this offensive war, which was started not to be won, but to be ended. The ultimate objective of the campaign was the decisive defeat of Murad II and the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe. In his correspondence with the princes of Christendom, the lord governor of Hungary described the Turks as aggressors, although, this time, the real aggressor was himself.

The attack signal was the Ottoman siege of the Albanian fortress Svetigrad, in the summer of 1448. After the siege, Sultan Murad retreated to Sofia, but in a brief time, the pashas at the Danube sent him word that the army of the "accursed Janko" crossed the river and headed towards his Balkan dominions. The Padishah ordered the urgent mobilization of Rumelia and Anatolia to set out against the infidels. On October 17, 1448, John Hunyadi and his 24,000 men, including the Wallachian and Moldavian allies, reached Kosovo Polje, where they were intercepted by Murad II's army. Unlike most medieval battles, which lasted only a few hours, this military confrontation lasted three days and two nights between October 18-20, almost without interruption. Despite the technical superiority (consisting of heavy cavalry, firearms, and the Hussite war wagon camp - *wagenburg*), the Christian army was numerically

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[61] Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Relaţiile lui Iancu de Hunedoara cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova, 1442-1456. O reevaluare (II)," *Analele Putnei* XVI, 1 (2020), 26-30; Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Skanderbeg and the Hunyadis: Myth and Reality", Csaplár-Degovics Krisztián (ed.),"*These were hard times for Skanderbeg, but he had an ally, the Hungarian Hunyadi": Episodes in Albanian-Hungarian Historical Contacts* (Budapesta, 2019), 16-18.

overwhelmed by the Ottoman *gazi* warriors, in their vast majority light cavalry. John Hunyadi and his retainers were separated from the rest of the army and forced to flee during a night attack from October 19 to 20, resulting in the loss of the much-desired revenge battle with Sultan Murad II. The next morning, *wagenburg* and the bulk of the infantry were routed by the janissaries led by the sultan himself.[62]

Captain-General of Hungary (1453-1456)

After the retreat from the battlefield at Kosovo Polje, John Hunyadi headed north, attempting to reach Hungary. However, while crossing the Serbian Despotate, he was taken prisoner by George Branković. The despot released the lord governor only after John Hunyadi left his eldest son, Ladislaus Hunyadi, as a hostage in Semendria. This episode sparked a political and military conflict between John Hunyadi and George Branković, which persisted for three years, spanning from 1449 to 1451.[63]

After several rounds of negotiation, on August 7, 1451, the two leaders concluded a peace agreement, solidified by the marriage of Matthias Hunyadi and Elisabeth Cilli-Brankovici, the despot's granddaughter. Additionally, as part of the peace terms, the Serbian sovereign had to pay a substantial compensation of 150,000 gold florins to the governor. However, given the immense sum, George Branković was unable to fulfill this obligation entirely. Instead, he ceded a significant portion of the cities, fortresses, and estates he still possessed in the Kingdom of Hungary to John Hunyadi, thereby significantly augmenting the Hunyadi family's wealth.[64] The marriage between Matthias Hunyadi and Elisabeth Cilli-Brankovici occurred in December 1453, with the groom being merely ten years old and the bride, twelve.[65]

In 1449, John Hunyadi initially planned a retaliatory campaign following the military setback at Kossovo Polje. However, facing opposition from the prelates and barons of the Hungarian Kingdom, who sought peace, he turned to George Branković to mediate with Murad II. Vladislav II, the voivode of Wallachia, facilitated the first Hungarian-Ottoman truce for one year. Only after the dynastic alliance between the

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[62] Pálosfalvi, "Skanderbeg and the Hunyadis: Myth and Reality," 17-18; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 148-166; Emanuel Antoche, "Hunyadi's Campaign of 1448 and the Second Battle of Kosovo Polje (October 17-20)", Norman Housley (ed.), *Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade* (London, 2017), 245-284.

[63] *Ibid.*, 166-167; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 291-292.

[64] Fejér, *Genus, incunabula et virtus Joannis Corvini de Hunyad*, 149-157, nr. 55; MNOL, DL 37614/Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora magyarországón*, X, 305-312, nr. 147.

[65] Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, III, liber VII, 166.

Hunyadis and the Branković family was solidified on August 7, 1451, did the aged despot go to Adrianople and mediate a three-year truce between John Hunyadi and Mehmed II, who ascended to the Ottoman throne earlier that year. Mehmed II made peace with all the enemies of his empire to focus on military preparations for the conquest of Constantinople. Taking advantage of the peace on the southern border, the Hungarian lord governor initiated measures for the internal pacification of the kingdom.[66]

John Hunyadi's campaigns against the Hussite rebels in Upper Hungary, led by John Giskra and other mercenary captains, between 1449 and 1452, proved challenging due to resource limitations. Despite his efforts, which relied on his personal wealth, royal revenues, and support from the Hungarian Estates, Hunyadi faced significant obstacles. Giskra, in contrast, had direct control over valuable resources such as mines, royal chambers, and merchant towns, bolstering his military capabilities with Hussite veterans and reinforcements from Bohemia. The disparity in resources hindered Hunyadi's ability to quell the rebellion effectively. His attempts to restore peace in the kingdom fell short, and it wasn't until a decade later, in 1461-1462, that Giskra surrendered the fortresses and cities under his control. This surrender occurred when Giskra entered into the service of King Matthias Corvinus, exchanging his loyalty for a substantial payment.[67]

John Hunyadi faced the challenge of Ladislaus the Posthumous's succession to the Hungarian throne amid conflicts with George Branković and John Giskra. Frederick III, King of the Romans, employed delaying tactics until 1450, focusing on his own political agenda, including preparations for his coronation as Roman Emperor in Rome. By fall 1450, Frederick III reached an agreement with Hunyadi, recognizing him as Lord Governor of Hungary until Ladislaus reached the age of 18 in 1458. This settled the first phase of the succession crisis. However, in spring 1452, Bohemians, led by George of Poděbrady, pressed for Ladislaus's release. Frederick III dispatched his loyal secretary, Aeneas Sylvio Piccolomini, to Prague to address the situation. Piccolomini's diplomatic skills helped ease tensions, persuading the Bohemian Estates to accept Frederick III's proposal to release Ladislaus after his imperial coronation

[66] Liviu Cîmpeanu, „*Volo pacem per tres annos*. O nouă ediție a tratatului dintre Mehmed al II-lea și Iancu de Hunedoara (Adrianopol, 20 nov. 1451)," *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* XXXIX (2021), 247-272.
[67] Kubinyi, *Matthias rex*, 57-59.

in Rome. This resolution marked the end of the second phase of the succession crisis surrounding Ladislaus the Posthumous.

The Austrians, under the leadership of Ulrich Eizinger and the cunning Ulrich Cilli, were less willing to compromise. In the early summer of 1452, Frederick III of Habsburg and Eleanor of Portugal, his new wife, recently crowned in Rome as Emperor and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, returned to Wiener Neustadt. After the emperor rejected their ultimatum for the release of the young sovereign, the Austrian rebels besieged the imperial residence throughout the summer. Several lay and ecclesiastical princes from the Holy Roman Empire present at the events managed to smooth out the conflict and mediate an agreement between Emperor Frederick and Count Ulrich Cilli, to whom he ceded the custody of Ladislaus the Posthumous in the first days of September 1452.[68]

According to this agreement, in November-December of the same year, a grand Diet took place in Vienna, during which the Austrian, Silesian, Moravian, Bohemian, and Hungarian subjects swore allegiance to the young sovereign. Arriving at the Diet only at Christmas, John Hunyadi also pledged allegiance to Ladislaus Posthumous and relinquished the title of lord governor to him in a lavish ceremony. The young sovereign rewarded our hero with the rank of hereditary count of the Transylvanian-Saxon city and district of Bistrița as a token of appreciation for his military and political merits throughout his entire career, especially during his tenure as Lord Governor of Hungary.[69]

At the insistence of the Hungarian delegation, Ulrich Cilli took Ladislaus the Posthumous to Pressburg (today's Bratislava, Slovakia), where he convened a grand Diet of the Kingdom of Hungary in late January and early February 1453.[70] On that occasion, the king received the homage of his Hungarian subjects, who, in turn, received confirmation of their ancient liberties, privileges, and laws. Ladislaus the Posthumous issued several solemn charters for John Hunyadi, granting him the

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[68] Heinrich Koller, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* [Darmstadt, 2005], 130-133.

[69] Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I, 263-264; Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. II. *Comentarii*, 2. *Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487*, ed. by Elemér Mályusz, Julius Kristó (Budapest, 1988), 362-363; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, vol. I. *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes*, ed. by Joseph Hejnic și Hans Rothe, translated in German by Eugen Udolph (Köln-Weimar-Viena, 2005), 506-507; Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, ed. by Alphons Lhotsky (Berlin-Zürich, 1967), 421.

[70] Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, I, 510-511; Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, III, liber VII, 175; Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, IV/II, 143; Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, 420.

Transylvanian-Saxon city and district of Bistrița,[71] the fortresses of Deva and Gurghiu (previously received from King Wladislas),[72] as well as a new coat of arms. This new coat of arms depicted a red lion with a golden crown in its right claw on a white background, which now accompanied his family crest showing a black raven with a golden ring in its beak on a blue background.[73]

After the conclusion of the Diet, Ulrich Cilli did not allow Ladislaus the Posthumous to enter the Kingdom of Hungary, fearing the loss of this powerful political asset to the Hungarian Estates. The Styrian count took the young sovereign back to Vienna and then to Prague, where Ladislaus became entangled in the complex political struggles of the Duchy of Austria and the Kingdom of Bohemia until early 1456. Temporarily disgraced due to Ulrich von Eizing's political maneuvers, Ulrich Cilli always remained close to Ladislaus the Posthumous, using him to consolidate his power and political influence. In the spring of 1455, the ambitious count even attempted to assassinate the captain-general of Hungary, but Hunyadi was warned in time by his allies at Court.[74]

Since the Diet of Vienna in the final days of 1452, Ladislaus the Posthumous's hereditary domains fell under the control of a true triumvirate consisting of Ulrich Cilli in Austria, George of Poděbrady in Bohemia, and John Hunyadi in Hungary. After relinquishing the title of lord governor, the king appointed Hunyadi captain-general of the kingdom, tasking him with overseeing the administration of royal revenues. However, in 1453, Hunyadi receded into the background, spending much of his time in Transylvania, where he surveyed his new county of Bistrița and assessed the condition of fortifications along the province's southern frontier.[75]

His opportunity arose in the summer of 1454 when, despite the Treaty of Adrianople of 1451, which had yet to expire, Sultan Mehmed II personally led a large army to attack the Serbian Despot. George Branković left Semendria and sought aid from John Hunyadi in the Kingdom of Hungary. The captain-general swiftly assembled an army and marched directly against the sultan's forces, who were already

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[71] MNOL, DL 37618 /Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora magyarorszagón*, X, 347–356, nr. 174; MNOL, DL 14605 (transumpt)

[72] MNOL, DL 37617 /Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora magyarorszagón*, X, 356–363, nr. 175; MNOL, DL 14604 (transumpt).

[73] MNOL, DL 24762/ Avar Anton (ed.), *A Hunyadiak címereslevelei 1447-1489* (Budapesta, 2018), 44-49, nr. V.

[74] Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, I, 550-565.

[75] *Ibid.*, 506-511.

besieging the fortress of Semendria. To avoid a bloody clash with the Hungarian forces, Mehmed II lifted the siege and withdrew to Adrianople, leaving 32,000 men under the command of Firuz Beǧ to secure his rear guard. In October 1454, John Hunyadi's army defeated Firuz Beǧ and his *gazi* warriors at Kruševac, capturing the *akıncı* chieftain and other Ottoman nobles. Following this victory, Hunyadi launched a campaign of plunder and devastation in the Ottoman territories of Western Bulgaria, ranging from Pirot to Vidin.[76]

Dissatisfied with the outcome of the previous campaign, Sultan Mehmed II launched a new military expedition against the Serbian Despotate in 1455, capturing the mining town of Novo Brdo. The news of this conquest spread consternation and concern throughout the Kingdom of Hungary and Christendom at large. A few months after the fall of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas V declared a crusade, intended to be led by the Roman Emperor, Frederick III of Habsburg. The proposal for the new crusade sparked prolonged discussions within the Imperial Diets of 1454 and 1455. The victory achieved by John Hunyadi against Firuz Beǧ served as a significant impetus for the forthcoming offensive against the Ottoman forces. With extraordinary efforts, the Franciscan friar John of Capestrano managed to rally a substantial army of crusaders from the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary by the early summer of 1456. Additionally, in the spring of the same year, Ladislaus the Posthumous pledged before the cardinal-legate Juan de Carvajal to personally lead the new crusade.[77]

The military preparations of Christendom proved crucial, as by the time the crusaders arrived at King Ladislaus Posthumus' camp in Vienna, Sultan Mehmed II had already besieged the fortress of Belgrade with his formidable Ottoman army, numbering between 40,000 to 50,000 men. Belgrade, deemed "the key to Hungary," was a critical strategic point. The defense of this vital stronghold was entrusted to the forces led by John Hunyadi's retinue and the crusaders under the command of Friar John of Capestrano. Recognizing the urgency of the situation, the king appointed John Hunyadi as captain-general of Hungary on April 7, 1456. However, due to the scarcity of resources caused by a famine the previous year, the

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[76] Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 171; see also John Hunyadi's report to Emperor Friedrich III, sent on November 10, 1454, in MNOL, DF 290201 f. 83 v. – 84 r./Fejér, *Genus, incunabula et virtus Joannis Corvini de Hunyad,* 202-204, nr. 67.

[77] Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 171-174; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. II. *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1978), 149-160; 163-173; James D. Mixson, *The Crusade of 1456. Texts and Documentation in Translation* (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 2022), 21-24.

mobilization of the army he was to lead could only commence after the harvest, beginning on August 1, 1456.[78]

Therefore, John Hunyadi could count on approximately 500 horsemen (including around 150 men-at-arms) from his personal retinue, along with another 500 horsemen under the command of John of Kórógy, the *ban* of Mačva. Kórógy's forces hailed from the southern military province, which was directly threatened by the Ottoman invasion. Despite the efforts of both the Serbian army led by George Branković and John Hunyadi's troops, the advance of Sultan Mehmed II's army, along with his river fleet, could not be halted. By July 3, 1456, the Ottoman forces had completely encircled the fortress of Belgrade.

After an unsuccessful attempt to confront the Ottoman fleet at the Danubian fortress of Cuvin, John Hunyadi retreated inland, considering for the first time in his career giving up the fight against the Turks due to lack of military support from the Court and distrust in the military capability of the crusaders recruited by John of Capestrano. It was only through great effort that the Franciscan friar convinced the captain-general of Hungary to join the anti-Ottoman crusade, subsequently devising a coherent strategic plan to assist the besieged fortress. Thanks to this plan, on July 14, 1456, the fleet assembled by John Hunyadi upstream at Slankamen, supported by his retinue's horsemen and John of Capestrano's crusaders, who advanced in parallel on the right bank of the Danube, successfully broke the blockade imposed by the Ottoman galleys on both riverbanks of the fortress, thus reopening the naval supply route to Belgrade. Fresh troops, weapons, ammunition, and provisions arrived as a result of this victory. Following this success, John of Capestrano's crusaders and John Hunyadi's retainers established a camp at Zemun on the left bank of the Sava river, where they were later joined by the horsemen from John of Kórógy's retinue. Between July 15-21, 1456, John Hunyadi and his elite troops played a crucial role in reconstructing and defending the south-eastern land fortifications of Belgrade, which had been destroyed by the formidable Ottoman artillery. During the decisive Ottoman assault on the night of July 21-22, 1456, John Hunyadi and the knights under his banner led a heroic charge against the Ottoman forces, who attacked violently for the third time under the direct command of the sultan. The Christian defenders, aided by the garrison of the fortress and the crusaders, repelled the assault, securing Belgrade's defense. Concerned about a potential counteroffensive by Mehmed II, John Hunyadi strictly forbade anyone from leaving the city. Despite his orders,

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[78] Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 174-178.

some Crusaders disobeyed and chased retreating enemies. In response, John of Capestrano crossed from Zemun to Belgrade, where more crusaders gathered around him, launching an attack on nearby Ottoman artillery positions. Surprised, the Ottoman artillerymen and guards fled, leaving their guns to the attackers. The Crusaders, reinforced by new contingents from Belgrade and Zemun, launched a chaotic assault on the Ottoman camp, where a fierce battle ensued, involving Sultan Mehmed II himself. The use of captured artillery aided the success of the crusader offensive. The two armies separated only at dusk, and the next day, on July 23, 1456, the Ottoman besiegers unexpectedly broke camp. Though earlier accounts suggest John Hunyadi and his elite troops were involved in the decisive Crusader attack on the Ottoman camp, historical sources do not support this claim. Witnesses attest that John Hunyadi and his aides did not visit the deserted Ottoman camp until July 23, when the captured artillery was brought into the fortress of Belgrade.[79]

It should be emphasized that the "shameful retreat" of Mehmed II's army was not only caused by the chaotic yet heroic counter-offensive of the defenders of Belgrade but also by the approach of Ladislaus the Posthumous's crusader army.[80] Drawing from the lessons of the significant Hungarian-Ottoman conflicts of the previous decade, it appears that in 1456, the sultan opted to avoid direct armed conflict with the Kingdom of Hungary, much like he did in similar situations in the years 1463, 1464, and 1476.[81]

For John Hunyadi, the victory at Belgrade proved fatal, as the multiple wounds he sustained in battle led to his infection with the plague that ravaged both Christians and Ottomans throughout that entire summer. Consequently, our hero succumbed to the dreadful disease in his military camp at Zemun on August 11, 1456. His family laid him to rest in the Catholic cathedral of Alba Iulia, yet for reasons unknown, his tomb remained unadorned with a knight's effigy until 1533. It was then, at the behest of King John Szapolyai, seeking to legitimize his reign through alleged kinship with the Hunyadis, that the last Catholic bishop of

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[79] I have reconstructed this historical outline of the battles that were fought around Belgrade in the summer of 1456 from directly on the reports of John Hunyadi, John of Capestrano, and John of Tagliacozzo, as key-figures and eyewitnesses of the events, see Mixson, *The Crusade of 1456*, 87-88, nr. 7, 88-91, nr. 8, 91-93, nr. 9 and 10, 93-95, nr. 11, 95-104, nr. 12, 104-107, nr. 13, 149-216, nr. 25.

[80] For the approach of King Ladislaus' crusader army o Belgrade, in the late summer of 1456, see Held, *Hunyadi*, 171-172.

[81] Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 203-221, 256-258; Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Campaniile lui Ştefan Báthory, căpitanul lui Matia Corvinul, în Moldova şi Ţara Românească, în vara-toamna anului 1476," *Analele Putnei* XV, 1 (2019), 51-69.

Transylvania, Johannes Statileus, adorned the tomb with the effigy.[82]. However, John Hunyadi's tomb fell victim to raiding and destruction during the unrest that swept through the Transylvanian Principality at the turn of the 17th century. [83]

Conclusion

Synthesizing our research alongside recent historiographical works, it becomes apparent that within the entourage of various Christian and Muslim warlords and princes, John Hunyadi acquired the tactical knowledge and confidence necessary to confront the expanding Ottoman Empire. Victories over the *akıncı* raiders early in his career reignited the phenomenon known as the Late Crusade. However, major armed confrontations during campaigns such as those in 1443-44 and 1448 revealed that technical superiority alone - encompassing heavy armor, portable firearms, and Hussite war wagons - was insufficient against the overwhelming might of the Ottoman army. It was only during the battles for the fortress of Belgrade in the summer of 1456 that the numerical advantage of the Ottomans could be countered, thanks to the sizable crusader host assembled by John of Capestrano. Contrary to previous historiography, which primarily focused on John Hunyadi's anti-Ottoman campaigns, our examination highlights his deep involvement in Central European politics, owing to his prominent position in the Kingdom of Hungary - one of the preeminent kingdoms of Christendom. In summary, John Hunyadi emerges as a multifaceted figure, ambitious and willing to negotiate politically to achieve military objectives and elevate the Hunyadi family to prominence among the noble families of Central Europe.

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[82] Tibor Neumann, Szabolcs Varga, "The Szapolyai Family's Representation of Power", Pál Fodor, Szabolcs Varga (eds.), *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapoyais* (Budapest, 2020), 77-79.
[83] Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Alba Iulia. Între fondarea eparhiei şi capitala principatului Transilvaniei* (Alba Iulia, 2009), 62-64.

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Research Article

Cultural and Religious Diversity in Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century: through the Eyes of German Travellers

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Abstract:
Travel accounts are among the most critical sources for history researchers due to the detailed information they contain. People who travelled to Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, had recorded various characteristics of the biggest city in Europe at that time. The texts written by Protestant theologians Gerlach and Schweigger provided an especially interesting comparison in a period when conflicts were intense due to religious and cultural differences in Europe. This article will focus on the observations of German travellers in terms of religious and cultural diversity in Istanbul and explore how the Ottoman Empire facilitated such religious and cultural diversity.
Keywords: Travel Accounts, Ottoman, Istanbul, German travellers, religious diversity, sixteenth century

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Introduction

During the second half of the sixteenth century, conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in Europe persisted, and Jews continued to face various pressures. Although peace was achieved within the boundaries of the Habsburg Empire with the Augsburg Reichstags Abschiede (1555), problems remained.[1] At the same time, the situation was different in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the rival of the Habsburgs. In Istanbul, the largest city in the Mediterranean world, many different religions lived together within certain rules.

The purpose of this article is to present examples of the presence of different religious and cultural groups in sixteenth-century Istanbul as described in some German travel books and to investigate the traditions and laws that provided these diverse communities with their rights. Although there is research on cultural diversity and religious freedoms in the Ottoman Empire, studies based on travel books specifically focused on Istanbul are lacking. The detailed observations in these travel books, which recorded everyday life as if traveling with a camera in the sixteenth century, are invaluable resources for new investigations and discoveries.

Scholars specializing in topics such as tolerance and religious and ethnic diversity in Ottoman and European societies contend that various groups differ greatly in regard to coexistence. While religious diversity causes serious conflicts in European nations, it can be said that Christian, Jewish and other populations continue their lives comfortably in Ottoman society.[2]

Religious and cultural diversity in the Ottoman Empire is a frequent subject of research. Travelogues provide extensive material for exploring historical aspects of coexistence in diversity, a topic still relevant today. Utilizing these historical materials presents an opportunity to gain new and different perspectives. For example, the religious diversity described in Popović's article about the Via Militaris (Via Traiana) can be traced in detail through German travel literature,

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[1] Ferdinand I., Abschiedt Der Römischen Königlichen Maiestat, vnd gemeiner Stendt, auff dem Reichßtag zu Augspurg, Anno Domini M.D.L.V., Meyntz, 1555.
[2] Şener Aktürk, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Dini Çeşitlilik: Farklı Olan Neydi?" Doğu-Batı, Üç Aylık Düşünce Dergisi, Aralık 2010, 133.

particularly in Istanbul, the Empire's capital and a significant destination for diplomats and their prolonged residences. [3]

In contrast to Popović's work, this article aims to contribute to the literature on cultural and religious diversity by focusing specifically on Istanbul. It also acknowledges the historical context of the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry and the religious struggles within Habsburg territories. Furthermore, the article discusses whether diversity can be considered a strategic phenomenon within the Ottoman Empire.

Dhimmi Status and the National System

The oldest record of the appointment of non-Muslim clergy in the Ottoman state is a document dated 1399, issued to the Antalya metropolitan area during the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid. The timar book dated 1432 also contains documents related to metropolitan appointments. According to a late-seventeenth-century Ottoman source, Osman Gazi gave permission to the priests of the Margirit Church to use the land near Serez for their churches and villages.[4]

During the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, as in other eras, legal arrangements were made regarding the status of the non-Muslim Ottoman reaya. Mehmed granted administrative, judicial, and legal rights first to the Orthodox Greeks and then to the people of Galata. Thus, the Orthodox Greeks were integrated into the Ottoman administrative system as a congregation under the spiritual and worldly leadership of Patriarch Gennadius. As historian Zinkeisen explains, Mehmed wanted all the ceremonies and traditions to continue as they had during the Patriarch's election. By preserving the Patriarchate in this manner, Mehmed not only safeguarded the church community but also ensured the national and political survival of the Byzantine Greeks.[5]

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[3] In an article written by German travellers on observations of ethnic and religious elements, especially in Balkan countries, Mihailo St. Popovic focused on travellers' assessments of the cities on the way to Budapest, Belgrade, Nis, Sofia, Plovdiv, Edirne and Istanbul. Popovic also discussed the reflections of differences in Orthodox Liturgical practices in the travel books Mihailo St. Popovic, "Die Rezeption der Religionsgemeinschaften des Osmanischen Reiches in der west- und mitteleuropäischen Reiseliteratur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," Prace Historyczne 139 (2012): doi:10.4467/20844069PH.12.004.0773.

[4] M. Macit Kenanoğlu, "Zimmî," DİA, c.44, 438-440.

[5] Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, Zweiter Theil (Gotha, 1854), 3-16.

The text of Mehmed's edict to the Galatans reveals that the scope of the autonomy granted is consistent with Islamic law. This contract provides non-Muslims with freedom of religion and worship, along with guarantees for the safety of their lives and property, in accordance with Islamic law.[6]

In *Tarih-i Selânikî*, there is an interesting example, both in terms of the maintenance of ancient traditions and its dhimmi law. Accordingly, on 25 Rebî'ulevvel 1004 (28 November 1595), Tatar Khan Gazi Giray sent Ahmet Ağa and some of his men to Istanbul and requested that the zimmî named Ermene for the province of Boğdan be brought to voivodeship.

> "… Vilayeti Boğdan re'âyası kadîmî Pâdişâh-ı cihan-penâh - *hallede'llahu ta'âlâ mülkehû*- hazretlerine isyân itmeyüp, mutî u munkad ra'iyyet oğlı ra'iyyeti olup, âbâ vü ecdâd-ı izâmlarınun perverde-i ni'met ve adl ü dâdları ola-gelmiş kullarıdur, kadîmü'z-zemândan içlerinde hükûmet iden Ermene nâm zimmî asl u nesl beğ-zâdelerinden olan mezbûr Ermene'yi kanûn-ı kadîm üzre voyvodalığa sene ber-sene otuz yük akça maktû' harâc-ı şeri'yye üzre recâ iderler …"[7]

As stated in this short text in the *Tarih-i Selânikî*, the people of Bogdan have been obedient to the Sultan since ancient times. He was one of the noblemen named Ermene, who had been ruling them since ancient times (kadîmü'z-zeman). In accordance with the old law (kanun-ı kadim), it was proposed to bring it to the voivodeship for thirty burdens per year. On the same issue, the Polish king supported him, and the province of Bogdan Voivodeship was given to Ermene by the Sultan.

In these lines, two different concepts are referenced and highlighted. The first one is 'kadîmü'z-zeman,' which means 'the concept of old times.' It indicates that long-standing traditions, such as governments being politically considered, were maintained. The second concept is 'kanûn-ı kadim,' meaning 'the old law,' which, in this context, refers to a financial issue. It is evident that the Ottoman Empire made an effort to maintain past practices in both administrative and economic matters. This structure, based on implicit law, allowed people to preserve their cultural and religious traditions.

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[6] İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet Sistemi," DİA, cilt: 30, 66-70.

[7] Selâniki Mustafa Efendi, Tarih-i Selânikî (1003-1008/1595-1600), ed. Mehmet İpşirli, C. II, 540-541.

German Protestant Observers

The second half of the sixteenth century was the Lutherans' research periods on Orthodox. Theologians and humanists, including prominent people such as Martin Crusius and Stephan Gerlach, dealt with divine issues as a team. David Chytraeus had collected and published information on eastern churches for more than fifteen years. It was unknown which churches existed in the Turkish Empire. Chytraeus constantly questioned his trustworthy men there, demanding that the news sent from Greece and Anatolia be sufficient and that all the Middle East and Ethiopia should be investigated. The growing expansion of a world centred in Europe was also stimulating people's curiosity about foreign countries and peoples.[8]

Protestants had insufficient knowledge of eastern churches. They were amazed at the presence of churches in Istanbul and the East. The religion of Islam allowed Christianity to survive where it conquered. Besides, the Greek and Eastern churches conflicted with the papacy and the Roman churches, just like the Protestants.[9] Gerlach's and Schweigger's observations in Istanbul have played an important role in providing the information needed by Protestant theologians. At the same time, they kept valuable records in reflecting the religious and cultural diversity at that time, thus becoming relevant historical sources.

Starting with Hans von Schiltberg, there are quite a few German travel narratives about the Turks. To research these travel books, it is necessary to examine the original texts and evaluate them within their historical context. Only in this way can valuable information be accessed. It is well known that some of the travel books have used other resources excessively. For example, Heidi Stein states that the travel book of Johann Wild and Lubenau has taken parts from Schweigger completely.[10] Emrah S. Gürkan, who examined the Mediterranean journey of Reinhold

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[8] Daniel Benga, "David Cytraeus 1530 -1600 Als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen: Seine Beziehungen zu orthodoxen Theologen, seine Erforschungen der Ostkirchen und seine ostkirchlichen Kenntnisse," (Erlangen, 2001), 285.

[9] Walter Engels, "Salomon Schweigger: Ein Ökumenischer Orientreisender im 16. Jahrhundert (Der Aufenthalt eines deutschen evangelischen Predigers in Konstantinopel und im Orient und seine Rolle als Verbindungsmann zwischen den deutschen Lutheranern und der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche während der Jahre 1578—1582)," Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 7, no. 3 (1955): 224.

[10] Salomon Schwiegger, Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans, ed. Heidi Stein (Leipzig: Brockhaus Verlag, 1986), 218.

Lubenau, reveals contradictions, especially about sea travel and distances.[11]

On the other hand, high tension, which was the result of the rivalry between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, was able to turn into big wars with the smallest spark. Özgür Kolçak tells the story of the translator and diplomat Hidayet, who combined Turkish, German, Christian and Muslim identities in his personality. Hidayet's life ended tragically, as did the lives of others.[12] What happened to Malvezzi, the first ambassador in Istanbul, was a painful incident that Habsburg embassy members could not forget. For this reason, the records of those who came to the Ottoman lands with the diplomatic mission were of great value because of the political tension, and they needed to be realistic.

Gerlach and Schweigger's travel books are essential for understanding the religious and cultural diversity of sixteenth-century Istanbul. As part of the diplomatic mission, these books highlight religious people and institutions, reflecting their theological purposes.

Religious Diversity in Istanbul

Historians such as Barkan, İnalcık, Braudel and Yerasimos researched the population of sixteenth-century Istanbul. The important issue in this article is the number of religious structures. In a document titled "Beschreibung zur Stadt Konstantinopoli", dated 1589 in the Fuggerzeitung records, it is noted that there are 442 churches in Istanbul.[13] There are similarities between the figures given here and the numbers of certain buildings and streets given in the Reinhold Lubenau travel book.[14]

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[11] Emrah Safa Gürkan, "50 Günde Devr-i Bahr-ı Sefid: Königsbergli Lubenau'nun Kadırgayla İmtihanı," Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies XLIII (2014): 273-300.

[12] Özgür Kolçak, "From Frontier Diplomacy to Imperial Embassy: A 16th Century Diplomatic Odyssey or the Mysterious Exploits of Marcus Scherer/Hidayet," TAD 39, no. 67 (2020): 139-214.

[13] Ergün Özsoy und Klaus Wolf: Fuggerzeitung über die Stadt Istanbul zum Jahr 1589. Erstedition und historische Einordnung. In: Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben. 115. Band (2023), S. 131–142.
ÖNB(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) Cod. 8962 - 282r-283r, "Gleichsfals seynndt 442 Kürch Inn bemelter Stadt darinnen die Christen Ihren Gottes dienst verrichten mögen. Wölche die Türggen Clysse nennen." https://fuggerzeitungen.univie.ac.at/zeitungen/cod-8962-282r-283r (erişim: 05 Haziran 2022).

[14] Reinhold Lubenau, Beschreibung der Reisen de Reinhold Lubenau, ed. W. Sahm (Königsberg: Ferd. Beyers Buchhandlung, 1914), 140. Reinhold Lubenau, Seyahatnamesi, çev. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 181.

In the Istanbul census of Şeyhülislam Zekeriya Efendi, there were 743 churches in Istanbul towards the end of the sixteenth century.[15] Geza David made a comparison with Şeyhülislam Zekeriya Efendi, the records of a Jesuit priest and the numbers given by Yahya Efendi about the number of churches in Istanbul.[16] Research and discussions on the exact number of structures and the determination of the population of Istanbul in various periods have not been completed.[17] Multiple numbers with strange similarities seem to have travelled from document to document. However, the absolute truth is that different groups have lived together in Istanbul throughout history, and in the sixteenth century, churches belonged to different groups in Istanbul. German travelers visited some of these churches and recorded their observations. In this study, we would like to particularly emphasize the evaluations authored by Gerlach and Schweigger, who arrived in Istanbul as the first Protestant preachers and meticulously documented their observations.

Salomon Schweigger listed the churches and monasteries in Galata and Pera: St. Franciscus's church and monastery, St. Peter's church, Notre Dame church, St. Görgen, St. Benedict, St. Anna, St. Johann, and St. Clara. He noted that these were religiously connected to Rome and that prayers were conducted in Latin. Greeks also had their churches, the most important being the Lady of the Golden Fountain, known as Chrysopigi (unser Fraw zum Goldbrunnen). Additionally, there were five or six churches where worship was conducted in Greek. Schweigger's statements indicate that both Catholic and Orthodox churches existed in the Galata district.[18] Salomon Schweigger states that the Armenian Patriarch had a special place in Constantinople and that a beautiful large Greek Church and monastery was allocated to the Armenian Patriarchate. He notes that there are only two or three monks here, and the residence of the Patriarch is just nearby. Schweigger visited the Armenian Patriarchate

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[15] Zeki Arıkan, "Şeyhülislam Zekeriya Efendi'nin İstanbul Sayımı," Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Semineri, 29 Mayıs-1 Haziran, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, İstanbul, 1989, 56.

[16] Geza David, "Maximilian Brandstetter'in İstanbul yolculuğu, 1608-1609," in I. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri, ed. Feridun M. Emecen ve Emrah Safa Gürkan, (İstanbul: 29 Mayıs-1 Haziran 2013), 87-105.

[17] Yunus Koç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Tarihi," Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi 8, no. 16 (2010): 171-199.

[18] Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, (Nürnberg, 1608), 132.

on a winter day, but only mentioned the unusual warming method he had seen about the Patriarchate.[19]

During Stephan Gerlach's activities in Istanbul, his relations with the Orthodox Patriarchate were very close. In addition to exchanging ideas on religious issues between the Patriarchate and the German embassy, there were also exchanges involving the sale of manuscripts, candles, wine, and historical artifacts. For example, in January 1574, the Greek pastor Volkard brought a marble inscription to the embassy building. Shortly after, on February 2, blessed candles were brought to Ambassador Ungnad from all the monasteries and churches of the city, and a duka had to be paid for each candle.[20]

Although the Habsburg embassy committee was strictly inspected, Gerlach, as understood from his diary, comfortably left the Elçi Han and visited both the Patriarchate and other churches in Istanbul. This interesting situation is noteworthy given the typically tense Ottoman-Habsburg political relations. It should be considered that the Ottoman state, which kept delegations sent by the Habsburgs under strict control, was monitoring these trips. One of the key characteristics of Ottoman policy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the support of Protestants and Calvinists.[21] The activities of the Protestants, which were often in conflict with the Catholics, were in line with the Ottoman political strategy.

Gerlach visited Panagia Church on 6 June 1574, watched the funeral in this church and depicted the ceremony in detail. The priest performed the ceremony with a priest from another church. Gerlach noted that fresh fruits and nuts were distributed to the public after being blessed with prayers and incense. However, he did not hear that the people were blessed. [22]

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[19] Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel, 121-122.

[20] Stephan Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des Älteren Tage-Buch der von zwei glorwürdigsten römischen Kaisern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den Wohlgebornen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad zwischen dem Ottomanischen und Römischen Kaiserthum glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft, ed. Samuel Gerlach (Frankfurt am Main, 1674), 45-46.

[21] Halil İnalcık, "Modern Avrupa'nın Gelişmesinde Türk Etkisi," in Osmanlı ve Dünya: Osmanlı Devleti ve Dünya Tarihindeki Yeri, ed. Kemal Karpat (İstanbul: Ufuk Kitapları, 2000), 81.

[22] Stephan Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des Älteren Tage-Buch, 58.

Gerlach also encountered people who were taken from Germany as prisoners, as is common in Dernschwam's travel diary. Prisoners brought from other countries to Istanbul in the sixteenth century were a part of everyday life. For example, the Sultan had 60 servants, and one of them was Mahmut von Graz, the son of Schertlin, who lived in Augsburg and came there from Graz.[23]

Gerlach stated that on September 19, 1574, along with Dr. Arnold Manlius, he went to a church in Galata named Hrisopeyi, where he watched a ritual from beginning to end. He explained each stage of this ritual in detail, mentioning that a monk and four priests were in attendance. He described the choir, the chants, the congregation, and the rituals performed. Gerlach recorded everything from the church officials present and the depictions used to the Greek words spoken aloud.[24]

On September 26, 1574, Gerlach went to the church named Ayie Pantes (Allerheiligsten) with Christoph Pfister and Rietmann. Once again, he described the stages of a ritual in the church, including the bread and wine used in the ceremony, noting the incense, hymns, and utterances. He observed that the name of the Pope was never mentioned, even though the patriarchs were named. He also learned that women marrying French or Spanish men were excommunicated.[25]

On 31 January 1575, Gerlach went to see the grave of Sultan Selim, who passed away in December 1574. The grave was located near the Hagia Sophia under a beautiful tent. Later, the tomb of the Sultan would be built in the same place. On 6 March, on the occasion of Easter, the Patriarch performed his traditional ritual every year and prayed. Gerlach describes the Easter ceremony in a few pages in detail.[26]

Gerlach had the opportunity to briefly visit some mosques. On March 14, 1575, he went to Hagia Sophia, where a Turkish religious teacher was fluently explaining something. According to Gerlach, the audience fell to the ground in reverence. He was impressed by Hagia Sophia, stating that this building has no match. Unfortunately, Gerlach's visit was cut short when two men came and escorted them out.

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[23] Stephan Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des Älteren Tage-Buch, 52.

[24] Ibid., 62.

[25] Ibid., 64.

[26] Ibid., 85-87.

On May 1, 1575, Gerlach visited Christoph of Lehistan; just below the house was the residence of the French ambassador. From there, they walked on foot through the gardens to the Piyale Pasha mosque. Near the mosque, an old woman approached them. She spoke a little German and had been taken captive as a young child during the siege of Vienna. In front of the mosque, they also saw a deep baptismal stone with two marble handles.

Gerlach also conveys the intrigues surrounding the patriarchal selection in Istanbul. He states that Metrophanes, who was three patriarchs before Patriarch Jeremias, went to Rome, befriended the cardinals, and kissed the Pope's foot. Metrophanes lost his position after opposing Kantakuzen. He was subsequently deported to the Sacred Mountain Athos. The next Patriarch, Jeremias, replaced him. According to Gerlach, Jeremias was appointed due to his friendship with Kantakuzen's son, suggesting that Kantakuzen influenced the patriarchal selection. Kantakuzen also held responsibility for the distribution of Istanbul's customs and salt. This indicates the interplay between patriarchal election and political relations.[27] Gerlach's report asserts that Kantakuzen chose the Patriarch. The previous Patriarch was displaced because he had not paid enough money. The Mihail Kantakuzen mentioned here, known as *Şeytanoğlu* (son of the devil), was executed in 1578.

On April 24, 1578, Schweigger and Gerlach went to the Caramania district near the city walls (present-day Samatya district), where they watched the Georgios celebration at the St. Georgios church. Gerlach reports that the people there spoke Turkish, but their pastors knew both languages. From there, they went to the place where Kantakuzen's books were sold, and Gerlach acquired a New Testament.

Gerlach briefly notes the distinction Turks make between Lutherans and Papists. The Turks perceive Lutherans as being closer to accepting Islam than Italians, so when taking someone as a prisoner, they inquire whether they are Papist or Lutheran. He also mentioned that the Greeks had more superstitions than the Papists. As is common in his diary, his judgments fluctuated between good and bad, depending on the state of his relations with the Greeks. [28]

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[27] Ibid., 55.
[28] Ibid., 92.

On April 30, 1578, he went to Hasköy to visit the former Patriarch Metrophanes. He brought greetings from the ambassador and asked if there were any unpublished manuscript books in Metrophanes' library in Heybeliada. The ex-Patriarch suggested that they could go together one day to review the books there. Through Theodosius, they discussed various matters, such as the marriage of the former Patriarch, as well as the priests Kantakuzen and his son Andronicus Kantakuzen.

On 8 May 1578, they attended the Greek festival held in Ipsomation (Samatya).

Although Gerlach and Schweigger left us these multicultural and colorful descriptions, they could not achieve their theological goals. Asaph Ben-Tov states that theologians have attempted to understand the Orthodox and have overestimated the ideal of ancient Greek times.[29] Protestants, including Dernschwam, could not fully understand Orthodox people, often describing them as ignorant. However, they overlooked or chose not to acknowledge the strong political relations between the Patriarchate and the Ottoman state and the consequences of those relations.

The issue of food and drinks was also notable for German travelers. Even though it was periodically banned, wine was produced and sold in Istanbul. One of Busbecq's men, who was appointed as an ambassador in Istanbul in September 1561, died from the plague. With Busbecq's entourage, who stayed at the Elçi Han in Çemberlitaş, the fear of disease transmission spread, causing great alarm. During this time, Suleiman the Magnificent, who had become increasingly religious in his old age, forbade the consumption of wine not only for Muslims but also for Jews and Christians. Busbecq and his men argued that drinking water, to which they were unaccustomed, could make them ill. Ultimately, during meetings held in the palace, the opinion of the pashas—who believed that Busbecq and his men would not survive without wine—prevailed, and they were allowed to supply the wine they needed. Busbecq noted that most of the fishermen were Greeks rather than Turks. Turks only ate fish they knew to be clean and did not eat snails, turtles, or frogs. Some Greeks, like the Turks, also avoided these animals. A Greek boy serving Busbecq did not eat shellfish, saying it was a sin. If he committed this sin, he would have to forfeit two months' earnings as a penalty. Busbecq

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[29] Asaph Ben-Tov, "Turco-Graecia. German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity – Cultural Exchange and Misunderstanding," in The Renaissance and the Ottoman World, eds. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 181-195.

observed that Greek priests assessed sins based on their severity and forgave sinners according to the amount of money received. While staying in Büyükada for three months due to the plague, Busbecq met Metropolitan Metrophanes, the head of the Heybeliada (Chalchis) monastery. Busbecq described Metrophanes as a well-educated person who was attempting to unite the Latin and Greek churches.[30]

Observations about Jews in Istanbul

One thing that attracted the attention of travel writers in Istanbul was the Jews and their free participation in public life. Particularly notable in the narratives is the influence of Jewish doctors, both due to their professions and their place in society, contributing to the city's diversity. As Reinhold Lubenau reported, while passing through Budin on his way to Istanbul, Jews occupied one street, while Christians inhabited the adjacent one. The number of Turks was small because they preferred to build their houses by the river below.[31]

Muslim Turks and non-Muslims have lived together since the foundation of the Ottoman state. Salomon Schweigger stated that, although he did not see Jews in the city, he was told that approximately 20,000 Jews lived in Constantinople. They settled within the city walls, on the streets leading to the palace, somewhere close to the harbor reserved for them. In the upper part, Greeks lived both inside and outside the walls, and their districts extended to Palatium Constantini.[32] Turks settled among Jews and Greeks. Although there were mostly Greeks in the southern areas, Turks were also scattered among them.[33]

Hans Dernschwam, an important employee of the Fugger company, was in Istanbul from August 26, 1553, to March 8, 1555. They traveled from Istanbul to Amasya on March 9, 1555, with Ambassador Busbecq to present gifts and engage in negotiations with the Sultan. Dernschwam returned to Vienna from Istanbul on July 3, 1555, after returning from Amasya.[34] In his diary, Dernschwam described people from different cultures in Istanbul, notably writing extensively about

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[30] Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, Vier Sendschreiben, 535.
[31] Reinhold Lubenau, Seyahatnamesi, çev. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 110.
[32] Today, Balat.
[33] Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel, 133.
[34] Ibid.

Jews. According to Dernschwam, there were countless Jews from all nationalities, speaking different languages. He noted that when Jews were expelled from a country around the world, they would go directly to Turkey.[35] These Jews spoke German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Czech, Polish, Greek, Turkish, Syriac, New Aramaic, and other languages. Dernschwam states that, regardless of their native language, the Jews spoke the language of the nation they were in and wore long dresses and caftans, which were mostly the clothes of Turks, Italians, and Greeks.

Dernschwam's records indicate that there were 42 Jewish schools in Istanbul, possibly more, attended by children from diverse backgrounds. He writes that Jews lived freely in Turkey and traveled where they wanted to trade. The journal provides various figures about the population based on tax records. Accordingly, in 1553, the number of Jews in Istanbul was 15,035, while the total number of Christians from different groups was 6,785.[36] Dernschwam states that the Jews in Istanbul had connections to the whole world; they came from every place on earth, and there were no Jews who had not met or traded with those in Istanbul. However, Dernschwam's views on Jews are prejudiced, as he claims that Jews act as agents of the Turks in Christian countries.[37] Thirty years later, Schweigger repeated what had been written about medicine and doctors. The fact that the Sultan's physicians were Jewish, did not speak Greek or Latin, and were considered ignorant suggests that these opinions were likely repeated and transferred among writers. What distinguishes Schweigger from others is that he recorded his comments in a very detailed manner.

In response to Dernschwam's remarks about the Sultan's Jewish physicians in Istanbul, years later, a Jewish physician wrote a letter to the German ambassador regarding epidemics and treating embassy employees. Gerlach's diary includes a Latin letter written to Ambassador David Ungnad by a Jewish doctor named Haim Abenxuxen from Portugal, who lived in Istanbul. The letter details treatments for plague fever (Morbum Epidemicum). The doctor successfully treated a boil on the cook Jacob von Landshut.[38]

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[35] Hans Dernschwam, Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55), ed. Franz Babinger, çev. Jörg Riecke (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014),
[36] Dernschwam, Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien, 108.
[37] Ibid., 111.
[38] Stephan Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des Älteren Tage-Buch, 245.

Stephan Gerlach notes that on May 31, 1575, many Jews who had put counterfeit money into circulation were arrested and taken to court, where they were punished by striking their bellies, backs, and soles, and also fined. Despite such incidents, Jews are loved and respected in Istanbul. Doctor Beydus, Doctor Salomon, and The Great Jew Joseph are among those with whom the Sultan shares his closest secrets. Some other Jewish men and women are privy to the most confidential issues of the Sultan and pashas. Just as Kantakuzen took on the salt customs business, Joseph is also managing customs work related to wine sales.[39] While discussing the Sultan's pharmacy in Topkapı Palace, Salomon Schweigger notes, in a section influenced by highly biased thoughts, that Turks, Greeks, and Jews are not very knowledgeable about these issues. A German-origin pharmacist learns that candies and cookies are made in pharmacies. A pharmacist in the Imperial Embassy reports that he has visited pharmacies in Istanbul and did not find them superior to those in his own country. Schweigger notes that the physicians in the palace are Jewish and describes them as charlatans who lack basic knowledge, using only simple methods such as cupping.[40]

Diversity as a Political Strategy

Reflecting the traditions of the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Roman Empire—traditions upheld by the Ottoman Empire—traditionally governed local governments were not ignored. The Ottoman Empire maintained its policy of preserving the existing structure while incorporating the requirements of its political strategy. More precisely, under the national system, dhimmi law and ancient traditions were applied in a harmonious and pragmatic approach, aligned with the state's political strategy.

A Janissary named Ostrovian Constantine provided examples of how Turks collaborated with non-Muslims and demonstrated equitable treatment of Christians. He stated that Ottoman sultans were committed to ensuring the well-being of Christians and the less fortunate in society.[41]

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[39] Ibid., 96.

[40] Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel, 152.

[41] Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik, ed. ve çev. Reneta Lachmann, yorum. Claus-Peter Haase, Reneta Lachmann, ve Günter Prinzing (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1975), 145.

After the beginning of Ottoman political history, significant accumulation occurred during the expansion into Balkan territories and the transformation of the state into an empire with the conquest of Constantinople. Traditional Turkmen culture, the diverse structures of Anatolian society, relations with the Byzantine Empire, and the legacy of the Roman Empire created a unique mixture. This blend resulted in a distinctive Ottoman state tradition and strategy. One interesting example is that Catalan soldiers who initially came to fight for Byzantium ended up joining Ottoman forces under the leadership of Osman Bey.[42]

Another facet of the Ottoman administration's political strategy was the tolerance of non-Muslims, which was also seen as a source of power. The clearest statements on this subject are included in the diary of Adam Wenner from Crailsheim. Wenner listed the sources of power for the state established by the Turks. First, he saw the tradition of the Sultan's eldest son ascending the throne; secondly, he recognized the importance of unity among Muslims; and thirdly, he noted that, although Turks were very eager to spread their religion, they neither interfered with people who did not share their beliefs nor forced them to convert or punished them for their different beliefs, as was done in Christian states. He writes that they did not attempt to impose their religion. Wenner also states that the Turks' attitudes caused people to feel close to them, leading to less resistance to their administration; people preferred Turkish sovereignty because they knew the consequences of coming under the rule of other states. Listing fifteen items in total, Wenner wrote "Administriren scharppffe Justitiam" as the tenth item, stating that the Turks' legal rules were strict.[43] It was very common in German travel books to use practices in Turkey as examples to criticize the situation in their own countries. This is especially evident in texts written by anti-Pope Protestants. The main purpose was to bring criticism, using the Ottoman Empire and the Turks as counterexamples.

Lubenau states that people of different cultures are treated equally in Istanbul. In his book, he writes that what he likes most about the Turks is the orderliness of their law enforcement officers in the cities and their

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[42] Feridun Emecen, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi (1300-1600) (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 33.

[43] Adam Wenner, Ein gantz new Reysebuch von Prag auß biß gen Constantinopel das ist: Beschreibung der Legation und Reise, welche von der Roem. Kaeys. auch zu Hungarn und Boeheimb, & Koenigl. May. Matthia II. an den Tuerckischen Kaeyser Ahmet, So Anno 1616 angefangen und Anno 1618 glueclich verricht und voellig abgelegt worden (Nürnberg, 1622), 124-127.

meticulousness in the fulfillment of justice. They give everyone their due within three or four days and allow everyone, whether Turkish, Jewish, Arab, or Christian, the opportunity to voice their own case.[44] Lubenau states that the cases of Turks, Christians, and Jews are resolved through mutual hearing in the Court, where the Ottoman state ruled. According to his account, Christians living in Istanbul—whether Catholic, Greek, or Armenian—approach the Ağa, the leader of the Janissaries, during religious festivities or ceremonial occasions to request the provision of one or two Janissaries. These Janissaries stand guard at the door of the church, allowing the congregation to worship without any obstacles or harm, thanks to the protection they provide. A Janissary is paid 8 Asper per day for this service.[45] At least for this century, it is understood that Janissaries had duties to protect non-Muslims, as indicated by accounts found in travel literature. When Busbecq first saw Janissaries in Budin, they stated that they had responsibilities to protect Christians and Jews against possible harm from others.[46]

Salomon Schweigger accomplished his pilgrimage to Jerusalem after completing the mission of Sinzendorf, using a passport he received from the Ottoman state along with some German nobility. The information he recorded during this sea voyage is invaluable, providing details about people, places, ships, winds, and more. At the same time, his explanations of his own ideas and knowledge help us better understand that period. Schweigger states that Germans and Europeans can defeat the Turks if they unite. He notes that the Turks' forces are not their own, saying that God sent them to punish Christians, using them as a whip, stick, or broom for cleaning and removing sins.[47]

Heidi Stein states that Schweigger published his travel notes knowing they would be of interest. Before Schweigger, there was no such book describing the Turks, other than the German translation of Busbecq's work in 1596. The comprehensive work of Stephan Gerlach would only be printed by his grandson in 1674. Pharmacist Lubenau bought some parts from Schweigger. According to Stein, Schweigger's work was accepted as

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[44] Reinhold Lubenau, Seyahatnamesi, çev. Türkis Noyan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 26.
[45] Lubenau, Seyahatnamesi, 205.
[46] Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, Vier Sendschreiben der Türkischen Bottschaft, welche von Kaiser Ferdinand I. an Solimann ihm aufgetragen worden (Nürnberg, 1664), 21.
[47] Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel, 155.

a travel book in German-speaking countries but was essentially the first comprehensive report on the Turks.[48]

When the Ottoman Empire began its political development as a smaller state, its leaders were well aware of the importance of maintaining political balances. İnalcık states that the administrative and cultural forms adopted in the conquered territories were derived from Middle Eastern civilization and political traditions. The basic economic principles of the Ottoman state were based on the traditional view of the state and society found in Middle Eastern empires, which had existed since ancient times.[49]

Under the heading of Turkish tolerance, Karl Teply highlighted examples of the religious freedom offered to those living in Istanbul by referring to Busbecq and Gerlach. Teply's report, based on Busbecq, indicates that the Turks treated the local population according to their customary manner.[50] The system of the nation was based on dhimmi law and supported by some ancient Middle Eastern and Roman traditions.

Conclusion

The travelogues of Germans who visited the Ottoman Empire reveal the colorful structure of Istanbul. These diaries and travelogues, written almost like historical novels, should be evaluated together with consideration of the authors' perspectives. These travelers often criticized the society they observed and sometimes envied it. The truth lies between these two viewpoints. The culture of living together with differences should not be seen as an idealized structure that always functioned smoothly. The pragmatic reason different religions and cultures could coexist in the Ottoman Empire was due to a blend of practices from the Roman Empire and old Middle Eastern state traditions, both of which had economic and political dimensions. The fundamentals of Islamic dhimmi law provided the legal infrastructure, thus supporting both political-strategic objectives and religious and financial practices. This approach was one of the main political strategies of the Ottoman Empire. Various aspects of this multicultural structure, called the national system, can be seen in detail in German travel accounts. The issue of living with diversity seemed to have found its own solution in Istanbul, the largest city of the sixteenth century. Compared to other examples of its time, it is possible to

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[48] Salomon Schweigger, Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans, ed. Heidi Stein (Leipzig: Brockhaus Verlag, 1986), 219.

[49] Halil İnalcık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600) (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), 14.

[50] Karl Teply, Reisen ans Goldene Horn (Stuttgart: Steingrüben Verlag, 1968), 295.

say that the 'Istanbul model' stands at an inspiring point. Protestant German theologians Gerlach and Schweigger did not fully understand the connection between the Ottoman political system and Orthodox Christianity, leading them to accuse Orthodox Christians of being ignorant.

Orthodox clergymen themselves sometimes expressed this accusation. However, the issue is more complex. Indeed, the pretext of ignorance was a convenient reason for Orthodox clerics to say 'no' to the Protestants.

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Research Article

Which Side Are You On? Integration of Two Conflicting Ethnic Identities in Young Adults from Serbo-Croatian Mixed Marriages

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Abstract:
Young adults from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages face challenges reconciling two potentially conflicting ethnic identities due to implicit and explicit tensions between these two ethnic communities. This article explores the process of reconciling these ethnic identities, focusing on the respondents' narratives about growing up in a Serbian-Croatian mixed marriage. Our sample consisted of 5 male and 3 female respondents born during the 90s, which were marked by brutal conflicts between Serbs and Croats. The results show that the participants went through the process of forming a coherent ethnic identity, which was marked by distancing from the dominant Serbian influence, and the majority of them opted for a specific identity position: cosmopolitan, Yugoslav, Serbo-Croatian, and a more integral form of the dominant Serbian identity.
Keywords: mixed marriages, ethnic identity, Serbo-Croatian conflicts, identity integration.

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Introduction

After the wars in the 1990s and the breakup of Yugoslavia, both implicit and explicit tensions still arise from time to time between the ethnic groups living in the areas of the former country. In such contexts, tensions between two ethnic groups reflect on people in mixed marriages and their children. The pressure to take sides and the stigmatization suggest that children of mixed marriages face a significant challenge in reconciling their conflicting identities in such tense circumstances. The subject of this research is the question of how people from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages integrate their dual ethnic identities, and what it is like having two potentially conflicted ethnic identities.

Multicultural and bicultural identities

Berry and colleagues proposed one of the first theories concerning identity in a multicultural context. They approached this topic from the perspective of the acculturation of emigrants or minority groups within a community to which they have relocated or that represents the dominant culture. According to this conception, two dimensions of this process are important: 1) whether the members of the minority culture believe that their cultural identities and customs are valuable and should be preserved, and 2) how important it is for the members of the group to maintain positive relations with the dominant community and whether these relationships are something to strive for. The answers to these two questions lead to different acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization.[1] We can understand bicultural identity as a result of integration.[2]

In broad terms, people who have been exposed to and internalized two cultures have bicultural identities,[3] whether they are emigrants who have moved to another country, ethnic minorities within the dominant community, or people who come from mixed marriages either in terms of

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[1] Joh Berry et al., "Acculturation attitudes in plural societies," *Applied Psychology* 38 (1989), 185–206.

[2] Que-Lam Huynh et al., "Bicultural identity integration," in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, eds. Seth J. Schwartz, Koen Luyckx, and Vivian L. Vignoles (Berlin: Springer, 2011), 827–842.

[3] Verónica Benet-Martínez and Jana Haritatos, "Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents," *Journal of Personality* 73 (2005), 1015–1050.

ethnicity or race.[4] People who have bicultural identities have the task of coalescing them into a coherent self.

Bennett-Martinezova et al. introduced the construct of bicultural identity integration (BII) to explain individual differences in the integration of bicultural identities. They proposed that people who score higher on the integration of bicultural identities perceive their dual identities as mutually compatible and do not consider the cultures they belong to as mutually exclusive and opposing. In contrast, people who score lower on the integration of bicultural identities perceive their dual identities as mutually opposing. Factor analysis has shown that bicultural integration is not a unique construct but consists of two independent dimensions: *cultural conflict versus harmony* and *cultural distance versus fusion*. Variations in BII may result from differences in these dimensions.[5]

The dimension of *cultural conflict versus harmony* shows how much a person feels tension or conflict between two identities on the one hand, or perceives harmony between them on the other. This dimension refers more to the emotional components of acculturation. Prejudice and rejection by one or both cultures a person identifies with can be predictors of cultural conflict.

Construct *cultural distance versus overlap* refers to the extent to which a person perceives that two cultures share common elements or that they are opposed to each other and have little in common. This construct reflects more on the person's attitudes and behaviors as accompanying elements of acculturation. Research shows that people with higher scores on the dimension of cultural overlap see themselves as typical representatives of both cultures.[6] People who score high on cultural distance tend to want to keep their two cultural identities separate so that they can simultaneously emphasize similarities and close ties with the minority group and differences with the dominant group.[7]

The BII conception of Benet-Martinez and Haritatos can be criticized in terms that they approached the process of integration of two or more cultural identities from a somewhat simplified perspective,

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[4] Amado M. Padilla, "Bicultural social development," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28 (2006), 467–497.

[5] See Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, "Bicultural identity integration (BII)."

[6] Daniel R. Miramontez, et al., "Bicultural identity and identity/group personality perceptions," *Self and Identity* 7 (2008), 430–445.

[7] See Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, "Bicultural identity integration (BII)."

reducing it to quantitative measures on one or two dimensions, which makes this phenomenon less complex and dynamic. Although Bennett-Martinez and Haritatos pointed out that identity integration is a dynamic process and that it is also influenced by some environmental factors such as prejudice and rejection of a person by the dominant culture,[8]   they did not devote enough attention to the dynamics of that process, neither theoretically nor empirically. One of the main goals of this research is to further explore the process of integration of bicultural identities and their complexity and dynamics by focusing on the narratives of individuals from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages.

Previous studies on the experience of children from mixed marriages

Integration of ethnic identities is especially challenging for children from mixed marriages because, from birth, they are exposed to the influences of two ethnic communities, which may have varying degrees of tension between them. Growing up in such contexts implies that they are already facing problems with how to reconcile their ethnic identities, which can sometimes be particularly challenging. Several studies have focused on how people from mixed marriages deal with this challenge.

Slany and Strazmeck conducted a study on the experience of the national identity of children from Polish-Norwegian mixed marriages living in Norway. It suggests that they identify with Norway to a much greater extent and emphasize their Norwegian national identity, primarily since Norway is their primary place of residence, but also because they have very weak relations with Poland.[9] However, children's awareness that they come from a multicultural family makes them question where they belong and who they are, with themes of identity confusion being apparent in their narratives. Another dimension of the experience of children from mixed marriages refers to the extent to which they maintain contact with both cultures. Researchers drew two strategies related to encouraging multiculturalism in mixed families from the participants' narratives:

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[8] See Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, "Bicultural identity integration (BII)."

[9] Krystyna Slany and Stella Strzemecka, "Growing up multicultural: The experiences of children raised by Polish-Norwegian mixed couples in Norway," *Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny* 166 (2017), 87–111.

1) Supporting multiculturalism by family members, which implies the willingness to take actions that lead to the encouragement of multiculturalism in their daily lives.

2) Discouragement of multiculturalism in the family, which implies passivity or aversion to encouraging multiculturalism.[10]

One of the reasons why children develop the Norwegian identity can be precisely the dominance of Norwegian culture in their everyday life, which occurs because multiculturalism is not sufficiently supported in the family. Additionally, this research shows that even at an early age children face the problem of reconciling their dual identities.[11]

Research on the experiences of children from mixed marriages between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews living in Israel suggests several relevant themes. One theme, 'dream children,' refers to the narratives of children from mixed marriages who adopted ethnic identities aligned with the ideologies of leading political structures. In the New Israel, these structures propose that the ethnic identities of individual Jewish groups should be overcome to create a new national Israeli identity. Some of the respondents express a post-ethnic and supra-ethnic identity and are not burdened by the individual ethnic identities of their parents. The "chameleon" theme reflects the experience of a person from a mixed marriage who can fit into both cultures and belong to both communities without problems. It is suggested that the fact that they belong to two cultures enriches their behavioral repertoire.[12]

However, as the interviews progressed, themes reflecting the interviewees' ambivalence, dissonance, and conflict in understanding their ethnic identities emerged. In addition, their narratives suggested that they have adopted ethnic stereotypes and hatred towards the other group. The interviewees resolved the ambivalence regarding their ethnic identities by choosing one side. It is important to emphasize that awareness of mixed origins and family history play an important role in choosing a future partner. They are aware that a lot will depend on their choice, from the way the holidays will be celebrated to the way their future children will be raised and what they will face in the end. This research illustrates that, although the participants managed to integrate

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[10] See Slany and Strazmecka, "Growing up multicultural."
[11] See Slany and Strazmecka, "Growing up multicultural."
[12] Talia Sagiv and Gad Yair, "The end of ethnicity? Racism and ambivalence among offspring of mixed marriages in Israel". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47 (2019), 861–877.

their bicultural identities at first glance, conflicts still exist and are an integral part of their experience, showing us how complex the task of organizing dual identities is.[13]

In this research, the goal was to take a deeper look at the complexity of the process of integrating dual identities. We tried to achieve this by not only focusing on whether the participants felt they belonged to one or another ethnic group, but also on specific situations when they did not have difficulties with integrating their ethnic identities, but also when they felt a conflict between them. We also focused on factors that can influence the integration of dual identities, such as the perception of the ethnic communities to which people belong and the experience of certain characteristics and behaviors that are believed to be related to ethnicity. We also focused on the question of whether and how the process of integration of ethnic identities changed in different periods of their lives.

Ethnic identities of children from mixed marriages in Yugoslavia

Feđa Burić analyzed his diary entries from the period of the wars in the 1990s, which reveal parts of his experience as a child from a mixed marriage whose experience was affected by the war and conflicts of the ethnic groups to which his parents belong.[14] Buric's experience of mixed heritage can serve as an example of the distinction made by Roger Brubaker between nominal mixed marriage, in which spouses belonging to two ethnic groups do not feel the relevance of their ethnicities, and experiential mixed marriage in which, due to various factors, different ethnicities become socially relevant.[15]

Burić points out that he became aware of being a child from a mixed marriage in the early 1990s, when tensions and conflicts between the republics of Yugoslavia began to surface, SFR Yugoslavia was on the verge of disintegration, and it became extremely important to identify with a particular ethnic group. During this time, having a mixed heritage became particularly problematic.[16] Burić resolved his identity crisis by

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[13] See Sagiv and Yair, "The end of ethnicity."
[14] Feđa Burić, "Becoming mixed: Mixed marriages of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the life and death of Yugoslavia" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012).
[15] Roger Brubaker, "Ethnicity without groups," *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie* 43 (2002), 163–189.
[16] Feđa Burić, "The lies my diary told: use of autobiography in the study of mixed marriage in the former Yugoslavia," in *Politics of Identity in Post-Conflict States*, eds. Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Gabriela Vojvoda (Milton Park: Routledge, 2015), 73–82.

choosing his father's Bosniak identity and renouncing his mother's Croatian identity. However, despite this, his diaries contain narratives of guilt related to the feeling that he is hurting his mother, as well as narratives of fear that his dual identity will be revealed.[17]

Azra Hromadžić conducted research ten years after the war ended, and she talked to children from mixed marriages in Mostar. One young man, who comes from a Serbo-Croatian marriage, unable to reconcile his identities, started identifying with a Bosniak group. The young people she talked to were faced with numerous problems such as discrimination due to ethnic origin and the inability to achieve a romantic relationship due to mixed origin. Such children are constantly choosing between two sides and are being classified into one group, usually the ethnic group of their father. Although the war ended long ago, its consequences on the division of the people who participated in it remain and continue to affect individual experiences.[18] This research illustrates how the historical context of the conflict in Yugoslavia is still relevant to the experiences of children from mixed marriages.

Studies on the experiences of people from mixed marriages from Ex-Yugoslavia are mostly focused on the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is a multicultural environment. However, no research has yet been conducted on the experiences of children from Serbian-Croatian marriages who grew up or live in Serbia, which is a significantly less multicultural environment. Consequently, these children are exposed to dominant cultural resources (national symbols, religion, national history, customs, and traditions) that are imposed by the environment as an integral part of ethnic identity. In addition, everyday life in Serbia is characterized by implicit and explicit political and social tensions with neighboring countries. Therefore, in this research, we will examine how the social context in Serbia influences the integration of ethnic identities among individuals from Serbian-Croatian marriages.

Research goals

This research aimed to understand and describe the process of integrating and reconciling two potentially conflicting ethnic identities of children from Serbo-Croatian mixed marriages. This is achieved through

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[17] Feđa Burić, "Confessions of Mixed Marriage Child'. Diary in the Study of Yugoslavia's Breakup," *Südost Europa* 64 (2016), 325–343.

[18] Azra Hromadžić, *Citizens of an empty nation: youth and state-making in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

the analysis of their narratives. Attention was drawn to individuals who play an important role in the process of ethnic identification, the practices followed by the respondents that are important for this process, significant events and experiences, cultural resources, and how people position themselves in narratives. The general goal is broken down into several questions that were addressed in this research:

● How do people from mixed Serbian-Croatian marriages identify in terms of ethnicity?

● How do they perceive their dual identities: as mutually conflicting or as harmonized?

● Was there a crucial point when they realized that they were raised in mixed marriages? What roles do other people, such as family members and the wider community, play in their identification? Were they exposed to both cultures because of these influences?

● Did their ethnic identity change throughout their life? What life experiences and situations were particularly significant for shaping and/or changing their ethnic identity?

Method

Since the goal of this research was to present the complexity and dynamism of the process of integrating ethnic identities, and given the focus on the experience of growing up in a mixed marriage through participants' narratives, a qualitative methodological framework was chosen. This approach is justified due to the unique nature of each participant's experience, as they all grew up in specific family contexts and had distinctive formative experiences. These factors, in general, could impact how they cope with the process of integrating ethnic identities.

Sample[19]

In this research, a purposive sample was used, consisting of individuals from Serbian-Croatian marriages who grew up and live in

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[19] This research has an ethics approval issued by the Institutional Review Board (IRB), at the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia. Protocol #2021-32.

Serbia. Participants were gathered using the snowball method and through posts on social media. Initially, the planned sample size was 10 participants. The number of participants was determined based on the principle of theoretical sampling, which emphasizes the importance of sampling a sufficient number of experiences to achieve theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation represents the point at which all important dimensions of experience are included and the experiences of new participants reflect something that has already been discovered. Research shows that if the sample is homogeneous in terms of relevant characteristics, a sample size of up to 12 respondents can be sufficient to obtain detailed and fundamental knowledge about the experiences of the participants, i.e. to theoretical saturation.[20] In addition to the criteria of theoretical saturation, practical limitations were taken into account in determining the sample size. Although 10 interviews were conducted, 2 interviewees did not make it into the final sample, even though they currently live in Serbia, primarily because their upbringing, unlike the other interviewees, was related to the context of Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina, and such a context of growing up and socialization complicated the analysis and comparison with other participants in the research.

The average age of the participants was 25.5 years, the youngest participant was 21, and the oldest was 29. The age of the interviewees was chosen based on their belonging to a generation that was born and grew up during a period of mass nationalism awakening, large-scale ethnic conflicts and animosity, and civil war. This context makes their dual identities potentially conflicting and adds a new dimension to their experience of reconciling these identities, which we want to explore. Additionally, individuals born during this period make up the emerging adult population. They are in the developmental process of identity stabilization but are mature and introspective enough to discuss their experiences.

The sample consisted of 5 male and 3 female participants. Another factor considered was the ethnic origin of the parents: the sample included 5 respondents whose mothers were Croats and fathers were Serbs, as well as 3 respondents with the opposite parental ethnic origins. Additionally, the participants grew up and live either in the capital of

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[20] Greg Guest et al., "How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability," *Field Methods* 18 (2006), 59–82.

Serbia, Belgrade, or in larger cities and towns in Vojvodina or South Serbia.

Data collection

Data were collected using semi-structured interviews. In this research, an agenda was used and designed based on previous studies.[21] Part of the questions referred to the participants' upbringing, while others focused on their current lives. The goal was to obtain material in the form of the interviewees' life stories. The interviews were conducted from April to July 2021, and the agenda used in the research can be found in Appendix 1. Personal information about participants was removed and they were assigned pseudonyms.

Data analysis

Narrative analysis was used to analyze the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews.[22] During the analysis, the focus was on different strategies of ethnic identification, significant life experiences that impacted this process, close relationships that influenced these processes, the issue of changing ethnic identities at different life stages, and the dominant resources that aided in ethnic identification.

Results and discussion:

Emergence of awareness of mixed origins

Most of the respondents became aware of their origins only during their primary or even secondary school years. This is likely due to the fact that most respondents grew up in a family context where little attention was paid to questions of ethnic origin, and there was generally not much discussion about it. Additionally, some respondents come from families in which a parent belonging to the Croatian ethnic community assimilated into the Serbian environment, so their heritage was not emphasized. The majority of respondents became aware of their mixed heritage primarily through interaction with peers. Therefore, we can conclude that most of them needed to step outside their family context, where mixed heritage

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[21] See Slany and Strazmecka, "Growing up multicultural."
[22] See David Hiles and Ivo Cermák, "Narrative psychology," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, eds. Carla Willig and Wendy Stainton Rogers (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2008), 147–164 and Carla Willig, *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology* (London: Open University Press, 2008).

was normalized, to interact with peers who grew up in different family contexts and gain a full understanding of their origins in that way.

Strategies of ethnic identification

Most of the respondents do not place great importance on questions of ethnic belonging and identity, at least not in the present day. However, despite this, all respondents have opted for some form of belonging to a broader social community. Based on the narratives of the respondents about their experiences growing up in mixed marriages, we can identify four identification strategies: 1) those who chose and developed a cosmopolitan identity; 2) those who adopted a supranational Yugoslavian identity; 3) those who chose to belong to and identify with both ethnic communities simultaneously; and 4) those who predominantly identify with the Serbian community. In the narratives of all respondents who chose a cosmopolitan identity, we notice an absence of national consciousness and national belonging in a general sense. If we approach the entire issue from the perspective of Berry and his colleagues' conception,[23] we can say that these respondents have opted for a strategy of marginalization in relation to both ethnic communities:

> *For a while, during the census, I declared myself as an atheist, and then I started to declare that I have no national affiliation because I don't feel like a Serb (Ksenija).*

However, respondents choose cosmopolitan identities for various reasons. On the one hand, we can identify narratives that suggest that a cosmopolitan identity can serve as a substitution for individual ethnic or supranational identities (*I consider myself European because Yugoslavia doesn't exist; if it did, I would be Yugoslav*.) On the other hand, individual narratives testify to a cosmopolitan identity that aligns with globalist attitudes and reflects someone who genuinely feels like a citizen of the world (*It's probably also influenced by the media I consumed at the time; the media has a strong cosmopolitan aspect that leads to the dissolution of cultures*).

Several respondents opted for a supranational Yugoslav identity. However, the respondents who chose this strategy differ in terms of what directed them toward these supranational identities. Some feel a specific conflict related to choosing which community to belong to and, to avoid this conflict, they choose a Yugoslav identity. This identity encompasses

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[23] See Berry et al., "Acculturation attitudes in plural societies."

both communities, thereby freeing them from having to choose between them:

> *I think maybe the closest thing to a national identity I've ever felt would be as a Yugoslav, but I really can't say I'm either Serbian or Croatian. I've never felt that way. If someone asked me to choose, it would be like someone asking me to choose between my mom and dad. They're good people, so I wouldn't give up either one.*

Others feel that they belong to both communities and perceive themselves as representatives of a larger community that includes both individual communities:

> *So, I didn't feel like both Serbian and Croatian, but rather as part of that one nation, let's say Yugoslav or whatever you want to call it.*

Based on these examples, it becomes clear that one should not only focus on the outcome of ethnic identification but also on the process itself, as the same result can be reached in different ways.

In the sample, only one respondent's narrative can be recognized as a true integration of both ethnic identities, meaning belonging to and identifying with both communities. However, despite finding a way to integrate these two ethnic identities into a coherent self-concept and feeling both half-Serbian and half-Croatian, the respondent cannot feel equally as a member of both communities and cannot declare themselves as both Serbian and Croatian. This feeling arises primarily because the respondent is aware that they didn't have enough contact with Croatia, demonstrating that mere heritage is not a sufficient condition for ethnic identification (*Well, I don't have a problem considering myself as both, but I keep coming back to the question of whether I can consider myself a Croatian, even though I'm now a citizen of Croatia because I didn't grow up there*).

We also notice in the narratives of some respondents a sense of belonging to the Serbian community:

> *I always felt more like a Serb because I spent more time here, mostly socializing with Serbs, but later I was aware that I also have Croatian heritage, and it didn't bother me at all. (Ilija)*

These narratives suggest that even though some respondents have opted for assimilation as a strategy for ethnic identification, it does not

mean that they have completely disregarded the other side. Instead, they have tried to find a way to integrate it into their Serbian identity. Their narratives indicate that they are well aware that, even though they consider themselves Serbs, they are still connected to Croatia, and when discussing their ethnic identity, they emphasize having Croatian roots. However, some narratives indicate that their dual heritage can be approached from a pragmatic perspective, which means that regardless of how they feel and declare themselves, they believe it's essential to take the best from both communities.

Additionally, some of the narratives point out the significance of Croatian citizenship as something that, to some extent, represents an additional connection to Croatia for them. We can conclude that the respondents make a distinction between citizenship and ethnic belonging, but for different individuals, these two phenomena can be in different relationships. Thus, citizenship and ethnic identity can be mutually independent, as evidenced by narratives in which we can identify themes related to the opportunistic and pragmatic significance of Croatian citizenship, which does not have significant implications for how they feel about their ethnic identity: *Croatia entering the EU influenced me to feel glad because I have Croatian citizenship, and I can use that later if I need to go somewhere. (Ilija)*

However, other narratives illustrate how these two phenomena are not always independent, and there can be a specific relationship between them, i.e. citizenship can serve as a link to another ethnic community (*I only started talking about it when I got citizenship. I started discussing it in the sense that I hadn't mentioned it to people I was meeting*).

Harmony *vs* identity conflict

One of the conclusions we can draw based on the respondents' narratives is that a substantial portion of them do not have an active identity conflict because they managed to overcome it. In this study, we started with the assumption that respondents would face a challenge when reconciling their identities coming from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages, as they might feel a conflict between two ethnic identities. We can observe this type of conflict in only a few respondents, and various factors contribute to its occurrence. In some cases, the conflict between two ethnic identities results from seeing the question of ethnic affiliation as a choice between their parents. Some respondents, due to feeling distanced from the Croatian community, perceive certain differences

between Serbia and Croatia that prevent them from reconciling their dual heritage (*And I don't know, they've always been different to me, and I could never merge them. Oh, I'm from here and from here, never*).

However, a larger number of respondents do not have a problem reconciling their Serbian-Croatian heritage, primarily because they do not perceive themselves as bearers of dual identities and do not identify with the Croatian ethnic community due to limited contact with it. Consequently, they do not believe they have ever experienced a conflict or uncertainty about their affiliation:

> *I've never felt like a Croatian, and it's really hard for me to tell you that it's true because I have no connection to Croatia. I can feel like a Serb or not feel anything, that's it; I can't say I feel any conflict* (Ksenija).

From the narratives of the respondents, we can also conclude that specific contexts in which they grew up influenced their lack of conflict regarding their dual heritage. Some respondents were raised in multicultural families where mixed ethnic backgrounds were normalized and not given significant importance. These factors helped the respondents accept the fact that they have mixed heritage without experiencing major conflicts or doubts. Additionally, some of the participants grew up in multicultural environments like Vojvodina, where mixed marriages were not an unusual occurrence. This significantly facilitates the process of reconciling two ethnic identities.

Furthermore, some interviewees had close friendships and intimate relationships with people who also came from mixed marriages. It is entirely possible that growing up in such a context contributed to them having a kind of social support, and this could be another reason why they did not feel conflicted about their mixed heritage and did not have much trouble reconciling their connections to both the Serbian and Croatian communities.

The narratives of the respondents suggest that when we talk about the conflict between two identities, it is not solely about whether one belongs to the Serbian or Croatian community and whether they identify as Serbian or Croatian. Instead, we can discuss a conflict between traditional and rigid Serbian identity and a more inclusive cosmopolitan or supranational identity.

You take for granted that you are a Serb and that Serbs have certain values and attitudes associated with being Serbian. Of course, I was influenced by that paradigm, but you also have other paradigms that influence you, and you weigh between the two realities and choose one (Aleksa).

Furthermore, for some participants, the conflict does not necessarily occur between two identities but is primarily associated with internal barriers that prevent them from fully identifying with one ethnic community.

It's entirely on a personal level, in my head. I haven't experienced anything of theirs, I haven't lived there [in Croatia], I haven't had any encounters with their laws, their culture (Emilija).

Based on examples like these, we can conclude that identity conflicts felt by individuals who have grown up in mixed marriages are much more diverse and complex; they often go beyond the issue of reconciling two ethnic identities. Hence, focusing solely on this question would reduce complexity and not provide a complete picture of the situation.

Formative experiences and changes in ethnic identity across different life stages

The narratives of the respondents can be classified into two groups. Some respondents mention specific formative experiences and situations that influenced the shaping of their ethnic identity. Consequently, we can observe changes in their perception of ethnic identity at different life stages. These experiences share a distinctive feature, primarily related to the family context in which they grew up. In their families, there is an explicit division between the more conservative Serbian side and the more liberal Croatian side:

On my dad's side, his mother was very Serbian-oriented. She supported the Chetniks during World War II. But, my mom's side was communist. My grandpa is from Hvar, and my grandma is from Brezovica, which is Slovenia, both of them were atheists, and my mom considers herself a Yugoslav (Ksenija).

Growing up in such a family context undoubtedly influences the development of ethnic identity through several distinct stages. The initial stage in this process is associated with childhood and adolescence, marked by the dominant influence of conservatism. This influence directs

them towards religion and tradition, and to some extent, they accept Serbian identity as a given. The next stage in this process is associated with adolescence and early adulthood, marked by their need to distance themselves from the conservative side of their family and everything they have inherited as a given through it, triggering certain dilemmas and introspection. A significant step in the process of introspection is turning towards the more liberal side of their family, whose views and perspectives on the world align more with their own. This side of the family will serve as a resource through which they further affirm their liberal attitudes. The third and final stage is marked by their need to align with their liberal attitudes, either by choosing a cosmopolitan identity or by integrating both ethnic identities into a more coherent sense of self.

Experiences like these suggest that ethnic identities should not be viewed as static and fixed entities but rather as the outcomes of complex processes that are constantly subject to introspection and transformation.

However, we can also identify a group of respondents whose process of forming their ethnic identity does not show distinct stages linked to specific formative experiences, but we can recognize specific situations in which their ethnic identities become more salient. These situations are mainly related to sports events in which respondents feel the need to support the Serbian and/or Croatian national teams and experience a unique sense of pride and belonging to one or both communities during those moments.

The significance of others in the process of ethnic identification

When discussing the influence of other people on the process of ethnic identification, it is not surprising that parents and family members played the most significant roles. Based on the respondents' narratives, we can classify these influences into two types.

The first type of influence that stands out among most respondents is the influence of parents on the formation of certain social attitudes or worldviews. These attitudes or worldviews then guide the respondents toward ethnic identities that align with them.

The initial attitude or reasoning I had was cosmopolitan, the first stance I had was that I considered all people equal, and that's a political, ideological stance, and I probably wouldn't have come to that conclusion in the same way if I hadn't been in a mixed community, but my parents, first and

foremost, told me that all people are equal and that they can be divided into good and bad (Filip).

It should be noted that in addition to parents, partners with whom the respondents entered into romantic relationships played an important role in shaping certain attitudes that would guide them toward an ethnic identity aligned with those attitudes.

But my husband (who is Croatian) had quite an influence on my overall perception. Somehow, I started with this whole anti-Serbian sentiment, especially regarding the 90s, after starting a relationship with him, because there are some things that we may not know, or maybe he's a bit biased, and from his perspective, I may have understood something (Ksenija).

Based on the narratives of the respondents, we can conclude that their friends also influenced their attitudes and, thus, indirectly played a role in the process. However, the significance of friends is not so much in shaping the actual attitudes but rather in their affirmation, as respondents chose to surround themselves with people who share and support their opinions.

Of course, the influence of other people is not only reflected in the formation of specific attitudes, but we can also see that parents and family members played a role in determining the extent to which respondents would be exposed to the influences of both ethnic communities. However, most parents did not actively engage in exposing their children to the influences of both cultures, and they did not appear to consider it overly important. Instead, they often acted as mediators through which their children became familiar with the influences of both communities through socialization. Even so, in some narratives, we can identify the active efforts of one parent to expose their child to the influences of their community, while the other parent does not make such efforts, which can result in the child being exposed to the influences of only one community, most often the Serbian one:

It was somewhat important to my mom, there was no pressure, but it was more like, 'Let's give it a try,' so to speak, and since we liked it, we continued because of ourselves (Ilija).

Only in the narratives of a few respondents can we recognize the efforts of parents to expose their children to the influences of all the

communities they belong to by origin: *Generally, the situation is such that they had to have an influence because we come from all sides, and they simply had the option either never to meet that part of the family, but thank God they are normal, so I met all of them (Luka).*

In some narratives, we recognize that parents and other family members satisfy the children's active need to learn about certain cultural practices, resources, and elements by answering their questions and bringing them closer to the communities they belong to.

The importance of cultural elements in the process of ethnic identification

It is interesting to note that each strategy of ethnic identification corresponds to specific cultural elements. For example, participants who chose a cosmopolitan identity also prefer cultural elements with a global character. In the narratives of participants who opted to integrate both Serbian and Croatian identities, we can recognize elements of both cultures. Participants who chose a Yugoslav identity often refer to cultural elements from the Yugoslav legacy. Those who identified primarily as Serbian emphasize the significance of Serbian cultural elements in their identification. When discussing the types of cultural elements that play an important role in shaping ethnic identities, popular culture elements are most frequently mentioned, with popular music being the most common. Participants also mention movies and TV series, though to a lesser extent. Elements of high culture (such as literature, architecture, and art) and traditional heritage (including holidays, gastronomy, and traditional music) are referred to less often. However, prominent figures from Serbian culture, sports, or science can indirectly influence the formation of ethnic identity. Participants expressed pride in sharing a common ethnic origin with these figures, which further connects them to the Serbian community and may strengthen their identification as Serbians.

Well, at that level, it seems silly to put Djokovic and Tesla in the same category, but for example, in those moments, I feel even more like a Serbian. When we talk about Tesla, I like to say, 'We are both Serbs.' **In those moments, I can say that I prefer being Serbian more than usual** *(Luka).*

Concluding Remarks

The main conclusion of the research is that the ethnic identities of individuals from mixed marriages should not be seen as static and fixed phenomena but as the results of dynamic and complex processes of questioning certain given factors imposed by the environment. The outcomes of this questioning process represent a commitment to one of four ethnic identity strategies: cosmopolitan, Yugoslav, Serbian-Croatian, or predominantly Serbian identity Therefore, it is important to refer to Berry and his colleagues' concept of different acculturation models. As we have seen, most respondents opted for the strategy of marginalizing both ethnic identities, identifying themselves as not belonging to either community, or assimilating into the Serbian community.

Examples of the integration of two ethnic identities can be observed in the narratives of only a few respondents. These examples may indicate certain limitations in the concept of Bicultural Identity Integration,[24] presented in the introductory part of the article. Based on the assumptions outlined within this concept, one could conclude that the narratives of respondents in this group suggest they do not feel a conflict between their two ethnic identities and perceive the two cultures as practically identical. Therefore, they have managed to reconcile and integrate the two ethnic identities to a large extent. However, despite these conclusions, the process of integrating the two ethnic identities is not complete. The respondents' narratives still indicate that the Serbian ethnic community holds some degree of primacy. These findings illustrate how complex the process of reconciling two ethnic identities can be and how many different levels it can encompass.

While this research was initially meant to answer the question of what the process of reconciling two conflicting identities looks like, this focus was reinterpreted throughout the research process to explore how individuals from mixed marriages form their ethnic identities. A series of insights show that most respondents underwent a process to form their ethnic identities as a reflection of belonging to a community. However, this process does not only involve choosing between two alternatives and questioning which of the two communities they actually belong to. It is more general and includes either reconsidering and distancing oneself from the influence and values of the dominant environment or reevaluating how one perceives their own ethnic identity.

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[24] See Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, "Bicultural identity integration (BII)."

We can also conclude that the majority of respondents take an active stance towards their experience. It seems that active struggle and questioning have contributed to the fact that, even though respondents faced identity conflicts and upheavals during the process of forming their ethnic identity, these conflicts are mostly resolved in their current life perspective. However, in the narratives of respondents who do not actively question and who are more passive regarding their experience elements of conflict related to the issue of ethnic belonging can be recognized. This unresolved conflict is evident in their need to distance themselves either from the issue of ethnic identification, which they consider conflictual, or from the other ethnic community, as they have not yet found a way to fully integrate it into their own identity experience.

Furthermore, most of the respondents are not overly interested in the question of ethnic identification. This, along with their expressed agency, may suggest that the study was conducted on a very specific sample of respondents. The fact that most respondents have an agentic role in their experience suggests that they position themselves in a specific way in relation to it, meaning they are critically oriented, thoughtful, and reflective about it. This positioning towards their own experience may be a result of the fact that most participants have gone through the process of identity formation and resolved all the conflicts it carries with it, allowing them to distance themselves from it and critically examine it. Additionally, all respondents belong to the college-educated population, and their education may have contributed to developing their critical position and reflection skills regarding their experience. Based on this, it is entirely justified to question whether the same findings would be obtained from a sample that is actively questioning or is not as critically oriented toward their experience. Because of this, it is recommended that future researchers study the process of forming the ethnic identity of individuals from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages using a sample from the adolescent population, as their identity conflicts may not yet be resolved. It would also be advisable for the sample to include respondents who do not possess the educational and critical resources to position themselves critically in relation to their experience.

It is also important to address the specificity of the sample of respondents, which somewhat contributed to redefining their conflict regarding ethnic identity and, consequently, the research question. Most of the respondents were born in Serbia, and the dominant environment during their upbringing was Serbian, so contact with Croatia did not have significant formative importance for them. Furthermore, the respondents'

biographies suggest that despite being born into mixed marriages where one parent identifies as Croatian, most of their parents were also born and raised in Serbia. Therefore, contact with Croatia was not formative for the parents either. Of course, a few respondents grew up in families where one parent was born, raised, and socialized in Croatia and moved to Serbia only in adulthood. However, even in these cases, their parents spent several years in Serbia before the respondents were born and assimilated to a large extent into the dominant environment. These biographical characteristics contributed to the fact that the respondents do not perceive themselves as members of the Croatian community. Even in cases where they feel some sense of belonging, they cannot fully identify with it. Therefore, the process of forming ethnic identity does not involve reconciling Serbian and Croatian ethnic affiliations or balancing between these two positions.

Having said that, and to conclude, it is important to highlight that this research had an exploratory character, as it was one of the first studies in this region aimed at shedding light on the process of organizing and forming ethnic identities of individuals from Serbian-Croatian marriages who have grown up and live in Serbia. And, as such, it can also offer recommendations for future studies focused on the process of reconciling two potentially conflicting ethnic identities of individuals from Serbian-Croatian marriages. Firstly, we can assume that the phenomenon of reconciling two potentially conflicting ethnic identities would be more noticeable if the research were conducted on a sample of respondents who were born in the 1980s. This generation grew up in Yugoslavia and remembers it, so the breakup of Yugoslavia likely had greater personal consequences for them. Additionally, the generation born in the 1980s was in their adolescence during the Yugoslav Wars or shortly after their end. Therefore, they may have been more aware of and affected by the events than members of the generation born in the 1990s, who were in early childhood during the war. Additionally, since the community in which individuals are born and raised plays an important role in determining how individuals from mixed marriages feel about their ethnic affiliation, it would be desirable to conduct research with respondents from Serbian-Croatian mixed marriages who were born and raised in Croatia. Research should also include respondents from such marriages who spent part of their lives in Serbia and part in Croatia. It should be noted that future researchers might face challenges similar to those encountered in this study, such as recruiting participants. The target population must fulfill specific criteria, and some potential participants may not want to take part in the study due to the sensitivity of the topic.

Data Availability Statement

The data for this research has been derived from interviews with individuals from Serbo-Croatian mixed marriages. It can't be publicly shared because the author doesn't have permission from the participants to share the transcripts in their entirety.

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Appendix 1

The Agenda for the Interview

[English translation, the original interviews were carried out in Serbian]

Experience of mixed origin

1.Were you aware during your upbringing that you came from a mixed marriage?

2.Do you remember when you realized this, and how did it happen? What was happening at that moment? How did you feel about it? What did you think? How significant was that moment for you? Was anyone else present at that moment, and who? How did they contribute to your understanding that you were from a mixed family?

Ethnic belonging

1.How would you describe how you felt during your upbringing - equally as a Serb and as a Croat, or more as a Serb or as a Croat? Did you ever feel like you didn't belong to either? Did you almost always feel that way, or did that feeling change sometimes? When? In which situations? What do you think contributed to this? And how would you describe how you feel now?

2.Do you remember any specific situations when you felt particularly like a Serb? What do you think led you to feel that way in that situation? Were there any specific situations when you didn't feel like a Serb? Are there such situations now?

3.Do you remember any specific situations when you felt particularly like a Croat? Were there any specific situations in which you didn't feel that way? Are there such situations today?

Exposure to culture and other people that contribute to identification

1.How much were you exposed to both Serbian and Croatian cultures during your upbringing? Was there something you liked most in both cultures? Was there something you didn't like as much, specifically related to one of the cultures?

2.Were there any cultural elements that were particularly important to you during your upbringing, such as national symbols, movies, music, or books? Did your family celebrate the religious holidays of both ethnic communities to which your parents belong? Did everyone in the household participate in holiday celebrations? Are there still elements of both Serbian and Croatian culture present in your daily life? Provide some examples of them. Are some of these elements particularly important to you?

3.What role did your parents play in exposing you to the influences of Serbian and Croatian culture? Did it seem important to them? How did they show that? Did your parents coordinate on this and participate together (e.g. in holiday celebrations), or did each of them try to introduce you to the culture they belong to individually?

4.Did anyone else besides your parents and family contribute to making you feel like a Serb or Croat? Who were they, and how did they contribute? Are there still significant people who influence you to feel like a Serb or Croat now? Who are they?

5.Did other people, like peers and friends, know that you come from a mixed marriage? How did they find out? Do you think they treated you differently because of it? How did you feel about that? Do you think they, in any way, influenced you to feel more like you belong to one nationality? Or do both, or neither? How do people react to your mixed background today? Has anything changed compared to your childhood?

Perception of cultural similarities/differences and harmony vs. identity conflict

1.How often did you visit Croatia? How did you feel while staying there? How did other people react to the fact that you came from a mixed marriage when you were in Croatia? How did you perceive those reactions? And what about today?

2.Were there any differences in how you felt in Serbia compared to how you felt in Croatia? Did you feel comfortable and at home both in Croatia and in Serbia, or not? What contributed to these feelings? Do you now feel at home both in Croatia and in Serbia? Has anything changed compared to your upbringing?

3.During your upbringing, how much did you perceive Serbia and Croatia as similar? And how much did you see them as different?

4.Did you recognize any personal characteristics or behaviors during your upbringing that were closer to one culture and others that were closer to the other? What were those characteristics? How did you feel about those traits or behaviors? And today? Has anything changed compared to your upbringing?

5.Do you remember any specific situation in which you felt that the two cultures were particularly similar? Did you feel at that time that you didn't have significant issues reconciling your affiliation with both cultures? Are there such situations today? How do you feel about them?

6.Do you remember any specific situation when you felt that the cultures were particularly different? Did you have trouble reconciling your affiliation with both Serbian and Croatian cultures at that time? What do you think specifically contributed to your feelings in that situation? Are there such situations today? How do you feel about them?

The importance of origin

1.Was it significant for you during your upbringing that you come from a mixed marriage? How important is it to you now?

2.Do you think it has shaped you in any way? How do you feel about it? How does your background affect your lifestyle today?

3.

Research Article

Orthodoxy in Diplomacy: An Overview of the Serbian Orthodox Church's Religious Diplomacy and Role in International Relations

Miloš Todorović[*]

Abstract:
Following the revitalization and politicization of religion that happened in Serbia during the late 20th and early 21st century, the Serbian Orthodox Church became an important non-state actor in the country. This article explores its involvement in Serbia's relations with other countries, with a particular focus on the Church's and the country's religious diplomacy efforts. It provides an overview of the Church's multifaceted roles, including advising Serbian and foreign diplomats, engaging in track II diplomacy, as well as other small-scale initiatives.
Keywords: religious diplomacy, Serbian Orthodox Church, Srpska pravoslavna crkva, SPC.

Introduction

When it comes to international relations, it is widely known that non-state actors, or NSOs, can often play an important role. Indeed, NSOs such

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as non-profit organizations, non-governmental organizations, national or multinational corporations, lobby groups, or religious organizations can hold tremendous sway over national policies and international relations alike. For instance, such actors have been playing an important role in everything from international security[1] to international law[2] for quite some time. However, when it comes to religious organizations, their influence can extend well beyond these realms, and they can occupy a prominent role in everything from international relations generally, to foreign policy and diplomatic relations between individual countries.

Exploring what role religion can and does play in diplomacy, Allen Keiswetter, a retired senior Foreign Service Officer and scholar, and John Bryson Chane, the eighth Bishop of Washington DC, noted several ways for it to help in strengthening diplomatic relations: clerics advising diplomats, clerics engaging in track II diplomacy, faith-based organizations offering humanitarian or other assistance to countries, and clerics promoting interfaith dialogue and starting initiatives that promote shared concepts, e.g. among the Abrahamic/Ibrahimic faiths, in addition to other indirect actions, such as clerics and faith leaders promoting peace and understanding that will inevitably help in strengthening diplomatic relations.[3] Keiswetter and Chane rightfully postulated that the extent of influence that religion can have goes well beyond typical track II diplomacy, first introduced by W. D. Davidson and J. V. Montville back in the 1980s to distinguish between the work of diplomats (track I diplomacy) and activities of non-state actors that play a significant role in fostering ties between countries, or track II diplomacy;[4] a conceptualization of diplomatic relations that developed into what is today known as multi-track diplomacy.[5] Indeed, the role of religion in international relations extends well beyond track II diplomacy as its influence isn't tied to religious organizations maintaining ties with other organizations or countries.

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[1] See Douglas Johnston, *Faith-based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003) and Lawrence Chickering, *Strategic Foreign Assistance: Civil Society in International Security* (Stanford, US: Hoover Institution Press, 2006).

[2] Markus Wagner, "Non-State Actors," in *The Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, ed. Rüdiger. Wolfrum, 741–749 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[3] Allen Keiswetter and
John Chane, *Diplomacy and Religion: Seeking Common Interests and Engagement in a Dynamically Changing and Turbulent World* (Washington DC, US: The Brookings Institution, 2013).

[4] See W. D. Davidson, and J. V. Montville, "Foreign Policy According to Freud.," *Foreign Policy* 45 (1981): 145–157.

[5] Louise Diamond, and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Guide and Analysis* (Grinnell, US: Iowa Peace Institute, 1991).

Today, even states, as primary actors in diplomacy, understand that religion can help them achieve their foreign policy goals, which is why many turn to religious diplomacy or faith-based diplomacy.

Put simply, religious diplomacy represents the use of religious factors by a state in foreign policy directly or indirectly. And, such mechanisms of state cooperation with religious organizations in the pursuit of national interests can be seen in the diplomatic practice of many states. For instance, as of writing this article, on the official website of the *Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, "religious diplomacy" is listed as one of the 9 foreign policy agendas that the Greek government is pursuing,[6] but the Greek Orthodox Church and the religious diplomacy of the *Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs* definitely aren't rare cases of religion being used by a state; when providing an overview of commonly used "tools" in cultural diplomacy, John Lenczowski listed "religious diplomacy" as one of them, noting how it is actively utilized even by secular states that one doesn't often associate with it, such as the United States.[7] After all, given how much attention has been placed on such aspects of diplomatic relations in the 21st century following the publication of Joseph Nye's seminal work on soft power, it is not surprising that numerous states saw the benefits of investing in religious diplomacy. Even Nye himself hinted at the "power" of religion in international relations while formulating the now widely-known concept of "soft power;" his example is that of the Holy See itself and the fact that, with it having diplomatic relations with over 180 countries and almost 90 countries having embassies to the Holy See today, it has a disproportionate amount of sway in international relations, especially given Joseph Stalin's famous remark "how many divisions does the Pope have?",[8] which perfectly illustrates Nye's point about the impact that soft power can have even without economic and military might which are associated with hard power and our own point in this article about religion having the potential to serve an important role in international relations given the right circumstances.

Given all of this, it is not surprising that religion plays into the foreign policy of many countries regardless of their state or dominant

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[6] Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d., https://www.mfa.gr/en/church-diplomacy (accessed 17 January, 2024).

[7] John Lenczowski, "Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy," in *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*, ed. J. Michael Waller, 74–99 (Washington DC, US: The Institute Of World Politics Press, 2008).

[8] Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York, US: PublicAffairs, 2004).

religion, whether they are economic and military superpowers, regional powers, or even states without a lot of influence, both through the work of religious organizations and through active use of it by the state. And, as the title implies, this article will explore one example of that: the religious diplomacy and the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Serbia's diplomatic relations. This is due to the Church's prominent role in Serbia's relations with other countries. This case study can offer useful insights into the role of religious diplomacy as a tool in the foreign policies of rather modest countries that are neither economic nor regional powers, both in Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world.

Religious Diplomacy, Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and the Serbian Orthodox Church

Before moving on to the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Serbia's relations, it is important to highlight that "religious diplomacy" isn't tied to Christianity or the "West." It is widely understood that Israel masterfully utilizes religious diplomacy[9] and that Judaism played a very important role in Israel's foreign policy for quite some time despite skepticism about its true extent,[10] though there are scholars who point out that "Jewish diplomacy" existed well before the establishment of Israel as a sovereign state[11] and that "Jewish foreign policy" exists beyond Israel.[12] Similarly, Islam has also served as a powerful tool utilized in international relations, with different countries using it in different ways, including the

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[9] See Claudia Baumgart-Ochse, "Israel's Religious Soft Power: Within and Beyond Judaism," in *The Geopolitics of Religious Soft Power: How States Use Religion in Foreign Policy*, ed. Peter Mandaville, 211–231 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2023).

[10] See Efraim Inbar, "Jews, Jewishness and Israel's Foreign Policy," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 2(1990): 165–183 and Dov Waxman "Between Isolation and Integration: The Jewish Dimension in Israeli Foreign Policy," *Israel Studies Forum* 19 (2003): 34–56.

[11] See Jonathan Dekel-Chen, "Philanthropy, Diplomacy, and Jewish Internationalism," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism Volume VIII: The Modern World, 1815–2000*, eds. Mitchell B. Hart and Tony Michels, 505–528 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017) and Shmuel Sandler, *The Jewish Origins of Israeli Foreign Policy: A Study in Tradition and Survival* (London, UK: Routledge, 2018).

[12] See Dov Waxman and Scott B. Lasensky, "Jewish Foreign Policy: Israel, World Jewry, and the Defence of 'Jewish Interests'," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12(2013): 232–252.

UAE,[13] Morocco,[14] Türkiye,[15] and many others. The case of Türkiye is especially interesting because the country utilizes it to foster ties with countries where Muslims don't make up the majority, like Serbia, which even has a fairly tense relationship with Islam and its heritage due to resisting Islam and Ottomans being a cornerstone of Serbian national identity.[16] And yet, Türkiye nevertheless successfully utilizes its religious heritage in Serbia to remind the people of their close ties with Türkiye and to win praise by helping Serbia preserve its cultural heritage, which it couldn't otherwise do, such as by investing two million USD into the restoration of the Sultan Valida Mosque, the only imperial mosque in Serbia.[17] Furthermore, some thinkers argue that Islamic religious diplomacy can even be utilized to help solve serious issues, such as pan-Islamic organizations helping stabilize the situation in Afghanistan.[18] But, of course, religious diplomacy isn't tied to Abrahamic religions either. For instance, despite attacking and persecuting organized religions during the 20th century, China has a long history of religious diplomacy and still utilizes Confucianism and Buddhism to gain soft power.[19] However, when it comes to diplomacy, religious diplomacy, and Orthodox Christianity, the situation is a bit more complicated.

Elizabeth H. Prodromou, for one, analyzed the role of Orthodox Christianity in diplomacy and geopolitics. She noted that its organization

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[13] See Hamdullah Baycar and Mehmet Rakipoğlu, "The United Arab Emirates' Religious Soft Power through Ulema and Organizations," *Religions* 13(2022): 646.

[14] See Sawsene Nejjar, *Morocco's Political Use of Islam and Its Religious Diplomacy* (Barcelona, Spain: EuroMeSCo, 2018).

[15] See Mehmet Ozkan, "Turkey's Religious Diplomacy," *The Arab World Geographer* 17(2014): 223–237 and Ayhan Kaya and Amina Drhimeur, "Diaspora politics and religious diplomacy in Turkey and Morocco," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 23(2023): 317–337.

[16] Miloš Todorović, "The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage in Serbia," *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 4(2021): 213–237.

[17] Miloš Todorović, "Gaining Soft Power through Hard Heritage: Turkey's Restoration Projects in Serbia," *Balkan Studies Congress Proceedings* 1(2021): 383–396. However, when considering the effectiveness of such religious diplomacy, it is important to note that while these attempts to foster ties led to positive outcomes in Serbia and other countries, restoration projects of Ottoman heritage and Islamic religious heritage have led to Türkiye being heavily criticized in both the countries where it funds such restoration projects, like Serbia, and abroad, most notably on the grounds of the country having a "neo-Ottoman agenda" (see Miloš Todorović, "TİKA's Heritage Restoration Projects: Examples of Foreign Aid or Proof of Neo-Ottomanism?," *Insight Turkey* 23(2021): 141–156).

[18] Muddassar Ahmed, *How Religious Diplomacy and Pan-Islamic Organizations Can Help Stabilize Afghanistan* (Washington DC, US: German Marshall Fund., 2022).

[19] Juyan Zhang, "China's Faith Diplomacy," in *Religion and Public Diplomacy*, ed. P. Seib, 75–97 (New York, US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

as a communion of 15 distinct churches (four ancient patriarchates, five national patriarchates, and the remaining six autocephalous churches), and its functioning according to the primacy of honor for the Ecumenical Patriarch, as opposed to a centralized top-down model like the Catholic Church or a decentralized model like the Protestant Church, makes relations between different Orthodox churches important. They have to work together despite expected tensions and disagreements inherent in such a model. Given that Orthodox Christianity is divided into distinct churches, with some being tied to individual countries/nationalities and being an important focal point of national identity, it is little wonder why these churches serve as important non-state actors to this day. Russia offers us perhaps the best illustration of this, not the least because of the important role that the Patriarch of Moscow plays in global Orthodox Christianity, but also because of the "Church-state partnership aimed at mutually reinforcing geopolitical hegemonies—hegemonies of territory and material interests, as well as hegemonies of identity, norms, and religio-culture," as Prodromou put it.[20] Indeed, ever since Kirill became the Patriarch of Moscow in 2009, the ties between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian government have become so profound that, in just a matter of years, the Russian Orthodox Church gained tremendous sway over Russia's domestic and foreign policy,[21] which is the case even today, and it is understandable why said ties are important to both and why the Church and the Government tend to cooperate when it comes to foreign policy. As Alicja Curanović noted in her assessment of the religious diplomacy of Russia, "There is one more factor which reinforces state-Church contacts in the foreign policy and gives them solid grounds—common views on international relations. Both the Russian state and the ROC, consider the so-called 'near abroad' (which almost perfectly corresponds to the ROC's canonical territory) a sphere of Russia's existential interests. Therefore, they perceive the activity of non-Russian actors (regardless of whether those are states or religious organizations) in this part of the world as a direct challenge. What is more, the Moscow Patriarchate shares the Kremlin's criticism of the 'unipolar' world; the *Pax Americana* is viewed by both as a threat to global peace and stabilization. The ROC is particularly cautions about exaggerated liberalization of social relations, erosion of the

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[20] Elizabeth Prodromou, *Diplomacy, Geopolitics, and Global Orthodox Christianity in the Twenty-First Century* (Washington DC, US: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs at Georgetown University, 2023).

[21] Robert C. Blitt, "Whither Secular Bear: The Russian Orthodox Church's Strengthening Influence on Russia's Domestic and Foreign Policy," *Fides Et Libertas: The Journal of the International Religious Liberty Association* 10 (2011): 89–125.

institution of family, moral relativism, which are all associated with 'Westernisation' and seen in terms of civilisational pressure performed by the US",[22] going on to explore different ways in which Russia utilizes religious diplomacy. But while the ties between the state and its Orthodox church aren't as pronounced when it comes to foreign policy as they are in Russia, and while religious diplomacy isn't as important as it is for Greece which lists it as one of its main foreign policy issues/agendas, the Serbian Orthodox Church still represents a fairly important non-state actor when it comes to Serbia's relations with other countries. Why this is the case is somewhat evident.

The Serbian Orthodox Church, or *Српска православна црква / Srpska pravoslavna crkva* (SPC for short), is one of the autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Christian churches. It gained its autocephalous status in 1219, under the leadership of Saint Sava, which perfectly illustrates the Church's long diplomatic history. Sava was born as Rastko Nemanjić and was the youngest son of Serbian Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196) and the brother of Stefan the First-Crowned who ruled over Serbia as Grand Prince (1196–1217) and King (1217–1228). Given that he was the brother of the King and the First Archbishop of the Serbian Church, it isn't so surprising that Sava played a diplomatic role as well, both formal and informal. For instance, there were other pilgrims from Serbia, but when Sava went on his two pilgrimages to the Near East, he also acted as an informal emissary, being welcomed by the Patriarch of Alexandria and exchanging gifts with him.[23] However, we also know of instances where he acted as a Formal Emissary of his brother, like when he served as an envoy to the court of King Andrew II of Hungary and the Bulgarian *sebastokrator* Strez.[24]

Simply put, ever since the earliest days of the Serbian Orthodox Church, we find it involved in activities that would be perceived as "religious diplomacy" today. In fact, according to Serbian historians, following the Ottoman conquest of Serbia in the 15th century, the Serbian Orthodox Church started playing a prominent role because, ever since the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć was restored in 1557 thanks to the mediation of pasha Mehmed Sokolović (who also helped secure his cousin Makarije

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[22] Alicja Curanović, *The Religious Diplomacy of the Russian Federation* (Paris, France: Russia/NIS Center 2012).

[23] Miloš Todorović, *Serbia And Egypt: Serbian–Egyptian Intercultural Relations* (Belgrade, Serbia: Alia Mundi, 2021).

[24] Đura Hardi, "O diplomatskoj misiji Svetog Save kod ugarskog kralja Andrije II," *Crkvene studije* 16(2019): 235–248.

Sokolović as the new patriarch), the Church was the only institution able to act as an advocate and representative of the Serbian people and Serbia, which didn't even exist as a state at the time,[25] though that view isn't supported by Ottoman historical sources; while there is no disputing the fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church helped foster a sense of belonging and served a vital role in protecting the Serbian national identity, as far as the Ottoman state was concerned, the Orthodox churches, Serbian included, played a predominantly fiscal role and did not act as formal intermediaries between their believers and state authorities.[26] Nevertheless, the Church still played a rather important role by helping establish relations with other Orthodox countries, such as Russia,[27] with which it helped establish deep cultural and religious ties that extend well beyond international relations and last up to the present.[28] However, it goes without saying that following the establishment of the Serbian state, the Serbian Orthodox Church no longer served as the representative of the Serbian people in any capacity. In time, its role was diminished further still, especially in the second part of the 20th century given that Yugoslavia was a socialist state. Even so, just like in other former socialist countries, the late 20th and early 21st century saw the revitalization and politicization of religion in Serbia, with the Serbian Orthodox Church once again becoming a prominent non-state actor that has the power to shape the public discourse and government policy.[29] Indeed, there is no doubt that the

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[25] Dejan Tanić, *Diplomatija Srpske pravoslavne crkve u XVI i XVII veku* (Jagodina, Serbia: Istorijski arhiv Jagodina, 2020).

[26] See Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution: A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats* (Istanbul, Türkiye: The Isis Press, 2019).

[27] Dejan Tanić, *Rusko carstvo i Srpska pravoslavna crkva (1557-1766)* (Niš, Serbia: Društvo srpsko-ruskog prijateljstva Naisus, 2013).

[28] See Branko Radovanović, "Aspekti međusobnih hrišćanskih i kulturnoloških uticaja Srba i Rusa u periodu od 10. do 16. veka," *Crkvene studije* 12 (2015): 109–121 and Dejan Tanić, "Ključni momenti srpsko-ruskih kulturoloških i duhovno-ideoloških prožimanja: od Svetog Save do vladike Nikolaja," in *Igumanija Ana (Adžić) - oličenje posvećenosti: zbornik radova povodom 120 godina od rođenja i 70 godina od primanja monaškog čina*, eds. Ilijana Čutura and Oliver Đorđević, 59–80 (Jagodina, Serbia: Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu & Istorijski arhiv Srednje Pomoravlje, 2019).

[29] See Milan Vukomanović, "The Serbian Orthodox Church as a Political Actor in the Aftermath of October 5, 2000," *Politics and Religion* 1(2008): 237–269, Bojan Aleksov, "The New Role of the Orthodox Church in Serbia," *Südosteuropa. Zeitschrift für Politik und Gesellschaft* 3(2008): 353–375, Radmila Radić and Milan Vukomanović, "Religion and Democracy in Serbia since 1989: The Case of the Serbian Orthodox Church," in *Religion and Politics in Post-Socialist Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, 180–211 (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), Srđan Barišić, "The Role of the Serbian and Russian Orthodox Churches in Shaping Governmental Policies," in *The Warp of Serbian Identity*, ed. Sonja Biserko, 105–126 (Belgrade, Serbia: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2016), and Jelena Subotić, "The

Serbian Orthodox Church represents one of the most vocal and influential non-state actors in Serbia today given its history, relationship with national identity, and historical ties with the state,[30] as well as the fact that it acts as the voice for the largest religious community in the country by far given that 81.1% of the population identified as "Orthodox Christian" during the 2022 census.[31] And, while most of its influence is tied to domestic policy, the Church still represents a powerful actor when it comes to Serbia's foreign policy and relations with other countries as well.

The Role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in International Relations Today

When it comes to understanding the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in relations that Serbia has with other countries and in the relations that they have with Serbia, one has to bear in mind that religious diplomacy is a complex endeavor generally, which is why the topic must be approached systematically, and Keiswetter and Chane provided us with a useful framework to go on. As we have already mentioned, they highlighted several possible channels of religious diplomacy: clerics advising diplomats, clerics engaging in track II diplomacy, faith-based organizations offering humanitarian or other assistance to countries, and clerics promoting interfaith dialogue, among other indirect things, such as clerics and faith leaders promoting peace and understanding that would inevitably help in strengthening diplomatic relations.[32] The reason why we will go off of their work is the fact that it provides a convenient calcification for our overview as the Serbian Orthodox Church is involved in just about every activity they listed, and a couple of others as we shall see.

Priests Advising Foreign Diplomats

One of the most frequent ways that the Serbian Orthodox Church gets involved in diplomatic relations of different countries with Serbia is by advising foreign officials. Of course, there is nothing new or unusual in

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Church, the Nation, and the State: The Serbian Orthodox Church After Communism," in *Orthodox Churches and Politics in Southeastern Europe: Nationalism, Conservativism, and Intolerance*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, 85–110 (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

[30] See Zorica Kuburić, "Serbian Orthodox Church in the Context of State's History," *Religija i tolerancija: Časopis Centra za empirijska istraživanja religije* 12(2014): 387–402.

[31] The Census Office, n.d. https://popis2022.stat.gov.rs/en-us/5-vestisaopstenja/news-events/20230616-st/?a=0&s=0 (accessed January 17, 2023).

[32] John Chane and Allen Keiswetter, *Diplomacy and Religion: Seeking Common Interests and Engagement in a Dynamically Changing and Turbulent World* (Washington DC, US: The Brookings Institution, 2013).

such work; priests, especially church dignitaries, providing advice on different issues and voicing the concerns of members of their church, particularly concerning religious matters, is rather common practice. Given the fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church voices the concerns of the majority of believers in the country and that it is an important local and regional non-state actor, it is not surprising that many diplomats present in Belgrade and officials visiting the country seek out its advice and work towards maintaining good relations with the Church. In fact, this is such common practice that it would be impossible to even list all of the meetings between church dignitaries and priests with foreign officials, let alone explore them. Take, for instance, the case of the current head of the Church.

Following the death of the 90-year-old Patriarch Irinej, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church for 10 years between 2010 and 2020, the Bishops' Council elected the Metropolitan Bishop of Zagreb Porfirije as his successor on 18 February 2021. This means that Porfirije has been acting as the Head of the Church for some two and a half years now, and yet, if we were to look at the publicly available archive of the announcements made by the Serbian Orthodox Church at the time of writing this article, we would see that he met with numerous diplomats from Serbia and other countries, as well as foreign officials during this time, talking to them about different issues. Take, for instance, his official meetings with dignitaries during 2021 alone.

● In March: the **Ambassador of Russia to Serbia** on March 11, the **Apostolic Nuncio to Serbia** and the **Ambassador of the United States to Serbia** on March 12, the **Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Serbia** on March 23, the **Head of EU's delegation to Serbia** and the **Ambassador of Greece to Serbia** on March 24, and the **Apostolic Nuncio to Croatia** on March 29.

● In April: the **Ambassador of Cyprus to Serbia** on April 1, the **Ambassador of Serbia to the Vatican**, the **Ambassador of Austria to Serbia**, and the **Ambassador of Armenia to Serbia** on April 2, the **Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece** and the **Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus** on April 5, the **Ambassador of Belgium to Serbia** on April 9, the **Ambassador of Serbia to Bulgaria**, the **Ambassador of Israel to Serbia**, and the **Ambassador of Italy to Serbia** on April 12, the **Head of the Council of Europe's Mission to Serbia** on April 13, the **Ambassador of Slovenia to Serbia**, the **Ambassador of Ukraine to Serbia**, and the **Ambassador of Romania to Serbia** on April 14, the **Ambassador of Belarus to Serbia** on April 15, the **Head of OSCE's Mission to Serbia** on April 19, the **Consul of**

Bulgaria in Edirne April 20, and the **Ambassador of Serbia to Montenegro** on April 28.

● In June: the **Ambassador of Russia to Croatia** on June 7, the **OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities** on June 16, and the **Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia** on June 18.

● In July: the newly elected **Ambassadors of Serbia to Syria, Morocco, and Congo** on July 1, the **Ambassador of Egypt to Serbia**, and the **Ambassadors of Canada** and **Australia to Serbia** on July 13, the **Chargé d'Affaires of Georgia to Greece with a Mission in Belgrade** on July 20, and the **Ambassador of Bulgaria to Serbia** on July 21.

● In August: the **Ambassador of Serbia to Albania** and the **Ambassador of Poland to Serbia** on August 13, the **UN Resident Coordinator in Serbia** and the director of the **World Health Organization's Office in Serbia** jointly and the **Ambassador of Germany to Serbia** on August 17, and the **Apostolic Nuncio to Serbia** on August 20.

● In September: the **UNHCR's Representative in Serbia** as well as the **Ambassador of Iran to Serbia** on September 3, the **Ambassador of Panama to Serbia** on September 6, the **Ambassador of Georgia to Serbia**, the **Ambassador of Japan to Serbia**, and the **Ambassador of Greece to Serbia** all on September 7.

● In November: the **Chargé d'Affaires of Syria in Belgrade** on November 9, and the **Holy See's Secretary for Relations with States** on November 23.

● In December: the **Ambassador of the Netherlands to Serbia** on December 13, and the **Ambassador of the European Union to Serbia** on December 22 [list compiled and titles highlighted by the author].[33]

Naturally, these were just the official visits by officials to His Holiness during his first year as the Patriarch. It goes without saying that numerous other meetings occurred with other Church officials and at different diplomatic events hosted by Serbia in Belgrade, both with the Patriarch and different Church dignitaries. And, while it is tempting to

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[33] Arhiva Srpske pravoslavne crkve, n.d., http://arhiva.spc.rs/eng/arhiva.html (accessed January 17, 2023).

dismiss these visits as mere courtesy visits given that we are talking about the first year of Porfirije's tenure as the Patriarch, the fact of the matter is that he kept meeting with officials,[34] continues to do so, and has met with numerous dignitaries, including the Chancellor of Austria Karl Nehammer, Greece's Minister for Foreign Affairs Nikos Dendias, and others.

Track II Diplomacy and Supporting the State

Much like its Russian counterpart, the Serbian Orthodox Church also maintains strong ties with the state and helps aid its foreign policy objectives as they often overlap with the Church's interests; this partnership with the state has been going on ever since the fall of Slobodan Milošević, but especially following the Serbian Progressive Party coming to power in 2012.[35] And, one of the most important issues where the Church and the Government align is their stance toward the independence of Kosovo. After all, the Church officially opposes any kind of acceptance of Kosovo's independence so much so that the Holy Bishops' Council, the Church's supreme body, put out a statement back in 2018 arguing that the issue of Kosovo and Metohija is a matter of the highest priority for Serbia, encompassing religious, national, and state concerns, in addition to urging state authorities to ensure Kosovo remains part of Serbia and to refuse to agree to any territorial exchange.[36] Of course, there are numerous other instances of such statements and pleas being made by the Church and its officials, but they are little more than superfluous displays of the Church's official stance because the Serbian government already shares them, at least for the time being.

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[34] In just the first half of 2022, Patriarch Porfirije also met with the newly elected ambassadors of Serbia to Belarus, Belgium, Australia, and Egypt (February 3), the ambassador of Ukraine to Serbia (February 8), the ambassador of France to Serbia (February 18), the apostolic nuncio to Slovenia (February 21), the head of EU's delegation to Serbia (March 15), the chancellor of Austria (March 17), the ambassador of Belgium to Serbia (March 18), the ambassador of Sweden to Serbia (April 4), the ambassador of Kazakhstan to Serbia and the ambassador of Cyprus to Serbia (April 15), the ambassador of the United States to Serbia (May 7), the ambassador of Australia to Serbia (May 27), the ambassador of Egypt to Serbia (June 15), the ambassador of Slovakia to Serbia (June 16), the ambassador of Spain to Serbia and the ambassador of Germany to Serbia (June 17).

[35] See Viktor Stamenković, "Političke poruke Srpske pravoslavne crkve u vreme poglavarstva Patrijarha srpskog gospodina Pavla i Patrijarha srpskog gospodina Irineja," *Politički život: časopis za analizu politike* 22(2022): 25–35.

[36] Maja Zivanovic, "Don't Abandon Kosovo, Serbian Church Urges Govt," *Balkan Insight*, May 11, 2018. https://balkaninsight.com/2018/05/11/serbian-orthodox-church-against-kosovo-independence-05-11-2018/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

Both the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Government of Serbia oppose and refuse to acknowledge the independence of Kosovo. And, given that both are interested in making sure that Kosovo and Metohija remain a part of the Republic of Serbia, it is little wonder that the Church is eager to support the Government's efforts towards that goal and that the Government is all too keen on using religion as a foreign policy tool if and when it is suitable. The most illustrative and effective examples of this occurred in 2015, following Kosovo's bid to become a member of UNESCO.

Kosovo becoming a member of UNESCO would have helped it gain legitimacy and further its cause by putting additional pressure on other countries to recognize it as an independent state, which is why the Government of Serbia was forced to intervene and launch an international campaign to make sure that this doesn't happen. The campaign had two aspects: one involved lobbying states, and the other involved launching a public diplomacy campaign aimed at changing the perception of their people so that they align with Belgrade's viewpoint on the issue. In both cases, the Government relied heavily on Serbia's religion and religious heritage in Kosovo. That is, when approaching officials and diplomats of other countries, Serbian officials argued that the two main reasons why Kosovo couldn't be accepted as a member of UNESCO were that: 1) it is not a formally recognized country and so cannot be accepted as a member because that is a requirement for membership according to the UNESCO's Constitution and 2) that Kosovo becoming a member would put Serbia's medieval religious heritage in danger, relying on this so much so that all Serbian embassies put out a statement on *Why Kosovo is ineligible for membership in UNESCO*, arguing in it that "four Serbian orthodox monasteries are inscribed on the UNESCO List of World Heritage in danger although the armed conflict in Kosovo is over for many years now. In danger from whom?". The Serbian government actively utilized the fact that the Medieval Monuments in Kosovo were inscribed on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites only to be inscribed on the list of World Heritage in Danger just two years later. This fact was often highlighted in speeches made by Serbian officials, including President Tomislav Nikolić, who even gathered all the accredited ambassadors in Belgrade at the Palace of Serbia a month before the vote was scheduled to take place to deliver a speech on the issue. He went so far as to name individual instances of it being destroyed, such as the 2004 unrest in Kosovo, which resulted in the destruction and damage of 35 Orthodox churches, including that of Our Lady of Ljeviš, which represents a UNESCO World Heritage Site. And, to reiterate his point, Nikolić even showed the gathered representatives a video documentary on the destruction of Serbian Orthodox religious

heritage in Kosovo produced by the state-owned broadcaster *Radio Television of Serbia*. This wouldn't be the only time the President used that video as his team shared it publicly on the President's official YouTube channel not long after as a part of the online campaign #*NoKosovoUnesco*, which was initiated by the humanitarian organization *28 June* and the director and producer Boris Malagurski; needless to say, the campaign was endorsed and supported by the Government of Serbia, and the Serbian Orthodox Church, from the onset. In fact, the documentary was translated into different languages and was aired in different countries, including by large networks such as *Russia Today*, and the Government estimated that by the end of the campaign, the documentary and other material and posts produced for the campaign reached over 25 million people worldwide through traditional and social media.[37]

Of course, it goes without saying that the support of media houses such as *Russia Today* was the result of the campaign being endorsed by the state. However, the mentioned hashtag campaign #*NoKosovoUnesco* was initiated by *28 Jun* and Malagurski to draw attention to their joint petition that would be sent to the then Director-General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, and to the issue of Serbian religious heritage in Kosovo, which is evident even when looking at the posts made by them (Figure 1 & 2). Naturally, the Serbian Orthodox Church was very much eager to support the initiative itself, but also the online campaign with it issuing statements on the issue and dignitaries posting about the destruction of religious heritage on their social media accounts, like Sava Janjić, the Hegumen of the Visoki Dečani Monastery, also referred to as "Cybermonk" due to his early adoption of the internet back in the 1990s (Figure 3).

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[37] Miloš Todorović, "Upotreba nasleđa u spoljnoj politici Republike Srbije: kratak pregled dosadašnje prakse i saveti za dalji razvoj," *Napredak: časopis za političku teoriju i praksu* 3(2022): 75–94.

Figure 1 – An early post made by *28 June* on *Facebook* asking people to sign the petition and depicting a Serbian monk on top of a tank next to his monastery.

Figure 2 – An early post made by Malagurski on *Facebook* with the depiction of a man destroying a cross on top of the UNESCO logo—a famous image of the destruction of a Serbian church in Kosovo that took place in March 2004.

Figure 3 – Sava Janić sharing a post with the *NoKosovoUnesco* hashtag.

In the end, Serbia's attempts were successful and Kosovo didn't become a member of UNESCO, though it was a very close call given that the bid fell short by only three votes.[38] And, naturally, the Serbian Orthodox Church's involvement in the issue of Kosovo's independence extends well beyond campaigning. Far from being a passive actor, the Church is one of the most influential voices, and its rights and properties in Kosovo represent some of the key issues in discussions between Belgrade and Pristina, so much so that the Church has to be referenced in international agreements like the *Washington Agreement* (formally known as the *Kosovo and Serbia Economic Normalization Agreements*) signed by the then Prime Minister of Kosovo Avdullah Hoti and the President of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić on September 4, 2020, in the presence of President Doland Trump.[39] However, not everyone in the Church is satisfied with its role and some

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[38] John Irish, "Kosovo fails in bid to gain UNESCO membership," *Reuters*, November 9, 2015. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kosovo-serbia-unesco-idUSKCN0SY1CW20151109/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[39] See Velibor Džomić, "Vašingtonski sporazum i crkveno pitanje," *Crkvene studije* 18(2021): 381–392.

dignitaries argue that it should be an active participant and have more say in the discussions themselves given that it is an important topic in these discussions,[40] though the Church has an understanding and partnership with the state much like the Russian Orthodox Church has with Russia; this understanding runs so deep that the Church refused to address representatives of Serbian associations in Kosovo who asked to be received by the patriarch to express their concerns that President Vudić will sign the Franco-German proposal for Kosovo that they argued would "jeopardize the survival of Serbian people, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the state of Serbia" because President Vučić was in Brussels negotiating with Pristina authorities at the time.[41]

Rather small actions and inactions like these help illustrate the mutual understanding between the Church and the Government because they show its true extent: even otherwise "small actions," like (not) hearing out activists that support your cause, are thought over. Of course, the support that the Church gives to the state isn't that surprising given their lucrative partnership. After all, many analysts and journalists argue that the Government of Serbia has actively been "buying the loyalty of the Serbian Orthodox Church" for quite some time through donations, including to help in the restoration of the Church of Saint Sava in Belgrade;[42] it is not even known how much money the Government of Serbia has donated to the Serbian Orthodox Church over the years. Some estimates place the figure around 90 million euros between 2002 and the beginning of 2017 alone. This figure does not include the approximately 43 million euros donated solely for the restoration of the Church of Saint Sava between 2017 and 2020. Furthermore, subsequent donations were made; in 2023, the Government donated another 4.5 million euros, with 2 million earmarked for the restoration of the same church.[43] And, in return, the

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[40] See Velibor Džomić, "Srpska pravoslavna crkva i tzv. spoljašnji dijalog o Kosovu i Metohiji od 2011. do 2018. godine," *Crkvene studije* 16(2019): 407–420.

[41] J. Tasić, "Diplomatija, Fest i Veliki post: Patrijarh Porfirije nije primio predstavnike Srba sa KiM povodom sastanka u Briselu," *Danas*, February 27, 2023. https://www.danas.rs/vesti/drustvo/diplomatija-fest-i-veliki-post-patrijarh-porfirije-nije-primio-predstavnike-srba-sa-kim-povodom-sastanka-u-briselu/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[42] Ljudmila Cvetković, "Kupuje li država lojalnost Srpske pravoslavne crkve?," *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, March 28, 2019. https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/srbija-spc-kupovina-lojalnost/29845816.html (accessed January 17, 2023).

[43] Nataša Latković, "Još keša za „blagoslov" Vučićevoj politici: Vlada Srbije poklonila SPC novih 4,5 miliona evra," *Nova.rs*, September 18, 2023. https://nova.rs/vesti/politika/jos-kesa-za-blagoslov-vucicevoj-politici-vlada-srbije-poklonila-spc-novih-45-miliona-evra/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

Church helps the Government by appeasing the religious and conservative base in Serbia thanks to its traditional role in Serbian society, ties to Serbian national identity, and influence that cannot be understated given that several research projects conducted by different organizations over the years, most notably the *National Youth Council of Serbia*, showed that even the youngest population trusts the Serbian Orthodox Church more than the government.[44] Precisely because of that, it is important for the Government to have the support of the Church when it comes to domestic and foreign policy because it represents one of the most important non-state actors in the country and abroad. After all, the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church in neighboring countries cannot and should not be understated. For instance, when the Government of Montenegro proposed and adopted the "Law on Freedom of Religion or Belief and the Legal Status of Religious Communities" that the Church found unfavorable in December 2019, it initiated 8-month-long protests which ended up rallying its believers and the people of Montenegro who ousted President Milo Đukanović and his party that has been leading the country for more than 30 years during the elections that took place on 30 August 2020; elections that Zdravko Krivokapić and the *For the Future of Montenegro* party won and, in turn for the Church's support, amended the law according to its liking.[45] Indeed, the presence and influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Montenegro are so strong that the Government of Montenegro had to sign the "Fundamental Agreement between the Serbian Orthodox Church and

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[44] See Nebojša Grabež, "Mladi veruju Crkvi i Vojsci," *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, June 4, 2021. https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/tema_sedmice_mladi_drustvene_vrednosti_srbija/24215086.html (accessed January 17, 2023), Branka Mihajlović, "Istraživanje: Mladi u Srbiji najviše veruju vojsci," *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, November 8, 2018. https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/mladi-neoliberalizam-poverenje-konzervativizam/29589827.html (accessed January 17, 2023), V. A. "Kome mladi u Srbiji najviše veruju: Na skali od 1 do 5 samo jedna javna ličnost dobila ocenu preko 2,5," *Danas*, August 12, 2022. https://www.danas.rs/vesti/drustvo/kome-mladi-u-srbiji-najvise-veruju-na-skali-od-1-do-5-samo-jedna-javna-licnost-dobila-ocenu-preko-25/ (accessed January 17, 2023), C. Spasojević "Veruju patrijarhu, većina bi u vojsku: Istraživanje KOMS o stavovima mladih." *Novosti*, August 12, 2021. https://www.novosti.rs/c/drustvo/vesti/1026567/veruju-patrijarhu-vecina-vojsku-istrazivanje-koms-stavovima-mladih (accessed January 17, 2023), and N1, "Istraživanje: Skoro 50 odsto mladih planira da napusti Srbiju, jača nepoverenje," *N1*, August 11, 2023. https://n1info.rs/vesti/istrazivanje-mladi-nemaju-poverenje-u-institucije-veruju-u-crkvu-i-vojsku/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[45] Asja Hafner, "Ključni događaji u godinu dana Zakona o slobodi vjeroispovijesti u Crnoj Gori," *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, December 28, 2020. https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/godinu-dana-zakona-o-slobodi-vjeroispovijesti-u-crnoj-gori/31022713.html (accessed January 17, 2023).

Montenegro" in August 2022 despite it serving as a catalyst for a vote of no-confidence.[46]

Providing Assistance

Like most other religious organizations, the Serbian Orthodox Church is involved in charitable work and providing humanitarian assistance to those in need. However, as Serbia is not an otherwise wealthy country, most of the charitable work of the Church revolves around helping people in need either in Serbia or Serbs in neighboring countries. Of course, there are instances of it donating money to people in need abroad and mobilizing people in Serbia to provide assistance in humanitarian disasters, notably collecting and passing along aid to people in Syria and Türkiye following the devastating earthquakes that took place on 6 February 2023[47] and to people of Ukraine following the 2022 Russian invasion of the country.[48] Yet, such instances are few and far between given that the Church's primary goal when it comes to charitable work is to help the Serbian people. Because of that, this aspect of religious diplomacy doesn't warrant as much attention as the others, which is why we will only mention that the Church gets involved in it from time to time, though not to the extent that other similar religious organizations do it.

Promoting Interfaith and Intercultural Dialogue

Needless to say, a somewhat significant component of the Serbian Orthodox Church's work is maintaining ties with other religious organizations. Naturally, this extends beyond just working with other Orthodox churches, with which it has to maintain ties and work together given the way that Eastern Orthodox Christianity is organized; simply put, because the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople is recognized as having *Primus Inter Pares* status—that is, since he is merely honored and represents the first among equals—it is important for the Orthodox

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[46] Stevo Vasiljevic, "Montenegro govt church deal triggers initiative for no-confidence motion," *Reuters*, August 3, 2022. https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/montenegro-signs-long-disputed-contract-with-serbian-orthodox-church-2022-08-03/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[47] N1, "Serbian Orthodox Church calls for donations to Syria and Turkey," *N1*, February 11, 2023. https://n1info.rs/english/news/serbian-orthodox-church-calls-for-donations-to-syria-and-turkey/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[48] Anna Bogun, "Patriarch Porfirije: Serbian Church to help UOC and Metropolitan Onuphry," *UOJ*, February 28, 2022. https://spzh.news/en/news/86729-patriarkh-porfirij-serbskaja-cerkovy-pomozhet-upc-i-mitropolitu-onufriju (accessed January 17, 2023).

churches to maintain relations, if not close ties with each other, and to participate in joint initiatives, such as the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church that took place in June 2016.[49] Of course, because of that structure, the Serbian Orthodox Church is a key non-state actor in diplomatic and cultural relations with other Orthodox countries, particularly Russia as we already discussed. However, this doesn't mean that the Church maintains ties only with other Orthodox churches. Far from it, it has been building and maintaining ties with other churches from around the world for decades, with its Patriarch German (1958–1990) even being elected to the central committee of the *World Council of Churches*, a worldwide Christian inter-church organization founded in 1948 to work for the cause of ecumenism, during its fourth assembly in 1968.[50] More recently, Serbia also hosted the 2018 Assembly of the *Conference of European Churches*, of which the Serbian Orthodox Church has been a member since 1965.[51]

When it comes to promoting interfaith dialogue in Serbia, the Church maintains ties with other religious organizations in the country and follows the developments with other religions in the world, informing its believers about them; the official newspaper of the Patriarchate, *Orthodoxy*, even has a segment "The Christian World."[52] For instance, the patriarch sends his good wishes and congratulations on important holidays for different religions, such as Eid al-Fitr, and meets with his counterparts, such as the Chief Rabbi of Serbia.[53] However, it could be argued that the primary actors in facilitating interfaith dialogue in the country are individual priests and other members of the Church from around the country who engage in it based on their own initiatives, such as by organizing and/or participating in numerous public lectures, seminars, and similar events.

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[49] It should be noted here that the *Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church* also showed a lot of tensions within Eastern Orthodoxy. Namely, four autocephalous Orthodox churches were absent and others were split internally over their stances towards the Council (see Karin Hofmeisterová, "Ecclesiastical nationalism and primacy in world Orthodoxy: the case of the Serbian Church at the pan-Orthodox Council in Crete," *Religion State and Society* 47(2019): 341–357 about the Serbian Orthodox Church's stance towards it).

[50] Dušan Jerotijević, "Srpska pravoslavna crkva u međunarodnim odnosima sa posebnim osvrtom na odnose sa Ruskom pravoslavnom crkvom," *Crkvene studije* 17(2020): 221–240.

[51] Beta, "Conference of European Churches Assembly in Serbia," *N1*, May 31, 2018, https://n1info.rs/english/news/a392643-cec-opens-assembly-in-novi-sad/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[52] Pravoslavlje, n.d. https://pravoslavlje.spc.rs/hriscanski-svet/ (accessed January 17, 2023).

[53] Srpska pravoslavna crkva (SPC), September 20, 2021. http://arhiva.spc.rs/sr/patrijarh_srpski_primio_glavnog_rabina_jevrejske_zajednice_srbije.html (accessed January 17, 2023).

Representing Serbia

While the Serbian Orthodox Church no longer represents Serbia, Serbs, or their interests as it did during the 16th and 17th centuries, the fact of the matter is that it still very much represents the country, though in a somewhat different capacity. The reason for this is the fact that the Church is so closely tied to Serbian national identity and culture that it is impossible to envision one without the other, and so the Church represents one of the key non-state actors in promoting Serbian culture abroad, both on its own, "as an intermediary," and as a partner of the state. Namely, there are several instances of it working with the state, like it co-financing along with the Republic of Serbia the opening of the *Serbian Cultural and Informative Centre "Lukijan Mušicki"* in Karlovci, Croatia (the center is even named after the famous Serbian Orthodox Bishop in Karlovci), or it acting as an intermediary connecting the government with its diaspora because of the Church's close ties with the Serbian community abroad. Of course, the Church also helps organize events, promotions, and exhibitions that help present Serbian culture, but even when it isn't involved directly, the religious heritage of Serbia, of which it is the custodian, is still a prominent actor in these promotions; for her doctoral dissertation, Vjera Mujović-Prajs researched the cultural diplomacy of Serbia and its role in changing the image of the country abroad following the 1990s, and she listed dozens of exhibitions of religious heritage, including photos of frescoes, monasteries, and other cultural artifacts. Additionally, she noted concerts of religious music that had a positive impact on promoting Serbia and altering its image. However, what further illustrates the Serbian Orthodox Church's importance in representing Serbian culture and its role in Serbia's diplomatic relations is the fact that Mujović-Prajs interviewed several of Serbia's senior diplomats who acknowledged the points mentioned here. Ambassador Ljiljana Nikšić singled out Serbia's Orthodox monasteries as a significant cultural resource for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and identified the Serbian Orthodox Church as a potential donor and partner in promoting Serbian culture abroad. Ambassador Ognjen Pribević highlighted the Church as a notable partner due to its ability to connect the state with Serbs living and working abroad.[54]

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[54] Vjera Mujović-Prajs, "Kulturna diplomatija kao činilac promene imidža Republike Srbije" (PhD diss., Singidunum University, 2019).

Instead of a Conclusion

As we have already mentioned, following the religious reawakening after the fall of the socialist regime, the Serbian Orthodox Church gained a prominent role in Serbian society and became an important non-state actor and partner for the state. Indeed, despite Serbia being a secular state and not having a state religion, the Church to this day remains an important actor in Serbia's relations with other countries, which is why it is important to understand its role in international relations. And, as this article pointed out, there are several ways in which it is involved because it is: 1) both a passive and active actor in Serbia's foreign policy efforts, 2) a supporting actor in Serbia's diplomatic relations with other countries, be it through advising Serbia's diplomats and foreign diplomats in Serbia or by supporting Serbia's efforts abroad, 3) a religious diplomacy actor in its own right that represents Serbian culture and, by extension, Serbia abroad, 4) a custodian of Serbia's religious and cultural heritage that the state and/or other institutions utilize as a resource to promote Serbia and Serbian culture abroad, and 5) an organizer of various activities that, though not as prominent for international relations, still shape the way in which people in the country see and interact with others. So, while it might not even be the most important non-state actor in the country, the Serbian Orthodox Church still represents an important actor in Serbia's foreign policy and relations with other countries, which is why more attention should be paid to it, to its role in Serbia's relations with other countries, and to the Church's own religious diplomacy efforts.

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Research Article

Doğu-Batı Karşılaştırmaları: Bosna Hersek'in Kültürel Çeşitliliği

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Abstract:

East-West Comparisons: Cultural Diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Bosnia and Herzegovina, situated at the crossroads of Eastern and Western cultural influences, boasts a rich cultural tapestry shaped by its unique history. This paper explores how these influences have molded its cultural diversity. The long Ottoman period left a lasting Eastern impact on architecture, attire, and cuisine. Simultaneously, Bosnia and Herzegovina engaged with Christianity and European elements, further enriching its cultural landscape. Ethnic groups such as Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats maintain distinct identities while fostering interactions, creating a unique mosaic culture. This cultural wealth reflects the enduring legacy of Eastern and Western paradigms blending harmoniously. A Bosnian proverb, "Knowing the depth of the river after crossing the bridge" (Most preći, pa vidjeti koliko je rijeka duboka), captures this sentiment, symbolizing unity through the historic Mostar bridge. This article delves into the cultural diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina through a historical and sociological lens.
Keywords: Balkans, East-West comparisons, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cultural sociology, Westernism and Modernism, Orientalism

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Giriş

Balkanların Osmanlı Dönemi, bölgenin tarihinde bir dönüm noktası oluşturarak, sosyopolitik, kültürel ve ekonomik manada kalıcı etkiler bırakmıştır. Bu geç dönem 14. yüzyılın sonlarından başlayarak 20. yüzyılın başlarına kadar sürmüş, çeşitli medeniyetler arasında karmaşık etkileşimlere sahne olmuş ve Balkanları kültürel sentezin bir eriyik tenceresine dönüştürmüştür. Osmanlı'nın Balkanlar'a yayılması 1389'da Kosova Meydan Muharebesi'nden önce başlamıştır, dönüştürücü bir dönemin habercisi olmuştur. Ardından gelen fetihler, günümüzdeki Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Sırbistan, Bosna ve Arnavutluk'u içeren toprakların Osmanlı etkisi altına girmesine yol açmıştır. Osmanlı yönetimi, millet sistemi olarak bilinen bir sistem uygulamış ve imparatorluk içinde dini ve etnik topluluklara bir dereceye kadar özerklik tanımış, çeşitli kültürlerin mozaik bir biçimde bir araya gelmesine olanak tanımıştır. Osmanlı dönemi, sanat, mimari ve bilimde bir gelişme dönemine tanıklık etmiş, büyük camilerin, köprülerin ve sarayların inşasıyla kendini göstermiştir. Osmanlı mimarisinin karmaşık tasarımları ve karakteristik minareleri, Balkan manzarasının ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak günümüze kadar varlığını sürdürmektedir. Aynı zamanda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, bölgenin mutfak gelenekleri, dil ve toplumsal normları üzerinde de kalıcı bir etki bırakarak günümüze kadar uzanan bir kültürel birleşimi yaratmıştır.[1]

Ancak, Balkanlar'daki Osmanlı dönemi çatışmasız geçmemiştir. Çeşitli etnik ve dini gruplar, özerklik veya bağımsızlık arayışlarıyla periyodik isyanlar ve ayaklanmalarla karşılaşmıştır. Özellikle 19. yüzyıl ortalarındaki Tanzimat reformları, imparatorluğu modernleştirmeyi amaçlasa da, etkisi Balkanlar'da karışık olmuş, hem istikrarı artırmış hem de milliyetçilik duygularını körüklemiştir. [Özellikle 1789 Fransız Devrimi, Balkanlardaki Osmanlı'nın yönetim şeklini derinden etkilemiştir. Milliyetçilik cereyanına katılan bu halklar birer birer Osmanlı'ya başkaldırmış ve kendi ulus devletlerini kurmak için gayret etmişlerdir.] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 20. yüzyılın başlarında yaşadığı çöküş, askeri yenilgiler ve içsel çalkantılarla belirlenmiş, sonunda Balkan bölgelerinin ayrılmasına yol açmıştır. Ancak, Osmanlı döneminin mirası, bölgenin çeşitli kültürel, dini ve mimari dokusunda varlığını sürdürmektedir. Çeşitli toplulukların bir arada yaşaması, Osmanlı altyapısının kalıntıları ve Balkan toplumlarının sentez niteliğindeki doğası, bu tarihi dönemin kalıcı etkisine işaret etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, Balkanlar'daki Osmanlı dönemi, fetih,

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[1] Wayne S. Vucinich, "The nature of Balkan society under Ottoman rule." *Slavic Review* 21. (4), 1962, s. 597-616.

kültürel alışveriş ve direnişin karmaşık bir etkileşimini temsil etmektedir. Çeşitli etnik kimliklerden ve kültürlerden beslenen bu dönemin anlaşılması, Balkanları günümüzde tanımlayan karmaşık dinamiklerin kavranması açısından önemlidir.[2]

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna-Hersek'teki idari sistemi, bölgenin tarihinde önemli bir rol oynamış ve coğrafyanın sosyo-politik dokusunu derinden etkilemiştir. Bu metinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna-Hersek'teki idari yapısı incelenecek ve bu sistemin bölgedeki uzun süreli etkileri üzerinde durulacaktır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna-Hersek'teki idari sistemi, millet sistemi adı verilen bir yapıyı içermekteydi. Bu sistem, farklı dini ve etnik topluluklara kendi iç işlerinde bir dereceye kadar özerklik tanımaktaydı. İmparatorluk, Müslüman, Hristiyan ve Yahudi toplulukları arasında birçok millet oluşturarak, bu topluluklara kendi iç işlerini düzenleme yetkisi tanımıştır. Bu durum, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok kültürlü yapısının bir yansımasıydı ve bölgenin etnik çeşitliliğini koruma amacını taşımaktaydı. Osmanlı döneminde Bosna-Hersek, eyalet (vilayet) düzeyinde idari birimlere ayrılmıştı. Bu vilayetler, merkezi hükümet tarafından atanmış bir vali tarafından yönetiliyordu. Vali, askeri ve sivil yönetimi bir arada kontrol ederken, yerel yönetim ise kadılar ve belediye meclisleri gibi kurumlar aracılığıyla sağlanmaktaydı. Bu sistem, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun genel idari modeline paralel olarak işlemekteydi.[3] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna-Hersek'teki idari sistemi, geniş bir coğrafyanın karmaşık ve çeşitli yapısını yönetmeye yönelik bir çaba olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak, bu sistem, zamanla değişen siyasi ve toplumsal dinamiklere uyum sağlayamamış, özellikle 19. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru çözülmeye başlamıştır.[4] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna-Hersek'teki idari sistemi, bölgenin tarihinde derin izler bırakmış ve kültürel çeşitliliğin korunmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Ancak, zaman içindeki değişen koşullar ve dış etkenler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun zayıflamasına ve sonrasında çökmesine yol açmıştır. Bu dönemin idari mirası, günümüz Bosna-Hersek'inin sosyo-politik yapısını anlamada önemli bir referans noktası oluşturmaktadır.[5]

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[2] Bernard Lory, "The Ottoman legacy in the Balkans". *Entangled Histories of the Balkans-Volume Three*. Brill, 2015, s. 355-405.

[3] Ivan Balta, "The Development of Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Boundaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina". *Kadim* (1), 2021, s. 133-150.

[4] Nedim Filipović, "OcaklikTimars in Bosnia and Herzegovina". *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, No: (36), 1987, s. 149-180.

[5] Ahmet Alibašić, "Bosnia and Herzegovina". In *The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*, 2014, s. 429-474.

Balkanlar, tarih boyunca farklı medeniyetlerin kesişim noktasında bulunan bir coğrafyadır ve bu özelliğiyle etnik ve sosyolojik açıdan zengin bir yapıya ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Bu kısa değini de Balkanlar'ın etnik ve sosyolojik yapısı üzerinde odaklanarak, bu bölgenin çeşitlilikle şekillenen zengin bir mirasa sahip olduğu da incelenmelidir. Balkanlar, tarih boyunca Roma, Bizans, Osmanlı gibi büyük imparatorluklara ev sahipliği yapmış ve bu farklı kültürlerin izlerini taşımaktadır. Bu izler, bölgenin etnik çeşitliliğini büyük ölçüde etkilemiştir. Sırbistan, Hırvatistan, Bosna-Hersek, Arnavutluk gibi ülkelerde yaşayan Sırplar, Hırvatlar, Boşnaklar, Arnavutlar gibi çeşitli etnik gruplar, kendi kültürel miraslarını sürdürerek bölgenin dokusunu zenginleştirmişlerdir.[6] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uzun süreli hükümdarlığı, Balkanlar'ın sosyal ve dini yapısını önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Millet sistemi adı verilen bu sistem, farklı dini gruplara (Müslümanlar, Hristiyanlar, Yahudiler) özerklik tanımış ve bu grupların kendi iç işlerini yönetmelerine izin vermiştir. Bu da Balkanlar'ın dini çeşitliliğini ve hoşgörüsünü şekillendirmiştir.[7] Balkanlar, aynı coğrafi bölgede bir arada yaşayan farklı etnik gruplar arasında zaman zaman gerginliklere de sahne olmuştur. Ancak, bu bölge aynı zamanda etnik çeşitliliğin bir zenginlik olarak görüldüğü bir ortam da sunmaktadır. Bu zenginlik, folklor, müzik, dans ve yemek kültüründe kendini gösterir.[8] Farklı kültürlerin, dinlerin ve geleneklerin iç içe geçtiği bu bölge, karmaşıklığı ve çeşitliliği ile bilinir. Bu çeşitlilik, Balkanlar'ı benzersiz kılan ve keşfedilmeye değer bir coğrafya haline getiren önemli bir unsurdur.[9]

Balkanlar'ın sınırları, çeşitli ve zıt tanımlamalar nedeniyle geniş çapta tartışmalıdır. Bölgenin bileşenleri konusunda evrensel bir anlaşma sağlanmamıştır. Birçok tanıma göre, Balkanlar terimi, Arnavutluk, Bosna-Hersek, Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Kosova, Karadağ, Kuzey Makedonya, Avrupa Türkiye ve Hırvatistan ile Sırbistan'ın büyük bir kısmını kapsar. Bazen bu terim, Romanya'nın ve Slovenya'nın güney kısımlarını da içerecek şekilde genişletilebilir. Bazı tanımlara göre, topraklarının küçük bir bölümü (Trieste Eyaleti) Yarımada'da yer alsa da genel olarak İtalya hariç tutulmuştur.[10] Balkan kelimesinin kökeni belirsizdir; Türkçe bālk

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[6] Franke Wilmer, "Identity, culture, and historicity: The social construction of ethnicity in the Balkans". *World Affs*. Vol. (160), 1997, s. 3.

[7] Simeon Evstatiev, "Milletic secularism in the Balkans: Christianity, Islam, and identity in Bulgaria". *Nationalities Papers*. No: 47 (1), 2019, s. 87-103.

[8] Paula M. Pickering, "Generating social capital for bridging ethnic divisions in the Balkans: Case studies of two Bosniak cities". *Ethnic and racial Studies*, No: 29 (1), 2006, s. 79-103.

[9] Bilgehan Atsız Gökdağ, "Balkanlar: etnik karmaşanın dilsel boyutları". *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, No: (32), 2012, s. 1-27.

[10] Halil Inalcik, "Türkler ve Balkanlar". *Balkanlar Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri*, Eren Yayınları, İstanbul 1993, s. 9-32.

'çamur' (Proto-Türkçe 'bal çamur, kil; kalın veya yapışkan maddeden türemiştir.) ve Türkçe son ek olan 'bataklık ormanı' ile ilgili olabilir.[11] "Balkanlar" terimi esas olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde kullanılmıştır. Hem Osmanlı Türkçesinde hem de modern Türkçede balkan 'ormanlık dağlar zinciri' anlamına gelir.[12] 16. yüzyılın sonuna gelindiğinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Anadolu'dan Trakya üzerinden Balkanlar'a doğru genişleyerek bölgenin hâkim gücü haline gelmişti. Balkanlar'daki birçok insan en büyük halk kahramanlarını Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun saldırı ya da geri çekilme dönemine yerleştirir.[13] Örnek olarak; Yunanlılar için Konstantin XI Palaiologos ve Kolokotronis; Sırplar için ise Miloš Obilić, Tsar Lazar ve Karadjordje; Arnavutlar adına George Kastrioti Skanderbeg; etnik Makedonlar için Nikola Karev ve Goce Delčev, Bulgarlar için Vasil Levski, Georgi Sava Rakovski ve Hristo Botev ve Hırvatlar için Nikola Šubić Zrinjski ön plana çıkmış halk kahramanlarıdır. [Osmanlı'ya başkaldırıp isyan etmişlerdir.] Fatma Sel Turhan "1826'daki Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın kaldırılması ve bu olayın yarattığı etkiler üzerine yaptığı çalışmada, özellikle kaldırmanın vilayetlerdeki tepkilerine odaklanmıştır. Aynı zamanda fark etmiştir ki, Osmanlı vilayetleri arasında Bosna, şehir ve bölgelerinin uzun bir süre boyunca sakinleştirilemediği en güçlü tepkiyi göstermiştir. Arşiv belgelerine kısa bir göz atma, isyan döneminin dalgalı bir çizgi izlediğini, kısa süreli bastırma dönemlerini takip eden tekrarlayan tepkilerle karakterize olduğunu göstermektedir."[14] Son birkaç yüzyıl içinde, Balkanlar ve çevresindeki Avrupa'da sıklıkla yaşanan Osmanlı savaşları ve Osmanlı'nın ekonomik ilerlemenin ana akışından karşılaştırmalı olarak izole olmasından kaynaklanan durum, Balkanlar'ın Avrupa içinde en az gelişmiş bölge olarak kabul edilmesine neden olmuştur. [Bu tezin ne kadar doğru olup olmadığı ciddi bir tartışma konusudur. İç Balkanlar Osmanlı'dan önce de Avrupa'nın birçok bölgesine göre daha az gelişmiş idi.] Bu durum, Avrupa'nın ticari ve siyasi ağırlık merkezinin Atlantik'e doğru kaymasını yansıtmaktadır. Halil İnalcık'a göre, Balkanların nüfusu, 16. yüzyılın sonlarındaki yüksek bir seviyeden,

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[11] Marek Stachowski, "Current Trends in Altaic Linguistics", *European Balkan(s), Turkic bal(yk) and the Problem of Their Original Meanings*. 2013, https://www.academia.edu/5693478/European%20Balkan%20s%20Turkic%20bal%20yk%20and%20the%20problem%20of%20their%20original%20meanings (22.12.2023).

[12] Diran Kélékian, "بالقان balqan". *Dictionnaire Turc-Français (in French)*. Mihran. Chaîne de montagnes couvered de forêts. Geogr. Le mont Hæmus; le Balkan, 1911, s. 247.

[13] Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The 1912-13 Balkan War and the Siege of Edirne". *Middle Eastern Studies*. No: 40 (4), July 2004, s. 59-78.

[14] Fatma Sel Turhan, *The Ottoman Empire and the Bosnian Uprising: Janissaries, Modernisation and Rebellion in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014, s. 1-30.

18. yüzyılın ortalarında sadece 3 milyona düşen bir tahminle, Osmanlı belgesel kanıtlarına dayanmaktadır.[15]

Bu makale, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları perspektifinden Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bosna-Hersek coğrafi konumu ve tarihi geçmişi itibariyle hem Doğu hem de Batı kültürleriyle etkileşimde bulunmuştur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uzun süreli hükümeti, ülkeyi Doğu kültürü ile yoğurmuş, ancak aynı zamanda Hristiyanlık ve Avrupa kültürüyle de etkileşime geçmiştir. Bu etkileşim, Bosna-Hersek'i benzersiz kılan bir mozaik kültürünün oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Bu makale, Doğu ve Batı kültürlerinin etkileşiminin Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel zenginliğine nasıl yansıdığını ve bu çeşitliliğin tarih, coğrafya ve toplumsal dinamiklerle nasıl şekillendiğini ele alacaktır. Bu bağlamda, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları bağlamında ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenecek ve ülkenin tarihsel birikimleriyle olan derin etkileşimleri anlamaya odaklanacaktır.

Şarkiyatçılık Bağlamında Doğu-Batı Karşılaştırmaları ve Balkanlar

Sosyolojide Doğu-Batı ikiliği, Doğu ve Batı dünyaları arasında algılanan farkı ifade eder. Coğrafi sınırlarından ziyade kültürel ve dini ayrımlar nedeniyle, Doğu ve Batı tanımları sabit değildir; bunlar, terimi kullanan bireylerin benimsediği kriterlere bağlı olarak değişir. Doğu-Batı ikilemi, Yakın Doğu/ Orta Doğu (Kafkaslar hariç Batı Asya, bazen "Büyük Orta Doğu"daki ülkeleri de içerir) ve Uzak Doğu (Doğu, Kuzey ve Güneydoğu Asya, bazen de Güney Asya ile birlikte) olarak tanımlanan üç "doğuyu" vurgular, bu da coğrafi sınırların ötesinde kültürel ayrımları içerir. Samuel P. Huntington'ın 1996 tarihli "Medeniyetler Çatışması" adlı eserinden uyarlanan "Batı dünyası", turkuaz renkte, Batı ile ilişkili farklı medeniyetleri içeren Latin Amerika ve Ortodoks Dünyası'nı içerir. Japonya, Çin ve Batı'nın etkileşimini tasvir eden bir tablo (Shiba Kōkan, 18. yüzyılın sonları) içinde yine doğuda yer almaktadır. Bu kavram, işletme, ekonomi, uluslararası ilişkiler, dilbilim gibi alanlarda yapılan çalışmalarda eleştirilmiştir, çünkü bölgesel karmaşıklığı/ mozaikliği ve melezliği [hybridity] göz ardı ettiği düşünülmektedir.[16]

Kavramsal olarak sınırlar, coğrafi değil kültürel temellere dayanır. Bu nedenle, Avustralya ve Yeni Zelanda, coğrafi olarak doğuda olmalarına

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[15] Suraiya Faroqhi and Donald Quataert, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge University Press. 1997, s. 652.

[16] William H. McNeil1, "Western Civ in World Politics: What We Mean by the West?". https://www.fpri.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/WH-McNeil-What-We-Mean-by-the-West.pdf. 1997, s. 513-514. (22.12.2023).

rağmen, genellikle Batı kültürüne dâhil edilir. Aynı şekilde, İslam ülkeleri, konumlarına bakılmaksızın genellikle Doğu kategorisine yerleştirilir. Ancak, bu ikilemi tam olarak yansıtmayan birkaç Müslüman çoğunluğa sahip bölge, özellikle kaynak belirtilmeli, Avrupa'da mevcuttur.[17] Kültürel çeşitliliğin yoğun olduğu bölgeler, örneğin Bosna-Hersek, vatandaşların etnik veya dini kökenlerine bağlı olarak kendilerini Doğu veya Batı olarak tanımlayabildiği yerlerdir. Bununla birlikte, kültür çizgisinin belirlenmesi özellikle zordur. Ayrıca, dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde yaşayan insanlar sınırları farklı algılar. Örneğin, bazı Avrupalı bilim adamları Rusya'yı Doğu olarak tanımlarken, çoğu insan Rusya'nın Batı'nın ikinci tamamlayıcı parçası olduğu konusunda hemfikirdir. İslam milletleri ise Rusya'yı ve diğer Hristiyan ağırlıklı milletleri Batı olarak görür. Cevapsız bir soru da Sibirya'nın (Kuzey Asya) "Doğulu" mu yoksa "Batılı" mı olduğudur.[18] [Örneğin Kemal Tahir Rusya'yı Doğulu bir devlet olarak görmektedir.] Terim hem "Doğu" hem de "Batı" ülkelerinde kullanılmıştır. Japon sinolog Tachibana Shiraki, 1920'lerde, Asya'yı (Orta Asya ve Batı Asya hariç olmak üzere Doğu Asya, Güney Asya ve Güneydoğu Asya'yı) birleştirmenin ve kültürel olarak birleşebilecek bir "Yeni Doğu" oluşturarak Batı'ya karşı dengeleme ihtiyacından bahsetmiştir.][19] Japonya, Pan-Asyacılık olarak bilinen kavramı II. Dünya Savaşı boyunca propaganda amacıyla kullanmaya devam etmiştir.[20] Çin'de, Soğuk Savaş sırasında Mao Zedong'un 1957'de yaptığı bir konuşmada konuyu şöyle özetlemiştir: "Bu iki dünya arasındaki bir savaş. Batı Rüzgârı Doğu Rüzgârına galip gelemez. Doğu Rüzgârı Batı Rüzgârına galip gelecektir."[21] Batılı yazarlara göre, 1940'larda saldırganlık, temelde Batı karşıtı veya Batı dışı olarak algılanan, "hüsrana uğramış milliyetçilik" kavramıyla bağlantılı hale geldi; bu görüşü savunan sosyolog Frank Furedi'dir.[22] Edward Said'in 1978 tarihli "Oryantalizm" kitabı, bu bölünmeyi daha da derinleştirmiştir.[23] Daha yakın zamanlarda, ayrım, İslami bir "Doğu" ile Amerikalı ve Avrupalı bir "Batı" arasında var olduğu şeklinde yeniden öne sürülmektedir.

[17] Stjepan Meštrovic, *Balkanization of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism*. Routledge, 1994, s. 61.

[18] Felicitas MacGilchrist, "Metaphorical politics: Is Russia western?". *Nation in Formation: Inclusion and Exclusion in Central?* https://www.academia.edu/616571. (22.12.2023). s. 1-5.

[19] Li Lincoln, *The China factor in Modern Japanese thought: the case of Tachibana Shiraki, 1881–1945*. Suny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Suny Press. 1996, s. 104-105.

[20] Akira Iriye, *Global community: the role of international organizations in the making of the contemporary world*. University of California Press. 2002, s. 87.

[21] Mao Zedong, Kau, Michael Y. M.; Leung, John K. (eds.). *The Writings of Mao Zedong, 1949–1976: January 1956 - December 1957*. Writings of Mao Zedong. Vol. 2. M. E. Sharpe, 1992, s. 775.

[22] Frank Füredi, *Colonial wars and the politics of Third World nationalism*. I. B. Tauris, 1994, s. 115-116.

[23] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. Penguin Classics, London 2003, s. 8.

Mark T. Berger, "Doğu'nun Zaferi?" adlı eserinde konuyu "Doğu Asya mucizesi"nin incelenmesiyle ilgili olarak şöyle dile getirmektedir: "Doğu-Batı ikiliğinin tarihsel gücü ve bağlantılı olduğu sabit kültür/ ırk anlayışları, bölgedeki ulusal elitlere, kendi 'ulusları' adına değil, aynı zamanda Asya ve Asyalılar adına da konuşma fırsatı tanıdı. Kuzey Amerika ve/veya Batı hegemonyasına karşı çıkarak hem maddi hem de söylemsel düzeyde meydan okuma amacı güden Batılı akademisyenler, sonuç olarak Asya'daki iktidar sahiplerinin elit anlatılarına yönelik eleştirileri bir kenara bırakıp, belirli bir grubun özgün temsilcileri olarak Batılı olmayanları öne çıkaran sayısız örnek bulunmaktadır."[24] Bu durum, ulusal ya da toplumsal oluşumları etkileyerek ayrıca Doğu-Batı ikiliğinin sürekli kullanımına katkıda bulunmuştur. Doğu-Batı ikileminde; medeniyetler çatışması, küresel kuzey ve küresel güney, Inglehart-Welzel dünyanın kültürel haritası, doğu despotizmi, oryantalizm kavramları sıklıkla dile getirilmektedir. "Doğu-Batı Karşılaştırmaları" terimi, genellikle Doğu ve Batı kültürleri, toplumları ve düşünce sistemleri arasındaki farklılıkları veya benzerlikleri inceleyen bir konsepti ifade eder. Bu karşılaştırmalar, coğrafi sınırları aşan geniş bir perspektife sahiptir ve genellikle kültürel, tarihsel, sosyolojik ve ekonomik açılardan ele alınır. Bu karşılaştırmalar, genellikle iki büyük kültür bölgesi olan Doğu ve Batı arasındaki etkileşimleri ve bu etkileşimlerin toplumları nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlamak amacını taşır.[25] Batı kültürü, genellikle Avrupa, Kuzey Amerika ve Avustralasya bölgelerini içerirken, Doğu kültürü genellikle Asya, Orta Doğu ve Afrika'nın bazı bölgelerini kapsar. Bu karşılaştırmalar, dil, sanat, din, siyaset, ekonomi ve diğer sosyal unsurlar bağlamında incelenebilir. Ayrıca, bu karşılaştırmalar, kültürel alışverişin, göçün ve küresel etkileşimin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan karmaşık ilişkileri de anlamaya yöneliktir. Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarının amacı, farklı kültürlerin anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunarak kültürler arası iletişimi artırmak, önyargıları azaltmak ve kültürel çeşitliliğin zenginliğini vurgulamaktır. Ayrıca, bu karşılaştırmalar, kültürel etkileşimin dinamiklerini anlamak ve küresel dünyada daha açık fikirli bir bakış açısı geliştirmek için önemli araçlar sunar.[26]

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[24] Mark T. Berger, "The triumph of the East? The East-Asian Miracle and post-Cold War capitalism". In Borer, Douglas A. (ed.). *The rise of East Asia: critical visions of the Pacific century*. Routledge. (1997). s. 260-276.

[25] Xu Shijing, "11 Bridging the East and West dichotomy: harmonising Eastern learning with Western knowledge". *Education reform in China: Changing concepts, contexts and practices*, No: 69, 2013, s. 224.

[26] Igor Piliaiev, "The east-west dichotomy in the globalizing perspective", *Ukrainian Policymaker*, No: 9(9), 2021, s. 86-92.

Şarkiyatçılık, Doğu kültürlerinin Batı tarafından incelendiği bir disiplindir ve bu bağlamda Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Şarkiyatçılık, özellikle 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda, Batılı bilim adamlarının Doğu kültürleri üzerine yaptıkları çalışmaların bir ürünüdür. Bu çalışmalar, genellikle Doğu'yu "egzotik" ve "gizemli" bir şekilde tasvir ederek, Batı'nın kendi kültürü üzerinden Doğu'yu anlamaya çalıştığı bir perspektife dayanmaktadır. Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, özellikle Edward Said'in "Oryantalizm" adlı eserinde eleştiri konusu olmuştur. Said, Şarkiyatçılığın genellikle Batılı egemenlik ve üstünlük duygularını pekiştirdiğini ve Doğu kültürlerini yanlış bir şekilde temsil ettiğini savunmuştur. Şarkiyatçılık, Batı'nın Doğu'yu anlama çabalarında, genellikle önyargılar, stereotipler ve Batı merkezli bakış açılarından kaynaklanan birçok sorunu gün yüzüne çıkarmıştır. Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, kültürler arası etkileşimlerin karmaşıklığını anlamak için önemlidir. Ancak, bu karşılaştırmaların objektif olmayan bir şekilde yapılmaması ve kültürler arası diyalogun temelinde önyargıların değil, karşılıklı anlayışın yatması gerektiği unutulmamalıdır. Bu bağlamda, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarının eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla yapılması ve kültürler arası ilişkilerde adil ve dengeli bir perspektifin benimsenmesi önemlidir.[27]

Oryantalizm, genellikle Batılı bilim adamlarının Doğu kültürlerini incelediği ve bu kültürleri anlama çabalarını ele alan bir akademik alan olarak tanımlanır. Ancak, bu kavram genellikle Asya ve Ortadoğu'ya odaklanan bir perspektifi ifade etse de, Balkanlar gibi diğer bölgeler de Oryantalizm bağlamında incelenebilir. Balkanlar, tarih boyunca farklı kültürlerin etkileşimine açık bir coğrafyada konumlanmıştır. Bu bölgedeki kültürlerin ve toplulukların karmaşıklığı, Oryantalizmin Balkan çalışmalarında nasıl bir rol oynadığını anlamamıza yardımcı olur. Balkan çalışmaları, genellikle bölgenin tarihini, kültürünü, dillerini, toplumsal dinamiklerini ve siyasi yapılarını inceleyen bir disiplindir. Ancak, Oryantalizmle ilişkilendirildiğinde, bu çalışmaların bazen Batı'nın Doğu'yu anlama çabalarının etkisi altında kaldığı veya Batı merkezli bir bakış açısına sahip olduğu eleştirisi yapılır. Balkanlar'ın Oryantalizm bağlamında incelenmesi, bu bölgenin tarihindeki Osmanlı etkisi, farklı etnik grupların etkileşimi ve kültürel çeşitliliğin nasıl algılandığı gibi konuları kapsayabilir. Ayrıca, Balkan çalışmalarında, Batı'nın bölgeye yönelik önyargıları ve stereotipleri de ele alınarak, buna karşı bir eleştiri geliştirilmesi önemlidir. Sonuç olarak, Oryantalizm ve Balkan çalışmaları, Batı'nın Doğu'yu anlama çabalarının ve bu anlayışın Balkanlar üzerindeki

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[27] Wang Ning, "Orientalism versus occidentalism?", *New Literary History*, No: 28(1), 1997, s. 57-67.

etkilerinin incelendiği disiplinlerdir. Eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla bu çalışmaların yapılması, kültürler arası diyalogun daha sağlıklı bir zeminde gelişmesine katkı sağlayabilir.[28] Balkanlar konusunda son dönemde özellikle; Maria Todorova, Nicolae Şerban Tanaşoca, Ivan Dorovský, Boris Shmelev, Dragoljub Dragojlović, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, Radovan Samardžić, Vaso Čubrilović, Kristian Sandfeld, Ioannis Papadrianos, Josef Matl, Konstantin Josef Jireček, Gerhard Gesemann, Gustav Weigand, Traian Stoianovich vb. araştırmacılar oldukça nitelikli çalışmalar yapmıştır.

"Balkanları Hayal Etmek", Bulgar akademisyen Maria Todorova'nın öncü bir eseridir. Oxford University Press tarafından Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde 22 Mayıs 1997'de yayınlanan ve 2009'da ikinci ve genişletilmiş baskısı yapılan kitap, yazarın başyapıtı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Kitap, Edward Said'in Oryantalizm kavramından esinlenerek Balkanizm kavramını geliştirmiştir.[29] Ancak, Todorova aynı zamanda Oryantalizm araştırmacılarının Batı'yı homojen bir sistem olarak nasıl özleştirdiğini vurgulamıştır. Yazar, Balkanizm'i bir tür Oryantalizm olarak değil, Balkanların temsiliyle ilgili bağımsız bir yapı olarak tanımlar. Bu ayrım, Avrupa sömürgeciliği ile içerideki tabiiyet arasındaki "kritik" biçimsel ayrıma dayanmaktadır. Todorova'ya göre, Avrupa'nın zıttı olarak hizmet eden Doğu'nun aksine, Balkanlar Avrupa'nın "içerideki Öteki"dir ve ne burada ne de orada olma gibi bir ara konumda bulunur. Ayrıca, Balkanlar'ı gerçek bir yer ve mekân olarak tanımlarken, Said'in Doğu'su bu şekilde tanımlanmamıştır. Kitap, Yugoslav Savaşları sırasında bölgenin damgalanmasına ve Balkanlar'a Avrupa merkezli bir perspektiften atfedilen anlaşılmaz çatışmaların ve barbarlığın kaçınılmazlığı damgasına yanıt olarak yazılmıştır. Todorova, Avrupalı olmayan bir konuma karşı bir cevap olarak, Balkanların karmaşıklığını ve gerçekliğini vurgulamayı amaçlamıştır.[30] Kitabın muhtevası "Balkanizm ve oryantalizm: Farklı kategoriler mi?, Balkanlar: Nomen, Öz adlandırma olarak Balkanlar, Balkanlar'ın keşfi, 1900'e kadar algılama örüntüleri, Keşiften icada, icattan sınıflandırmaya, Sınıflandırma ile siyaset arasında: Balkanlar ve Orta Avrupa miti, Balkanlar: Realia - Qu'est-ce qu'il y a de horse-texte?" bölümlerinden oluşmaktadır.[31]

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[28] K. E. Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan historiography". *The American Historical Review*, *105*(4), 2000, s. 1218-1233.

[29] Maria Todorova, *Balkanları Tahayyül Etmek*, Çev. Dilek Şendil, İletişim Yay. İstanbul 2022, s. 9.

[30] Anne Madelain, "Maria Todorova, Imaginaire des Balkans". *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest* No (44), 2013, s. 168-174.

[31] Todorova,, 2022, *a.g.e.*, s. 7.

Maria Todorova kendi kitabı hakkında şunları söylemiştir: "Balkanları Hayal Etmenin ana fikri, Balkanizm adını verdiğim, Balkanlara dair bir stereotip yaratan bir söylemin var olduğu ve siyasetin bu söylemle önemli ölçüde ve organik olarak iç içe geçmiş olduğudur. Bu fikirle karşı karşıya kaldıklarında insanlar biraz tedirgin olabilir, özellikle de siyaset sahnesinde... Bana en sevindirici yanıt, Balkanlar üzerine çok iyi ve kapsamlı yazılar yazan çok iyi bir İngiliz gazeteci olan Misha Glenny'den geldi: Biliyorsunuz, şimdi geriye dönüp baktığımda, gerçekten dürüst bir entelektüel tepki olan 'Balkanizm' suçuna girdim."[32] Maria Todorova'nın "Imagining the Balkans" başlıklı eseri, Balkanlar hakkındaki yaygın stereotipleri, Batı'nın bakış açısını ve bu stereotiplerin siyasetle nasıl iç içe geçtiğini sorgulayan önemli bir akademik katkı sunmaktadır. Ancak, kitap bazı önemli noktalarda eleştiriye maruz kalmaktadır. Todorova'nın eseri, Balkanlar'ın Batılı algılarına odaklanırken, yer yer kendi önyargılarına karşı duyarlılık eksikliği sergiler. Bazı eleştirmenlere göre, yazar, Batı'nın Balkanlar üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini vurgularken, kendi bakış açısını ve önyargılarını yeterince sorgulamamıştır. Bu, kitabın denge eksikliğine ve yer yer özgün perspektifi kaybetme riskine yol açabilir. Ayrıca, Todorova'nın eserindeki bazı kavramsal çerçeveler eleştirilmiştir. Özellikle, Balkanlar'ın Batı'nın "içerideki Öteki" olarak konumlandırılması fikri, bazı eleştirmenlere göre, eserin kendi içinde bir özdeşleşme tuzağına düşmesine neden olabilir. Bu tür genellemeler, bölgenin karmaşıklığını ve içsel çeşitliliğini yeterince yansıtamayabilir. Bununla birlikte, Todorova'nın eseri, Balkanlar hakkındaki düşünce kalıplarını sarsıcı bir şekilde sorgular ve bu bölgeye dair stereotipleri ele alarak akademik bir tartışmaya katkıda bulunur. Kitap, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarını ve Oryantalizm eleştirisini derinlemesine inceleyerek, bu konuda önemli bir çerçeve sunar. Sonuç olarak, "Imagining the Balkans", Balkanlar hakkındaki düşünsel önyargıları sorgulayan önemli bir çalışma olmasına rağmen, eleştirmenler tarafından daha dengeli bir perspektife ihtiyaç duyduğu ve kendi önyargılarına karşı daha eleştirel bir tutum alması gerektiği düşünülmektedir.

Şarkiyatçılık, Doğu kültürlerinin Batı tarafından anlaşılmaya çalışıldığı bir disiplindir ve bu bağlamda Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, kültürler arası etkileşimleri inceleyen önemli bir perspektifi ifade eder. Bu metin, özellikle Balkanlar üzerinden Şarkiyatçılık bağlamında Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarını ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Doğu ve Batı arasındaki karşılaştırmalar genellikle coğrafi değil, kültürel ve tarihsel ayrımlara

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[32] "Historian Maria Todorova employs unusual case study to explore the mechanisms of hero worship, nationalism and the processes and politics of historical memory", http://clasnews.clas.ufl.edu/news/clasnotes/9911/todorova.html s. 1-3. (22.12.2023).

dayanır. Samuel P. Huntington'ın "Medeniyetler Çatışması" teorisinden türeyen bu yaklaşım, kültürlerin farklılıklarını vurgular ve çatışmaların kökenini bu farklılıklara bağlar.[33] Ancak, bu tür genellemeler, genellikle karmaşık kültürlerin çeşitliliğini göz ardı edebilir. Balkanlar, tarih boyunca çeşitli kültürlerin etkisi altında kalmış bir bölgedir. Şarkiyatçılık bağlamında Balkanlar, özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun etkisi altında kalarak Doğu kültürleri ile Batı'nın etkileşimine bir örnek teşkil eder. Bu etkileşim, Balkan kültürlerinin karmaşıklığını ve çeşitliliğini şekillendirmiştir. Balkanlar'da Doğu ve Batı etkileşimi, özellikle mimari, geleneksel giyim ve yemek kültürü gibi alanlarda belirgin izler bırakmıştır. Ancak, bu etkileşim sadece maddi kültürle sınırlı değildir; aynı zamanda din, dil ve gelenekler gibi soyut unsurları da içerir. Şarkiyatçılık eleştirisi, genellikle Doğu kültürlerinin Batı bakış açısından nasıl çerçevelendiğini ve stereotipleştirildiğini vurgular. Balkanlar, bu bağlamda Osmanlı etkisi nedeniyle sıklıkla "öteki" olarak konumlandırılmış ve Batı'nın çatışma perspektifiyle değerlendirilmiştir. Şarkiyatçılık bağlamında Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, Balkanlar üzerinden incelendiğinde, kültürler arası etkileşim ve çatışmaların karmaşıklığını anlamak adına zengin bir alan sunar. Balkanlar konusuna şarkiyatçılığın tenkidi; Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarının eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla ele alınması gerekliliğini vurgular ve bizi Balkanlar'ın kültürel zenginliğini daha derinlemesine keşfetmeye yönlendirir.[34]

Bosna-Hersek: Kültürel Mozaik Üzerindeki Tarihî Yolculuk

Bosna-Hersek, tarihi boyunca hem Doğu hem de Batı kültürlerinin etkisi altında kalmış bir coğrafyadır. Bu nedenle, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği ve tarihî dokusunu anlamak açısından önemli bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uzun yıllar boyunca Bosna-Hersek'e hâkim olması, bölgenin Doğu kültürüyle yoğrulmasına neden oldu. Bu dönemde, Bosna-Hersek'te Osmanlı mimarisinin, geleneksel kıyafetlerin ve yemek kültürünün etkileri görülebilir. İslam'ın etkisiyle şekillenen mimari eserler, özellikle Bosna-Hersek'in tarihî şehirlerinde hala göze çarpmaktadır. Öte yandan, Bosna-Hersek, Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu'nun hâkimiyeti altında da kalmıştır.[35] Bu dönemde, bölge Batı etkisi altında modernleşme ve değişim sürecine girmiştir. Avrupa mimarisinin etkileri,

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[33] Mohammed M. Karabal, "Clash of Civilizations or Clash of Religions?". *American Journal of Islam and Society*, No: 11 (1), 1994, s. 132-135.

[34] Katherine E. Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan historiography". *The American Historical Review*, No: 105 (4), 2000, s. 1218-1233.

[35] Elissa Helms, "East and west kiss: gender, orientalism, and balkanism in Muslim-majority Bosnia-Herzegovina". *Slavic review*, No: 67(1), 2008, s. 88-119.

özellikle şehirlerin bazı bölgelerinde, Bosna-Hersek'in Batı'yla olan bağlarını yansıtmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu dönemde eğitim ve kültürel alanda yaşanan değişimler, Bosna-Hersek'i Batı normlarına daha yaklaştırmıştır. Bosna-Hersek, farklı etnik grupların bir arada yaşadığı bir ülkedir. Boşnaklar, Sırplar, Hırvatlar ve diğer etnik gruplar, kendi kültürel özelliklerini korurken, aynı zamanda birbirleriyle etkileşimde bulunmuşlardır. Bu durum, Bosna-Hersek'i bir kültür mozaiği haline getirmiştir.[36] Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, bu etnik çeşitliliğin içinde nasıl bir zenginlik yarattığını gösterir. Bosna-Hersek'te konuşulan diller arasında Boşnakça, Sırpça ve Hırvatça gibi Slav dilleri bulunmaktadır. Bu diller, tarihî olarak farklı kültürlerle etkileşimde bulunmuş ve benzer özelliklere sahiptir. Din açısından ise İslam, Ortodoksluk ve Katoliklik gibi farklı inançlar bulunmaktadır, bu da ülkenin dini çeşitliliğini ortaya koyar. Bosna-Hersek'in "Unik" durumu; Bosna-Hersek, Doğu ve Batı kültürlerinin organik bir birleşimini temsil eder. Bu birleşim, ülkenin kendine özgü bir kimlik geliştirmesine olanak tanımıştır. Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel zenginliğini ve bu zenginliğin bütünleştirici gücünü vurgular. Bosna-Hersek, tarihî geçmişi ve coğrafi konumu nedeniyle Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarının etkisi altında şekillenmiş bir ülkedir. Bu karşılaştırmalar, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel mozaik yapısını anlamak ve ülkenin benzersizliğini takdir etmek açısından önemlidir.[37]

Bosna-Hersek, zengin tarihî geçmişi ve kültürel mozaik yapısıyla Orta Avrupa ve Güneydoğu Avrupa'nın kesişim noktasında yer alan bir ülkedir. Bu coğrafyanın kalbinde bulunan Bosna-Hersek, tarih boyunca farklı medeniyetlere ev sahipliği yapmış ve bu etkileşimlerden biri olarak kendine özgü bir kimlik geliştirmiştir. Bosna-Hersek'in tarih sahnesine çıkışı, Orta Çağ'ın erken dönemlerine dayanmaktadır. Antik dönemde İliryalılar ve Keltler, bölgenin ilk yerleşimcileriydi. Ardından Roma İmparatorluğu'nun etkisi altına giren bölge, Hristiyanlık'ın kabulüyle Roma'nın bir parçası oldu. Bosna-Hersek, 14. yüzyılın ortalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hâkimiyetine girdi. Bu dönemde, bölge Osmanlı kültürü ve İslam'ın etkisi altında şekillendi. Saraybosna gibi şehirler, Osmanlı mimarisinin önemli örnekleriyle donatıldı. Osmanlı hâkimiyeti, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliğine katkıda bulunurken, aynı zamanda etnik gruplar arasında bir arada yaşama geleneğini de beraberinde getirdi. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında, Bosna-Hersek Avusturya-Macaristan

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[36] Kimberley Coles, "Ambivalent builders: Europeanization, the production of difference, and internationals in Bosnia-Herzegovina", *The new Bosnian mosaic*. Routledge, 2016, s. 255-272.

[37] Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting orientalisms: The case of former Yugoslavia." *Slavic review*, No: 54 (4), 1995, s. 917-931.

İmparatorluğu'nun kontrolüne geçti. Bu dönem, Batı etkisi altında modernleşme sürecini beraberinde getirdi.[38] I. Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından Bosna-Hersek, Sırp, Hırvat ve Sloven Krallığı (Yugoslavya Krallığı) içinde yer aldı. Ancak, II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında Nazi Almanyası'nın işgaliyle bölgede karmaşık bir siyasi atmosfer oluştu. II. Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından Yugoslavya'nın bir parçası olan Bosna-Hersek, 1990'larda Yugoslavya'nın dağılmasıyla bağımsızlığını ilan etti.[39] Ancak bu süreç, etnik temelli çatışmalara neden oldu. Bosna Savaşı (1992-1995), bölgede büyük acı ve kayıplara yol açtı. Dayton Anlaşması ile savaş sona erdi ve Bosna-Hersek bağımsız bir ülke olarak tanındı. Bugün Bosna-Hersek, kültürel çeşitliliği, tarihî zenginliği ve doğal güzellikleriyle dikkat çekmektedir. Saraybosna, Mostar ve Banja Luka gibi şehirler, tarihî eserleri ve kültürel mirasıyla ziyaretçilere zengin bir deneyim sunmaktadır. Ülke, geçmişin izlerini taşırken, geleceğe umutla bakmaktadır. AB ile ilişkilerini güçlendirmeye çalışan Bosna-Hersek, tarihî yolculuğunu modern dünyada sürdürmeye devam etmektedir.[40]

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Bosna'yı fethi, ülke tarihinde önemli bir dönüm noktasını simgeliyor ve siyasi ile kültürel açıdan köklü değişikliklere yol açtı. Osmanlılar, Bosna'nın tarihî adını ve toprak bütünlüğünü koruyarak, bölgeyi imparatorluğun ayrılmaz bir vilayeti haline getirdi.[41] Osmanlılar, Bosna'da bölgenin sosyo-politik yönetiminde bir dizi önemli değişiklik gerçekleştirdi. Bu değişiklikler arasında yeni bir toprak mülkiyeti sistemi, idari birimlerin yeniden düzenlenmesi ve sınıf ile dinsel bağlılığa göre karmaşık bir sosyal farklılaşma sistemi bulunmaktaydı.[42] Dört yüzyıllık Osmanlı yönetiminin, imparatorluğun fetihleri, Avrupalı güçlerle sık sık yapılan savaşlar, zorunlu ve ekonomik göçler ile salgın hastalıkların etkisiyle birlikte, Bosna'nın nüfus yapısı üzerinde ciddi bir etkisi oldu. Bu süreçte, yerli Bosna Kilisesi tamamen ortadan kaybolurken (görünüşe göre din değiştirme yoluyla), güçlü Hristiyan kilise örgütlerinin olmaması ve Ortodoks ile Katolik kiliseleri arasındaki sürekli rekabet nedeniyle Slavca konuşan yerli Müslüman bir topluluk ortaya çıktı. Bu topluluk, zamanla etnik ve dini gruplar arasında

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[38] Dzevada Susko, "EU enlargement and the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina: A brief historical sketch". *Epiphany*, No: 2 (1), 2009, s. 4-9.

[39] Mirza Buljubašić, "A Brief Introduction in Historical Cycles of Mass Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina". *International Journal on Rule of Law, Transitional Justice and Human Rights*, No: 9 (9), 2018, s. 91-109.

[40] Soeren Keil and Perry Valery, "Introduction: Bosnia and Herzegovina 20 Years after Dayton". *International Peacekeeping*, No: 22 (5), 2015, s. 1-8.

[41] Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*. Pan Books, 2002, s. 1.

[42] William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921, s. 464.

en büyüğü haline gelerek, Osmanlı döneminde İslam'ı benimseyen yerel halkı temsil etti. Osmanlılar, bu dönemde Hristiyanlara [Ortodoks ve Katolikler] "kâfir" anlamına gelen "gâvur" terimini kullanırken, İslamiyet'i seçenlere ise "Müslüman tebaa" ifadesini kullanmışlardır.[43] Bosnalı Fransiskanlar ve genel olarak Katolik nüfus, resmi imparatorluk kararnamelerine ve Osmanlı kanunlarına tam uygunluk gösteriyorlardı; ancak pratikte, bu genellikle güçlü yerel elitlerin keyfi yönetimini ve davranışlarını etkilemekten öteye gitmiyordu.[44] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Balkanlar'da (Rumeli) hâkimiyeti altında, Bosna, sınır vilayeti olmanın getirdiği baskılardan bir miktar kurtulmuş ve genel refah bir dönem yaşamıştır. Bölgede Saraybosna ve Mostar gibi birçok şehir kurulmuş ve büyümüş, böylece bölgesel ticaretin ve şehir kültürünün merkezleri haline gelmiştir. Bu şehirler, 1648 yılında Osmanlı gezgini Evliya Çelebi tarafından ziyaret edilmiştir. Osmanlı padişahları, Saraybosna ve Mostar gibi şehirlerde Boşnak sanatının birçok eserinin inşasını finanse etmişlerdir. Ülkede bulunan ilk kütüphane, medreseler, tekke ve zaviyeler, saat kulesi, Mostar Köprüsü, Eski Camii ve Gazi Hüsrev Bey Camii gibi mimari yapılar, bu dönemin önemli eserleri arasında yer almaktadır.[45] [Bosna'daki Osmanlı camileri şunlardır: Yusuf Paşa Camii, Vranduk Camii, Vidoriya Camii, Durali Bey Camii, Umolyani Camii, Osman Paşa Camii, Şişman İbrahim Paşa Camii, Şeyh Magribiya Camii, Süleymaniye Camii, Sultan III. Ahmed Camii, Sultan Abdülaziz Han Camii, Mehmed Paşa Kukavisa Camii, Muslihuddin Sekreksiya Camii, Koski Mehmed Paşa Camii, Karađoz Bey Camii, Kadın Camii, Lyubuški Küçük Eski Camii, Husein Kaptan Gradašević Camii, Hünkâr Camii, Haci Ahmet Dukat Camii, Haci Zulfikar Camii, Haci Perviz Camii, Haci Osmaniya Camii, Haci Salih Camii, Hacı Hasan Camii, Haci Kurt Camii, Hacı Ömer Camii, Hadadan Camii, Haci Begzad Camii, Gazi Hüsrev Bey Camii, Gazanferiya Camii, Osman Paşa Camii, Fetih Camii, Ferhad Paşa Camii, Eski Ahşap Camii, Esma Sultan Camii, Banya Luka Ferhad Paşa Camii, Çobaniya Camii, Begsuya Camii, Başçarşı Camii, Behram Bey Camii, Ahşap Camii, Ahmet Ağa Camii, Atik Sava Camii, Atik Behram Bey Camii, Atik Ali Paşa Camii, Atik Camii, Arnaudiya Camii, Alaca Camii, Ali Bey Kapetanović Camii, Ali Paşa Camii vb.][46] Bu kadar çok sayıda eserin Osmanlı'nın bölgeyi ne kadar mühimsediğini

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[43] Mitja Velikonja, *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia–Herzegovina*. Texas A&M University Press, 2003, s. 29-30.

[44] Malcolm, 2002, a.g.e., s. 17-18.

[45] M. H. Syed, S. S. Akhtar ve B. D. Usmani, *Concise History of Islam*. Na. Vij Books India Private Limited, 2011, s. 473.

[46] Mirsad Kalajdzic, *Bosna'da Osmanlı Dönemi Selatin Camileri*. Diss. Marmara Üniversitesi SBE. (Türkiye), 2006, s. 1-166.

göstermektedir. Bosna'daki kültürel anlamda en önemli yapılardan biri de meşhur Gazi Hüsrev Bey Kütüphanesi'dir. "Bosna sancak beyi Gazi Husrev Bey, Saraybosna'da yaptırdığı birçok cami, medrese, zâviye ve imaret nedeniyle bu şehrin ikinci kurucusu olarak kabul edilmektedir. 943 yılında düzenlenen vakfiyesinde, medrese inşası için ayrılan paranın artakalan kısmıyla, tüm öğrencilerin ve özellikle ilimle meşgul olanların faydalanabileceği değerli kitapların satın alınarak bir kütüphanenin kurulacağını belirtir (vasiyetnâmenin Arapça ve Boşnakça tercümesi için bk. Mujezinović - Traljić, 450 Godina Gazi Husrev, s. 227-239)" [47] Ayrıca bu kütüphane Avrupa'daki Osmanlıca el yazma eserlerin en çok bulunduğu yapıdır. "Gazi Husrev Bey Kütüphanesi'nde, Doğu ve Batı dillerinde yazılmış 50.000'den fazla eser bulunmaktadır. Bu eserlerin yaklaşık 20.000'i İslamî ilimlerle ilgilidir. Bosnalı yazarların 1878'den bu yana yazıp yayınladıkları hemen hemen tüm kitaplar, dergiler, gazeteler, salnameler ve diğer eserler burada mevcuttur. Arapça, Farsça ve Türkçe yazmalar arasında sayılan 7500 kadar eser bulunmakta olup bunların bir kısmı mecmua (kodeks) formatındadır. Ayrıca, Arap harfleriyle yazılmış bazı Boşnakça metinler de mevcuttur. Bosna'nın yetiştirdiği Hasan Ziyâî, Ali Dede Boşnak, Muhammed İbn Mûsâ Allâmek, Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî, Münîr-i Belgradî, Mustafa Akhisârî, Eyyûbîzâde Mustafa, İbrâhim Opiyaç, Mustafa Şevki Başeski, Muhammed Enverî Kadiç ve Hüseyin Braçkoviç gibi âlimlerin müellif hattı eserleri de bu kütüphanede bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, Bosna'nın Osmanlı dönemine ait 4000 belge, 1400 vakfiye ve Bosna mahkemesine ait 1552-1852 yıllarını kapsayan seksen altı adet şer'î sicil de burada bulunmaktadır."[48]

Ayrıca, birçok Bosnalı Müslüman, bu dönemde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kültürel ve siyasi tarihinde etkili roller oynadı.[49] Mohaç (1526) ve Krbava (1493) muharebelerinde, Osmanlı saflarının büyük bir kısmını Bosnalı askerler oluştururken, birçok diğer Bosnalı da amiral ve paşalar dâhil olmak üzere Osmanlı ordusunda yükselerek İmparatorluğun en yüksek iktidar pozisyonlarına ulaştı. Bu dönemde Osmanlı ordusunda önemli roller üstlenen Bosnalılar arasında Matrakçı Nasuh, İsa-Bey İshakoviç, Gazi Hüsrev-Bey, Telli Hasan Paşa, Sarı Süleyman Paşa gibi generaller, Ferhad Paşa Sokolović ve Osman Gradaščević gibi yöneticiler, Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Damat İbrahim Paşa gibi sadrazamlar bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca, bazı Boşnaklar Sufi mistikleri ve âlimler olarak da

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[47] Fikret Karçiç, "Gazi Hüsrev Bey Kütüphanesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gazi-husrev-bey-kutuphanesi s. 1-5. (22.12.2023).

[48] Karçiç, 2023, a.g.m., s. 4.

[49] A. Huskić, *Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thirty Years of Political Campaigning in Central and Eastern Europe*, 2019, s. 199-217.

öne çıktı; Muhamed Hevaji Uskufi Bosnevi, Ali Džabić gibi isimler Türkçe, Arnavutça, Arapça ve Farsça şairler olarak kendilerini tanıttılar.[50] Ancak 17. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun askeri başarısızlıkları ülkeyi olumsuz etkiledi ve Büyük Türk Savaşı'nın 1699'da Karlofça Antlaşması ile sona ermesi, Bosna'nın yeniden İmparatorluğun en batı eyaleti konumuna gelmesine neden oldu. 18. yüzyıl boyunca yaşanan daha fazla askeri başarısızlık, Bosna'da bir dizi isyanı ve çeşitli veba salgınlarını beraberinde getirdi.[51]

Babıali'nin Osmanlı Devleti'ni modernleştirme çabaları, Bosna'da önerilen Tanzimat reformları nedeniyle yerel aristokratların kaygı ve endişelerini artırdı, bu da düşmanlık atmosferine yol açtı. Bu durum, kuzeydoğudaki bölgesel siyasi tavizlerle ve Smederevo Sancağı'ndan Bosna Eyaleti'ne göç eden Slav Müslüman mültecilerin kötüleşen durumuyla birleşti. Husein Gradaščević'in Bosna Eyaleti'nde özerklik talep eden kısmen başarısız isyanı, bu atmosferin bir sonucuydu. Osmanlı Sultanı II. Mahmud'un otoriter yönetimi, Yeniçerilere zulmetti, idam etti ve ortadan kaldırdı; ayrıca Rumeli'deki özerk paşaların rolünü azalttı. Sultan Mahmud, Bosna Eyaleti'ni kontrol altına almak için Sadrazamını görevlendirdi ve ancak Ali Paşa Rizvanbegović'in gönülsüz desteğiyle başarılı oldu. İlgili isyanlar 1850'de bastırıldı, ancak durum daha da kötüleşmeye devam etti.[52] 19. yüzyılın ortalarında Bosna'da yeni milliyetçi hareketler ortaya çıktı. Sırbistan'ın 19. yüzyılın başlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan ayrılmasının ardından, Bosna'da Sırp ve Hırvat milliyetçiliği yükseldi. Bu milliyetçiler, Bosna toprakları üzerinde irredantist (kurtarıcılık) iddialarında bulundu. Bu eğilim, 19. ve 20. yüzyılın geri kalanında da büyümeye devam etti.[53] Tarımsal huzursuzluk sonunda 1875'te yaygın bir köylü ayaklanması olan Hersek isyanını ateşledi. Çatışma hızla yayıldı ve birçok Balkan devletini ve büyük güçleri içine aldı; bu durum 1878'de Berlin Kongresi'ne ve Berlin Antlaşması'na yol açtı.[54]

Bosna Hersek'in demografik verileri de son derece ilginçtir. Bosna-Hersek'in nüfusu, 1991 nüfus sayımına göre 4 milyon 369 bin 319 iken, Dünya Bankası Grubu'nun 1996 nüfus sayımına göre 3 milyon 764 bin 425'e

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[50] Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*. Sarajevo: BZK Preporod, 1996, s. 1-5.
[51] Markus Koller ve Kemal H. Karpat, *Bosnien an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit: eine Kulturgeschichte der Gewalt*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004, s. 240.
[52] Koller ve Karpat, 2004, a.g.e., s. 10-14.
[53] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914*. Cornell University Press. 2015, s. 6-13.
[54] Musa Gümüş and Rabia Yüksel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Parçalanma Süreci ve Basının Yaklaşımı: 1875 Hersek İsyanı Örneği", *İçtimaiyat*, No: 4(1), 2020, s. 31-46.

düştü. Yugoslav Savaşları sırasında 1990'larda yaşanan büyük nüfus göçleri, ülkede demografik değişikliklere yol açtı. Siyasi anlaşmazlıklar nedeniyle 1991-2013 yılları arasında nüfus sayımı gerçekleştirilemedi. 2011 için planlanan nüfus sayımı daha sonra 2012'ye ertelendi, ancak Ekim 2013'e kadar yapılamadı. 2013 nüfus sayımı, 1991'den bu yana yaklaşık %20'lik bir düşüşle toplam nüfusun 3.531.159 kişi olduğunu belirledi. 2013 nüfus sayımı rakamları, kalıcı olmayan Bosnalı sakinleri de içermekte olup, bu nedenle Sırp Cumhuriyeti yetkilileri ve Sırp politikacılar tarafından itiraz edilmektedir.[55] Bu demografik veriler dışında sosyolojik açıdan etnik grupların da ifade edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bosna-Hersek, üç temel etnik grubu içeren "kurucu halkları" olan Boşnaklar, Sırplar ve Hırvatlara ev sahipliği yapmanın yanı sıra, Yahudiler ve Romanlar gibi bir dizi küçük gruba da ev sahipliği yapmaktadır.[56] 2013 nüfus sayımı verilerine göre, nüfusun %50,1'ini Boşnaklar, %30,8'ini Sırplar, %15,5'ini Hırvatlar ve %2,7'sini diğerleri oluşturmaktadır. Geri kalan katılımcılar etnik kökenlerini beyan etmiyor veya cevap vermiyor. Sırp Cumhuriyeti istatistik dairesi ve Bosnalı Sırp politikacılar, nüfus sayımı sonuçlarına itiraz etmektedir, ancak Avrupa Birliği'nin istatistik ofisi "Eurostat", Mayıs 2016'da Bosna istatistik kurumu tarafından kullanılan nüfus sayımı metodolojisinin uluslararası tavsiyelere uygun olduğu sonucuna varmıştır.[57] Bosna anayasasında herhangi bir resmi dil belirtilmemiştir. Ancak akademisyenler Hilary Footitt ve Michael Kelly, Dayton Anlaşması'nda bunun "Boşnakça, Hırvatça, İngilizce ve Sırpça dillerinde yapıldığının" belirtildiğine dikkat çekip bunu "üç resmi dilin fiilen tanınması" olarak tanımlamaktadırlar.[58] Bosna-Hersek, din açısından zengin bir kültürel mozaik sunan bir ülkedir. 2013 nüfus sayımına göre, nüfusun %50.7'sini Müslümanlar, %30.7'sini Ortodoks Hristiyanlar, %15.2'sini Katolik Hristiyanlar, %1.2'sini diğer inançlar ve %1.1'ini ateist veya agnostik bireyler oluşturmaktadır.[59] Geriye kalan kesim ise dinlerini beyan etmeyen ya da bu konuda cevap vermeyen bireylerden

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[55] Rodolfo Toe, "Bosnia to Publish Census Without Serb Agreement", (30 June 2016). https://balkaninsight.com/2016/06/30/bosnia-to-release-long-awaited-census-results-on-thursday-06-29-2016/ s. 1-2. (20.12.2023).

[56] Human Rights Watch, "Second Class Citizens: Discrimination against Roma, Jews, and Other National Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina", (April 2012), www.hrw.org/report/201,2/04/04/second-class-citizens/discrimination-against-roma-jews-and-other-national s. 1-2. (19.12.2023).

[57] Toe, 2016, a.g.e., s. 1-2.

[58] Hilary Footitt ve Michael Kelly, *Languages at War: Policies and Practices of Language Contacts in Conflict*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012, s. 111-120.

[59] Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine / Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2013: Rezultati Popisa / Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013: Final Results*, Sarajevo, 2016, s. 68-70.

oluşmaktadır. 2012 yılında yapılan bir araştırma, Bosna'daki Müslümanların %54'ünün mezhebe bağlı olmadığını , %38'inin ise Sünniliği takip ettiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır.[60]

Bosna Hersek'in kültürü; mimari, medya, edebiyat, sanat, müzik sinema ve tiyatro, yerel mutfak ve spor dalları üzerinden incelenebilir. Bosna-Hersek'in mimarisi, tarihsel olarak dört temel dönem boyunca şekillenmiş ve siyasi ile sosyal değişimlerin yanı sıra farklı kültürel ve mimari alışkanlıkların ortaya çıkmasını etkilemiştir. Bu dönemler, bölgedeki kültür ve mimari dil çeşitliliğinin artmasına katkıda bulunarak etkilerini sürdürmüştür.[61] "Bosna-Hersek'teki bazı televizyon, dergi ve gazeteler devlet mülkiyetindedir ve bazıları reklam, abonelik ve diğer satışla ilgili gelirlerle finanse edilen kar amacı güden şirketlerdir. Bosna-Hersek Anayasası ifade özgürlüğünü garanti etmektedir."[62] Bosna-Hersek, zengin bir edebiyat geleneğine sahiptir ve bu geleneği önemli yazarlar ve şairlerle şekillenmiştir. Nobel ödüllü Ivo Andrić, Antun Branko Šimić, Aleksa Šantić, Jovan Dučić ve Mak Dizdar gibi önde gelen şairlerin yanı sıra Zlatko Topčić, Meša Selimović, Semezdin Mehmedinović, Miljenko Jergović, Isak Samokovlija gibi ünlü yazarlar bu zengin mirası oluşturmuşlardır. Ayrıca, Safvet-beg Bašagić, Abdulah Sidran, Petar Kočić, Aleksandar Hemon ve Nedžad Ibrišimović gibi önemli isimler de Bosna-Hersek edebiyatının önemli temsilcileridir.[63] Ülkenin kültürel sahnesinde 1919'da kurulan Ulusal Tiyatro, ilk yönetmeni olan oyun yazarı Branislav Nušić ile önemli bir başlangıca imza atmıştır.[64] Novi Plamen ve Sarajevske sveske gibi dergiler, kültürel ve edebi konulara odaklanarak öne çıkan yayınlar arasında yer almaktadır.[65] Ivo Andrić'in eserleri, 1950'lerin sonlarına gelindiğinde birçok dile çevrildi ve Yugoslavya Yazarlar Birliği, Andrić'i 1958'de Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü'ne aday gösterilen ilk kişi olarak tarihinde önemli bir yer edindi.[66] [Ödülü kazanmıştır. Eserleri içinde

[60] Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity", 2012, s. 30. http://www.pewforum.org/files/2012/08/the-worlds-muslims-full-report.pdf (20.12.2023).

[61] Melih Erzen and Nermina Kjorovıkj, "Bosna-Hersek konulu Türk romanlarında Osmanlı imgesi." *Pesa Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, No: 8(3), 2022, s. 141-155.

[62] Tarik Jusić, "Bosnia and Herzegovina", 2016, https://medialandscapes.org/ s. 1-2. (20.12.2023).

[63] Dijana Hadžizukić, *Prilozi proučavanju srpske književnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Fakultet humanističkih nauka, Univerzitet*, Džemal Bijedić u Mostaru, 2015, s. 1-58.

[64] Dragana Čolić Bıljanovskı, "Medıjska Arheologıja-Branıslav ð. Nušıć na Fılmu ı Televızıjı". *Istraživački medijski centar-Podgorica*, 2016, s. 243.

[65] Nataša Bašić, "Hrvatski u srpskohrvatskom tijesku", *Jezik: Časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, No: 57(2), 2010, s. 71-78.

[66] Z. Šolak, "The city and cities in the stories, novels, essays and letters written by the Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andric." Актуальні проблеми слов'янської філологїі. Серія: Лінгвістика і літературознавство (2010). s. 250-262.

özellikle; Drina Köprüsü, Ömer Lütfü Paşa, Lanetli Avlu, Ex ponto (düzyazı şiirler), İsyanlar, Aliya Dyerzelez'in Yolu, Zepi Köprüsü, Anika'nın Zamanı, Portekiz: Yeşil Ülke, İspanyol gerçekliği ve bunun ilk adımları, Çocuklar, Goya ile Konuşma, Bayan, Travnička Chronicle, Bir taşın üzerinde, Počitelj'de, Nevsky Prospekt'te, Vezir Filinin Hikâyesi, Oyun, Hikaye ve anlatım üzerine, Jelena žena koje nema, Yollar, yüzler, manzaralar, Hayal ettiklerim ve başıma gelenler, Güneşli tarafta, Yol kenarı işaretleri, Sveske][67] Bosna-Hersek sanatı her zaman gelişiyordu ve Stećci adı verilen orijinal ortaçağ mezar taşlarından Kotromanić sarayındaki resimlere kadar değişiyordu. Ancak Bosna'daki resim rönesansı ancak Avusturya-Macaristanlıların gelişiyle gerçekten gelişmeye başladı. Avrupa akademilerinden ilk eğitimli sanatçılar 20. yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıktı. Bunlar arasında şunlar yer almaktaydı: Gabrijel Jurkić, Petar Šain, Roman Petrović ve Lazar Drljača.[68] İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Mersad Berber ve Safet Zec gibi sanatçıların popülaritesi arttırmıştır.[69] Tipik Boşnak şarkıları ganga, rera ve kolo gibi halk oyunlarına yönelik geleneksel Slav müziğidir. Osmanlı döneminden kalma en popüler şarkı ise Sevdalinka'dır.[70] Bosna, Yugoslavya Krallığı'na kadar uzanan zengin bir sinema ve film geçmişine sahiptir. Birçok Bosnalı film yapımcısı uluslararası alanda tanınmış ve bazıları Akademi Ödülleri, Palme d'Or ve Altın Ayı gibi prestijli ödüllere layık görülmüştür. Önemli Bosnalı senaristler, yönetmenler ve yapımcılar arasında Danis Tanović (2001 yapımı No Man's Land ile Akademi Ödülü ve Altın Küre kazanan ve 2016 yapımı Death in Sarajevo ile Gümüş Ayı Büyük Jüri Ödülü kazanan), Jasmila Žbanić (Altın Ayı sahibi ve 2020 yapımı Quo Vadis, Aida? ile Akademi Ödülü ve BAFTA adayı), Emir Kusturica (Cannes'da iki kez Palme d'Or kazanan), Zlatko Topčić, Ademir Kenović, Ahmed Imamović, Pjer Žalica, Aida Begić gibi isimler bulunmaktadır.[71] [Özellikle Emir Kusturica'nın filmleri sanat açısından son derece kalitelidir. Filimleri arasında: "Dolly Bell'i Hatırlıyor musun?, Babam İş Gezisinde, Çingeneler

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[67] Ivo Andrić, *Priređivači: Vučković, Vladimir Urednici: Uljarević, Radomir; Đukić Perišić, Žaneta; Jerkov, Aleksandar i Kusturica, Emir,. Sabrana dela Ive Andrića, Knj. 1 - 20 [1. Pesme Ex ponto Nemiri 2. Pripovetke 3. Nove pripovetke 4. Pripovetke I 5. Pripovetke II 6. Lica 7. Kuća na osami 8. Na sunčanoj strani 9. Na Drini ćuprija 10. Travnička hronika 11. Gospođica 12. Prokleta avlija 13. Omerpaša Latas 14. Disertacija * Eseji I 15. Eseji II 16. Zapisi * Putopisi 17. Znakovi pored puta 18. Sveske, Dnevnici 19. Pisma 20. Razgovori]*. Beograd: Štampar Makarije; Podgorica: Nova Knjiga. 2012, s. 1-10.

[68] Nikola Kovač, "Slikarstvo u BiH 1945-1990. godine", *Novi Izraz, časopis za književnu i umjetničku kritiku*, No: 19, 2003, s. 31-47.

[69] Martina Petranović, "Stoljeće sarajevske scenografije. Marijela Margeta Hašimbegović: Scenografija: prostor za snove (Narodno pozorište Sarajevo, 1921-2021), Sarajevo, 2021". *Kazalište: Časopis za kazališnu umjetnost*, No: 27(93/94), 2023, s. 172-175.

[70] Esad Bajtal, "Sevdalinka", *Bosna Franciscana*, No: 38, 2013, s. 91-106.

[71] Duško Dimitrovski, "Na putu uspona-prilog za ıstoriju Bosanskohercegovačke kınematografije." *Forum Bosnae*. No. 32. Međunarodni forum Bosna, 2005, s. 1-12.

Zamanı, Arizona Rüyası, Yeraltı, Kara Kedi Ak Kedi, Süper 8 Öyküleri, Hayat bir Mucizedir, Bana Söz Ver, Elveda, Aşk ve savaş" vardır.][72]

Bosna mutfağında, çeşitli baharatlar makul miktarlarda kullanılmaktadır. Yemekler genellikle haşlanarak hazırlandığından hafif bir yapıya sahiptir; soslar tamamen doğal malzemelerden elde edilmiş olup, tabaktaki sebzelerin kendi doğal sularını içermektedir. Domates, patates, soğan, sarımsak, biber, salatalık, havuç, lahana, mantar, ıspanak, kabak, kuru fasulye, taze fasulye, erik, süt, kırmızı biber ve pavlaka adı verilen krema gibi tipik malzemeler Bosna mutfağında sıkça kullanılan bileşenler arasında yer alır. Bosna mutfağı, Batı ve Doğu etkilerini başarıyla harmanlamıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 500 yıllık etkisi, Boşnak yemeklerini Türk, Yunan ve diğer eski Osmanlı ve Akdeniz mutfaklarıyla sıkı bir bağ içinde bırakmıştır. Ancak, Avusturya yönetiminin uzun yılları boyunca Orta Avrupa'dan gelen birçok etki de göze çarpmaktadır. Tipik et yemekleri arasında özellikle sığır eti ve kuzu eti bulunmaktadır. Ćevapi, burek, dolma, sarma, pilav, gulaş, ajvar ve çeşitli Doğu tatlıları gibi bazı yerel spesiyaliteler, Bosna mutfağının zengin çeşitliliğini yansıtmaktadır. Ćevapi, eski Yugoslavya'da popüler olan ve Bosna-Hersek mutfağının önemli bir simgesi haline gelmiş lezzetli bir yemektir.[73] Bosna yemekleri içinde böreğin ve köftenin de önemli bir yeri vardır. "Džezva'da, rahat bir atmosferde lokum ve kesme şeker eşliğinde servis edilen Bosna kahvesinin tadını çıkarabileceğiniz kahvehaneler, Saraybosna'da ve ülkenin her şehrinde hızla çoğalmaktadır. Kahve içmek, Bosna'nın sevilen bir eğlencesi ve önemli bir kültür unsuru haline gelmiştir. Bosna-Hersek, kişi başına düşen kahve tüketimi açısından dünya genelinde dokuzuncu sıradadır.[74] [Kahvei Lokum ve Nargile Osmanlı kültürünün simgesidirler. Türkiye'de ne yazık ki bu kültürün yerini artık çoğunlukla "çay" almıştır.] Eski Yugoslavya'dan kalan bir gelenekle ülke de futbol en popüler spor dalıdır.

Sonuç

"Doğu-Batı Karşılaştırmaları: Bosna-Hersek'in Kültürel Çeşitliliği" makalesinde, ülkenin zengin kültürel mirasını ve bu mirasın nasıl bir Doğu-Batı sentezi oluşturduğunu ele alarak özet bir analiz sunulmuştur.

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[72] IMDb, "Emir Kusturica", 2023, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001437/ s. 1-3, (22.12.2023).

[73] John R. Lampe, Noel R. Malcolm and Paula Pickering, "Bosnia and Herzegovina". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 Dec. 2023, https://www.britannica.com/place/Bosnia-and-Herzegovina. Accessed 22 December 2023.

[74] Lora Jones, "Coffee: Who grows, drinks and pays the most?", (13 April 2018). https://www.bbc.com/news/business-43742686 (10.12.2023).

Makalede, Bosna-Hersek'in tarih boyunca hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hem de Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu'nun etkisi altında olması ve bu etkilerin nasıl birbirine karıştığına odaklanılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, kültürel çeşitliliğin nasıl şekillendiği ve Bosna-Hersek'in Doğu ve Batı kültürleri arasında nasıl bir denge kurduğu detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Metinde ayrıca, Bosna-Hersek'in geçmişten günümüze uzanan kültürel değişimi gözler önüne serilmiştir. Osmanlı döneminden miras kalan edebi eserler, geleneksel yemekler, giyim tarzları ve dini uygulamaların günümüzde nasıl varlığını sürdürdüğünü açıklamak suretiyle, kültürün sürekliliği vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, geçmişiyle sınırlı olmayıp günümüzdeki toplumsal dinamikleri de etkileyen dinamik bir olgu olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Bosna-Hersek, Bosna Savaşı sırasında yaşanan etnik temizlik olaylarından kaynaklanan derin etnik ve dini çeşitliliğe sahiptir. Ülkede Boşnaklar, Sırplar, Hırvatlar ve diğer etnik gruplar yaşamaktadır. Bu gruplar arasındaki etnik ve dini farklılıklar, toplumun sosyolojik dokusunu etkilemektedir. Bosna-Hersek, etnik ve dini farklılıkların bir sonucu olarak toplumsal bütünleşme ve ayrışma sorunlarıyla karşı karşıyadır. Bu durum, siyasi sistemin ve kurumların etnik gruplar arasında adil bir denge kurma çabalarını zorlaştırmaktadır. Bosna-Hersek'teki iç savaş ve çatışmalar, ülkeden büyük göç dalgalarına neden olmuş ve Bosna-Hersek diasporasının oluşumuna yol açmıştır. Bu durum, hem ülkedeki demografik yapının değişmesine hem de diaspora ile anavatan arasında sosyal bağların şekillenmesine etki etmektedir. Bosna-Hersek, Dayton Anlaşması ile belirlenen karmaşık bir siyasi sistemle yönetilmektedir. Bu sistem, etnik grupların temsil edildiği ancak sıklıkla istikrarsızlık ve karar alma zorlukları yaşayan bir yapının parçasıdır. Siyasi istikrarsızlık, sosyal ve ekonomik kalkınmayı olumsuz etkileyebilir. Bosna-Hersek, tarihi ve kültürel mirası ile önemli bir yer tutar. Farklı etnik gruplara ait öğrencilere eğitim sunma konusundaki zorluklar ve tarih müfredatındaki farklılıklar, toplumun tarih algısını ve kültürel kimliğini etkilemektedir. Bosna-Hersek'in sosyolojisi, geçmişteki olayların izlerini taşıyan ve günümüzde hala şekillenmekte olan karmaşık bir yapıya sahiptir. Etnik ve dini çeşitlilik, siyasi sistem, göç ve diaspora gibi faktörler, ülkenin toplumsal dinamiklerini şekillendiren önemli unsurlardır.

Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, tarihsel, etnik, dini ve coğrafi faktörlerin etkileşimi sonucunda zengin bir mozaik oluşturmuştur. Ülke, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu ve Yugoslavya dönemlerinde farklı kültürlerin etkisi altında kalmış ve bu etkileşimler Bosna-Hersek'i benzersiz kılmıştır. Bosna-Hersek, Boşnaklar,

Sırplar, Hırvatlar ve diğer etnik grupları barındıran bir yapısına sahiptir. Bu etnik gruplar arasındaki kültürel farklılıklar, dil, gelenekler, yemekler ve giyim tarzları gibi çeşitli unsurlarda kendini gösterir. Aynı zamanda, İslam, Ortodoksluk ve Katoliklik gibi farklı dini inançlar da ülkede çeşitli kültürel ifadelerin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun uzun süreli hükümranlığı Bosna-Hersek'in mimari mirasını derin bir şekilde etkilemiştir. Saraybosna'da bulunan Gazi Husrev Bey Camii ve Mostar'daki "Stari Most" (Mostar Köprüsü) gibi tarihi ve sembolik yapılar, Osmanlı dönemine ait izleri günümüze taşımaktadır. Aynı şekilde, Avusturya-Macaristan dönemi mimari unsurları da özellikle başkent Saraybosna'da göze çarpar. Bosna-Hersek mutfağı, Osmanlı ve Avusturya-Macaristan etkilerinin birleşimini yansıtan zengin bir çeşitliliğe sahiptir. *Çevapcici*, *burek*, dolma, sogan-dolma ve kebap gibi geleneksel lezzetler, ülkedeki kültürel çeşitliliğin bir yansımasıdır. Aynı zamanda, Türk kahvesi gibi içecekler de kültürel mirası yansıtan önemli unsurlardır. Bosna-Hersek, birçok ünlü yazar, şair ve sanatçının yetiştiği bir coğrafyadır. Nobel ödüllü yazar Ivo Andrić'in eserleri, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliğini anlamak adına önemli bir kaynaktır. Aynı zamanda, ülkedeki çeşitli müze ve galerilerde Bosnalı sanatçıların eserleri göze çarpmaktadır. Bosna-Hersek'te geleneksel müzik ve danslar, farklı etnik grupların kültürel özelliklerini yansıtarak zengin bir çeşitlilik sunar. Sevdalinka müziği, özellikle Bosna-Hersek kültürünün önemli bir parçasıdır ve tüm etnik grupları kucaklayan bir müzik türü olarak bilinir. Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, geçmişten günümüze kadar uzanan tarihsel katmanlar ve etkileşimlerle şekillenmiştir. Bu çeşitlilik, ülkenin özgün kimliğini oluşturan ve zengin kültürel mirası besleyen önemli bir unsur olarak öne çıkar. Eski bir Boşnak ata sözünün dediği gibi: "Uči dok živiš, i živi dok učiš"; yaşarken öğren, öğrenirken yaşa!

Öz:

Bosna-Hersek, tarihi boyunca Doğu ve Batı kültürlerinin etkisi altında kalmış bir coğrafyadır. Bu yazıda, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği üzerine Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmalarına odaklanılacaktır. Ülke, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun etkisi altında uzun yıllar kaldığı için Doğu kültürüyle yoğrulmuştur. Bu dönemde, İslam'ın etkisi, mimari, geleneksel giyim ve yemek kültürü üzerinde belirgin izler bırakmıştır. Ancak, Bosna-Hersek aynı zamanda Hristiyanlık ve Avrupa kültürüyle de etkileşimde bulunmuştur. Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, bu iki büyük kültür etkisinin birleşiminden kaynaklanmaktadır. Ülkede yaşayan Boşnaklar, Sırplar ve Hırvatlar gibi farklı etnik gruplar, kendi kültürel özelliklerini korurken, aynı zamanda birbirleriyle etkileşimde bulunmuşlardır. Bu durum, Bosna-Hersek'i benzersiz kılan bir mozaik kültürün ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği, Doğu ve Batı kültürlerinin etkileşimiyle

şekillenmiş bir zenginlik sunmaktadır. Bu durum, ülkenin tarihsel geçmişi ve coğrafi konumuyla yakından ilişkilidir ve Bosna-Hersek'in kültürel zenginlikleri, bu etkileşimden doğan bir mirası yansıtmaktadır. Şöyle bir Boşnakça atasözü vardır: "Köprüyü geçip nehrin derinliğini anlamak." (Most preći, pa vidjeti koliko je rijeka duboka.) Bu söz tarihi Mostar köprüsünün doğu ve batıyı hoşgörüyle birleştirmesine dair bir gönderme yapmaktadır. Bu makalede Bosna Hersek'in kültürel çeşitliliği tarihi ve sosyolojik yönden yorumlayıcı bir yaklaşım çerçevesinde ele alınıp tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkanlar, Doğu-Batı karşılaştırmaları, Bosna Hersek, Kültürel sosyoloji, Batıcılık ve Modernizm, Şarkiyatçılık.

Extended Abstract:

The Ottoman period in the Balkans marked a pivotal moment in the region's history, leaving enduring impacts on sociopolitical, cultural, and economic aspects. Spanning from the late 14th to the early 20th century, this era saw intricate interactions among diverse civilizations, transforming the Balkans into a melting pot of cultural synthesis. The Ottoman Empire's expansion into the region began with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, leading to the incorporation of present-day Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, and Albania under Ottoman influence.

The Ottoman administration introduced the "millet system," granting a degree of autonomy to religious and ethnic communities within the empire, allowing a mosaic of cultures to coalesce. The period saw advancements in art, architecture, and science, with the construction of mosques, bridges, and palaces that left an indelible mark on the Balkan landscape. Ottoman influence extended to culinary traditions, language, and social norms, creating a cultural amalgamation that persists today.

However, the Ottoman period in the Balkans was not without conflict. Various ethnic and religious groups experienced periodic uprisings in pursuit of autonomy or independence. The 19th-century Tanzimat reforms aimed at modernizing the empire had mixed effects, contributing to increased stability while fueling nationalist sentiments. The French Revolution of 1789 deeply influenced Ottoman governance in the Balkans, sparking nationalist rebellions and efforts to establish independent nation-states. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century, marked by military defeats and internal upheavals, led to the separation of Balkan regions. Nonetheless, the Ottoman period's heritage persists in the region's cultural, religious, and architectural fabric.

The Ottoman administrative system in Bosnia and Herzegovina played a significant role in the region's history, profoundly affecting its socio-political fabric. This text examines the Ottoman administrative structure in Bosnia and Herzegovina, emphasizing the long-term effects of this system. The millet system granted autonomy to different religious and ethnic communities, reflecting the multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire and aiming to preserve the ethnic diversity of the region. Bosnia and Herzegovina were divided into administrative

units at the provincial (vilayet) level, governed by a central government-appointed governor overseeing military and civilian administration. Local governance was facilitated through institutions such as waqfs and municipal councils, operating in parallel with the general Ottoman administrative model. While this system initially managed the region's complex and diverse structure, it began to unravel in the 19th century due to changing political and social dynamics. Despite contributing to the preservation of cultural diversity, external factors and changing conditions weakened the Ottoman Empire, leading to its eventual collapse. The administrative legacy of this period remains a crucial reference point in understanding the modern socio-political structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Balkans, situated at the crossroads of different civilizations throughout history, exhibit an ethnologically and sociologically rich structure. This region, home to great empires such as Rome, Byzantium, and the Ottomans, bears traces of diverse cultures, significantly influencing its ethnic diversity. Various ethnic groups, including Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, and Albanians residing in countries like Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania, have enriched the region with their distinct cultural heritage. The long-term Ottoman rule significantly impacted the social and religious structure of the Balkans through the millet system, granting autonomy to different religious groups and fostering religious diversity and tolerance. While the Balkans have witnessed tensions among different ethnic groups sharing the same geographical region, the region also values ethnic diversity as a richness. This diversity is expressed in folklore, music, dance, and food culture, creating a complex and diverse environment. The Balkans, influenced by various civilizations throughout history, boast a rich ethnic and sociological structure arising from these interactions.

The borders of the Balkans are subject to widespread dispute due to various and contrasting definitions, with no universal agreement on the region's components. According to many definitions, the term Balkans covers Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, European Turkey, and Croatia, along with a large part of Serbia. Some definitions may extend to include southern parts of Romania and Slovenia, while Italy is generally excluded, except for a small part of its territory, the Province of Trieste, located on the Peninsula. The Turkish origin of the word "Balkan" is unclear, possibly related to the Turkish suffix 'bog orman,' and was mainly used during the Ottoman Empire. In Turkish and modern Turkish, Balkan means 'chain of forested mountains.' By the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire had become the dominant power in the region, expanding from Anatolia through Thrace to the Balkans. The Balkans hold their greatest folk heroes in the period of Ottoman Empire attacks or retreats, with individuals like Konstantin XI Palaiologos, Kolokotronis, Miloš Obilić, Tsar Lazar, Karadjordje, George Kastrioti Skanderbeg, Nikola Karev, Goce Delčev, Vasil Levski, Georgi Sava Rakovski, Hristo Botev, and Nikola Šubić Zrinjski standing out. These figures rebelled against the Ottoman Empire, reflecting the region's tumultuous history. In the last few centuries, frequent Ottoman wars in the Balkans and surrounding Europe, coupled with the Ottoman Empire's comparative isolation from economic progress, contributed to the Balkans being perceived as the least developed region in Europe. This situation

mirrored the shift of Europe's commercial and political center of gravity towards the Atlantic. Halil Inalcik estimates a decline in the Balkans' population from a high level at the end of the 16th century to only 3 million by the middle of the 18th century, based on Ottoman documentary evidence.

This article aims to explore the cultural diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the perspective of East-West comparisons. Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to its geographical location and historical history, has interacted with both Eastern and Western cultures. The long-term Ottoman rule infused Eastern culture into the country, concurrently interacting with Christianity and European culture, resulting in the formation of a unique mosaic culture. The article delves into how the interaction between Eastern and Western cultures is reflected in Bosnia and Herzegovina's cultural richness, shaped by history, geography, and social dynamics. In this context, the cultural diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is examined in detail through East-West comparisons, with a focus on understanding the profound interactions with the country's historical accumulations.

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BOOK REVIEW

Özgür Yılmaz, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi (1840-1852)*, Heyamola Yayınları, İstanbul 2022, 536 sayfa, ISBN: 978-605-7592-93-4

Hümeyra Kesici[*]

Mustafa Öztürk, 'tarih bir bütündür, bu bütünlüğün incelikleri teferruatta gizlidir'[1] der. Öztürk'ün bu ifadesindeki teferruat ile kastettiği mahalli olan, yani mahalli tarih çalışmalarıdır. Mahalli/bölgesel tarih çalışmaları bütünün esasıdır ve genel tarihin anlaşılması için oldukça önemlidir.[2] Genel tarih adına yapılmış çalışmalar genellikle siyasi, askeri, diplomatik olay odaklı tarih anlayışıyla, merkezin (yöneticilerin, devletin) bakış açısıyla, elitlerin/siyasilerin tarihi üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Bu çalışmalarda çoğunlukla (devlet) arşiv belgelerine dayanılarak oluşturulmuştur. Yerel tarih ise bu tarih yazımına bir başkaldırı niteliğindedir. Yerel tarih, tarihi siyasi-olay odaklı açıklama ve cevaplardan ziyade farklı boyutlarıyla açıklayabilme imkânını tarihçilere sunmaktadır.[3] Özellikle 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren tarihçilerin ilgi odağı haline gelen yerel tarihçilik ulusal tarih anlatısının tek biçimliliğinden, bölgesel anlatımın

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[1] Mustafa Öztürk, ''Yerel Tarih ve Şehir Tarihçiliğinin Yeri, Önemi ve Bugünkü Durumu'', *Uluslararası Gazi Süleyman Paşa ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu III*, ed. Haluk Selvi, Bilal Çelik, İbrahim Şirin ve Ali Yeşildal. (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2017) s. 421.
[2] Öztürk, ''Yerel Tarih ve Şehir Tarihçiliğinin Yeri, Önemi ve Bugünkü Durumu'', s. 421.
[3] Muhammed Dağ, ''Annales Tarih Ekolü Ve Türkiye'de Yerel Tarihyazımı (1939-2000)'' (Doktora Tezi, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, 2020), s.1.

zenginliğine doğru yeni bir kapı aralamıştır.[4] Yerel tarih çalışmaları ile tarihin öznesi olarak sıradan insan öne çıkmaktadır. Yerel tarih çalışmaları belirli bir zaman ve mekân özelinde sıradan insanların faaliyetlerine, yaşamlarına odaklanır. Yerel tarihi genelin tarihinden ayrı düşünemeyiz. Yerel ve genel bir bütündür. Yerel tarih genel tarihin daha ayrıntılı açıklamalarının yapılmasını sağlarken getirdiği derinlikle ve bütünlüğün daha doğru ve anlaşılır hale gelmesine katkı verir.[5] Buradan hareketle ilk örneklerine Avrupa'nın değişik ülkelerinde rastladığımız yerel tarih yazımı Türkiye'de de son yıllarda hak ettiği bir karşılığı bulmaya ve yerel nitelikli pek çok akademik veya akademi dışı çalışma ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Her yeni çalışma Türkiye'de yerel tarihin niteliğine katkı yaptığı gibi kaynakları açısında da yeni pencereler açmaya başlamıştır.

1828-1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı sonrasında imzalanan Edirne Antlaşması ile Karadeniz'in statüsü değişmiş, Avrupalı güçlerin ekonomik çıkarları için rekabet ettikleri önemli bir alan haline gelmiştir. Karadeniz'in güney kıyıları Osmanlı hâkimiyetinde bulunmaktaydı. Bu kıyılardaki limanlarda faaliyet göstermek isteyen Avrupalılar buralarda konsolosluk tesis etmişlerdir. Trabzon, Sinop, Samsun gibi liman şehirlerinde konsolosluk kuran İngilizler "emin liman" olarak tabir edilen Batum'da birkaç nedenden ötürü konsolosluk tesis etme düşüncesindeydiler. İngiliz mallarının ulaşmadığı yer kalmasın düşüncesi, Batum'un İngiltere'nin İran ile yapacağı ticarette önemli bir konuma sahip olması, Rusların Kafkasya'daki askeri, siyasi, ticari faaliyetlerinin ve İran ile ilişkilerinin takip edilmesinin gerekliliği bu nedenler arasında sayılabilir. Bu nedenlerden ötürü Batum'da 1840 yılında İngilizler Batum Konsolos Yardımcılığı makamını tesis etmişler. Bu bağlamda Özgür Yılmaz'ın tamamen bu konsolosluğun arşivlerine dayalı olan *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi (1840-1852)* adlı çalışması pek çok yönden dikkat çekmektedir.

İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi (1840-1852) 536 sayfadan oluşan, içeriği oldukça zengin bir çalışma. Önsöz, giriş, üç ana bölümden oluşan çalışmada Yılmaz, giriş kısmında çalışmaya ilişkin önemli bilgiler ortaya koymuştur. Bu kısımda yazar öncelikle çalışmasının amacını ve konusunu açıklamıştır. Yazar çalışmasının konusunu İngiliz hükümetinin 1840'ta Batum'da tesis ettiği ve 1852 yılının sonlarında kapatma kararı aldığı Batum Konsolos Yardımcılığının geride bırakmış

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[4] Oktay Gökdemir, ''8. Bölüm: Tarihyazımında İki Yeni Yaklaşım: Sözlü Ve Yerel Tarih'', *Tarih Nasıl yazılır? Tarihyazımı İçin Çağdaş Bir Metodoloji*, ed., Ahmet Şimşek, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2. baskı, 2019, s.140.

[5] Gökdemir, , ''8. Bölüm: Tarihyazımında İki Yeni Yaklaşım: Sözlü Ve Yerel Tarih'', s. 141.

olduğu konsolosluk arşivlerinden hareketle Batum ve çevresinin durumunu incelemek ve böylece Osmanlı Devleti merkezi bakış açısından farklı olarak dışarıdan gelen iki yabancının, yani konsoloslar Frederick Guarracino'nun ve William Richard Holmes'ün gözünden *"öteki tarihine"* bakmak olarak ifade etmektedir. Bu çalıma vesilesiyle yazar Batum örneğinde ortaya konan bu çalışmanın *"konsosluk kaynaklarına sahip olan merkezler için bir örnek olması"* şeklinde bir başka amacını da ortaya koymaktadır. Batum' ilişkin mevcut literatür hakkında değerlendirmelerden sonra yazar, konsolosluk raporlarının kaynak değerine dair değerlendirmeler yapmış ve çalışmanın temel kaynakları olan İngiliz Milli Arşivi'ne ve Batum ile ilgili olan belgelere ilişkin ayrıntılı bilgiler vermiştir. Yazar burada ilgili arşivdeki Osmanlı tarihi ile ilgili olan fonlara ve Batum ile ilgili olarak çalışmaya kaynaklık eden belgelerin diplomatik özelliklerine değinmiştir. Takip eden başlıkta ise çalışmanın bölümlerine ilişkin değerlendirmeler yapmıştır.[6]

Kitabın ''*Batum, Konsolosluk Kurumu ve Anadolu'da Yeni İngiliz Konsolosluk Ağı*'' adlı birinci bölümü kendi içinde üçe ayrılmış. İlk bölümde Batum'un kısa bir tarihi anlatılmış ve mekânsal analizi yapılmış. Ardından Osmanlı'nın Batum'u fethinden kaybedişine kadar geçen sürede Osmanlı idaresi altındaki Batum'un tarihine değinilmiş. Bu bölümün ikinci kısmında ise Konsolosluk kurumunun tarihine, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yabancı konsoloslukların durumuna ve gelişimine ve son olarak da Osmanlı'nın Karadeniz'e kıyısı olan limanlarındaki konsoloslukların gelişimi ile ilgili bilgiler verilmiş. Bu bölümün son kısmında ise Anadolu'daki İngiliz Konsolosluk ağına ve İngilizlerin Batum'da bir konsolosluk tesis etmesine giden süreç ele alınmış. Burada Batum'a konsolos tayin edilenlerin özelliklerine ve konsolosların diplomatik kariyerlerine değinilmiş. Burada yazarın tespitlerine göre bu yeni birim için "Batum gibi Avrupa medeniyetinden kopuk olan ve Avrupalı kimsenin yaşamadığı bir yere göreve yeni başlayacak, kariyerinin başında olan kimselerin" tercih edilmiş olduğudur. Osmanlı coğrafyasında tesis edilen ve İstanbul'daki İngiliz elçiliğine bağlı olan diğer İngiliz konsoloslar gibi Batum'a gelen konsoloslar İngiltere'nin siyasi ve ticari politikaları, çıkarları için gözlem yapmış, bilgi akışı sağlamış, raporlar tutmuş ve bölgelerinde geziler yapmıştır. Bu dönemde İngiltere'nin bölgedeki önemli rakibi olan Rusya'nın politikalarının takibi Batum'da görev yapan konsolosları aracılığıyla icra edilmiştir. Kitabın bahsedilen birinci bölümü daha çok kitabın genelinde değinilen konulara hazırlık mahiyetinde olup 1840-1852 yılları arasında Batum'da yaşanan olayları ve

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[6] Yılmaz, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi,* 27-56.

Batum'a konsolos olarak atanan kişilerin raporlarına konu olan hususların "*arka planını*" ortaya koyma amacıyla tasarlanmıştır.[7]

Kitabın en uzun ''*Konsolos Raporlarında Batum ve Çevresinin İdari, Askeri ve Sosyal Durumu*'' başlığını taşıyan ikinci bölümünde yazar farklı bir başlıklandırma sistemi benimseyerek konsolosların raporlarını yıl yıl değerlendirmeye almış ve her bir senenin raporlarını konularına göre ilgili başlıklar halinde incelemiştir. Ancak bu idari, siyasi ve askeri raporların özellikle belirli konular üzerinde odaklandığı görülmektedir. Bu konulara biraz daha ayrıntılı olarak bakıldığında konsolosların önce dâhili, daha sonra da harici olmak üzere iki önemli misyonlarının olduğu söylenebilir. Öncelikle konsoloslar görev bölgelerindeki önemli olayları takip etmek ve bunlar hakkında elçiliklerini düzenli olarak bilgilendirmek zorundaydılar. Bu bağlamda konsolosların on iki senelik görev süresinde yazdıkları raporlarda bölgenin idari durumu, bölgedeki ayan ve derebeylerinin neden olduğu sorunlar, Tanzimat'ın bölgede uygulanması ve etkileri, sınır meseleleri gibi temel hususlara odaklandığı görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan konsolosların harici misyonları çerçevesinde ise konsolosluğun Osmanlı-Rus sınırında yer almasından dolayı daha çok Rusların bölgedeki faaliyetlerin takibi açısından yoğun bir çaba harcadıkları görülmektedir. Burada Kafkasya'daki Rus faaliyetlerinin takibi yanında Rusların bölgedeki nüfuz alanlarını geliştirmek için uyguladıkları yöntemler takip edilmiş; konsoloslar zaman zaman bilgi almak için sınır veya Rus tarafına geçerek incelemeler yapmışlardır.

Bu çerçevede, ilk konsolos Guarracino göreve başladıktan sonra talimatlar doğrultusunda Batum'da ve Batum'un çevresinde yerel halk ve sınırın ötesinde Ruslar ile irtibata geçerek bilgi akışı sağlamış, nüfuzlu kimselerle ilişkiler kurmuş, siyasi ve ticari misyonları doğrultusunda bölgede incelemelerde bulunarak tespitlerini rapor etmiştir. İngiliz çıkarları için uygun olacak kararların bölgede alınması ve uygulanması için hem Guarracino hem de halefi Holmes büyük gayret göstermiştir. Öncelikle Batum'da ticari hayatı canlandırmak için bu dönemde süregelen isyanların sona erdirilmesi ve kargaşa ortamının ortadan kalkması gerektiğini raporlarında belirtmişlerdir. Bu sorunların çözüm önerilerinden de raporlarında detaylıca anlatmışlardır.

Konsolosların en dikkat çekici raporları bölgenin idari durumuna ilişkin olanlardır. Konsolosların raporlarına göre Bölge halkının mizacının-sert ve kural tanımaz- da tetiklediği sorunlarla birlikte bölgenin beyleri ve ayanlar kendi aralarındaki problemlerde veya idare tarafından verilen

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[7] Yılmaz, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi*, 57-141.

emirleri ve görevleri beğenmezlerse veyahut çıkarlarına ters düşerse hemen bir kargaşa ve isyan ortamı tertip ediyorlardı. Sınır bölgesinde yaşamanın ve ikliminde etkisiyle bu durum halka da hızlıca sirayet ederek olayların büyümesine, sosyal ve ticari hayatın olumsuz etkilenmesine neden oluyordu. Devletin istediği vergiyi ödememek için veya askere gitmemek için isyan yoluna başvuruluyordu veya sınıra yakın bir bölge olan Çürüksu'da yaşayan halk idarenin isteklerini, emirlerini Rus tarafına geçme tehdidiyle savuşturuyordu. Bu durumlar raporlara göre konsolosluk yardımcılığı kapanana kadar az çok devam etmiştir. Raporlarda bu durumlara çözüm olarak bölgede etkili bir otorite tesis edecek İstanbul tarafından atanması lazım gelen bir görevlinin üstün yetkilerle donatılarak bölgede görevlendirilmesidir. Ayrıca bölgeye ordu birliklerinin sevk edilmesinin gerekli olduğu ancak yeterli barınma ve beslenme koşullarının olmadığı Batum'da bu birliklerin de varlığının halkta tepkiye yol açtığı raporlarda sabit. Altyapı ve üstyapı yetersizliği bölgenin hem yerel halkını hem de bölgeye dışarıdan gelecekleri olumsuz etkilemekteydi. Konsolosların öneri ve talepleri İngiliz elçiliği aracılığıyla Osmanlı Hükümeti tarafından er geç olumlu anlamda cevaplanmıştır. Batum Trabzon valiliğinden ayrılmış, Batum'u idare edecek kişi direk İstanbul'dan atanmış, birlikler sevk edilmiş bölgeye, vs. Bu idari ve askeri değişiklikler kısmen Batum'da sükûnet ortamı sağlamıştır. Ancak bölge koşullarının yetersizliği ve halkın mizacının da etkisiyle kalıcı olamamıştır. Bu süreçte 1847'de Batum ve çevresinde uygulanmaya başlayan Tanzimat ise halk nezdinde bir karşılık bulmamış. Tanzimat öncesinde bölgeyi etkileyen ayanlar, valiler, beyler Tanzimat sonrasında da halkı yönlendiren kişiler olmuştur. Tanzimat uygulamalarını kendi çıkarlarına göre kullanmışlardır. Tepeden inmeci bir yaklaşımla uygulanmaya çalışılan Tanzimat tabanda bir karşılık bulamamış ve halk bu uygulamalara karşı da önceki tavırlarını takınmış veya takınmak zorunda bırakılmıştır.

Konsolosların takip ettiği bir diğer mesele de sınır sorunlarıdır. Ruslar ile Çürüksu dolaylarında bir küçük toprak parçasının kime ait olduğu sorunu 1840'tan 1852'ye kadar çözülememiş ve raporlara konu olmuştur. Bu mesele iki taraf arasında diplomasi ile halledilmeye çalışılmıştır. Ancak her iki tarafından kendince haklı olması bu sorunun çözüme kavuşmasını engellemiştir. Ayrıca Osmanlı-Rus sınırında gerçekleşen kaçakçılık faaliyetleri ve köle ticareti hem ikinci hem de üçüncü bölümlerde kitaba konu olmuştur. Abhazya bölgesinden gönüllü olarak Türklere köle olmak isteyenlerin olduğunu, Gürcülerin ise daha çok zorla ve kaçırılarak köle edildiği bilgisi İngiliz konsolosluk raporlarına işlenen bilgilerden. Köle ticaretinin Rus tarafının engellemesine rağmen bir şekilde nasıl devam ettiği raporlarda kaydedilen bilgiler arasında.

Kitabın ''*Konsolosluk Raporlarında Batum ve Çevresi Ticareti*'' başlıklı üçüncü bölümü ikinci bölümde olduğu gibi yıl yıl Batum ve çevresinin ticareti hakkında İngiliz konsolosların raporları kaynak alınarak oluşturulan bir çalışmadır. İngiliz ticaretinin gelişmesi için tesis edilen konsolos yardımcılığının kitabın ikinci bölümde uzunca değinilen idari, askeri ve sosyal yapıdan derinden etkilendiğini bu bölümde görmek mümkün. 1840-1852 yılları arasında süregelen otorite boşlukları, güvensiz ortam, kaçak ticaret, yerli halk arasındaki husumetler, beyler ve ayanlar arasındaki mücadeleler, Trabzon valilerinin bölgeye etkisi, sınır hattı boyunca yaşanan gerilimler, Rusların Avrupa mallarına uyguladığı gümrük tarifesi, Rusların sınırı etkin bir şekilde korumaya çalışması, ve kitapta bahsi geçen diğer sorunlar sebebiyle İngiliz konsoloslar Batum'dan ticari anlamda istedikleri verimi alamamışlardır. Batum'un ticari hacmi yıllar içinde minimal büyümeler ya gösterebilmiş ya gösterememiş. Raporlara konu olacak ticari bilgilerin azlığından dolayı konsoloslar bu ticari raporlarında da idari ve sosyal meseleleri elçiliğe aktarmışlardır. Konsoloslar idari ve sosyal sorunlar çözülmedikçe, Osmanlı Devleti gerekli yatırımları Batum'a yapmadıkça ve Batum ve çevresinde yaşayan halkın 'yabani' mizacında bir düzelme olmadıkça Batum'da İngilizlerin hedeflediği ticari büyüme ve gelişmenin gerçekleşemeyeceğini belirtmişlerdir. Ticaret ve politika çoğunlukla birlikte yürüdüğü için bu ayaklardan birinin zayıf olması diğerinin de yavaşlamasına neden olmuştur. İngilizlerin öngördüğü ekonomik ve ticari büyüme Batum'da Osmanlı hakimiyetinin son yıllarında başlamıştır ancak Batum'un asıl büyümesi Rus idaresi altına girdikten sonra olmuştur. Batum Rus idaresi altında bir liman ve sanayi şehrine dönüşmüştür.[8]

Yılmaz, yerel tarihçilik literatürüne yabancı kaynakların yerel tarih çalışmalarındaki önemini gösteren bu çalışması ile katkıda bulunmuştur. Yerel tarih çalışmalarında yerel kaynaklarla birlikte konsolosluk raporları özelinde yabancı kaynaklarında önemli bir yer edindiğini gözler önüne sermiştir. Türkiye'de devlet arşivleri, Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri yoğunlukla kullanılmıştır. Çalışmalara yeni bir soluk getirmek ve yeni bakış açıları kazandırmak adına yabancı kaynakların artarak tarih çalışmalarında kullanılması önemli bir husus. Çünkü var olan yerli ve yabancı kaynakların kullanılması bu kaynakları karşılaştırarak bilgilerin güvenilirliği hakkında daha sağlıklı fikir sahibi olmamıza imkan tanıyor, eksik bilgileri gideriyor, farklı bakış açılarından olayları inceleyebilme fırsatı tanıyor, bazı bilgilerin hatalı olduğunu gözler önüne seriyor olabilir. Kısacası konsolosluk raporları tarihyazımında yeni bir kaynak grubu olarak önümüze çıkıyor.

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[8] Yılmaz, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre Batum ve Çevresi,* 371-486.

Kitabın kaynakçası oldukça zengin ve yazarımız çalışmasında kaynak çeşitliliğine dikkat etmiştir. Hem yerli hem yabancı birincil kaynaklardan istifade etmekle birlikte çeşitli kaynaklara da başvurmuştur. Bununla birlikte kitabın sonunda kullanılan bazı kaynakların görselleri mevcut. Bu kaynaklardan kimisi İngilizce kimisi Osmanlıca kimisi de Fransızca kaleme alınmış. Bu ise kullanılan kaynakların çeşitliliğine bir delil olmakla birlikte yabancı kaynaklar ile yerli kaynakları içerdikleri bilgiler üzerinden karşılaştırma imkânını bizlere sunuyor. Bu bilgiler kimi zaman aynı olmakla birlikte kimi zaman da farklı olabilmekte. Bu durum da olaylara farklı bakış açılarıyla yaklaşmakla açıklanabilir. Farklı bakış açılarıyla yazılan kaynaklar ise bizlere olayları daha geniş açılardan ve çeşitli taraf ve bağlamlar üzerinden anlama fırsatı veriyor. Ayrıca kitapta istatistiki verilerden, tablolardan, görsellerden ve haritalardan yararlanılmış. Özellikle son bölümde ticari verileri ortaya koymak için tablolardan ve sayısal verilerden yararlanılmış.

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