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in Transition, 1700-1850*

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Introduction: Living in the Ottoman House

Virginia H. Aksan & Veysel Şimşek*

“What is significant about empires in history was their ability to set the context in which political transformation took place. The enticements of subordination and enrichment kept empires in motion, in tension or conflict with each other and other kinds of states. Memories of empire, rejection and fear of empires, and aspirations to make new complex polities inspired and constrained leaders and followers, the ambitious, the indifferent and the compelled.”

“For all this time, as Ottoman subjects, our honour and property have been protected by the Sublime State. Our freedom is still intact. The other day when I was in Büyükdere, the British pestered me saying ‘come, let’s put you under British protection.’ I replied that “all my ancestors have always lived with Ottomans. It would be unseemly for us to become something else.” *From a conversation by Dimitri of Kayseri, a zimmi, overheard in Silivrikapı, Istanbul, July 1840.*¹

Biography is back with a vengeance in the writing of history under the guise of the exploration of “identity” in late multi-ethnic imperial settings. We are experiencing an age of tremendous upheaval and angst about the future of the post WWII nation-state which has led in turn to questions about the nature of subjecthood, citizenship and community especially in the pre-modern world, just one reason that the study of the Ottoman Empire has become such a growth industry.

* McMaster University, Canada. This volume is dedicated to the memory of Oktay Aksan, 1934-2013, affectionately known as “the last Ottoman”. *Nur içinde yatsın.*

1 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 11. Cengiz Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde “Havadis Jurnalleri” (1840-1844)* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), 64.

According to a recent reflection on the subject, twentieth century nationalist histories which cast firm ethnic associations into the early nineteenth century are (or should be) a thing of the past.²

Driven by the absolute necessity for ethical precision around subjecthood, and retribution for victimization, our own age has had particular difficulty in penetrating the opacity of survival which characterized all subjects of pre-modern non-western empires. Şuhnaz Yılmaz and İpek Yosmaoğlu comment: “What taints the imperial past is not only the foreign rulers, but the experience of a communal existence that is anathema to the nation state’s exigency of clear boundaries and social purity.”³

My work has wandered in and out of the question of “Ottomanness” across a couple of decades, starting with a biography of Ahmed Resmi and more recently asking the question “Who was an Ottoman?”⁴ Invited to contribute to an edited volume on biography at the turn of the millennium, I suggested that historians of the Ottoman Empire spend a good deal of time “listening to silence...An Ottoman official or anyone who aspired to Ottomanism, Muslim and non-Muslim, acquiesced in communal silence, accepting the ambiguity of the clichés embodied in Muslim/Ottoman theories of rule about ‘justice’ or ‘tolerance.’”⁵ More specifically, how do we comprehend “identities” in the era 1650-1850, when individuals were more likely recognized (or treated empirically as such by historians) as part of collectives (political households, ayans, *ulema*, court cliques, ethnicities, slaves,

2 Aslı Ergül, “The Ottoman Identity: Turkish Muslim or *Rum*?” *Middle Eastern Studies* 48:4 (2012). 629-45, an up-to-date look at the literature on the Byzantine-Turco-Ottoman synthesis. The new approaches to non-Muslim minorities can be found most recently in Jens Hanssen, “‘Malhamé – Malfamé’”: Levantine Elites and Transimperial Networks on the Eve of the Young Turk Revolution,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011), 25-48, and Christine Phillou, “Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51:1 (2009), 151-81.

3 Şuhnaz Yılmaz and İpek Yosmaoğlu, “Fighting the Spectres of the Past: the Dilemmas of Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans and the Middle East,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 44:5 (2008), 677-693.

4 Virginia Aksan, “The Question of Writing Pre-Modern Biographies of the Middle East,” in Mary Ann Fay, ed., *Auto/Biography and the Creation of Identity and Community in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 191-200, and Virginia Aksan, “Who was an Ottoman? Reflections on ‘Wearing Hats’ and ‘Turning Turk,’” in Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, ed. *Europe und die Türkei in 18. Jahrhundert / Europe and Turkey in the Eighteenth Century* (Göttingen: Unipress, 2011), 305-18.

5 Aksan, “The Question,” 195.

minorities, women, warriors, guilds, nomads), or regions (northern and southern tier), or even spatial configurations (outsiders, insiders; urban, rural; port cities, interior)? And what to make of the cultural mediators: the converts, renegades, diplomats, missionaries and merchants, populations whose presence in the empire was particularly large in its latter days.

We do have a deepening of the literature, already rich, on the experience of non-Muslims, Jewish and Christian families, who constituted the native Levantine population of Ottoman realms, and whose experience as “Ottomans” was transformed in the period under discussion, a period most acknowledge is the beginning of a new global order. The cultural ramifications of the radical transformation of Ottoman society on Muslim natives, however, is less well developed and overly represented by imaginary Orients and non-native narratives of renegades and adventurers. Until very recently, the native voices which most closely reflected the agenda of the European enlightenment were assumed to represent the majority of Ottoman subjects, and preferred as authorities to those who contested the transformation with their own Christian or Muslim worldviews. This absence and the questions that arise from it have been at the heart of a project called “Ottoman Profiles,” which ruefully is still underway after more than a decade.

A number of the contributions in this volume began as discussions at a Great Lake Ottoman Workshop, and then as a panel which I organized for the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference held in Geneva, both in 2009. (represented here by Murat Cem Mengüç, Maurits von den Boogert and Christine Isom-Verhaaren). In securing funding for my own project, I proposed organizing a workshop on “Living in the Empire,” which would draw on historians who work across the span of the empire to interrogate our understanding of what it took to be a participant in Ottoman society, and how that might have changed post-1700. I wanted to explore ways in which we could articulate Ottoman loyalty and disloyalty in a collapsing world through alternate, and less obvious means of self-expression (library & textual analysis, milieu, etc.) and without reifying existing stereotypes. What makes these individuals Ottoman? Or subscribe to a notional “Ottomanness”? How did they understand and express their relationship with their imperial overlords in Istanbul? What lends them “authenticity” as Ottoman subjects and/or cross-cultural mediators? What can they tell us about this unique hybridized and by 1840 semi-colonial setting? What can we learn about the circulation of knowledge in a non-western society at the edge of the modern age?

The conference that resulted, “Living Empire: Ottoman Identities in Transition 1700-1850,” was organized by me and Veysel Şimşek, and held on the campus

of McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, in April 2012. The call for papers emphasized the desire to expand the scope of our understanding of the period by using materials assembled on those who “lived” empire: not just the lives of the imperial elites, their foreign advisors and detractors, but also those of ordinary people of a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, who willingly or unwillingly were Ottoman subjects. We wanted especially to hear from some largely ignored or overlooked Ottoman voices, Muslim and non-Muslim, from the fullest extent of Ottoman territories as possible.

To state the obvious, most of us discovered that very few of our subjects/authors use the term “Ottoman” about themselves, but many found ways to associate with “sultan-ness,” and to connect themselves to sultanic beneficence, perhaps through the ubiquitous contract for service so distinctive to the Ottoman patrimonial state, or joining a network of associations, such as the court bureaucracy, urban and provincial political households, warrior bands, army regiments, guilds, or the Muslim legal or religious circles. The discussion which closed the conference identified a further five clusters of ideas around the experience of living in the empire, with particular focus on the transformative period.

Agency, continuity and legacy are aspects of the drama around the lives we described. Using identity as a category of analysis, we recognized three aspects which affect the way we view our subjects: who the individuals (or collective) were as measured through our contemporary lens; how they might have expressed belonging themselves, and what they were not.

- The redistribution of wealth so prevalent an aspect of Ottoman society of the period had an enormous influence on the reordering of the social hierarchies in our stories: Some thought it possible to discern the evolution of a sort of political contract, or at the very least, a set of negotiations at work as Burbank/Cooper stress in the quotation which opens this introduction.
- Ecology, or the importance of environment, combined with mobility, flexibility and risk, as well as moral codes and state propaganda, were also part of the discussion of survival in this context. Warrior societies on the steppes, in the mountains and on the sea, and later on, the Ottoman regulars in uniforms: *gazis/corsairs/deli/bashibozuks* were hired guns but served as an important source of labor for the dynasty. When is a *kul* or conscript not a slave; when is a *gazi* not a corsair, when is a *bashibozuk* simply a man without a master?⁶

6 Or even, when is a Christian not a Muslim? as ably demonstrated in a fascinating article by Ariel Salzmann, “A Travelogue Manqué: the Accidental Itinerary of a Maltese

- Around the question of legitimacy and belonging, we had more questions than answers. How to determine the impact of the projections of sovereignty such as love of ruler and subject; father/son to motherland; ruler of three continents & the sacred cities to Sunnism; how to observe the transformation from millet to milletism to nationalism. How do we measure change to such projections and arguments about legitimacy?⁷
- Geography and mapping the imaginary space of empire in the lives under study underwrote everything we did. The huge variety of geopolitical space – urban and rural, land and sea, the centrality of the Aegean islands of the Mediterranean, and the Levant – all proved important to our understanding of the genesis or adoption of an Ottoman identity.
- We were left with a question about causality: Is it possible to see change, rupture, different strategies or modes of behavior through the lens of an individual resident in Ottoman territories before 1850?

Organization of the volume

Part one “Ottomans and Turks: Some Initial Thoughts,” offers us some provocations. Maurits van den Boogert introduces us to the variables of *homo ottomanicus* and begins to collect the characteristics of such an animal, noting that the only thing fixed about identity from the Ottoman point of view was the fiscal and legal aspects of residence. Palmira Brummett then takes up the question of Boogert’s “Ottoman identity grid” by “seeing” the Ottomans through the lens of European encounters – the narration of the “Grand Turk” and the search for classical antiquity from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – when the majority of the encounters were embedded in the networks by which the traveler navigated Ottoman space. Individuals peek through in this context. The difference in the eighteenth century is that the amount of knowledge on the “Turk”, written and visual, had exploded, so that categories such as “Janissaries” were clichés. The individual is still effaced. Murat Cem Mengüç returns to Aşıkpaşazade’s text and its sources to trace

Priest in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean?” in *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean* Adnan A. Husain and K. E. Fleming, eds., (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 149-72.

7 A novel study of the Tanzimat courts and the agency of non-Muslim plaintiffs and litigants is a very good example: Milen V. Petrov, “Everyday Forms of Compliance: Subaltern Commentaries on Ottoman Reform, 1864-1868,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46:4 (2004), 730-59.

the idea of an individual and an evolving sense of Turkishness (or Anatolian-ness) as an argument about historical objectivity in the earliest Ottoman histories.

The second section: “Getting by as an Ottoman,” takes us into the world of Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals of the 18th century. Kahraman Şakul’s Zihni Ismail Pasha’s experiments with military technology invite us to consider the very existence of inventors in the Ottoman world, and how his experiments might have been received in a slightly different context such as Italy or Hungary. Orlin Sabev’s excursion into Ibrahim Müteferrika asks us to question the labels of convert, Mason, Jew and Muslim as ascribed to the printer as obfuscating autobiography. Fatih Yeşil’s deep knowledge of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi is abundantly evident in the weaving of the extraordinary ways in which the Ottoman of Selim III was navigating the superficial waters of *edeb* while swimming with the currents of reform acquired while in Vienna, a synthesis that evidences the transformation of the “Ottoman” from the sword wielding warrior-administrator to the diligent, world-trotting scribe in the 18th century. Finally, Ethan Menchinger takes on Ahmed Vâsif’s worldview and traces the sources of his notion of causality and change, a genuine philosophy of history. Tracing Ahmed Vâsif’s thoughts in his writings, Menchinger challenges the past and present notion that the Ottoman mentality was blinded by an “Oriental fatalism”, and while unique to the period, he argues that such a philosophy of history arose from a context in which the Ottoman bureaucrats were increasingly concerned about political reform and moral responsibility.

The three articles in the third section: “Beyoğlu, Getting by as foreigners and non-Muslims,” form the most cohesive set of essays in the volume. Frank Castiglione examines the case of the Pisani dragoman family of the British Embassy in the 19th century, demonstrating just how complicated the legal and personal definitions of subjecthood were. Frederick Pisani thought himself an Ottoman, while Count Alexander Pisani’s heirs claimed British citizenship in filing his last will and testament in Britain. Both also laid claim to being Italian. Julia Landweber tells the story of the 18th century murder of a French cook of the French embassy by a Venetian barber of the Italian *bailo*. The resolution to the case is clearly an example born of the nature of the status of these foreign nationals in Pera, and their changing perceptions about nationality based on their social order. Will Smiley’s article involves the tale of putative Greek Orthodox privateers, now Russian “citizens”, and their release following the peace treaty of 1792 which stipulated their return to Russia. At various times in their negotiations with the Ottomans, these corsairs called themselves Christian, Muslim, Russian, and Venetians, a fine example of how agency might operate as manpower became more valued.

Christine Isom-Verhaaren, Tolga Esmer and Veysel Şimşek bring “Defending the Empire” into the discussion in section four. Five corsair captains are analyzed by Isom-Verhaaren through the autobiographical passages to be found in their narratives, bringing us back to the place they thought of as Rum. Esmer takes a closer look at the autobiography of Deli Mustafa (d. 1792), whose curious narrative reveals details about fighting for a living and the identity of an Ottoman soldier of fortune at the turn of the nineteenth century. Esmer further alerts us to the possibility as using such as text as an “ego document”, scrutinizing the narrative and self-fashioning strategies aimed at his target audience. Veysel Şimşek focuses on the conscripts of the reformed, European style army, which emerged as a new social group as a result of Ottoman political-military transformation between 1820s and 1850s. He probes the conscripts’ social and ethnic origins, and their responses to their novel, state-imposed identity as the sultan’s unwilling full-time (and likely life-time) soldiers.

The final section of this issue, “Living Empire in the Provinces,” provides us with five regional perspectives on Ottomanness. James Reilly argues that al-Makki’s eighteenth century narrative demonstrates a tension between a Muslim universalism represented by the Ottomans and parochial concerns in the Syrian town of Homs. Dana Sajdi creates mental maps of the place names mentioned by her eighteenth century authors as expressions of their social location, profession, political networks, religiosity or personal ambitions. Charles Wilkins hones in on the life of a Muslim judge and merchant from Aleppo. Using waqf documents from the establishment of a madrasa, Wilkins draws a portrait of a complex individual, servant of the Ottomans, status as a descendant of the prophet, Sufi adherent and patron of the Kurds. Antonis Hadjikyriacou takes us to the island of Cyprus to examine the life of three individuals tied to the Ottoman system as dragoman, tax collector (*muhassıl*) and an Armenian dragoman-merchant. What is intriguing in his piece is the evidence of the long (if erratic) arm of the Ottoman state in the eighteenth century. Fatma Sel Turhan traces the life and death of a popular rebel leader from Bosnia during the 1820s and 1830s, Hüseyin Kapudan. Turhan analyses his undulating career path in the context of centralization, territoriality and rebellion in Bosnia. The final paper by Darin Stephanov uses Bulgarian *kasides* recited in local ceremonies to explore the orchestration of a tour by Sultan Abdulmecid to Bulgaria in 1846 as part of the new visibility of the sultan, and the construction of official birthday and accession-day celebrations in expression of collective loyalty to the Ottoman monarch.

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S E C T I O N 1

Ottomans and Turks: Some Initial Thoughts

Resurrecting *Homo Ottomanicus*: The Constants and Variables of Ottoman Identity

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Homo Ottomanicus'u Yeniden Canlandırma: Osmanlı Kimliğinin Sabitleri ve Değişkenleri

Öz ■ “Osmanlı kimdir” sorusuna hâlihazırda birçok ilginç cevap verilmiş olsa da, söz konusu cevaplar, çoğunlukla Osmanlı toplumunun renkli doğasını yansıtmakla yetinmekte ve dolayısıyla aslında soyut bir kavram olan Osmanlı kimliği mefhumunu anlamamızı zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu makalede özcü yaklaşımlardan sakınılarak *homo ottomanicus*'u elle tutulur bir şekilde tanımlayabilmemize yarayacak somut kıstaslar tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Öncelikle Osmanlı toplumu, birbirinden çeşitli sınırlarla ayrılmış fertlerin ayrı ayrı bir ögesini teşkil ettiği bir matris gibi düşünülmüştür. Daha sonra, seçilmiş bir vakanın teşrih edilmesinden yola çıkılarak, imparatorluk tebaasından herhangi bir ferdin kimliğinin, söz konusu matriste işgal ettiği yere göre şekillendiği önerilmiştir. Bunun yanında, söz konusu sınırlardan sadece mali ve hukuki olanların daha katı ve nispeten daha fazla somutlaştırılabildiği önerilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, kimlik, yabancılar, vergiler, hukuki statü

In a thought-provoking article on writing biographies for the pre-modern Middle East, a prominent scholar has observed that “all our recent investigations into the eighteenth and early nineteenth century point to the survival of “Ottomanism” as long as it remained studiously undefined, ‘a principled forgetfulness’ that thinly veiled its arbitrariness.”¹ It is true that the harder one tries to identify what constitutes an Ottoman prior to the nineteenth century, the more elusive the

* Leiden, the Netherlands.

1 Virginia Aksan, “The Question of Writing Pre-modern Biographies of the Middle”, *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East* ed. Mary Ann Fay (New York: Palgrave 2001), 191-200, esp. 195.

Ottomans seem to become. At the same time, the question of “who is an Ottoman” has already yielded some very interesting results. In search of *homo ottomanicus*, several colleagues, like early modern taxonomists, have brought forward a wide variety of colorful specimens. For example, in the volume edited by Meropi Anastasiadou and Bernard Heyberger alone we find descriptions of the following candidates: a Christian notable from Ohrid; a Muslim sheikh from Bitola; a Greek priest from Serres; a Kurdish emir; and two members of two Greek bourgeois families, one from Alexandria, the other from the central Peloponnese.² These case studies not only originate from various corners of the Ottoman Empire, they also cover an extended period of time, ranging from the seventeenth until the early twentieth century. Collecting specimens was part and parcel of what was known as “natural history” during the Enlightenment, and natural historians at the time struggled with the same question as Ottoman historians today: each specimen seems worth collecting in its own right, but how does the collection further our understanding of the species?

If we are going to compare any number of individual candidates, then at least there needs to be some sort of agreement on the basic points of comparison. This article is intended as an attempt to explore systematically whether we can identify any constants and variables for our discussion about “Ottoman identity”. Dissection was part and parcel of the early modern exploration of the natural environment, so in the course of this exercise we cannot avoid getting our hands dirty. In order to study the anatomy of *homo ottomanicus*, like the British resurrectionists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we therefore need to disinter at least one corpse.

Anatomizing homo ottomanicus

The single specimen I propose to dissect was a man whose lifetime spanned the second half of the eighteenth century, and the first quarter of the nineteenth. He was born in Aleppo in 1172 of the *hijrī* calendar (i.e. 1758 C.E.), and after several years of on-the-job training, he followed in his father’s professional footsteps. Our anonymous corpse, whose name will be revealed below, spoke Arabic, Turkish, and a few other languages. This was vital in his line of work, which was connected with Aleppo’s long-distance trade. It is clear that he was well-connected in the city, and that he was intimately familiar with the practice of Islamic law, but he was not a Muslim. Which of these aspects of our John Doe’s

2 Meropi Anastasiadou and Bernard Heyberger, eds., *Figures anonymes, figures d’élite: Pour une anatomie de l’Homo ottomanicus* (Istanbul: Isis 1999).

life may have been essential to his identity, and which were secondary? The fact that we have so little information to work with should not deter us, because this is the case for the vast majority of people living in the Ottoman Empire. So now I suggest that we attempt to weigh the aforementioned characteristics from an Ottoman perspective.

First of all, it seems important to distinguish identity as a personal matter from group identity. When we examine Ottoman individuals, we need to establish which elements of her/his (presumed) identity might have been personal, and which were connected with the most abstract group level, that of “Ottoman belonging”. It is the personal elements I propose to label ‘variables’ and the “Ottoman” elements I suggest we call ‘constants’.

Not each and every aspect of John Doe’s life needs to be examined here in equal detail, because several are easily recognizable as variables. For example, knowledge of Islamic law cannot possibly have been very important for the identity formation of *homo ottomanicus*. The same is true for his connections with local elites, which certainly tell us something about this individual, but very little about the concept of Ottomanism *avant la lettre* which we are trying to define. Similarly an individual’s profession undoubtedly contributed to his or her personal identity, and in many cases it also linked them to society in general and to the state in particular. The guilds, of course, are a prime example of such a professional context, which must have had a significant influence on the identity of its members. However, not all professions were organized in this way, and it is not clear whether having a job to begin with should be a defining element of “Ottoman identity”. Despite the unquestionable significance of the group with regard to professions, I propose that we consider whatever individual Ottomans did for a living a private matter.

The same is true for one’s place of residence, i.e. an urban or a rural environment. In principle, Ottoman identity should accommodate both habitats, and all other possibilities not covered by them. Having said this, it might be worth reflecting on the similarities brought to light by the practitioners of peasant studies between the living conditions of rural communities all over the world. The lives of Ottoman peasants may have been more similar to those of Mexican peasants, for example, than of Ottoman city slickers. I am not saying that we should leave peasants out of the equation altogether – on the contrary, but if we want to keep them in, it means that our definition of Ottoman identity will need to be based on case studies of farmers too. This is easier said than done, of course, because the sources do not necessarily cooperate, but a discussion based on city dwellers alone would result in a too one-sided picture of *homo ottomanicus*.

Another obvious variable is the time in which our candidate lived. Some have equated the archetypal Ottoman with “the Ottoman citizen”, which implicitly limits the discussion to the Tanzimat, because that is when the concept of citizenship became relevant for the Ottomans.³ I disagree with this; after all, the whole Ghazi debate about the early Ottomans also revolves around issues of identity. In that context the question is whether or not being a warrior of the faith was a defining element for the founders of the dynasty. Why then, should we disregard the period between 1300 and the 1830s? In other words, the times undoubtedly influenced the identity of individual Ottomans, and even the identity of “the” Ottoman, but I don’t think he or she lived in any particular period.

As for the color of our specimen’s skin, he would most probably have been described scientifically as “Caucasian”, a description which, at that time, included West Africa and did not necessarily say anything about skin tone. Although this is conveniently vague, the importance of race for the concept of the archetypal Ottoman must be addressed more concretely. There were also black Ottomans, after all, not only the powerful chief eunuchs in Istanbul, but also the black fortune-tellers of Aleppo, who largely remain anonymous because they seldom appear in the sources. On this point demographics implicitly enter the discussion; because they almost certainly formed a minority in the Ottoman Empire, black people can certainly be regarded as Ottomans, but it seems far-fetched to claim that *homo ottomanicus* was black by definition. Race, too, therefore must be considered a variable, rather than a constant.

So far I have tried consistently to say “he or she” whenever this seemed appropriate. It is useful therefore also explicitly to address the importance of gender for an Ottoman identity. It is tempting to think that the state organization was dominated by men, and that, from a fiscal point of view, women were less important. Does this mean that the quintessential Ottoman is more likely to be a male rather than female? I do not think so. The state was certainly not indifferent to its female subjects, be they Muslims or non-Muslims. If the state had not cared at all, Ottoman women would have been able to leave the country, for example, and settle abroad. This was not the case, however, not even for non-Muslim women married to foreigners. The reason was not exclusively biological in the sense that the Ottoman government had to hold on to its female subjects as the mothers of future generations of Ottomans. Ottoman subjects, men and women, were also part of larger structures – families, fiscal units, religious communities, etc. – which formed the fabric of society; if individuals had the freedom to leave

³ Ursinus’ article in *Ibid.*

these structures, then that undermined society as a whole.⁴ The main point of this part of the discussion is that in gender we have found yet another variable for the construction of Ottoman identity.

In the dissection of our John Doe, we have cut through quite a bit of soft tissue, and all we have discovered is a bunch of variables: profession, habitat, even gender. Each was important for the identity formation of individual Ottomans, but not for any “species” we could call Ottoman. In search of something firmer, let’s look more closely at the criterion of languages. Judging by the published case studies I have read, the candidates spoke Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Kurdish, or Serbian – or any combination of these tongues. We should of course add Armenian and Hebrew, and probably a few more languages. Is any one of these more important than the others? Probably not, but the linguistic mosaic of the eastern Mediterranean does seem to be particularly Ottoman. I therefore suggest that *homo ottomanicus* had to be a native speaker of at least one of the languages which were indigenous to the Ottoman Empire. This might lead to discussions about whether or not Italian, for example, counts as an “indigenous” language. For the present purpose the most important thing is that we seem to have found our first constant.

The same logic could be applied to another criterion; the fact that our anonymous specimen was a non-Muslim. It seems obvious that this does not disqualify him as a potential archetypal Ottoman. Yes, there were differences between the legal status of Muslims and non-Muslims. In theory they ceased to exist after the promulgation of the Gülhane Edict of 1839 made all Ottomans equal before the law, but in practice these differences undoubtedly persisted afterwards. Again, for individual Ottomans it probably mattered a great deal that they were part of a particular community, be it the Jewish millet in Palestine or the *eşraf* faction formed by the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad in Aleppo. Nevertheless, I believe that these differences are less important than the common administrative framework of which they were a part. So instead of identifying the Ottoman with any particular officially recognized group in society, I would argue that being part of (at least) one of these groups is an essential element of Ottoman identity.

If language and affiliation can be considered part of the skeleton of *homo*

4 See, for example, the case of Mrs. Pentlow, the Greek widow of an English merchant in seventeenth-century Izmir, described by Merlijn Olzon, “Towards Classifying Avantias: A Study of Two Cases involving the English and Dutch Nations in Seventeenth-Century Izmir,” in *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, eds., Alastair Hamilton, et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 159-186, esp. 174-185.

ottomanicus, the question of birth place was probably the back bone. On 6 Shawwal 1285/19 January 1869, the Ottoman government passed the law on the Ottoman nationality. In particular the first and last of its nine articles are worth remembering here. The first article states that “every individual born from an Ottoman father and an Ottoman mother, or solely from an Ottoman father, is an Ottoman subject.” The ninth article states that “every individual living in Ottoman territory is considered an Ottoman subject and treated accordingly unless his status as a foreigner is duly established.” These clauses are not much different from how most Western countries defined their subjects, and it is easy to assume that this particular law, like many other legal reforms of the Tanzimat, was the product of Westernization.⁵ Two unconnected sets of evidence suggest that this was not the case. The first concerns the way foreigners were described in some Ottoman sources. In particular I am referring to the residence permits issued to members of the Dutch community in Istanbul in the early decades of the eighteenth century. We know that such permits already existed much earlier, because in a recent article Vera Constantini them for late sixteenth-century Cyprus. The phrase she found in the Venetian sources was *fare sigiletto et cogetto*.⁶ While we know little details about this procedure, two legal documents, *sicills* and *hüccets*, thus are mentioned explicitly. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it was possible to have a document drawn up in Italian at an embassy and to submit it to the Ottoman chancery for a kind of visa. These visas are very short, and the only thing they confirm explicitly is that the person described in the document was “originally” from Holland. The Arabic *asl*, literally “root”, is generally used. Documents with the same wording were issued to Dutchmen who, back in Amsterdam, were generally called “Portuguese Jews”. From what follows it should become clear that the roots referred to by the Ottoman chancery actually constitute birth right.

Occasionally, these documents were also applied for by people for whom they were not intended, like Greek merchants from Izmir who had settled in Amsterdam. Once they had obtained citizenship there, they asked to be recognized as Dutch merchants by the Dutch trade authorities. Legally, it was difficult for the

5 J.H. Kramers, *Strafrechtspraak over Nederlanders in Turkije* [Criminal Law regarding Dutchmen in Turkey] (Amsterdam, 1915), Appendix C, 222-223: ‘Note verbale circulaire’ issued by the Porte to all foreign legations in Istanbul on 8 February 1869 (in French).

6 Vera Constantini, “Venetian Trade and the Boundaries of Legality in Early Modern Ottoman Cyprus,” in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles-Veinstein, (Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 35-46, esp. 40.

Dutch government to deny such requests, with the somewhat strange result that, for example, a man called Joannis Pringos from Zagora in Thessaly, now called himself Johannes Brink and styled himself a Dutchman. This was all fine and well as long as Pringos/Brink remained in Europe, but as soon as he set foot on Ottoman soil the Turkish government considered him an Ottoman again. This happened in 1776, when Pringos applied for a document from the Dutch embassy in Istanbul, which would proclaim him a Dutchman by birth. The embassy refused, because granting the request would undoubtedly have resulted in a dispute with the Porte. The Ottoman government, the ambassador explained, “granting such request [for visa] on good faith, if I would vouch for Brink as a true Dutchman by birth”, but “such a document would be of no use to him, as soon as the [Ottoman] government discovers and recognizes that he was the same [man] who was born in Zagora.”⁷ In the end a very Ottoman solution was found; Pringos’ business partner in Istanbul, a man called Dimitri Fronimo, was a Dutch protégé, and he was allowed to register two servants under his *berât*.⁸ The embassy thus registered Pringos as Fronimo’s servant, and applied for a *yol emri*, precisely the type of document the Ottoman government was using more and more to monitor the movements of merchants like Fronimo and Pringos.⁹ The case of the Greeks of Amsterdam supports the view that the concept of “right of birth” was a decisive identity signifier, at least from the state’s point of view.

Does this mean that our man, who was born and raised in Aleppo, might indeed have belonged to the *genus of homo ottomanicus*? Before I answer this question, it is time to reveal the identity of our corpse. In the Ottoman sources – in one tax document and a single chronicle to be precise¹⁰ – he is described as “signior

7 Chargé d’affaires Tor to Fagel, 4 November 1776 [in Dutch], in J.G. Nanninga, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel: Vierde deel: 1765-1826. Eerste stuk* [Sources for the History of the Dutch Levant Trade: Part 4: 1765-1826. First Section] (The Hague, 1964), 233.

8 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul (BOA), Ecnebi Defteri (A.DVN.DVE) 22/1 (Felemenk), page 406, entry 1760, dated 17 Cumādā I 1187/6 August 1773.

9 M.H. van den Boogert, “Ottoman Greek in the Dutch Levant Trade: Collective Strategy and Individual Practice (c. 1750-1821),” in *The Ottomans and Trade* eds. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, (Rome: l’Istituto per l’Oriente 2006) [= *Oriente Moderno* XXV (LXXXVI), n.s. 1-2006], 129-147, esp. 133. In Istanbul, separate registers were kept for *yol emris* issued to *berâtlis* in the second half of the eighteenth century, e.g. BOA, A.DVN.DVE 51.

10 Dutch National Archives, The Hague, Legation Archives Turkey, file 1266: Document in Arabic issued by Hasan Efendi *al-kharrājjī* on 19 Ramadan 1198/6 August 1784 at the request of van Maseijk, whose nickname Jacky is mentioned. Cf. ‘Abbūd, *Al-Murtād fī ta’rikh Halab wa-Baghdād*, page 53 (line 8): “al-sinyūr Jākī” (in the preceding lines

Jacky”, because Jacky was the nickname of Jan van Maseijk, the son of Nicolaas van Maseijk and his English wife, Elizabeth. He was born in Aleppo on Christmas Day 1758, and baptized there on 16 September 1759.¹¹ Nicolaas van Maseijk was the Dutch consul at the time, and after his death, on 28 February 1784, Jan succeeded him. He spoke several European languages, as well as Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, and Hebrew. Although his Dutch was perfectly fluent too, he may never have set foot in the Netherlands, because he seems to have spent his entire life in Syria, travelling only to Istanbul for business, and possibly to Jerusalem as a tourist. While there are no paintings of him, it is highly likely that he wore the local dress for most of his life, although on official occasions he must have changed to European clothing. He was a respected figure in Aleppo, with excellent connections in government circles. When Napoleon invaded Egypt, for example, all French and Dutch merchants in the Levant suddenly became Ottoman enemies, but Van Maseijk was left unharmed, and could even intervene with the authorities on behalf of the French consul, who was imprisoned in Aleppo during this time. The Dutchman does not appear to have married, and none of the sources mention any children. Jan van Maseijk died in Aleppo on 18 April 1826.¹²

The Ottomans and the “Other”

It is not clear how Jan van Maseijk might have defined himself. To Ottomans, he may have described himself simply as a “Frank”. In theory that generic Ottoman term for all Europeans referred to their countries of origin, but in Van Maseijk’s case strictly speaking that did not apply; his mother was English and his father Dutch, but Van Maseijk was born in Aleppo and may never have visited either of his motherlands. Even among “Franks” it would not have been easy to pick one appropriate label for him. After all, Jan van Maseijk was the vice-consul for Naples, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as full consul for the Dutch Republic. Since he had succeeded his father in that office, and most of his time was spent serving the interests of the Dutch, we may assume that his principal professional loyalty was to Holland. At the same time, he was so far removed from the

it is made clear that this is the name of the Dutch [‘Felemenk’] consul). Van Maseijk mentions his own linguistic skills in a letter to E. Edwards at Tripoli dated 27 April 1768 (in English), which is kept in [English] National Archives, London, State Papers 110/74 (IV).

¹¹ The National Archives, London, State Papers 110/70: Register of marriages, baptisms, and burials in Aleppo, 1756-1800, not paginated, entries ordered chronologically.

¹² Otto Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegen woordigers, residerende in het buitenland, 1584-1810* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 354.

Netherlands that we should probably not project on him any strong emotions or political opinions about the country. This seems to be supported by Van Maseijk's response to dramatic political changes "at home"; when Napoleon overran the Dutch Republic in 1795 and renamed his client state the Batavian Republic, for example, Van Maseijk effortlessly served the new regime, and when the republic became a kingdom in 1806, the consul in Aleppo dispassionately continued to do his work on its behalf. The consul seems to have been equally unaffected when the kingdom was dissolved again in 1810 (when it was formally annexed by France), and then restored between 1813 and 1815, but now with a Dutch king chosen from the most prominent family of former republicans.

In all likelihood the House of Osman formed a more tangible part of Jan van Maseijk's life than the House of Orange. Both the Ottoman and the European sources agree that Jan van Maseijk was not an Ottoman, however. In the Turkish and Arabic documents he is described either as a *mustemin* (i.e. a temporary resident) or a consul (i.e. a representative of a foreign nation). Both labels explicitly indicate that Van Maseijk was not a subject of the sultan. Nevertheless, he is an instructive specimen; strictly speaking, he may not belong for our collection, but the grounds for his exclusion also shed light on criteria for inclusion. In the course of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman authorities became increasingly preoccupied with the precise delineation (or delimitation) of the status of foreigner. As the military balance of power shifted more and more in favor of the West and several European powers (including Russia) presented themselves as the protectors of groups of non-Muslim Ottomans, the Sublime Porte was struggling to redefine the boundaries of the legal concept of *aman*. From the Ottoman perspective, any foreigners (usually men) who had married an Ottoman subject (usually women) were close to crossing the line between *mustemin* and *zimmi*. The same was true for foreigners who owned real property in the Ottoman Empire, because that suggested that their residence might not be temporary; again, this blurred the line between *mustemins* and *zimmis*, and the Porte made several attempts to clarify these fiscal and legal categories. Jan van Maseijk appears to have remained unmarried, so that was never an issue in his case, but the permanency of his residence in Aleppo might have been, if he had not had a diplomatic status his whole life.

Conclusion

Ottoman society was characterized by the multitude of official divisions of its members in sub-groups. On the highest level the division between Muslims and non-Muslims had become more pronounced after the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire's existence. The Muslims had a military (*askeri*) class and a civil

(*reaya*) class, to which the bureaucrats (*ilmiye*) were eventually added as a separate class. The differences between these classes were fiscal and legal in nature. On a social level, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (*eşraf*) formed a kind of Muslim “nobility of the blood”. This group, which also enjoyed legal and fiscal privileges, had an elevated social position in Ottoman society. At the same time, the *eşraf* were a mixed group in a socio-economic sense, the group including learned muftis, wealthy merchants, as well as simple shoemakers. Among the non-Muslims, there were “local” non-Muslims and foreigners, who all enjoyed the same legal status regardless of their religious affiliations. Among the Ottoman non-Muslims, Christians and Jews represented the largest sub-categories, but these too were sub-divided. The indigenous Ottoman Jews were joined by Jews from Spain after 1492; although technically foreigners, they settled in the Ottoman Empire as new subjects of the sultan. The Christians were even more diverse from the beginning and the situation became even more complex at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when most of these communities experienced schisms. As a result of missionary activities coordinated in Rome, many “Eastern Christian” communities split into an Orthodox and a Catholic faction that passionately fought each other to gain control over local churches and the communal administration, as well as positions in the clerical hierarchy. All these groups, be they Muslim or non-Muslim, were connected directly or indirectly with the Ottoman state and their members were all part of Ottoman society, even if some of them were not Ottomans. Ottoman society was a framework, a grid composed of a multitude of boundary patterns. There were all kinds of fiscal divisions; different legal statuses; social classes; religious communities; professional organizations; ethnic groups - and many other sub-groups, each with distinct identity markers, some of which were administrative (fiscal and/or legal) and therefore invisible, while other, for example dress, were more eye-catching and may have had immediate effects on every-day social relations between members of various groups.

A typical Ottoman was a man or a woman who was born in the Ottoman Empire and whose parents were Ottoman subjects, and who permanently resided in the Ottoman Empire. She or he could have had any of a number of skin colors, and could easily have had Central Asian facial characteristics (from the slanting eyes of the Mongols to the fair hair and blue eyes of the Abkhaze and the Georgians). At the same time it seems safe to say that his or her most distinguishing features would *not* have been South Asian, Southeast Asian, or East Asian. Our model Ottoman belonged to one of the Empire’s many confessional groups and spoke at least one of the Empire’s many languages as his or her mother tongue. “The” Ottoman also paid taxes to the imperial treasury. From the perspective

of the Ottoman government, these were probably the most fundamental criteria - the constants that we set out to identify. Depending on the circumstances of individual Ottomans, a number of variables then formed additional layers of their identity. These ranged from their living environment (urban/rural) to professional affiliations and such private elements as sexuality. Only by describing and analysing the lives of more individual Ottomans can we sketch out and fill in the Ottoman identity grid, which should bring us closer to understanding the complex nature of *homo ottomanicus*.

Resurrecting Homo Ottomanicus: The Constants and Variables of Ottoman Identity

Abstract ■ The question of “who is an Ottoman” has already yielded interesting answers, but they principally seem to reflect the multifaceted nature of the Ottoman Empire itself and therefore do not bring us much closer to an understanding of the abstract concept of Ottoman identity. While trying not to be essentialist, this article aims to establish some concrete criteria for our definition of *homo ottomanicus*. The anatomization of one individual case suggests that Ottoman identity was the product of a societal grid composed of a multitude of boundaries, only the fiscal and legal ones of which tended to be rigid and relatively objectifiable.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, identity, foreigners, taxes, legal status

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You Say ‘Classical,’ I Say ‘Imperial,’ Let’s Call the Whole Thing Off: Empire, Individual, and Encounter in Travel Narratives of the Ottoman Empire

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Sen de “Klasik”, Ben Diyeyim “Emperyal”, Sonra Ortada Buluşalım: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na Dair Seyahat Anlatılarındaki İmparatorluk, Fert ve “Karşılaşma” Kavramları

Öz ■ Her geçen yıl biraz daha zenginleşen “karşılaşma” literatürü, Osmanlılar’ın kim olduklarına ve kendi “ötekileri”nce nasıl tanımlandıklarına dair bildiklerimizi önemli ölçüde arttırmıştır. Her ne kadar karşılaşma kavramı gruplar, cemaatlar, devletler ve imparatorluklar seviyesinde vuku bulan karşılıklı ilişkileri içerse de, bu mefhum, en belirgin hale fert mertebesinde gelir. Mevzuubahis gruplar, cemaatlar, devletler ve imparatorluklar da onları oluşturan fertlerin incelenmesiyle daha iyi anlaşılır. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada Osmanlı topraklarındaki fertlerin Avrupalı Hristiyan kralların diyarından gelen fertlerce “anlatılması” konu edilmektedir. Makalede, Osmanlı toplumunu oluşturan fertlerin imparatorluklar arasında rekabet ve diyalog bağlamı göz önünde tutularak nasıl “anlatıldığı” yorumlanmakta ve bunun yanında “anlatıcının”, kendi hedef kitlesine anlattığı ferdi “hakikileştirirken” kullandığı tanımlayıcıları bir arada resmetmek amaçlanmaktadır. Çalışmada, üç geç 16. yüzyıl ve iki 18. yüzyıl Avrupalı seyyahı baz alınarak karşılaşma mefhumu işlenmekte ve aynı kavram Avrupalılar’ın Osmanlı tebaasından fertlerle karşılaşmaları ile ilgili olduğundan, kavramın muhtemel dönüşümüne dikkat çekilmektedir. Son olarak kısaca dönemselleştirmeye değinilmekte, yani karşılaşma tür(leri) mevzuubahis olduğunda 18. yüzyılın bir önceki çağdan hangi yönleri bakımından ayrı tutulup tutulamayacağı incelenmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, seyahat, etnografi, erken modern, fert

‘Seeing’ the Ottoman

By and large, travelers from the Christian kingdoms of Europe moving into Ottoman territory did not employ the term “Ottoman” for individuals they

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encountered. When they used a term at all, it tended to be “Turk,” an amorphous designation that suggested in its most general sense a Muslim resident in Ottoman domains. But “Turk” in the early modern era, was simply a frame-term which encompassed a whole universe of more nuanced descriptors. Any given individual resident in Ottoman lands might be labelled a “Turk” as part of the imperial, regional, or social group, but might not be labelled a “Turk” as an individual.

European Christian sojourners to Ottoman lands used a diverse, if circumscribed, set of designations for those whom they encountered in the well-protected domains (drawing upon what Maurits van den Boogert, in this volume, has called an “Ottoman identity grid”). Although religion is generally considered the default identity in such encounters, often enough a person’s religion was not even mentioned in travel narratives (either because it was taken for granted or because the narrator privileged other categories). Travelers classified people by gender, ethno-linguistic identity, occupation, commune, locality, age, status, and association with the “state” or the narrator’s own network of associates (or both). That is, an individual was identified by whom he or she knew, the point(s) of contact to the narrator. As with all migrants, travelers encountered Ottoman individuals based in part on that network of contacts (at home and abroad), and in part on their chosen paths of travel (counted in terms of places and persons experienced). For some travelers the paths of encounter were charted in advance and strictly adhered to. For others, serendipity and curiosity provided opportunities for encounter beyond those planned or anticipated. Also, the ways in which Ottoman individuals were told depended very much on the personality of the teller, as well as upon the teller’s setting and contacts.¹ Some travelers were flexible and gregarious while others avoided contact with ‘strangers’ and departed the Ottoman realm with the very same impressions they bore with them when they left home.

Another important factor affecting the image of the Ottoman individual is the knowledge-picture of the observer. By this I mean the collage of information (deriving from education, news, and experience among other sources) by which any individual narrator formulated a mental picture of the Ottomans in situ. Eye witness experience was important; but so too were the “voices” of the past that Cem Mengüç, in this volume, highlights as a critical element of Ottoman chroniclers’ narration of the well-protected domains. Narrators from the Christian kingdoms of Europe made the realm of the “Great Turk” comprehensible to their readers by drawing upon a complex and evolving universe of history, text, and memory. They ‘remembered’ the Ottoman realm as the site of ‘classical’ and

1 On personality differences, for example, see Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2004).

‘imperial’ pasts (Greek, Roman, and Biblical) that they claimed as their own. In short, the mental maps of many observers were constructed by their sense of Ottoman space as imperial space and classical space. There are, of course, other frames. Certain travelers when narrating the Ottomans focus very particularly on commercial and strategic interests almost to the exclusion of other frames of reference. The unedited Venetian diplomatic reports (*relazioni*) fit in some ways into this category although the imperial frame was important for them, and they incorporated layers of Venetian history into their narratives of place. By and large, however, one seldom finds an early modern account of Ottoman space which does not fit Ottoman groups or individuals into the imperial and classical modes, one way or another. There is a general, default knowledge-picture for educated individuals of a certain class and nation in each era. It varies by gender, inclination, level of familiarity, genre, and ideology (among other factors). But the ‘classical’ and ‘imperial’ remained enduring frames of reference for ‘Western’ observers throughout the period of Ottoman rule in the Afro-Eurasian oikumene.

The knowledge-picture along with eye-witness experience combined to form a ‘vision of reality’ that was then transmitted to a European Christian audience through a variety of genres, the travel narrative in particular, used to ‘show and tell’ the “Turk.” The vision of the eighteenth century traveler might simply be the reheated image of a medieval or sixteenth century traveler, because certain tropes of the Turk (his arrogance or lust for example) were recycled so often that the traveler (actual or armchair) might have no idea how dated or ‘unoriginal’ they actually were.² By 1700, the availability of images and narratives on the “Turk” was so expansive that exposure to the “Turk” was widespread, and the ways of speaking about him or her were well rehearsed.³ The empire and its denizens were incorporated into authoritative sources like compendia of knowledge in ways that transcended direct interest and were simply informational (or educational). Where more direct experience of the Ottomans was concerned, routine contact

2 In other cases, of course, narrative and image were plagiarized wholesale and very consciously. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, 73, notes that the English clergyman William Biddulph lifted whole passages directly from Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations* (French original 1568, and English translation 1585) and other printed sources for his own *The Travels of a Certain Englishman into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bithnia, Thracia and to the Blacke Sea* (London, 1609).

3 This is not the kind of familiarity illustrated by Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), for the sixteenth century. It is, rather, a familiarity created by the accumulation and circulation of text and image.

and conversation had been going on since the fifteenth century. But its scope, numbers of participants, and interpretation had expanded significantly by 1700.

Beyond the standard imperial and classical frames employed to depict Ottomans, travel narratives have varying emphases. For some travelers, the self as sojourner is the primary emphasis (*my* objectives, *my* comfort, *my* endeavors, *my* successes). For others the lessons presented to the reader take primacy (*you* take heed, see how it's done, read and learn). And for other authors it is the Ottoman citizen, him or herself (dress, faith, behavior, culture, politics), that takes center stage. The individual in these early modern visions of Ottoman 'realities' then took a variety of what one might call 'picture-forms': stick figure, cartoon figure, fashion or culture model, and so on. An individual might receive only incidental mention or might appear as a rich-text figure, one presented with a matrix of observed detail. Much less often, an Ottoman individual might appear as someone with thoughts and speech deemed worthy of documentation. That is, the portrait became a personality. Fleshed out, an Ottoman individual might be presented as a normalizing figure, a human being comparable to those the reader was familiar with at home. Or, alternatively, the individual might serve as an exoticizing figure (weird, fabulous, indelibly unlike some assumed "us").

In travel narratives, we see individual men much more than women, elites more than commons, and we tend not to see much of children at all. Often what we get are the hints and fragments, a kaleidoscopic vision of sultans, *kuls*, traders, renegades, scholars, commanders, shopkeepers --- and then the big and amorphous everyone else, a *reaya* (flock) of sorts. Sometimes we hear (or seem to hear) "their" voices. And that raises the question of what we hear as well as what we see of the individual. Virginia Aksan has suggested some of the difficulties we encounter in trying to assess the Ottoman individual, comparing the historian's task to "listening to silence;" and noting how "the community in the Middle East often effaces the individual."⁴

4 Virginia Aksan, "The Question of Writing Premodern Biographies of the Middle East," 191-200, in *Autobiography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East*, Mary Ann Fay, ed. (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), 195, 198. See also, Derin Terzioğlu, "Autobiography in Fragments: Reading Ottoman Personal Miscellanies in the Early Modern Era," 1-20, in *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, Istanbul Texts and Studies* 6, eds. Okay Akyıldız, et. al., (Würzburg, Ergon, 2007), 4, 9-10, 13, on Ottoman "practices of reading and writing that were conducive to autobiography..." and on how one glimpses the individual Ottoman author.

The Travel Narrative

In the languages of encounter literature we find the ‘remembered’ and constructed interactions of elite travelers with elite Ottomans, or glimpses of the people behind the major players that we might wish to ‘see’ more thoroughly. There is little enough in our texts of what one might actually call conversation; but there are plenty of allusions to the situations in which conversations clearly could and did take place (whether those conversations were the brief, anonymous exchanges required of logistics on the docks, or the relaxed and familiar ones that took place among friends and acquaintances over dinner and a bottle of wine). Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı have suggested some of those situations in the settings and sociabilities of the literary salon, a Mediterranean-wide phenomenon that shared characteristics across commune and class.⁵ And Kate Fleet, Ebru Boyar, and Fariba Zarinebaf have suggested more of the possibilities in the context of the street, the bar, and the house of ill repute.⁶ Each of these settings is one in which the circle of conversation might extend from Ottoman groups and individuals to outsiders.

But the fact is that the modes of telling employed in the early modern European travel account do not tend to include the repetition of conversations. At best they might include a highly stylized and formulaic sense of communications. But more commonly they provide a matrix of relationships that suggest the types of conversation that took place among individuals. These types are the formal (e.g., the courtly audience, treaty negotiations), the semi-formal (conversation that took place within set parameters of juridical or commercial negotiation and exchange), the casual (unplanned or unscripted encounters), and the intimate or convivial (the type of conversation that took place between people who were friends, or at least more than acquaintances). In these latter contexts we can envision the participants eating, drinking, chatting, sharing experiences and memories, having sex, laughing.

Language, of course, is always an issue in the assessment of encounter and its conversational possibilities. Participants needed to share a language or some vehicle of translation in order to share a true conversation. Sometimes translators

5 Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 28, 57-58, 353.

6 Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 99-193, 111-114; Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 86-111; also Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 174-185.

are mentioned in the encounter story, but often enough we must simply assume that they were present. Disregarding language barriers, there is the question of who, in any given situation, was available for the traveler to interact with or speak to in the first place. Once available, did a given individual feel free to speak to the visiting traveler, and if so, in what ways? Age and status affected access to sociability. Travel encounters are also clearly conditioned by divisions of gender (which are of course affected by age, social position, and the potential for desire). Our narrators are overwhelmingly male. And even when we have such a narrator as Lady Mary Wortly Montagu (1689-1762), wife of the British ambassador to the Porte, and a woman famous for her 'access' to the sights and voices of Ottoman women, we find that her scripted narratives of harem visits suggest stiff, highly structured relationships, rather than some version of female intimacy.⁷ Indeed the soror-sociability exhibited in Montagu's *Letters* is not at all comparable to the homosociability that one finds in Andrews and Kalpakli's literary salons, or, in the account of a Hapsburg adolescent named Wenceslas Wratislaw who will be treated below.⁸ Wratislaw and Montagu are useful bookends to our treatment of travel encounter, conversation, and the individual since both are rather unusual authors. Both spent extended time

7 On the composition of "The Turkish Embassy Letters," see Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed., Robert Halsband, v. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), xiv-xv. Halsband suggests that the letters Montagu published derived from "the full and interesting letters she was sending to her friends and relations," although some of the material seems to have been extracted from a journal she kept during her travels. Halsband has also published a biography, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960). See also, Anita Desai, introduction, *The Turkish Embassy Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Malcolm Jack, ed. (London: Virago, 2000), vi-xxxvii. For the Poetry Foundation's interesting summary on Montagu's publications, see <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/lady-mary-wortley-montagu>.

8 Wenceslas Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw: What He Saw in Constantinople, in his Captivity, Committed to Writing in 1599*, Albert Henry Wratislaw, trans. (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862). For German and Czech versions, see Václav Wratislav z Mitrovic, *Des Freyherrn von Wratislaw merkwürdige Gesandtschaftsreise von Wien nach Konstantinopel: so gut als aus dem Englischen übersetzt* (Leipzig: Schönfeldschen Buchhandlung, 1786); and Václav Wratislav z Mitrovic, *Prihody*, Milada Nedvěďová, ed. (Praha: n.p., 1976), unnumbered front matter, which provides a short biography of Wratislaw (1576-1635), and a description of the various editions (217). For background on the Czech literary milieu in Wratislaw's time see James Naughton, University Lecturer at Oxford, "Czech and Slovak Literature Resources: Renaissance and Humanism," http://users.ox.ac.uk/~tayl0010/lit_renais.htm.

in Ottoman domains, and together they frame what one might call the long seventeenth century of travel narratives.⁹

But before we examine encounters of individuals, there is the question of how the individual does or does not emerge from the group. Often enough “Turks” are narrated only as members of that very large amorphous group, or as a segment thereof: officials, robbers, harem ladies, pashas, merchants, etc., that is, as a collective rather than as a set of named individuals. The “Turks,” for the traveler, are those anonymous people who occupy the residences (and streets) at one’s stopping places, supplying housing, services, and food; they are those who provide protection and resources or act as obstacles along the journey. They let one in, or keep one out. They watch one eat, marvel at one’s possessions, pay no attention to one at all, explain regulations, or provide hospitality. They may or may not be described in terms of gender or class. Their dress and mores may be of great interest to the narrator or of no interest at all. They represent the empire in the form of soldiers or administrators. Or they stand as ethnographic types representing the present or the past (a warrior, a nomad, a ‘Scythian,’ a secluded maiden). Such possibilities for designating people by group are certainly not limited to early modern European Christian narratives. They are ubiquitous across time, space, and commune, for example, in the *Seyahatname* of the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), who frequently narrated his journeys in terms of ethnic, religious, occupational, or other group categories. But because of the ubiquity of such lumping categories, it becomes important to note when individuals are named and, if so, whether that naming expresses actual familiarity or simply the repetition of a narrative (or narratives) to which names have already been attached.

Five Travelers

By way of presenting some of the narrative possibilities, I treat here a set of travelers who witnessed Ottoman domains and culture and set their observations down in writing. While the intentions of each author may be more or less apparent as he (or she) constructs a vision of the Ottomans for particular audience(s), language and tone help reveal what the author sees and wants his readers to see. Our first traveler is Giovanni Alcarotti, a cleric from Novara (located west

9 Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 77, classifies Montagu as an “early feminist,” who “challenged the projection of patriarchal abuses onto the Islamic world.” That may be an apt characterization, though imperialism, and more importantly class, constitute, in my view, the most significant frames for Montagu’s work.

of Milan), who set off from Venice in 1587, intent on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After his return, in 1596, he published the pilgrim guide, *“Del viaggio di terra santa.”*¹⁰ Alcarotti sets out the terms for classifying people at the outset of his travels, as he and his fellow passengers board the vessel that will transport them down the Adriatic. He divides the human cargo into “we Latins,” (that is clerics, and “seculars such as Signors, Gentlemen, and Merchants of various countries”); “those excluded from the bosom of the Church such as Schismatics, Greeks, and other Oriental Christians;” and, finally, “what was worse.... more than a few Jews, Turks, Arab Moors, and other sorts from the worst of nations.....”¹¹ In this division of human space, Alcarotti fits quite naturally and squarely into the traveler-type whose first category of analysis is religious sect. For him, the residents of the last group are little more than beasts who leer at the celebration of the Mass and whose shipboard entertainments are crude or ridiculous. The “Turk,” is a group identity (a subset of those outsiders who are beyond the pale) that includes no individuals. Nonetheless, the “Turk,” on this voyage, shares something with Alcarotti; he is a displaced person. On the land, however, in “his own” territory, the Turk (the objects of the author’s narrative are all male) becomes something else.

Cyprus was already an Ottoman possession by the time Alcarotti landed there on his way to the Holy Land. But its identity, somewhere between “Christian” and “Turk” space, remained ambiguous. When, Alcarotti’s ship reached Tripoli in the Levant, however, he imagined himself solidly on “Turk” ground. There his narrative conflates two groups of “Turks.” One group stole belongings that Alcarotti had placed in the care of a guardian. The other, a group of unidentified officials (or at least some men who posed as such), plagued the padre by eyeing him, then stopping him, and pulling his possessions out of his bags.¹² They were, he informed his readers, especially interested in the “best” foods, and the wine he carried, helping themselves with impunity, and paying no heed to his protests. Thus in Alcarotti’s guide book, the prospective pilgrim meets the “Turk” in Tripoli, a nameless bunch of men whose sole purpose would seem to be robbery and intimidation. Later in the story of Alcarotti’s pilgrimage, we do find reference to a benign individual, a Muslim “gentleman of quality.” That gentleman (whose ethnicity is not designated), Alcarotti tells us, assisted the priest’s monastic hosts in Jerusalem by calling in the authorities when someone threw the head of a dead

10 Giovanni Alcarotti, *Del viaggio di terra santa* (Novara: Appresso gli Heredi di Fr. Sefalli, 1596). Translations here are mine.

11 Alcarotti, *Del viaggio*, 2.

12 Alcarotti, *Del viaggio*, 18-19.

man into their garden.¹³ But this individual, too, remains nameless. He would appear to have a good working relationship with the monks, but for Alcarotti he was a rather remote exception to the rule of “Turkish” bad behavior (as exemplified by the head throwing). For Alcarotti, as for other ‘authorities’ on pilgrimage, the primary objective was to avoid trouble (which often meant exposure to the wrong people), and to get to the objectives at hand, the sacred pilgrimage sites and the (preferably Latin) associates who facilitated the experience of the sacred.¹⁴

For other travelers, however, “Turks” might become real people, distinct individuals whose behavior, in addition to their type, determined their identity and their role in the narrative. One such traveler was Wenceslas Wratisslaw (b. 1576) who joined a Habsburg embassy to the Ottoman empire in 1591 (as a protégé of the ambassador), just a few short years after Alcarotti’s sojourn. Wratisslaw certainly characterized the people he met as “Turks” according to their group identities (merchants, janissaries, old women, young women). In that regard he did not diverge greatly from the norms of the travel genre. People, after all, in the traveler’s eye, required names only when they became important as resources, friends, allies, enemies, or individuals who (one way or the other) became objects of greater curiosity, or had to be dealt with more directly or at greater length than those who were just passers-by, merchants, servants, or iconic types. What distinguishes Wratisslaw for us, however, is that youth seems to have provided him with a spirit open to both curiosity and sociability.¹⁵ He made it his objective to meet people, and his gaze was particularly acute (or at least so it appears in his published work).¹⁶ Wratisslaw tells us how he and “the Turk” laughed together (a sure

13 Alcarotti, *Del viaggio*, 181.

14 For commentary on the warnings of other pilgrim guides, see Wes Williams, “‘A mirror of mis-haps,/ A Mapped of Miserie’: Dangers, Strangers, and Friends in Renaissance Pilgrimage,” 205-240, in *The ‘Book’ of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, Palmira Brummett, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

15 Wratisslaw, the son of a Bohemian knight, was placed under the watchful eye of Frederic Kregwitz for the embassy sent to the Ottoman court of Murad III (r. 1574-1595) by Rudolph II (r. 1576-1612). In 1593, along with his mentor he was imprisoned for espionage. Released in 1596 after several years in captivity he went on to a successful career as an official and judge.

16 Of course the accuracy and originality of such accounts is always qualified. Wratisslaw may have had access to other printed narrations of the Ottomans in Istanbul once he returned home; and memory is always subject to imagination and the assessment of audience demands. See Václav Wratisslaw z Mitrovic, *Prihody*, second to fifth unnumbered pages of biographical note by Milada Nedvěďová, which point out that Czech readers by the end of the 16th century had ten published versions of John Mandeville,

indication of commonality and the shared pleasures of the human condition). His story of sociability in Istanbul is a far cry from Alcarotti's scuttling passage through the Holy Land.

The individual who emerges most dramatically in Wratislaw's story is his janissary, Mustafa, a man with whom the young man practiced his Turkish, shared stories, and enjoyed various scrapes and adventures. Wratislaw's narrative suggests how he interrogated Mustafa (and his friends) on daily life, sports, places to visit, acceptable behavior, and women (among other topics). And when a treacherous embassy steward 'turned Turk' and exposed the embassy to condemnation for espionage, it was Mustafa, according to Wratislaw, who tried to protect him as he was being dragged off to jail.¹⁷ Indeed, Wratislaw's account of the violent arrest of the embassy personnel provides an interesting example of the levels of identity assigned to the Ottoman populace in the tale of our young traveler. Wratislaw sets the scene, telling his readers that the ambassador had already been taken from the place where they were all staying. Wondering what would happen next, the rest of the entourage:

"Saw people running from all quarters by the thousands to our house, placing themselves in rows, and creeping on the roofs, and at last so many collected that we could not see to the end of them...[then] we saw the guard which was usually employed at executions making straight for our hotel. Behind this guard rode the sub-pasha, the judges, the head-executioners, heralds, and under-executioners, bearing fetters in their hands. The eyes of all the people were then directed upon us. When they arrived at the house, the sub-pasha and the other Turks dismounted; and janissaries opened our house with a noise and shout... and led and dragged all of us, wherever they could seize us, down the galleries and out of the house..."¹⁸

Wratislaw, however, was suffering from dysentery and was too weak to walk.

"As I could not stand upon my feet, they brought me a Turk, whom they call a hamola [*hamal*], or porter, who carries all manner of things from the sea about the city for hire, on whose pannier, which was stuffed with rushes, they perched me...Meanwhile a dwarfish Turk, with a reddish beard, called out at the top of his voice to the bystanders: "Is it right that this true believer should carry that dog?" And, running up to me, he gave me a violent blow, so that I shot down from my

as well as Czech editions of Johannes Leunclavius' *History of the Ottomans*, and of Busbecq.

17 Wratislaw, *Adventures*, 108, 112.

18 Wratislaw, *Adventures*, 119.

stead...; also he contemptuously kicked me in the side, and would have beaten me still more, had not our former janissary Mustafa, seen it, and taken compassion upon me. Not enduring this conduct, and looking upon me with sorrow, for he wished me everything that was good – he flourished his staff, and dragging me from [the dwarf], reviled him in Turkish, asking him why he struck a poor sick prisoner, and wanted to show his manhood on me? If he possessed so heroic a heart, let him take it against fresh and strong giaours in Hungary....And when the other answered him contumaciously, my friend the janissary cudged him with his staff over the head, till the blood streamed, upon which the Turk rushed at the janissary with a knife. In a moment about a hundred people ranged themselves on the side of the janissary, and as many more on the side of the other, and they were already beginning to take up stones and throw them at each other...”¹⁹

At this point the guards, judge and *subaşı* intervened in the confrontation “and ordered them to keep peace under pain of death,” thus avoiding a riot. Mustafa helped the young man up and summoned two men to help him. Ultimately, the *çavuş* had him seated on a mule and the “executioners” held his feet to keep him from falling off. As the procession of arrested men was paraded through the streets, Wratislaw tells his reader that some among the crowd reviled them and others “pitied us.”²⁰

“Turks” here are either parts of the official government detachment (*çavuş*, *subaşı*, executioner, janissary, etc.), or they are members of the mobs in the street who run “from all quarters,” impede the movement of the arrest party, and direct their gaze, their jeers, their sympathy, or their physical abuse toward the prisoners. Among the officials, certain individuals direct some care toward the ill youth, but they are acting as part of the arrest party, fulfilling their duties. Only two individuals are made more three-dimensional, emerging from the crowd: the “dwarfish Turk” whose knife, blood, and aggressive speech stuck in the memory of the narrator, and Mustafa, the janissary, whose compassion for his one-time-charge prompted him to raise Wratislaw up, risk his own neck, and employ his cudgel (and his words) against the youth’s attacker. Mustafa here transcends the common trope of the “good” or helpful “Turk.”²¹ It is notable that even under such duress, Wratislaw (at least in his memoir) goes beyond a unilateral focus on

19 Wratislaw, *Adventures*, 119-121.

20 Wratislaw, *Adventures*, 122.

21 For examples of the good or virtuous Turk or Moor in plays, see Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 139; and Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 154.

the all-encompassing “I.” And his stories of Turk compassion do not stop there. No individual emerges again in his story in quite the same way that Mustafa does; but Wratislaw is quite open in pointing out the sympathy and aid (even if motivated by self-interest) that he receives from various of his wardens as he bears the burdens of imprisonment.²² The “Turk,” for him, is like other people, capable of humanity, humor, and compassion, (as well as brutality or venality) whether he is a gentleman, a janissary, a jailer, or a member of the crowd.

To provide one further vision of the late sixteenth century observer, I turn to John Sanderson (b. 1560), a poorly educated Englishman of the tradesman class who also set off as a young man for Istanbul in 1584, but whose experiences and narrative thereof were very different from those of either Wratislaw or Alcarotti. Sanderson was not unaware of the layers of classical and Biblical history applied by contemporaries to Ottoman domains. But they did not concern him terribly. He routinely invoked God in his narrative but was not, apparently, a pious man. Indeed his pilgrimage, as he wrote himself, was a “worldly” one; and he described the hajj caravan in Cairo in much the same way that he described a Christian shrine outside the city.²³ Rather Sanderson was immersed in the telling of his personal and commercial affairs. He was a man who started out as an apprentice, sent to “Turkey” against his will, but who ultimately became master of his own apprentice and a successful businessman.²⁴ We have an autobiographic fragment from Sanderson as well as an account of his travels, and letters that he sent in the course of his service with the English Levant Company. From these we garner much about the affairs of English diplomats and merchants but little about Ottoman society. Like Wratislaw, Sanderson speaks of alcohol lubricated revels, but unlike the tale

22 Also of interest here is the story (illustrating the intimacy of Muslims, Christians, and Jews) of Hans Ulrich Krafft, of Ulm (1550-1621), who worked for Augsburg trading houses, and was imprisoned in an Ottoman jail in Levantine Tripoli in 1574, later recording his memoir around 1615. See Hans Ulrich Krafft, *Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts*, ed., K.D. Haszler, series *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, LXI (Stuttgart: Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, 1861), 1-440. Thanks to Daniel Juette for this reference.

23 John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson*, second series no. 67 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931), 20, 42, 45.

24 Sanderson, *Travels*, 2-4, 17-18. Sanderson calls his grammar schooling a “misery.” At seventeen, he was placed and then “bound” as an apprentice with Martin Calthorp, “Flaunders merchant;” then “without my first knowledge” he was bound to the English Levant Company and put at the disposal of Harborne, English ambassador to the Porte. His father was “a jentillman of the north country,” who moved to London and worked as a haberdasher (21).

of the Habsburg page, Sanderson's narrative is a vision of hard living, self-interest, dissolution, fights, prostitution, and other forms of violence. One might say that he pictures the mean streets of the Levant. For Sanderson, "Turk" was one among various ethno-communal identities that he encountered in his travels. In Cyprus, when he describes the men on a ship that sank, he names them simply as English, Greek, Turk, and Jew. He neither ranks them nor comments on their culture. At Damietta, he describes his companions as an Englishman, a janissary, a dragoman, a Jew, and "other attendants."²⁵ He uses the possessive "my" to refer to the janissary, but he never names him.²⁶ Indeed, for Sanderson, a man may be jolly, treacherous, civil, or roguish, and those categories are applied regardless of whether the man is "Turk," "Greek," "Moor," or "Englishman." In the Holy Land he prefers the society of a Jew, to that of the "Popish friars;" and he praises the good humor of a "well mannered, manly and civil Turk," with whom he shared the experience of a ship wreck.²⁷ Beyond such ethnic, and occupational identities, Sanderson pays attention to where the commercial men he encounters are from, be it Genoa, Scio, or Aleppo.

Like Wratislaw, Sanderson was plugged in to the diplomatic community, at least of his own nation, and he was familiar with the names of officials and the various ranks of the sultan's government. Writing the narrative of his time in Istanbul, he devotes much of his energy to describing buildings, monuments, and repeating (often stock) stories about Ottoman governmental affairs. Sanderson learned some Turkish and his account is salted with Turkish phrases and designations. That naming appears in his chart of the "residents" of Istanbul which divides the populace into officials (e.g. vizirs, *kadıs*, *ağas*, *solaks*, *sipahis*, *kapıcıs*, etc.), janissaries, *topcus*, *acemioglans*, other Turks, Christians, Jews, and (as a final and separate category), women and children of all sorts. Though he encounters various of these residents while engaged in his commercial activities, he gives little evidence of having developed friendships (other than drinking partnerships) with Christians or "Turks." Mostly his acquaintances are noted for their utility or lack thereof.

25 Sanderson, *Travels*, 16, 47.

26 Sanderson, *Travels*, 10, does mention a companion in Greece, one "Jeffer Chouse" or Jafer Çavuş, but only to note that he was wounded along with an Englishman in a fight and both were left behind. Later, in his correspondence from Istanbul he mentions a Haji Nasreddin and a Hasan Agha as sources from whom money can be borrowed (192). But otherwise his naming of "Turks" is limited to various vizirs, pashas and high officials (e.g., 223-224).

27 Sanderson, *Travels*, 19, 47, 108, 121.

An exception may be found in Sanderson's narration of his journey to the Holy Land, on which he traveled with a company of Jews. Like Alcarotti, Sanderson depicts officials in the Holy Land as expert at extortion, relating how the deputy of the governor (*subaşı*) of Jerusalem, despite Sanderson's letter of protection from the sultan, pressed him for money, and velvet and satin garments. When he refused he was taken to the governor, a "grisly Turk and his rascally attendants" to be thrown into prison. But his Jewish companions "fell down at [the governor's] feet and entreated for me; often kissing his hand and garment, praying him to pardon my bold behaviour and words of displeasure...."²⁸ So Sanderson escaped through the good offices of the Jews, but not before he was forced to pay 12 sequins in gold. He was saved once again by a Muslim judge, the "Kadi of Tripoli," another traveling companion, who secured his release from prison when he was accused of robbery in Tripoli.²⁹ His benefactor remains nameless and Sanderson takes pains to note that the judge had "been well treated" by the Englishmen on the voyage from Constantinople, and thus, apparently, owed him a favor. Sanderson was a risk taker, a man who resisted submitting to the 'courtesies' of negotiation and compensation for value gained. He was grateful for the interventions of Muslim and Jew on his behalf, but he did not dwell on his gratitude.

Where Sanderson does become expansive on an Ottoman individual is in his description of Abraham Coen, "my great companion Jew".³⁰ Coen, Sanderson writes in uncharacteristically effusive fashion, "was so respectful, kind and courteous that never in any Christian's company, of what degree soever, I ever did receive better content."³¹ Indeed Sanderson suggests that tears came to his eyes when he and Coen had to part:

"A most devout, zealous, and soft-hearted man he was. I cannot speak too much good of him, in regard of his great humanity and extraordinary charity; his measure being more in those performances than is to be found in many of us Christians."³²

28 Sanderson, *Travels*, 122-123.

29 Sanderson, *Travels*, 90.

30 Sanderson, *Travels*, 102-103, 120-121, 125-126, named seven Jews with whom he traveled, noting where they resided (Scio, Terria [?], Smyrna, Constantinople, and Damascus), "chief" among them Abraham Coen. For Sanderson a "better" Jew is one who does not try to pick religious arguments with him about Jesus, as "the meaner sort" do (118-119).

31 Sanderson, *Travels*, 124.

32 Sanderson, *Travels*, 124-125.

In short, Sanderson, an often bitter man, tells us that the Jew had been good to him.³³ Coen, one might say, represents an Ottoman individual for whom Sanderson came as close as he ever did to expressing heartfelt affection.³⁴

When we come to the observer of the eighteenth century we find that the concerns of the sixteenth century traveler with the mores, religious practices, ethnographic divisions, historical antecedents, political threats, and potential profits of the empire remain very much in place. So too do the juxtaposition of associates, officials, and crowds, and the narration of the potential for sociability (seized upon, treated with trepidation, avoided, or ignored entirely). Having taken a look at some of Wenceslas Wratislaw's account, it seems appropriate to examine the published 'letters' of another embassy adjunct, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the wife of the English ambassador to the Porte, who traveled to Istanbul in 1716. Montagu, like Wratislaw, was both a member of the notable class (she was the daughter of a duke) and a subsidiary member of an embassy party. Both were very conscious of the imperial rivalries that occasioned their respective sojourns into Ottoman lands. Lady Mary made it her objective to visit, report on, and 'clarify' the English vision of the elite Ottoman harem and, more generally, the Istanbul scene. On her return to England she selected, edited and published some of the letters from her Turkish sojourn. Montagu is famous because we have so few female voices when it comes to travel accounts of the empire. She is often touted as an authentic observer of Ottoman women because of her access to the harem; and her letters are juxtaposed to the 'peep-show' accounts of early modern European males who also commented on the seraglio. But for our purposes, what is intriguing is the way in which Montagu reveals the Ottoman individual to her reading public, and the classification she employs for assessing Ottoman people.

Both Wratislaw and Montagu wrote in the first person, and both took pains to narrate the street scenes of Ottoman Istanbul. Both identified individuals by ethno-communal types (Greek, Turk, Armenian, English).³⁵ But their presentation of Ottoman peoples was really quite different (perhaps not surprising given age, gender, and experience – Montagu was twenty-seven when she traveled to Istanbul,

33 His narrative affirms Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 130, writing of the early modern Ottoman domains, that "Islam' or 'Turkishness' was a layered conglomeration that enfolded Christians, Jews, Muslims and renegades within a sprawling and expanding cultural mix."

34 This is not to say that Sanderson loved all Jews.

35 Montagu also employs terms of color (blacks, whites), race, and species. See [Mary Wortley Montagu], *The Genuine copy of a Letter Written from Constantinople by an English Lady, who was lately in Turkey...* (London: J. Roberts, 1719), 5-6.

Wratishaw fifteen). Lady Mary, highly conscious of literary style, presented herself as the central character on the Ottoman stage. Thus its individuals, culture, and events (including harem visits) were relevant chiefly in how they affected and related to her. She was obsessed with class, the primary factor she employed to separate one “Turk” from another, and with beauty, entertainment, and material culture (the more luxurious the better). Variants of the word “amusement” appear in her narrative with remarkable regularity, applied to people as well as to places and diversions. Unlike Wratishaw, she was never arrested. But we can take a look at her descriptions of public scenes to see how she categorized Ottoman people and their actions. What follows are two excerpts from her account of the sultan processing to Friday mosque. First Montagu narrates her impressions of seeing the sultan; her fellow witness was “the French ambassadress” (Madeleine-Françoise de Gontaut-Biron). Then she relates a second story of her own procession, with the same French companion, through the streets of Istanbul.

“The Grand Signor...was proceeded by a numerous guard of janissaries with vast white feathers on their heads, as also by the sipahis and bostcis (these are foot and horse guards) and the royal gardeners... After them the Aga of the janissaries in a robe of purple velvet lined with silver tissue, his horse led by two slaves richly dressed. Next the Kilar [Kızlar] Aga (your ladyship knows this is the chief guardian of the seraglio ladies) in a deep yellow cloth (which suited very well to his black face) lined with sables, and last his sublimity himself, in [a] green [garment] lined with the fur of a black muscovite fox, which is supposed worth a thousand pounds sterling, mounted on a fine horse with furniture embroidered with jewels....The sultan appeared to us a handsome man of about forty, with a very graceful air but with something severe in his countenance, his eyes very full and black. He happened to stop under the window where we stood, and, I suppose being told who we were, looked upon us very attentively, that we had full leisure to consider him and the French Ambassadress agreed with me as to his good mien.”

“I see that lady very often I went with her the other day all around the town in an open gilt chariot, with our joint train of attendants, preceded by our guards, who might have summoned the people to see what they had never seen nor ever would ever again; two young Christian ambassadresses never yet having been in this country at the same time, nor I believe ever will again. Your ladyship [Montagu’s correspondent] may easily imagine that we drew a vast crowd of spectators, but all silent as death. If any of them had taken the liberties of our [English] mob upon [seeing] any strange sight, our janissaries had made no scruple of falling on them with their scimitars, without danger for so doing, being above the law. Yet these people [the janissaries] have some good qualities; they are very zealous and

faithful where they serve, and look upon it as their business to fight for you on all occasions....”³⁶

Perhaps it is unfair to align Montagu’s procession scenes with Wratislaw’s tale of the arrest of the Habsburg embassy. But what is interesting here are their (relative) familiarity with Ottoman officialdom, the juxtaposition of elites and crowd, and the varying presentation of self in ‘confrontation’ with the “Turk.” Wratislaw and Montagu would agree on the loyalty of the personal janissary, but not, I think, on what type of relationship that loyalty bespoke. Wratislaw seems to have had genuine admiration and affection for Mustafa, whom he calls “friend,” whereas for Montagu, a janissary was simply one type of servant among many others. Wratislaw focuses on narrating what he sees while Montagu highlights the ways in which Ottomans see her.

Montagu, elsewhere, does name some of the various notables and their wives with whom she comes into contact. And she does articulate a friendly conversational encounter with one “Turk” man, the governor of Belgrade, Ahmed Pasha. This governor, whom Montagu characterizes as accomplished in languages and able to write in Latin script, was her host at one stop on the journey to Istanbul.

“My only diversion here is the conversations of our host Achmed Bey ... [who] has had the good sense to prefer an easy, quiet, secure life to all the dangerous honours of the Porte... I have frequent disputes with him concerning the difference of our customs, particularly the confinement of women. He assures me there is nothing at all to it... He has wit, and is more polite than many Christian men of quality. I am very much entertained with him. He had the curiosity to make one of our servants set him an alphabet of our letters, and can already write a good Roman hand.... These amusements do not hinder my wishing heartily to be out of this place....”³⁷

36 Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 67-68, goes on to relate the story of one of her janissaries, in a village near Philippopolis, imprisoning and threatening the local kadi with death because he had been unable to deliver the pigeons which Montagu had mentioned she desired for dinner.

37 Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, 53-54. Montagu does not directly reference a translator here but clearly one was required for these interchanges. Her description of her host echoes that of earlier travelers like Dr. John Covel, *Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677*, Jean-Piere Grémois, trans., series *Réalités Byzantines* 6 (Paris: Éditions P. Lethiel-leux, 1998), 7-8. On a trip to Iznik, Covel described his host on the bay of Izmit: “We lodged with one Bayouchtoogle Sardar here; we were recommended hither to him by our friends at Ismet, he being a great friend of the metropolitē’s of Nicomedia. He was the most courteous man alive, very rich.” Impressed with the high standard of

Montagu thus admired the pasha as a ‘worthy’ companion, but only up to a very clear point. Ahmed Pasha is one of the few Ottoman individuals we actually ‘see’ in Montagu’s narrative, despite the celebration of her harem encounters. And even then, the juxtaposition of entertainment and boredom is a primary frame through which Lady Mary presents her encounter. No doubt she was meeting the expectations of class and of genre (amusing commentary and ‘authoritative’ descriptions); but for we later-day readers, she also provides some intriguing glimpses of the interests of the bey himself.

Lady Mary, as narrator, made a point of her role as female observer with access to things female. But noting her gender does not suffice to characterize her writing. Montagu was, after all, an active and even aggressive participant in a predominantly male, European republic of letters. Gender certainly mattered in her account, but it was only one factor among others. It was subordinate, I would argue, to class, education, interests, and task at hand (both embassy spouse and author).³⁸ So rather than employ our lone female narrator to represent the eighteenth century on her own, I will conclude with the Cambridge scholar and clergyman Richard Chandler (d. 1810), a narrator who was perhaps a bit more restrained than Lady Mary.

Chandler journeyed into the Ottoman realm in 1764, charged with charting its antiquities for the English Society of Dilettanti. His observations, published in *Travels in Greece and Asia Minor* (1775-1776), provide a later eighteenth century model for the ways in which individuals in Ottoman space might be acknowledged. People do not appear in the forefront of Chandler’s narrative as they do in those of Wratislaw or Montagu. And when they do appear, they usually seem to be temporary occupiers of classical space, much as the residents of Palestine, for many Western Christian travelers (even up to the present day) seem to be temporary residents of Biblical space. Chandler’s vision of Ottoman realities, like Alcarotti’s or Sanderson’s, is thus very much reflective of the task (collecting the past, pilgrimage, and commerce respectively) at hand, though he does diverge from his mission periodically to comment on culture.

Chandler divides the people he does mention into ethno-communal categories; but he also highlights what people do. Thus he witnesses dervishes, officials, boatmen, or consuls, sometimes mentioning their ethnicity and sometimes not.

accommodations, food, and service at the serdar’s house, Covel concluded by saying that he “seems a most obliging man.”

38 Although gender certainly tended to determine education in this era. Were it not for her educational advantages we would certainly not have had Montagu’s voice on the Ottomans.

He describes a local man serving as an English agent as “a fat well-looking Jew” whose house was plagued with bugs.³⁹ On a boat excursion near the mouth of the Hellespont, he notes that “we had six Turks, who rowed; a janissary, and a Jew servant.”⁴⁰ He does not deem these companions worthy of further comment. Chandler also employs civilizational categories, calling the boatmen on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles “savage figures,” and, like Montagu, employing the notion of different “species” of human being.⁴¹ For Chandler, the friendly “Turk” was one who was accommodating, and facilitated his task, much like Montagu’s janissaries, though he does not pay the same attention to the ‘legitimacy’ of janissary authority as Montagu does, or to the thrilling nature of their violence.

In Chandler’s account, as in those of our other narrators, women were a separate category of being. Like earlier travelers, this eighteenth century clergyman felt compelled to comment on their clothing, hair styles, and behavior, and to equate them with “classical” antecedents, whether the ladies in question were “Greek” or “Turk.”⁴² Perhaps because of the classical prism through which he viewed Ottoman lands, however, Chandler’s “Greek,” beauties are always superior to their counterparts of other nationalities. Montagu was much more enthralled with “Turkish” beauties (although needless to say the women of the Ottoman harems were of very mixed ethnicity). When he classifies women, he specifies ethno-communal identity, age, status (virgin or matron) and class (which he may associate with beauty and delicacy).⁴³ He also comments on mores, positing the normalcy of women’s subservience to men.⁴⁴ But Chandler does not name the individual Ottoman women whom he encounters (usually in the households of Christian men). No exceptional individual, comparable to Wratislaw’s janissary or Sanderson’s Jew, emerges from the pages of Chandler’s work, even though his account suggests masculine social gatherings with “Turkish” associates like “Osman Aga.”⁴⁵ Though he may name these (usually elite) men in the context of detailing his affairs, he does not dwell on affinities.

Our five travelers’ tales thus differ substantially in their focus and voice. They all tell us something about ethnographic types, and group identities; but they

39 Chandler, *Travels*, 1: 14.

40 Chandler, 1: 17.

41 Chandler, 1: 14. This indeed may be a choice of language more common in the eighteenth century.

42 Chandler, 2: 152.

43 Chandler, 2: 155.

44 Chandler, 2: 157.

45 Chandler, 2: 157.

provide only glimpses of Ottoman individuals. What they do reveal is a sense of the possibilities for day-to-day sociability (between Ottoman subjects and foreign travelers) unimpeded by a presumably rigid communal divide. Visits, hardships, business dealings, shared experience, and curiosity lead to hints of conversation, laughter, confidences, and debates whose texts in their entirety simply do not make it into the published account. A few words and sentences caught in the narrative framework of the imperial and the classical, and in the constraints of gender relations, are made to speak for the whole.

Parameters of Change, Or Not, Periodization

Was the eighteenth century traveler substantially different from his sixteenth or seventeenth century counterpart in his (or her) representation of the empire, its groups and individuals? Certainly the scope and pace of travel to the empire from the lands of the Christian kings had increased by 1700. More travelers, from more places, with expanded objectives and a higher degree of familiarity (at least textual familiarity) were sojourning to the realms of “the Great Turk” and “classical antiquity.” Still, I would propose that the classification of types into which the “Turk” was placed, and its range of options, had not changed dramatically from the beginning to the end of our period, roughly 1570 to 1770. The “Turk” was still the “Turk,” either an emblem of empire, or a generic name for the Muslims of the Ottoman world. Individual and group were still evaluated in travel narratives primarily on the bases of their utility, the degree to which they facilitated or impeded the traveler’s objectives and provided the level of entertainment (or information) that he wished for his audience. Certainly those objectives varied, along with experience, from traveler to traveler, as one can clearly see when comparing the blinders operative in Alcarotti’s pilgrim guide to the microscope and kaleidoscope of Wratislaw’s narrative.

We certainly see that the personality of the narrator, from the beginning of the period until the end, was a critical factor in determining both opportunities for interaction and how that interaction was retold. So were class (which dramatically affected exposure to textual knowledge and historical memory, as illustrated in Sanderson’s account), and age, as illustrated by the youthful exuberance still present in Wratislaw’s account even after his years in prison. As for gender, we still have Lady Montagu. She was a very particular, very literate type of observer, as conscious of her role as a pioneer narrator as Florence Nightingale (rather less aptly) would be a century later.⁴⁶ But her categories of classification (goods, beauty,

46 Florence Nightingale, *Letters from Egypt: A Journey on the Nile 1849-1850* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987), was just as assertive of the role of self in travel narrative as Montagu and just as conscious of whether the “natives” were paying sufficient

antiquities, and amusements) were shared by her male counterparts in the early modern era. And her insistence on the first person self may be as significant a marker of her narrative and its era as was her gender.

What had changed from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, was the opening of the floodgates of textual knowledge and print representation of the Turk. This was not, I would argue, because materials traveled or were translated more quickly. The pace of translation and circulation was already incredibly fast in the sixteenth century (days for works to be pirated, and months for translations to proceed from Italian to French to English). But the system of publication had expanded by 1700, as had the reach of translation. The upper middle classes after that date joined their leisured 'betters' and their mercantile 'inferiors' in having access to direct experience of the "Turk" along with the educational inclination to write about that experience. And the Ottomans, who had long been part of the Mediterranean Republic of Letters, joined in a more expansive republic, one that included the Atlantic world. Thus Mary Wortley Montagu betrays a consciousness of who and how and how widely she would be read that was not available to Wratislaw, despite similarities in their status and their shared experience.⁴⁷ In the eighteenth century more travelers had the opportunity to see Ottoman spaces for themselves and to find them on their maps. More (and cheaper) compendia of knowledge sorted out for the armchair traveler just how to understand and relate to that space, though they invoked the interwoven tropes of the 'classical' and 'imperial' just as vociferously as had their sixteenth century predecessors. Some travelers still returned home with exactly what they had expected to find. Others, as in the sixteenth century, found opportunities to expand their visions of the Ottoman world. Some laughed with the Turk, as Wratislaw did, others kept their distance. But after 1700 the janissary, in European travel narratives, still tended to remain un-named, the pilgrim (often enough) still shut out Ottoman society in order better to see the places where Jesus walked, and the "Turk" continued to appear as a group, evaluated by his ruly or unruly behavior, with periodic exceptions made for 'remarkable' individuals.

attention to her or not. That quality is one found in the famous medieval traveler Ibn Battuta as well. Place and people in all three narrators were evaluated on the basis of that demand for proper attention.

47 That consciousness certainly is made manifest by other female writers as well, for example the playwright Mary Pix whose 1696 play, *Ibrahim*, on the Ottoman sultan, highlights (perhaps ironically) the "weakness" of women (author and characters) both in the epilogue and in the text of the play, but also notes that the harem has "women enough to undo the Universal World." See Mary Pix, *Ibrahim, the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks: A Tragedy As it is Acted by His Majesties Servants* (London: For John Harding, 1696), final verse of epilogue; act 1, scene 1, 12-23.

You Say 'Classical,' I Say 'Imperial,' Let's Call the Whole Thing Off: Empire, Individual, and Encounter in Travel Narratives of the Ottoman Empire

Abstract ■ The literature of “encounter” has enriched our sense of who the Ottomans were and how they were described by their various others. And although the notion of encounter comprises interaction at the levels of group, commune, state, and empire, it is most expressive when it presumes the individual – a person for whom these larger entities are made manifest in the figures of individual personalities. This paper thus takes as its subject the “telling” of individuals in Ottoman space by individuals coming from the spaces of the European Christian kings. I hope, thereby, to comment on how the Ottoman individual was “told” in the context of imperial competition and conversation, and to draw that individual off the page through compiling a set of descriptors by which he or she was made “real” for the teller’s audience. I address the idea of encounter and the (possible) transformation of that idea as it relates to ‘European’ encounters with the Ottoman citizen individual, using as examples three late sixteenth and two eighteenth century travelers. Finally, I want to comment briefly on periodization, the ways in which the eighteenth century may or may not be detached from the preceding era when it comes to the genre(s) of encounter.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, travel, ethnography, early modern, individual

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The *Türk* in Aşıkpaşazâde: A Private Individual's Ottoman History

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Aşıkpaşazâde'deki Türk: Bir Özel Şahsın Osmanlı Tarihi

Öz ■ 15. yüzyılda Osmanlı aydınları tarih kitaplarını sivil güçlerini uyguladıkları bir platform olarak kullandılar. Bu makale Aşıkpaşazâde ve onun *Kitab-ı Tevarih-i Ali Osman* isimli Osmanlı tarihine odaklanıyor. Temel argümanı, bu kitabın sivillerin Osmanlı kimliği ve meşrutiyetinin oluşturulmasını nasıl etkilediklerinin bir örneği olduğu. Makale erken dönem Osmanlı tarih kitaplarında açık bir Türkçü söylemin ortaya çıkışını ve Aşıkpaşazâde'nin bu oluşumdaki rolünü inceliyor. Aynı zamanda, Halil İncalcık ve Jean Jacques Rousseau'nun saptamalarına dayanarak Aşıkpaşazâde'nin hayatını teorik olarak irdeliyor. Aşıkpaşazâde'yi bir *private individual* (özel şahıs) olarak tanımlayan bu makale, bu gibi bireylerle erken modern dönem Batı devletleri arasında varolduğu kabul edilen politik güç paylaşımı dinamiklerinin 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda da varolduğunun altını çiziyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, tarih, tarih yazımı, kimlik, Türk, Türkmén, Aşıkpaşazâde, Halil İncalcık, Jean Jacques Rousseau.

And just as the battle with infidel is God's work and the sultans and warriors who have engaged in it have acquired sanctity, so the recording of their deeds is a holy work, and the author is as entitled as they to a fatiha for the repose of his soul.

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1 V. L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. P. M. Holt and Bernard Lewis, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, 178.

I summarized and wrote down the words and the legends about the Ottomans, filled with events. In that endless plain the pen spoke to my heart. As a helpless soul I gave my ear to the voice of my pen. My heart was amazed, then I began to speak.

Aşıkpaşazâde²

Introduction

The relationship between the Ottoman state and the fifteenth century Ottoman historians require more attention than it has received to date. The evidence suggests that where the interests of the state and political individuals conflicted, writing a history book have served as an alternative venue through which an individual could practice power. The impact of such history books were remarkable and it is in this respect that Aşıkpaşazâde's *Kitabı Tevarihî Ali Osman* offers an ideal example regarding the role of the individuals in the construction of Ottoman identity during its formative period. In particular, the emergence of an explicitly Turkic discourse within the early Ottoman history books at the end of the fifteenth century owes much to Aşıkpaşazâde's work. It is also possible to build a theoretical argument on Aşıkpaşazâde's experience to explain the relationship between the Ottoman state and its subjects. This essay will argue that Halil İnalçık's works, titled "The Emergence of Ottoman Historiography" and "How to Read 'Âshık Pasha-Zâde's History,'" confirm that Aşıkpaşazâde was a *private individual* in Jean Jacques Rousseau's sense of the term and he negotiated power with the sovereign in a similar fashion described by Rousseau.³ And, a close reading Rousseau's *Social Contract* and *On the Origins of the Inequality among Men* from this perspective suggests how commonly accepted dynamics of power sharing between the *private individuals* and the state associated with the early modern period Western empires, can also apply to the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Early Ottoman historiography and Aşıkpaşazâde

Aşıkpaşazâde's unique place in early Ottoman historiography was mainly highlighted during the 1960's. In 1964, P. M. Holt and Bernard Lewis edited a volume titled *Historians of the Middle East*, to which Halil İnalçık contributed an essay

2 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, ed. Kemal Yavuz & M. A. Yekta Saraç, *Âşıkpaşazade, Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, İstanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003, 51.

3 Halil İnalçık, "How to Read 'Âshık Pasha-Zâde's History,'" *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, eds. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber, İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1994, 139-56.

titled “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography.”⁴ It was in this essay that İnalçık presented a general picture of the emergence of history writing among the Ottomans. He also described how, after Mehmed II’s (r. 1451-1481) death and during Bayezid II’s reign (r.1481-1512), a group of Ottoman intellectuals who were members of the *ulema* produced Ottoman histories which propagated an Ottoman ideology prescribed by the new sultan.⁵ According to İnalçık, *ulema* constituted a group of individuals who acted as subsidiaries of a larger, and state sponsored phenomenon of historiography which was designed to satisfying Bayezid II’s needs,⁶ although they relied on two distinct lines of narrative sources, one very concise, eulogist and ruler oriented and the other, much longer and rooted in a Turkish and Anatolian oral tradition.⁷

To the same collection, Victor L. Ménage also contributed an essay entitled “The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography,” and presented his general observations on the phenomenon.⁸ Like İnalçık, Ménage also believed there were two distinct narrative traditions, the presence of which determined the form and the content of early Ottoman histories. However, unlike İnalçık, he argued that “The real motives which prompted the historians of the fifteenth century to write are less openly expressed but more sincerely felt. The first is piety... This theme runs through all the later histories.”⁹ And, “Closely allied with this motive is the frank desire to entertain... That which to us seems a lean and barren sentence was to them the text for a winter evening’s entertainment.”¹⁰ During that year, Ménage was preparing a larger study, a source criticism of Neşri’s *Cihannüma*, which required a more comprehensive analysis of the differences between the two narra-

4 Halil İnalçık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. P. M. Holt and Bernard Lewis, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, 152-67.

5 He wrote, “For this unusual activity in producing compilations on the general history of the Ottomans at that time, the first and foremost reason was no doubt Bayezid II’s desire to see such works written, and the *ulema* of his time responded to it. Bayezid II then wanted to use this means for shaping public opinion in his favor.” İnalçık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” 164. Readers should note that in a recently published essay I have criticized the premises of this thesis. Murat Cem Mengüç, “Histories of Bayezid I, Historians of Bayezid II; re-thinking late-fifteenth century Ottoman historiography” *BSOAS*, 3 (2013), 373-389.

6 İnalçık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” 164.

7 İnalçık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” 160.

8 Ménage “The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography,” 168-179.

9 Ménage, “The Beginnings of Ottoman historiography,” 177.

10 Ménage, “The Beginnings of Ottoman historiography,” 178.

tive traditions, and how Neşri thrived to systematically combine them.¹¹ In other words, while an agreement was reached about the presence of two traditions, a difference of opinion emerged regarding the motives of the historians and how these influenced their histories.

Some thirty years later, in 1994, Colin Imber and Colin Heywood edited a festschrift to celebrate Ménage's contributions to Ottoman studies, to which İnalçık contributed his famous essay "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History?'"¹² In this essay, İnalçık revisited his views on Aşıkpaşazâde's work, and argued that personal and political factors which were specific to Aşıkpaşazâde, in fact, greatly influenced the content of his Ottoman history. In this instant, he did not cite Aşıkpaşazâde as a state sponsored historian, but portrayed him as a person who was driven with his own passions and personal conditions to compose an Ottoman history.¹³

"How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History?'" brought Aşıkpaşazâde and along with him, early Ottoman historiography alive. It emphasized the importance of the author's voice and underlined a number of characteristics regarding Aşıkpaşazâde's life. One such characteristic was how Aşıkpaşazâde came from a distinguished Muslim Anatolian and Turkic background. Another characteristic was how he lived as a well recognized member of the Ottoman society. There was also his services to the Ottoman state in different capacities, his recognition as a member of the *ulema* and *müteferrika*, along with how his family served the Ottoman dynasty throughout history. Finally, there was the fact that Aşıkpaşazâde was a man of commerce who owned property, both real estate and slaves.¹⁴ According to İnalçık, these qualities determined Aşıkpaşazâde's personality, and the content of his history of the Ottomans.

Interestingly enough, these characteristics also qualified Aşıkpaşazâde as a perfect example of what Rousseau called a *private individual*. Given that Aşıkpaşazâde died at the turn of the fifteenth century, and the persisting arguments of how

11 V. L. Ménage, *Neshri's history of the Ottomans*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964.

12 İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History'", 139-56.

13 "Aşpż's [sic] work is deeply influenced by and reflects the violent conflicts between the elite and the state, which arose as a result of the Conqueror's [Mehmed II] radical measures in taxation and landholding during his reign. It can be said that these disputes in which Aşpż [sic] himself was personally involved, lend his history a strong polemical character. When disputing he did not hesitate to present the facts in the direction of his arguments, ..." İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History,'" 140-43.

14 Ibid.

political individual and citizenry evolved differently in the West than they have in the East, this is important to point. Two of Rousseau's works in particular offered modern scholars a stepping stone in their explanation of the differences between the medieval and the early modern subject, and his or her relationship to the state, namely *The Social Contract or the Principles of Political Right* (1762) and *On the Origins of Inequality among Men* (1754). Particularly in the latter, Rousseau proposed a universal pattern according to which *private individuals* emerged in history, negotiated power and made their voices heard to their rulers.

Rousseau attributed the emergence of *private individuals* mainly to the popularization of an otherwise what he called to be an unnatural concept, i.e., *private property*. He believed that in the case of the common people, acquisition of *private property* opened the path to the acquisition of political power.¹⁵ It is important to note that Rousseau wrote *The Origins* as a moral criticism of slavery, at a time when this institution was a heated topic of debate. Rousseau went far enough to describe the early modern state as a *political machine* which emanated inequality.¹⁶ As far as he was concerned, a civil society was a realm of inequalities perpetuated by the state and its servants. In this setting, slavery represented the most advanced stage of the inequality between individuals and as a concept sprang from the idea of *private property*. Nevertheless, he also recognized the cultural virtues of living in a civil society, such as arts, sciences and education, even if it required a sophisticated understanding of civility, and an even more sophisticated justification of the inequalities among people.

Aşıkpaşazâde's biography suggests that he perfectly fit Rousseau's definition of a *private individual*. He was a possessor of *private property*, and not only houses and shops which he used with commercial interest, but also slaves.¹⁷ Moreover,

15 "The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying "This is mine", and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody." Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, trans. by G. D. H. Cole, Digireads, 2006, 39.

16 Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 2.

17 İnalçık "How to Read 'Âşık Pasha-Zâde's History," 141-142. And, regarding Murad II's Belgrade siege in 1442, he wrote, "I was present during this expedition. I bought a boy of 6 or 7 years old for 100 *akçe*. At the time a slave that could take care of a horse cost 150 *akçe*. From the raiders I received seven men (slaves) and wife(s). There were more slaves than soldiers at the time. In short, since the beginning of Islam many holy wars

his experiences followed closely with the one outlined by Rousseau. Consider, for example, how Rousseau explained the emergence of *private individuals* and their eventual acquisition of power in the following words:

Political distinctions necessarily produce civil distinctions. The growing inequality between the chiefs and the people is soon felt by individuals, and modified in a thousand ways according to passions, talents and circumstances. The magistrate could not usurp any illegitimate power, without giving distinction to the creatures with whom he must share it. Besides, individuals only allow themselves to be oppressed so far as they are hurried on by blind ambition, and, looking rather below than above them, come to love authority more than independence, and submit to slavery, that they may in turn enslave others.¹⁸

This process perfectly applied to Aşıkpaşazâde's case. He acquired his distinctions within Ottoman society mainly because of his Muslim Anatolian and Turkic background. His family enjoyed a special status within the Ottoman society, to the extent that when he wrote his Ottoman history, he opened it not with a lineage of the dynasty but with his own lineage, to show case his status as follows:

Oh *aziz* men. I am the *fakir derviş* Ahmed Aşiki, son of *şeyh* Yahya. *Şeyh* Yahya was the son of *şeyh* Selman, the son of *sultan* Aşık Paşa. Aşık Paşa was the son of Muhlis Paşa, the *mürşid* of the horizons, and the son of *baba* İlyas, the *kutb* of the age, as well as the *halife* of *sayid* Ebul Vefa. May their resting places be filled with bliss.¹⁹ (my italics)

This genealogy provided Aşıkpaşazâde's audience with his origins, and embodied numerous references to his family as the highly qualified members of the Anatolian folk Islamic tradition. The terms *şeyh*, *baba*, *sayid*, *mürşid* and *fakir* indicated ranks of affiliation with a greater religious tradition, in Aşıkpaşazâde's case Wafaiya. Higher ranks were evoked with *halife*, *kutb*, and *sultan*, to emphasize

were waged but nothing like this one was seen they said. Indeed what they said had happened. One day during that expedition I came to the high presence of the *padişah*, He gave me slaves. "My stately sultan, to transfer these slaves one needs horses and they would have expenses during the trip as well," I said. He gave me 5000 *akçe* and two horses. I came during that expedition back to Edirne with 9 slaves. Besides I had 4 horses. I sold the slaves for 300 and 200 each." Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, ed. Yavuz & Saraç, 198-99.

18 Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 60.

19 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 51.

his family's close proximity to the leading figures of the same order. As İnalçık put it, "one of his [Aşıkpaşazâde's] main purposes ... was to demonstrate how *Wafa'î khalifa* Edeb-Ali and his own family played a crucial role in the establishment and rise of the Ottoman dynasty."²⁰ And the prestigious genealogy cited by him embodied the cultural core from whom the Ottoman dynasty received its first religious legitimization, representing the "political distinctions" Rousseau mentioned which "lend themselves to civil distinctions".

During the late fifteenth century, a "growing inequality" between the Ottoman rulers and civilians evoked "passions" and "talents" in Aşıkpaşazâde, much similar to the way Rousseau emphasized. Later reign of Mehmed II saw many of the privileges of the Turkish speaking and Muslim Anatolian constituencies being revoked. The civil war between Cem and Bayezid which followed Mehmed II's death in 1481, and continuing presence of Cem as an heir to the throne during most of Bayezid II's reign, made the end of the century an era when the Turkic population sought to reassert its will and give a new direction the Ottoman *political machine*.²¹ And, their support of Bayezid II did pay off, when he returned their privileges.²²

Similarly, what Rousseau outlined as the sovereign's incapability of usurping "illegitimate power" without allocating distinctions to his privileged subjects was at work. There is so much to be said about the illegitimacy of the Ottoman *political machine*, and the role of the early Ottoman histories in its legitimization, but this cannot be taken up here. Nevertheless, one thing was obvious, Aşıkpaşazâde wanted to demonstrate how his family and the religious order they belonged to played a significant role in the establishment of the Ottoman legitimacy, and blessed the Ottoman religious imperialism. Along with a group of other historically conscious men, he argued that the Ottomans were the final Muslim sovereigns of the Christian frontier. This argument is what brings us to the bigger question, that is, what did Aşıkpaşazâde meant to achieve with his Ottoman history.

20 İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshik Pasha-Zāde's History," 144.

21 Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 2.

22 In the particular case of Aşıkpaşazâde, İnalçık wrote, "In fact, Bayezid's reign [1481-1512] constituted a total reaction to the Conqueror's [Mehmed II] policies in all state affairs, in particular landholding. In contemporary works Bayezid was greeted as "the restorer of the Shari'a," or actually as one who restored the means of support to the *ulema* and *shaykhs*. [my italics] People made him a *wali*. Aşıkpaşazade underlines Bayezid II's act of justice in returning the *wakf* and *mülk* villages to their former possessors. By this act, he points out, Bayezid put an end to the old innovations and illegal (*bātil*) dispositions." İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshik Pasha-Zāde's History,'" 146.

The Ottoman past and the boundaries of its “endless plain”

Although Aşıkpaşazâde was a member of the Ottoman *ulema* who assisted Bayezid II, his and his contemporaries' works also suggest that there were some major differences between the Ottoman state and the historians regarding what constituted the Ottoman past, and therefore the Ottoman identity. The two distinct narrative traditions which were previously mentioned operated according to these differences. In fact, Aşıkpaşazâde decided to become a historian at his old age mainly because of these differences; he wanted to set the record straight. And, he was able to write a seminal work, which one could safely argue, that changed the course of the Ottoman historiography for later generations.

The available data suggests that during the first 150 years of its life span, the Ottoman state did not possess a comprehensive history of its origins, i.e., a history which narrated its past from the very beginning. Ertuğrul (1191/1198 – 1281), Osman (r. 1299 – 1324), Orhan (r. 1326 – 1359), Murad (r. 1359 – 1389) and Bayezid's (r. 1389 – 1402) courts appear to be devoid of Ottoman histories; if they had such texts, these were lost for later generations. As late as Murad II's reign (r. 1421 – 44), apart from Ahmedi's *Dastan*, a handful of *Tarihi Takvimler* (*Royal Calendars*) and Yazıcıoğlu's *Selçukname*, there were no texts referring to the general duration of the Ottoman past, neither they were commissioned, and even though the Ottoman palace was accumulating remarkable libraries.²³ In contrast, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, there emerged numerous comprehensive Ottoman histories.

During the second half of the fifteenth century, Ottoman historians tailored a coherent Ottoman past, discussing and interpreting such subjects like Ottoman genealogies, Ertuğrul and Osman's dreams, their encounters with the Turkic and Muslim religious folk of Anatolia, and their legitimacy as the leaders of *gaza/cihad* in the Christian frontier. Other subjects, such as the conquest of Bursa and Edirne, as well as Bayezid I's reign and his quick demise remained controversial and popular topics. Similarly, the first theoretical arguments about the use and relevance of history books for educational purposes within this literature emerged during this era.²⁴ In short, a century after the foundation of the empire, its historians started

23 Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992, 18-20.

24 Three historians who distinguished themselves in this respect were Şükrullah, Tursun Bey and Neşri. All three constructed theoretical arguments regarding the value and use of history books for the education of the rulers, their servants and general population. Şükrullah, *Behçetü'ttevarih*, ed. Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*, İstanbul, Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947, 49. Tursun Bey, *Tarihi Ebul-Feth*, ed. Mertol Tulum, f.8a-8b. Neşri,

to discuss the origins of the Ottoman dynasty and its religious ideology. Another half a century had to pass before they begin to methodologically examine the Ottoman *political machine* from a historical perspective.

The two narrative schools previously mentioned crystallized in this respect, and one of the most obvious distinction between the two was the expressions of a Turkic identity in relation to the Ottoman dynasty. Those who followed the eulogist and ruler oriented tradition refrained from explicitly calling the Ottomans *Türk* or *Türkmen*. Those historians who followed the popular and folk oriented narrative regularly used the terms *Türk* and *Türkmen* to describe the Turkish speaking Muslim constituencies under Ottoman rule, and described the Ottoman dynasty as members of this larger community. In this context, Aşıkpaşazâde became the first historian who had a well known public persona and an authority, and who adopted this discourse explicitly within the pages of a comprehensive Ottoman history.

It is true that prior to the late fifteenth century, some authors stated the Ottomans were *Türk* and *Türkmen* in their origins. But these books were either non-Ottoman histories, such as Yazıcıoğlu's *Selçukname* or they represented the views of the non-Ottoman constituencies, such as Enveri's *Düsturname*.²⁵ Moreover, until 1480's, almost all historians exclusively relied on the eulogist and ruler oriented narrative.²⁶ Although they acknowledged that there existed a genealogy which linked the Ottomans to the *Türks*, they only referred to it in a fragmented fashion, and marginalized the Turkic roots of the dynasty.

The eulogist and ruler oriented narrative first became available with Ahmedî's *Dastan* (1412), and from him onwards was always adopted by authors who enjoyed a close relationships with the Ottoman palace.²⁷ In his work, Ahmedî completely

Cihannüma, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, *Kitab-ı Cihan-ünuma*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995.f.1a-2b.

25 Enveri's *Düsturname* was in essence a history of Aydınöğüları. It was not used by later Ottoman historians as a source. Similarly, Yazıcıoğlu's *Selçukname* was, as indicated by its name, a history of the Seljuks. Enveri, *Destan*, ed. Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. Enveri, *Düsturname*, ed. Necdet Öztürk, *Fatih Devri Kaynaklarından Düstürnâme-i Enveri*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003. Yazıcıoğlu, *Tevarih-i Ali Selçuk*, İstanbul: Topkapı Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1390.

26 The only exception to this trend was Enveri's *Düsturname*.

27 Ahmedî was a member of Bayezid I and later his sons Süleyman Çelebi and Mehmed I's court. Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, "Ahmedî," *IA*, vol. I, 299-300. Farnz Babin-ger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, 12-14. V. L. Ménage, "A Survey of the Early

refrained from calling the Ottomans as *Türk* or *Türkmen*. He used the term *Türk* very sparingly, only in references to the Karaman alliance against Murad I.²⁸ These *Türks* later became the victims of the righteous Murad I, he wrote.²⁹ They represented a constituency which posed a danger to the Ottoman sovereignty. Also, Ahmedi made no attempts to compose a detailed Ottoman genealogy, only mentioning the names of Gündüz Alp and Gök Alp, and in passing. In other words, he was familiar with a version of an Ottoman genealogy but it was not crucial to fully cite it for his conception of Ottoman legitimacy.³⁰

A decade later Yazıcıoğlu declared that the Ottomans were *Türks*, but his claim would be marginalized by the later eulogist and ruler oriented historiography.³¹ Yazıcıoğlu's *Selçukname* was the only history book which was explicitly written for Murad II's court. Its title and content indicates a marginalization of the Ottoman identity in favor of the greater Seljuk heritage. Similarly, Yazıcıoğlu wrote during Murad II's early reign (1424), when military confrontation rather than diplomacy dominated the Ottoman state's relationship with its Turkic contenders, and there was enough justification to associate the Ottomans with the Anatolian *Türk* and *Türkmen* constituencies. It won't be surprising if the court decidedly refrained from boasting about its identity by commissioning an Ottoman history. This was to change at the aftermath of Murad II's reign. In any event, Yazıcıoğlu stated "From the sons of Oğuz, 24 lines were established. It was established that each and every one of them was named under a different title. And all were *Türkmen*, who now exist in Persia, Arabia, Levant, and Anatolia... the Tajik people called them *Türkmen* which meant those who looked like *Türk*."³² In short, the Ottomans were *Türkmen* people.

Ottoman Histories, with Studies on Their Textual Problems and Their Sources," Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1961, vol. 1, 59. Şükrullah's carrier followed a similar pattern, as he served Bayezid I's sons Isa Çelebi and Süleyman Çelebi. He later served in Murad II's court. Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947, 39-40.

- 28 Ahmedi, *İskendername*, ed. İsmail Ünver, *Ahmedi İskender-nâme*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983, f.66.b. Ahmedi, *İskendername*, ed. Kemal Sılay, "Ahmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty", *JTS*, 16, 1992, 151.
- 29 Ahmedi, *İskendername*, ed. Ünver, f.66.b. Ahmedi, *İskendername*, ed. Sılay, 151.
- 30 Ahmedi, *İskendername*, ed. Sılay, 146.
- 31 Yazıcıoğlu, *Tevarih-i Ali Selçuk*, MS. Topkapı Revan 1390, f.9.b. For Murad II era diplomacy with Anatolian constituencies see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 22-23.
- 32 Yazıcıoğlu, *Tevarih-i Ali Selçuk*, MS. Topkapı Revan 1390, f.9.b.

After Istanbul's conquest and during Mehmed II's reign in general, Ottoman identity gained a new importance. In 1458 Şükrullah composed his *Behçetüttevarih* and followed the eulogist tradition first found in Ahmedi. In 1474 Mualî's *Hünkarname*, in 1481 Nişancı's *Risale* and in 1484 Al-Konevi's *Kitabı Tevarihî Ali Osman* followed course, repeating Şükrullah almost word for word.³³ All of these authors enjoyed close relationships with the palace and somewhat ignored, at least down played the importance of the Turkic roots of the dynasty for the legitimacy of Ottoman state. For example, Şükrullah and Nişancı employed the term *Türkmen* only in a negative connotation, in their references to the rebel alliance led by Karaman (during Murad I's reign).³⁴ And, Nişancı used it to describe Uzun Hasan, the leader of the Akkoyunlu federation, and the tribal lords in the Taurus Mountains who fought Mehmed II after this confederation was destroyed.³⁵

At the time, there seems to have emerged also a related stigma against the use of Turkish language. During the first half of the century we find Ahmedi and Yazıcıoğlu having composed their works in simple Turkish. During Mehmed II's reign and starting with Şükrullah, Persian emerged as a more popular language. Later, Mualî and Al-Konevi composed in Persian, while Nişancı resorted to Arabic. In other words, what was composed in Turkish during the reign of Mehmed I was translated into Persian and Arabic during Mehmed II's reign, instead of being utilized in Turkish. Besides avoiding ethnically loaded terms like *Türk* and *Türkmen* to describe the Ottoman dynasty and the Ottoman state, simple Turkish itself was targeted because it acquired an ideological relevance which did not suit the needs of the Ottoman *political machine*. This stigma seems to have survived long after Mehmed II's reign, for in 1490, we find historian Kemal explicitly arguing

33 Mualî, *Hünkarname*, ed. Robert Anhegger, "Mu'âlî'nin Hünkârname'si," *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. II, 1950, 1-2, 145-166. Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, *Risale*, ed. Nihal Atsız, "Risale," *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947. Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, *Risale*, İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aşir Efendi, 234. Al'Konevi, *Kitabı Tarihi Ali Osman*, ed. Robert Anhegger, "Mehmed B. Hacı Halil Ül-Kunevî'nin Tarih-i Âl-i Osman-ı," *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. II, 1951, 3-4, 51-66.

34 Şükrullah, *Behçetüttevarih*, ed. Atsız, 51 and 55. Nişancı, *Risale*, ed. Atsız, 347.

35 The absence of the term *Türk* from Nişancı's work is particularly intriguing, because he was born and raised in Anatolia, in a Turkish speaking family from the line of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, that attached much importance to their roots. As the Grand Vizier to Mehmed II, he comes across as a historian who refutes not only the Ottoman but also his personal heritage. But, there are also references to the possibility that Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi was not fond of his Turkish roots. Sencer Divitçioğlu, *Osmanlı Beyliğinin Kuruluşu*, İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1996, 30. Nişancı, *Risale*, ed. Atsız, 357.

that Bayezid II was surrounded with courtiers who considered Turkish language a headache and discriminated against him for using it, although Kemal himself had adopted the eulogist and ruler oriented tradition for his history.³⁶

A number of other conflicting statements also indicate that the ideological importance of language choice was a taxing reality to the historians of this period. One of them comes from Al'Konevi in 1484 and it is later repeated by Idris Bitlisi in 1504; both authors complain about there being too many Ottoman histories composed in Turkish which lack accuracy and finesse.³⁷ Al'Konevi in particular states that these books were full of lies and he was resolved to travel and examine the architectural and archaeological evidence to prove that the Ottomans received the leadership of *gaza* directly from the Seljuks.³⁸ In contrast, we find Neşri (1495) writing there were not enough Ottoman histories written in Turkish.³⁹ While one could ask how many history books in Turkish were too many, it is obvious that

36 Kemal was told that his book was written in a language literary patrons of the age considered a headache. Kemal called himself and the Ottomans *Türks*, and considered the entire Turkish speaking population under Ottoman rule as *Türks*. He stated that he wrote his Ottoman history in Turkish for the *Türks* and he was a proud member of this community. Kemal, *Selatinname*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadide Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY 331, f.71.b. Kemal, *Selatinname*, ed. Necdet Öztürk, *XV. Yüzyıl Tarihçilerinden Kemal Selâtinname*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, 157. He argued Christians believed, besides the Ottomans, all the Muslims of Anatolia were *Türk*. For example, in the first instance he wrote “At that time Germiyan became an enemy / but what should he know – he had not encountered the *Türk* before.” Kemal, *Selatinname*, f.13.b. Kemal, *Selatinname*, ed. Öztürk, 29. On the occasion of Süleyman Çelebi’s expedition to Rumeli, Kemal writes that it was Süleyman Çelebi’s wish to be buried facing the infidels. “And from time to time open my grave / see if I still face the infidels / if so they will be seeking the opportunity / those who killed many *Türk* should be killed as well.” Kemal, *Selatinname*, f.28.a. Kemal, *Selatinname*, ed. Öztürk, 62. Kemal, *Selatinname*, f.64.b, f.69.a, f.79.a. Kemal, *Selatinname*, ed. Öztürk, 141, 151, 172.

37 Ménage, “A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories,” vol. 1, 103. İnalçık, “How to Read ‘Ashık Pasha-Zâde’s History,” 166.

38 Ménage, “A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories,” 103. Al'Konevi, *Kitabı Tarihi Ali Osman*, 51-66.

39 Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, *Kitab-ı Cihan-nüma*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995. vol. 1, f.1.b. Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. Franz Taeschner, *Gihännümâ, Die Altosmanische Chronik des Mevlânâ Mehemed Neschrî*, Band I, Einleitung und Text des Cod. Menzel, Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1951, 2. Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. Franz Taeschner, *Gihännümâ. Die Altosmanische Chronik des Mevlânâ Mehemed Neschrî*, Band II, Einleitung und Text des Cod. Menzel, Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1953, 2.

at this point, at least for Al'Konevi and Idris Bitlisi, language choice was directly related to the questions of legitimacy. It was as if the content and the form, or the medium and the message had become unified.

Nevertheless, the argument for the use of the Turkish language appears to have resonated among the literary elite. Towards the end of Mehmed II's reign, Ahmedi's *İskendernâme* was circulated in greater numbers than ever, some commissioned by the palace.⁴⁰ And even a greater number of historians used Turkish. Of course the latter authors also acknowledged the *Türk* and *Türkmen* roots of the dynasty, and openly favored the popular narrative tradition. In this context, Aşıkpaşazâde could be described as a pioneer, and a maverick. When he completed his work in 1484, shortly after Mehmed II's death and during a major legitimacy debate, he became the first non-anonymous Ottoman historian who representing the Muslim Anatolian and Turkic Ottoman historiography.

To understand this aspect of Aşıkpaşazâde's work, we must ask what sources may have attracted Al-Konevi and later Idris Bitlisi's contempt, and what sources Aşıkpaşazâde used. The best candidate for the contempt of Al-Konevi and Idris Bitlisi was the anonymous *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, which was by far the most popular and widely circulated history book of its time. This history was written in Turkish. It also, refrained from stating that the Ottoman dynasty received its mission of holy war, *gaza*, at the Christian frontier from the Seljuks. As it was previously mentioned, this was indeed what made Al'Konevi upset, and set him off to examine the ruins and the monuments of the land to prove them wrong. And, although it did not directly call the Ottoman dynasty *Türk*, *Tevarihî Ali Osman* cited plenty of historical events in which the enemies of the Ottomans referred to them as *Türk*, mentioned the *Türks* of Anatolia and Rumeli, and explained how these populations assisted the Ottoman dynasty in its quest for power. On many occasions, it also employed the term *Türkmen*. In its rhetoric, there was a clear distinction between *Türk* and *Türkmen*: a *Türk* was a Turkish speaking Muslim city dweller while a *Türkmen* was Turkish speaking Muslim nomad.⁴¹ *Tevarihî*

⁴⁰ Most copies of Ahmedi's *İskendernâme*, hence his *Dastan* date from the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II. For example, there are 31 known copies found in Turkey. 14 of them don't have completion dates. Of the 16 copies which have completion dates, 7 are composed during Mehmed II's, 3 during Bayezid II's, 2 in Selim I's, 1 in Süleyman I's, 5 during Selim II's and 1 during Mehmed IV's reign. İsmail Ünver, *Ahmedi İskender-nâme*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983, 25-26.

⁴¹ General references can be found in *Vienna Anonymous*, Wien: National Bibliothek, N. 23, f.37.a and f.50.a-b. *Giese Anonymous*, ed. F. Giese, trans. Nihat Azamat, İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1992, 48-49. *Topkapı Anonymous*, ed. Necdet Öztürk,

Ali Osman also cited a detailed Ottoman genealogy, which left no doubt that it considered the Ottomans *Türks*.

What Al-Konevi and Idris Bitlis disliked about this text was exactly what appealed to Aşıkpaşazâde and what he utilized to set the record straight with the Ottoman state. Although he had his own qualms with the anonymous *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, he relied on it heavily. Consider the obvious issue of genealogy, for example. As far as the lengthy genealogies of the Ottomans were concerned, the only non-anonymous book that preceded Aşıkpaşazâde's history was Bayatlı's *Câm-ı Cem-Âyîn* (c. 1481). This was, in its author's words, an annotated Ottoman genealogy, a summary of an *Oğuzname*, and curiously enough, the first text in which the term *Türk* referred directly to the Ottoman dynasty.⁴² It embodied a list of the names found in all later Ottoman genealogies. We do not know the original language of the *Oğuzname* Bayatlı used, but numerous Turkish copies of his reduction circulated during Bayezid II's early reign. It should be noted that it also included the story of Ottomans receiving the *gaza* from the Seljuks.⁴³

From 1484 onwards, taking the anonymous *Tevarih-i Ali Osman* books and the list of the Turkic rulers found in Bayatlı's work as their basis, a number of historians started to explicitly state that Ottomans were of *Türk* and *Türkmen* and composed varieties of Ottoman genealogies. These genealogies, along with the other familiar stories like founding fathers blessing dreams, and their receiving of the *gaza* from the Seljuks converged into a nucleus. Among the authors who conformed to this nucleus, Aşıkpaşazâde was the first Ottoman historian who called himself a *Türk*, wrote his own genealogy, included an explicit genealogy of the dynasty, incorporated the popular narratives from the *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, with which he sometimes agreed and sometimes argued against, and used simple

Anonim Tevârih-i Âli Osman, İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000, f.23.a-b and f.30.b. Some of the examples include Christian neighbors of the Ottomans addressing them as *Türks*. *Vienna Anonymous*, f.7.b, f.24.b, f.26.a, f.86.a. *Giese Anonymous*, 11, 25, 26, 76. *Topkapı Anonymous*, ed. Öztürk, f.6.b, f.16.a, f.48.b, f.49.a, f.79.a. Some mention the Ottoman war slaves who will become janissaries being given to the *Türk* to learn Turkish, *Vienna Anonymous*, f.23.b. *Giese Anonymous*, trans. Azamat, 25. *Topkapı Anonymous*, f.15.b. And, some speak about the *Türks* of Rumeli helping Düzme Mustafa to fight against Murad II. *Vienna Anonymous*, f.68.a. *Giese Anonymous*, 63. *Topkapı Anonymous*, f.40.a.

42 He wrote, "Yafes was the father of the Turks. Since Yafes was the father of the Turks, Osman's old lineage was linked to him." Bayatlı, *Camı Cem Ayin*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Tarih Fihristi, 23, f.6.a. Bayatlı, *Camı Cem Ayin*, ed. Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947, 381.

43 Bayatlı, *Camı Cem Ayin*, f.20.a. Bayatlı, *Camı Cem Ayin*, ed. Atsız, 394.

Turkish.⁴⁴ He freely applied the term *Türk* to the Ottomans. He confirmed that their Christian neighbors called Ottomans as *Türk* from time memorable,⁴⁵ and on occasion Orhan himself referred to his men⁴⁶ as well as himself as *Türk*.⁴⁷ With the term *Türkmen*, Aşıkpaşazâde was much more specific. Even though he agreed that Ottomans were *Türkmen* in their origin,⁴⁸ he added how some *Türkmen* later rebelled against the Ottoman authority.⁴⁹ His references to the *Türkmen* remained positive only until Bayezid I's defeat by Timur,⁵⁰ and afterwards he used the term mostly to describe the nomadic Anatolian dynasties or confederations who troubled the Ottoman state.⁵¹

Aşıkpaşazâde's comfort with the term *Türk* could be attributed to his own origins. After all, his grandfather Aşıkpaşa's *Garibname* at times read like a patriotic Turkish poem.⁵² But, this was also an author who belonged to a new era. He was surrounded by historians who were interested in the overall question of who the Ottomans were, and who the *Türk* and *Türkmen* were, just like him. This is why, a few years later, in 1495, we find Neşri drawing a clear distinction between the two terms. He writes that among the *Türks*, Çanak Han, who was also known as Kara Han, was the first one who recognized Islam. Following his lead, some 2,000 *Türks* converted to Islam. This is why Çanak Han and his men became known as *Türki iman*, which was in time changed into *Türkmen*. Hence, Neşri claimed, *Türk* was the term applied to a larger group of people, from whom a certain segment converted into Islam; to be a *Türkmen* was to be a Muslim *Türk*.⁵³ The controversial nature of Neşri's statement put aside, it represents what one may call the next stage of a growing desire to solve ethnically charged issues. Evidently, Aşıkpaşazâde's work represents the same charged atmosphere.⁵⁴

44 For example, he repeated that the grave of Ertuğrul's father Süleyman was known as "Türk Mezarı." Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 322.

45 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 332, 334, 336, 343.

46 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 349, 363.

47 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 351.

48 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 322.

49 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 406, 410.

50 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 322.

51 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarihî Ali Osman*, 406, 410.

52 Aşık Paşa-yı Velî, *Garibname*, ed. Bedri Noyan, Ankara: Ardiç Yayınları, 1998.

53 Neşri, *Cihannüma*, ed. Unat and Köymen, vol. 1, f.4.b-5.a.

54 We should note that during this period, Tursun Bey, Safai and Uzun Firdevsi also used the term *Türk* to address the Ottomans. Tursun's references to Christians calling Ottomans *Türk* were numerous. Tursun Bey, *Tarihi Ebul Feth*, ed. Mertol Tulum,

In his old age, Aşıkpaşazâde gambled his status by daring to align himself with the popular and folk tradition. He put his reputation on line when he became the first author who showcased the *Tevarih-i Ali Osman* as a legitimate source of information. Perhaps he was too old to care for consequences and believed that it was time to seek his voice, the one reserved only for the *private individual*. When he completed his work, the two narrative traditions regarding the origins of the Ottomans remained divided. Among the later historians, it was Neşri, who brought them together, and by mainly relying on Aşıkpaşazâde's work as it embodied the popular narrative.

Interestingly enough, Aşıkpaşazade never cite the anonymous *Tevarih-i Ali Osman* as his source but argued that the information in his book regarding the early Ottoman history, up to the end of Bayezid I's reign (d. 1402) came from what he heard from others and in particular from an otherwise unknown source called Yahşi Fakih's *Menakıbnâme*. He wrote,

A group of friends were talking about the history of the origins and the good stories regarding the Ottomans. They asked this poor, and I answered them as I have known and read from Orhan Gazi's imam İshak Fakih's son Yahşi Fakih... [Yahşi Fakih] wrote the events and legends up until the time of Sultan Bayezid Han [Bayezid I]. Remaining dedicated to Orhan Gazi's imam İshak Fakih's son Yahşi Fakih, along with what I have heard from others, I summarized and wrote down the words and the legends about the Ottomans, filled with events. In that endless plain the pen spoke to my heart. I gave my ear to the voice of my pen like a helpless soul. My heart was amazed, then I began to speak.⁵⁵

The final sentences of this quote, where the ear listens to the pen and the pen's wisdom amazes the heart is a clear indication of how strong the tradition of oral

Târih-i Ebü'l-feth, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977, 82, 83, 94, 99, 137. He also made casual references to the Ottomans and Anatolian Muslims as *Türk*. During the events regarding Uzun Hasan, Tursun describes *Türkmen* as the enemy. Tursun Bey, *Tarihi Ebul Feth*, 96, 125, 127, 168, 172. Uzun Firdevsi most often referred to the occasions in which Christians called Ottomans *Türk* or when calling eastern Anatolia the land of Turks. Uzun Firdevsi, *Kutbnâme*, ed. Olgun and Parmaksızoğlu, *Firdevsî Rumi, Kutb-Nâme*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980, f.29.b, f.31.b, f.32.a, f.34.a, f.68.a., f.72.b, and f.74.b. Safai, in particular described a crowd in a Venetian prison to be composed of mostly *Türk*, and elsewhere denoting the Ottomans. Safai, *Fethname-i İnebahtı & Modon*. İstanbul: Topkapı Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1271, v. 131, f.105.a-b, f.70.a-b, respectively.

55 Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, 51.

transmission of history was during Aşıkpaşazade's time. It is a testimony to how he wrote from memory, mostly remembering the material form the past readings and listenings in public. This makes it all the more significant how he thought it was necessary to state that his main source was a text, and a text with an author, the so called Yahşi Fakih's *Menakıbnâme*.

In a later section, Aşıkpaşazâde further elaborated who this Yahşi Fakih was, and it is there we find out why this reference was so important for Ottoman legitimacy. At the aftermath of Bayezid I's death (1402), and during the ensuing civil war (1402-14012), Aşıkpaşazâde was part of Mehmed I's vizier Bayezid Paşa's entourage. At one point he seems to have fallen sick, and left behind to recover in an Anatolian village. He writes,

At that time as someone who prayed for the sultan [Mehmed I], I stayed in the village. In the house of Orhan's imam Yahşi Fakih's son [İshak Fakih], in Geyve, I was sick. I took the *Menakıbı Ali Osman* [the Legends of the Ottomans] up to the time of Bayezid there from the son of imam and wrote it. Here I state it to be so.⁵⁶

The first striking feature of this statement is its casualness in terms of how the information regarding the identity of the source is divided into two episodes. It shows no signs of ingenuity; the story is told when its age arrives in the chronology. Although it would have been more convenient for Aşıkpaşazâde to write one full description of the event at the beginning of the book, and comfortably leave it there, we find him revisiting the subject some hundred folios later to add a few new details; that he took refuge in İshak Fakih's convent because he was sick during the civil war period, and the convent was located in Geyve. As soon as we do the math though, we grow suspicious; he is claiming he remembered this source some 60 years later and wrote it down. Moreover, he is the only Ottoman historian who mentions this source.

This being said, previous scholarship has proven that Aşıkpaşazâde indeed used an alternative source which he combined with the anonymous *Tevârihi Ali Osman*. Perhaps he remembered what distinguished this narrative from the others throughout his life, for he was accustomed to work from memory, especially in terms of history.⁵⁷ After all, he lived at a time of cultural shift from orality to literacy, as someone who was trained to use his memory. The distinct features of Yahşi Fakih's version of the Ottoman past could have survived with him easily and must

⁵⁶ Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârihi Ali Osman*, 150.

⁵⁷ V. L. Ménage, "Menaqib of Yakhshi Faqih", *BSOAS*, 26, 1963, 50-54. Halil Erdoğan Cengiz, "Yahşi Fakih", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 71, 1989, 39-41.

have appealed to him as a member of the religious order which this *Menakıbnâme* represented. They must have distinguished him from other intellectuals of the era who were interested in history as well, as they made him a colorful example of his age for us. They made him someone who had something different to say about Ottoman identity and of course gave him an identity of his own.

Another piece of information we discover in this later statement is equally significant, the location of İshak Fakih's convent, whose father was Orhan's imam. By all means, this must have sent a strong message to Aşıkpaşazâde's audience, back then and equally so today. The reference to the town of Geyve along with the reference to Orhan's imam takes us back to the geographic origins of the empire, to the Sakarya Valley, where everything that is Ottoman had begun. Geyve is only 90 miles north of Söğüt, and a place both Ertuğrul and Osman roamed with their warrior bands during the earliest days of the dynasty. It is the mythological core of the Ottoman identity. Interestingly enough, Aşıkpaşazâde's encounter with Yahşi Fakih's *Menakıbnâme* mimics the popular myths about Ertuğrul and Osman's dreams too. According to this common myth, two founding fathers of the Ottoman Empire also rested at a Turkic Muslim religious figure's convent in this region, where they witnessed their blessing dreams, received their religious blessings, and unified their genealogies with his. Could it be a coincidence that a century later Aşıkpaşazâde received a religious blessing of his history right there and then? Of course not. Conscious or not, this setting proves that "that endless plain" of Ottoman history, where Aşıkpaşazâde's "helpless soul" gave an ear to the "voice of the pen," had very clear ethnic, geographical and ideological boundaries, like all other identities.

Conclusion

During Bayezid II's later reign, when three authors were commissioned by the palace to compose histories, only one of them was written in Persian, namely İdris Bitlisi's (c. 1503). The other two, Ruhi (c. 1510) and Kemalpaşazade's (c. 1526) wrote in Turkish. Moreover, all three authors followed the popular narrative tradition which Aşıkpaşazâde legitimized. At the opening of his history of the Ottomans, Ruhi wrote,

Sultan Bayezid said: "Histories of the prophets are regarded as the best and most preferable, and thus *ulema* prefer to write this kind of histories, but the history of the Ottoman Sultans who are the most distinguished and honorable among others has not yet been the subject of a compilation written in a language for everybody's profit. It is desirable that it should have been." This statement of the Sultan made

me decide to collect the histories [of the Ottomans] in Turkish which are circulating in the Ottoman dominions.⁵⁸

If nothing, Ruhi's statement proves that 15 years after Aşıkpaşazade's work, at the end of Bayezid II's reign, there was a new norm taking shape, and the Ottoman palace had grown aware of the influence of the popular Turkish narratives. It shows how the Ottoman state became attuned to the necessity of convincing their subjects of their legitimacy in Turkish. The fact that both Ruhi, Idris Bitlisi and Kemalpaşazade followed Aşıkpaşazâde's lead, via Neşri's work, or on their own speaks to the same point as well.⁵⁹ It shows that not the history that the palace entertained for a century, but the history which was imposed on it from bottom up was now becoming the legitimate past. This trend continued long after Bayezid II's reign, for Kemalpaşazade's history became the standard blue print for the future historians. Meanwhile, Aşıkpaşazâde's history seems to have held its popularity well over a century; in 1630 it was still transported to the battle front, to be read to the men who fought in the Ottoman ranks.⁶⁰

This essay's main argument was how the acquisition of power in an authoritarian setting requires sophisticated modes of thinking and operating. Certain qualities, such as private wealth, public persona and proximity to the ruling elite can be instrumental for the *private individuals* in any epoch. The aim of this essay was to highlight Aşıkpaşazâde's case as an example of how some human experiences transgressed periods and cultural boundaries. Aşıkpaşazâde shows us why and how a *private individual* may negotiate power with the sovereign.⁶¹ Where his interests and the interests of the sovereign conflicted, how he or she may choose to be critical and vocal, to the degree that they may write a history of the sovereign from their unique perspective.

Similarly, this essay underlined that if İnalçık's 1994 essay represented a change of heart from his 1964 one, this was because he discovered a new Aşıkpaşazâde. It argued that this Aşıkpaşazâde was not a mouthpiece of the state propaganda

58 İnalçık's translation. İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History," 165. *Rūhī Tārīhī*, ed. Yaşar Yücel and Halil Engin Cengiz, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, 369.

59 On the sources of Kemalpaşazade's *Tevarih-i Ali Osman* see Ibn-i Kemal, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, I. Defter, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991, 11-24. On the sources of Ruhi's Ottoman history, see Ménage, "A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories," vol. 1, 124-25. On the sources of Idris Bitlisi's *Heşt Beşt*, see Ménage, "A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories," vol. 1, 257-60.

60 İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History," 156.

61 İnalçık, "How to Read 'Āshık Pasha-Zāde's History," 139-56.

machine but a *private individual*, in Rousseau's sense of the phrase, and a historically conscious person. He was more than a servant/ protégé of the state. He was a maker and a manipulator of the Ottoman *political machine*. Such unique personalities are what propel our discussions of Ottoman identity today. We listen to their voices, because they explain the Ottoman Empire as something other than an inanimate idea, an abstract structure, an economic or military entity. Aşıkpaşazâde was pivotal in the emergence of a Turkic discourse within the early Ottoman historiography, and in the legitimization of a popular narrative tradition. His voice helps us understand how an Ottoman individual and the Ottoman state negotiated power, and how the common frameworks which we rely on to explain such relationships in the early modern West could easily apply to the relationships found in the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire.

The Türk in Aşıkpaşazâde; a Private Individual's Ottoman History

Abstract ■ During the late fifteenth century Ottoman intellectuals used history books as a venue to practice civilian power. This essay focuses on Aşıkpaşazâde and his history of the Ottomans, *Kitâb-ı Tevârih-i Âli Osman*. The essay argues that the book was an example of how civilians contributed to the construction of Ottoman identity and legitimacy. It explains the emergence of an explicitly Turkic discourse within the early Ottoman history books and Aşıkpaşazâde's role in this phenomenon. The essay also evaluates Aşıkpaşazâde's life from a theoretical perspective, building on Halil İncelik and Jean Jacques Rousseau's arguments. It describes Aşıkpaşazâde as a private individual, and suggests that the dynamics of power sharing between people and the state in the early modern Western empires were also present in the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, history, historiography, identity, Türk, Türkmen, Aşıkpaşazâde, Halil İncelik, Jean Jacques Rousseau.

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S E C T I O N 2

Getting by as an Ottoman

Hattat İsmail Zihni Paşa: Life and Death of an Ottoman Statesman and an Inventor

*Kabraman Şakul**

Hattat İsmail Zihni Paşa: Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı ve Mucidinin Hayatı ve Vefatı

Öz ■ Bu makalenin ana meselesini 18. asır sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bir devlet adamı kimdir sorusu oluşturmaktadır. Bu devir bir dizi siyasi ve diplomatik buhranların sonucunda kimliklerin ve bağlılıkların masaya yatırıldığı bir azim karışıklık devriydi. Makale Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda teknoloji transferi ve söz konusu teknolojinin adaptasyonu ile yönetici ricalin yeniliklere karşı tutumları hakkındaki genel geçer görüşleri sorgulamaktadır. İzlenen yöntem bir Osmanlı devlet adamının, İsmail Zihni Paşa'nın, tahsili, bürokratik kariyeri ve mucitliğine yoğunlaşmak olacaktır. Sonuç olarak, belge ve metinsel kaynaklar sayesinde gördüğümüz hizip siyasetine dahil oluşu ve tereke kayıtlarının ifşa ettiği mal varlığı edinme yolları açısından İsmail Zihni Paşa devrinin tipik bir Osmanlı paşasıydı. Ne var ki, teknolojik yeniliklere ve mekanik eşyalara karşı duyduğu heyecan açısından pek de tipik bir paşa değildi. Umulur ki, bu makale "Osmanlı kimdir?" sorusunun ne kadar karmaşık cevapları olabileceğinin bir göstergesi olsun.

Anahtar kelimeler: İsmail Zihni Paşa, Halil Hamid Paşa, Osmanlı Askeri İslahatları, Seri Atışlı Tüfek, Galatasaray, Tereke

The principal concern of this paper is to shed light on the question of what it took to be an Ottoman for a statesman in the 'Age of the Great Ottoman – Russian/Habsburg Wars.'¹ This was an age of significant turmoil caused by a series

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¹ This definition is from Kemal Beydilli, "Küçük Kaynarca'dan Tanzimat'a İslahat Düşünceleri", *İlmi Araştırmalar: Dil, Edebiyat, Tarih İncelemeleri* 8 (1999), 25-64.

of diplomatic and military crises that changed the empire forever. The times demanded the questioning and redefining of identities and allegiances by the ruling elite as well as various subject populations –Muslim and non-Muslim alike.² The essay will explore İsmail Zihni Paşa’s educational background, factional networks, and his inventive mind. While membership to a faction and accumulation of wealth were typical in the career of an Ottoman statesman, his passion for technological invention and taste for artifacts of wonder were not. The present paper will call into question our notions about transfer of military technology and the nature of Ottoman ruling elite based on the example of İsmail Zihni Paşa.

The history of innovation and invention in the Ottoman Empire has been covered in a mist in Ottoman studies. Thus, it is no surprise that the Ottoman statesmen of the period in question have been associated with a conspicuous lack of curiosity for the outer world and of inventive mind in historiography. While no longer constituting the mainstream approach in academic circles, this approach still looms large in popular histories.³ İsmail Zihni Paşa challenges such conventional definitions. When he died in July 1785 as the governor of Bosnia, he left an odd weapon behind –a carriage with many musket barrels fixed on it, fired by a central mechanism, namely a volley gun (similar to the European organ gun, *ribauldequin*).

Career and Life Story

İsmail was born in 1739 to a middle-class family in Istanbul; his father was an artisan. Reaching puberty, he was accepted to the Galata Palace School. He evidently underwent a vigorous education embodying martial arts, military sciences, and calligraphy. During his training, he attained proficiency in a number of calligraphic styles used in the Ottoman chancellery, which proved to be his golden opportunity for entering the scribal bureaucracy at the palace. Upon recommendation for his beautiful handwriting, Sultan Mustafa III appointed him

2 The imperial geopolitics of the rivalry over the loyalties of Christian souls in the Balkans is discussed in Virginia H. Aksan, “Locating the Ottomans Among Early Modern Empires”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999), 21-39 [reprinted in idem., *Ottomans and Europeans: Contacts and Conflicts* (Istanbul: ISIS, 2004)].

3 Several works of B. Lewis and J. Goodwin propound such views that mystify and exoticize the Ottomans in European history. See, B. Lewis, *What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2002); J. Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizon* (New York: 1999); among many criticisms see Virginia H. Aksan, “Ottoman Military Matters”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 6/1 (2002), 52-62.

to the chamber of Treasury. As a young palace scribe, İsmail Efendi followed the established patterns of the Ottoman political culture based on household politics by attaching himself to the household of Silahdar Mehmed Paşa.⁴

A protégé of Silahdar Mehmed, İsmail Efendi served as the pipe warden and wardrobe master (*duhâni ve haftânî/kaftânî*) of the Silahdar Ağa [the arms bearer of the Sultan]. He quickly transformed himself into a counselor of his benefactor in matters of some political importance. His insights and suggestions on such occasions earned him a good reputation in palace circles. Nevertheless, his close confidence with his master caused an unwelcome rivalry with Silahdar's brother, who intrigued against İsmail to fall him from favor. It was a fortunate coincidence that the post of vice chief-secretary of Sultan Abdülhamid I was vacant at the moment. Silahdar Mehmed avoided further rift in his entourage by having İsmail Efendi appointed to that respectable position in the palace hierarchy.⁵

A brief discussion of Silahdar Mehmed Pasha is necessary, as sources seem to confuse the two grand viziers bearing the same name and title in the period under discussion. The first was the brother-in-law of Sultan Mustafa III; the second was a close associate of Sultan Abdülhamid I from his princehood: Kara Silahdar Seyyid Mehmed Efendi [later, Karavezir Silahdar Mehmed Pasha]. The royal bridegroom was a strong vizier due to his marriage to Ayşe Sultan, sister of Sultan Mustafa III. He held the grand-vizierial post after the routing of the Ottoman army at Kartal [Kagul] (25 October 1770) for slightly more than a year. He died at his late 70s in 1788. Several sources designate him as the benefactor of İsmail Efendi.⁶ Nevertheless, Mehmed Pasha was rotated from a provincial governorship to another during the years that witnessed the rise of İsmail Efendi in the palace service. Thus, he could not be the pasha who is said to have enjoyed prudent advices of İsmail on important political affairs. Furthermore, Sultan Abdülhamid I believed that he was one of the grand viziers responsible for the defeat at the hands of the Russians and rejected at once the proposal to appoint him as the deputy grand vizier on one occasion. Neither could he have approved of the appointment of one of this pasha's protégés as his deputy chief-secretary. Finally, İsmail Efendi's

4 Ahmed Vastif Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakaikü'l-Âhbâr*, ed. Mücteba İlgürel (Ankara: TTK, 1994), 280.

5 ed., İlgürel, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakaikü'l-Âhbâr*, 280; *Sicill-i Osmânî*, I, 370 [SO].

6 SO mentions him as the governor of Kars – a possible confusion with nearby Erzurum – and the sponsor of İsmail Efendi, see *Sicill-i Osmânî*, I, 370. İlgürel also implies him as İsmail's benefactor, see ed. İlgürel, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr*, 429 [index]; for his biography see, Mehmet Arslan ed., *Tayyâr-Zâde Âtâ Osmanlı Saray Târîhi: Târîh-i Enderûn*, vol. II (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2010), 131-5.

later promotion to the office of the intendant of the Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hümayun kethüdası*) occurred during the term of the grand vizier Yeğen Seyyid Mehmet Paşa. An archenemy of Silahdar Mehmet Paşa, he showed unrelenting hostility towards him only to cause his own downfall in the end. It would have been out of question that Yeğen Paşa would appoint a man closely affiliated with his enemy to such an important post.⁷

By contrast, Kara Silahdar Mehmed Efendi was a palace creature. He was an intimate of Abdülhamid I, heir apparent; whose coffeemaker was his brother, Helvacı Mustafa Ağa. Known in chronicles as Karavezir, Mehmed Efendi/Pasha became the maker of grand viziers after Abdülhamid's succession, finally himself coming to power in August 1779. When he died in February 1781 in his late forties, as a renowned reformer, he was only a few years older than İsmail Efendi.⁸ Some time in the eighteenth century it had become a palace tradition to choose the 'wardrobe master of the sultan's arms-bearer' (*silahdar ağa kaftancısı*) from among the graduates of the Galata Palace School. Some of these men advanced from this post to that of the sultan's chief secretary. Hattat Mehmed Hıfzı Efendi, for instance, was a graduate of the same school, a calligrapher, and the chief secretary of Sultan Mahmud I at the beginning of his reign. Among the graduates of this school that held the title of the wardrobe master of the sultan's arms-bearer were Hafız Ali Efendi (1813), his predecessor Rasih Efendi, and Esebeyzade Emin Ağa (1826). The graduates of this school were known to have a strong sense of solidarity and given preferential treatment in the palace bureaucracy. As a matter of fact, selection of the Galata graduates for higher education in the Enderun was a prerogative of the wardrobe master of the sultan's arms-bearer, who was a former graduate of the same school.⁹ This is further evidence that İsmail Efendi's benefactor was Karavezir.

7 Mehmed Paşa's long career in provincial governorships is impressive: Trabzon (1772-4), Selanik (1774-5), Bosnia (1775-6), Bender (1776-8), Bosnia (1778-?), Anatolia (1780-2), Erzurum (1782), Egypt (1783), Hanya (1785), Crete (1786-8). His appointment to Erzurum was forced by Yeğen Seyyid Mehmed Paşa who contemplated to execute him in his new post so as to settle an old account from the days of the Russian War (1768-74), see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. VI (Ankara: TTK, 5th edition), 416, 431; for Abdülhamid's opinion about him see, Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden Bir Padişahın Portresi: Sultan I. Abdülhamid (1774-1789)* (İstanbul: TATAV, 2001), 132.

8 For his biography see, ed. Mehmet Arslan, *Tarih-i Enderun*, vol. II, 131-5; Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. VI, 428; He is also mentioned as 'Silahdar-ı Şehriyari es-Seyyid Mehmed Ağa', see Ahmet Özcan, "Kethüda Said Efendi Tarihi ve Değerlendirmesi", (MA thesis, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, 1999), 28 [24^a].

9 Fethi İsfendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi*, v. I (İstanbul, 1952), 534-7, 553.

Consequently, should the senior Silahdar Mehmed Pasha really have played a role in İsmail's career, it would not have gone beyond employing him in the palace as a young scribe owing to his amicable relations with Sultan Mustafa III as a royal favorite. Nevertheless, İsmail Efendi must have then joined the same palace faction as Kara Silahdar Mehmet Efendi during the reign of Abdülhamid I. In this case, the audience of his good counsel was Kara Silahdar rather than the senior Silahdar who was not present in the palace at the time. This also explains the story about the jealous brother of the silahdar mentioned above. This person was Helvacı Mustafa (later, Pasha) in all likelihood. He held the title of *nişancı* (chief chancellor: affixer of the imperial signature) when his brother Karavezir was made the grand vizier. Curiously, Karavezir removed his brother from the office in favor of el-Hajj Mustafa Efendi. This was actually a promotion that roughly coincided with İsmail's appointment as the deputy chief secretary of the Sultan.¹⁰

İsmail seems to have been quick in cultivating good relations with Sultan Abdülhamid owing to which he was further promoted to the chief secretary of the Sultan. There are two official diaries (*ruznâme*) for the reign of Abdülhamid I. The one that exists in rough draft and records the events of 13 May 1778 – 16 December 1779 was by and large kept by İsmail Zihni Efendi.¹¹ Thus, *zihni* had already become one of his sobriquets in recognition of his sharp and inventive mind. It was a palace tradition to give scribes nicknames suggestive of their skills and competencies. His beautiful handwriting, for instance, earned İsmail Efendi the sobriquet *hattat*. It helped him tremendously climb up in the palace hierarchy as well; 'Es-seyyid' İsmail Efendi was made the intendant of the Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hümayûn kethüdâsı*) on 10 December 1782 on the eve of the downfall of Yeğen Seyyid Mehmet Pasha.¹² A graduate of the Galata Palace School could be

¹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. V, 474; Abdülhamid had granted Helvacı Mustafa the title of vizier and married him to Şah Sultan, the daughter of Mustafa III. Then Karavezir abruptly dismissed him from the office, while appointing another of his brothers Halil Ağa as the 'silahdar', Sarıcaoğlu, *I. Abdülhamid*, 142-3.

¹¹ This is kept in the Topkapı Palace (T SMA, nr. E.12360/1-17), see Sarıcaoğlu, *I. Abdülhamid*, XVIII. *SO* states that İsmail Efendi was once the tutor of Prince Mehmed, son of Abdülhamid. However, he was sent to Sofia before the birth of Mehmed Nusret who died at three years old (September 1782 - October 1785), see İlgürel ed., *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 292.

¹² *Ruznâme-i Sultan Abdülhamid Han* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi [T SMA] E. 12360/17), 1a; *SO* gives the dates January 1781-10 December 1782 for his term of office, but *Ruznâme* is very meticulous about the dates, giving the exact time of his appointment (*kâtibü's-sırr es-Seyyid İsmail Efendi hazîne kethudâsı nasb sâ'at akrebî sekiz, dakika ellî*). One document refers to him as 'the former Sipahiyân Ağa and the deceased Governor

promoted to this post after serving his term as the wardrobe master as in the case of Emin Efendi who filled these posts in 1814 and 1817, respectively.¹³

Apparently, İsmail Efendi recommended Halil Hamid Pasha for the vacant post to Karavezir who, in turn, suggested his name in an unofficial deliberation to Sultan Abdülhamid I.¹⁴ This was the singular political achievement of “Es-seyyid Hattat İsmail Zihni Efendi” –to use his full name and title- in his otherwise typical scribal career. Once in power, Halil Hamid Pasha returned the favor by raising İsmail to pasha of three horsetails¹⁵ and appointing him to a provincial governorship as related in *Sicill-i Osmani*. However, Vasıf Efendi gives an immensely unfavorable version of this story. According to Vasıf, the grand vizier demonstrated a perfect case of perfidy by plotting against two individuals to whom he owed his position: İsmail Efendi and Hajji Mustafa Efendi, the chief treasurer. He alleged that Halil Hamid Pasha was a power monger who attempted to impose his personal rule on the palace bureaucracy. İsmail was simply one of the victims of the schemes of the rapacious grand vizier. He was convinced that İsmail and Mustafa were plotting to replace him in office. Afraid of İsmail’s influence on the aging Sultan, Halil Hamid Pasha aimed to torment this potential rival by rotating him between provincial governorships. The execution of Halil Hamid meant the end of the sufferings of an anguished İsmail who was later appointed the Governor of Bosnia. Vasıf’s determination to revile Halil Hamid on every occasion may have accounted for his unfavorable interpretation of his intentions. Actually, Halil Hamid Pasha had appointed İsmail to the governorship of Bosnia a few weeks before his own demise.¹⁶ The *Ruzmerre*, by contrast, hints that a more cordial relation-

of Bosnia’ with no mention to the date for the former appointment, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [BOA], D.BŞM.MHF 75/48.

- 13 İsfendiyaroglu, *Galatasaray Tarihi*, 534. He was also the tutor of princes in 1814. *SO* states that İsmail was once the tutor of prince Mehmed, but this is not supported by other sources.
- 14 Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. VI, 433, 436 and his “Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa” in idem. *Osmanlı Tarihinden Portreler - Seçme Makaleler*, vol. I (İstanbul: YKY, 2010) ed. Nuri Akbayar, 128-30.
- 15 His probate inventory features three horsetails with a silver niche to fix the standard as well as a silver knob. It was taken from ‘Ömer’ –probably one of his servants- and sold to a certain ‘İbrahim Ağa, kullukçu’ for 23,505 akçes (195,86 kuruş): “Ömer sim babalı ve sim koğanlı tuğ 3, 23,505 akçes İbrahim Ağa kullukçu”, see TSMA, D.2302, p. 132.
- 16 ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinül-Âsâr*, 244, 280; Uzunçarşılı agreed with Vasıf concerning the ingratitude of Halil Hamid Paşa towards İsmail Efendi, see Uzunçarşılı, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. VI, 435, but challenges him on the dismissal of Mustafa, see “Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa,” 170-1.

ship may have prevailed between the two pashas. During the official ceremony of promotion, İsmail was given the robe of honor (*kürk*) sent by the Sultan, signifying his vizieral rank. On that occasion, Halil Hamid Pasha, however, gave him an additional one, signifying his appointment to İnebahtı on 16 October 1783.¹⁷ As for Hajji Mustafa, the grand vizier had initially appreciated him by making him his deputy. The two fell into disagreement soon over foreign policy in the heat of the crisis with Russia over the annexation of the Crimea. A resentful Halil Hamid dismissed his deputy because of his adamant opposition to preparation for a possible war with Russia and its Habsburg ally.¹⁸

A cursory reading of Vasif's history reveals that İsmail's promotion to the rank of pasha and appointment to a provincial governorship was part of a general policy concerning border security. Halil Hamid Pasha's conviction that an armed conflict with Russia was imminent in the near future and his war preparations are too well known to repeat here. However, it can be quickly noted that he wanted to have trustworthy and able governors in the Danubian theatre of war. Thus began Hattat İsmail Zihni Pasha's career in the provinces. He immediately reorganized his household and rushed to his post as advised by Halil Hamid Pasha during the official appointment ceremony. On his way to İnebahtı in late 1783, İsmail Zihni Pasha received the official notification that he was now the Governor of Anatolia and the Commander (*serasker/başbuğ*) of Sofia. This required him to stay in Sofia rather than in Kütahya.¹⁹ Alerted by the Russian-Habsburg rapprochement, the Ottomans had decided to appoint two commanders to Sofia and İsmail, respectively. They would monitor the enemy forces across the border and organize the military mobilization. The first Commander of Sofia was the Governor of Rumelia, Eğribozlu İbrahim Paşazâde Vezir Mehmed Pasha. He, however, abused his authority as the governor of the region by imposing heavy taxes to feed his troops. The Sublime Porte attempted to prevent oppression by taking administrative authority away from military commanders; thus the commander of Sofia and İsmail could not be the governor of the same province. It was hoped that commanders had less opportunity for extortion when their military command fell outside of the limits of the provinces where they were in charge of taxation.

17 *Ruzmerre*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, Yazma nr. 1001, 21. İsmail Paşa was appointed to İnebahtı on 12 October 1783.

18 Sarıcaoğlu, *I. Abdülhamid*, 146-7.

19 He was appointed to the post on 1 December 1783, see İlgürel ed., *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 57; *Ruzmerre* misreported the name of the post as the 'Commandership of Manastır' (*Manastır Muhafızı*), see p. 21; *SO* also wrongly states that he held the commandership of İsmail when serving in Sofia (p. 370).

Thus, Abdi Pasha, the new Governor of Rumelia, was made the Commander of İsmail while İsmail Zihni Pasha, the Governor of Anatolia, held the Commandership of Sofia.²⁰

Relations with Russia were strenuous at best on the eve of the ratification of the Aynalıkavak Convention by which the Sublime Porte recognized the Russian annexation of the Crimea. Prior to the official ceremony of the exchange of ratifications in Istanbul on 4 April 1784, the Ottomans considered decreasing the tension with Russia by a gesture of goodwill. This plan envisioned the withdrawal of Abdi Pasha from İsmail to Sofia and ordering İsmail Pasha back to Kütahya, his gubernatorial seat. This plan was only partly realized and only in the spring of 1785. The Porte was never satisfied with İsmail Paşa's performance in Sofia. His lack of popularity among his troops, his dismal performance in military operations and various other shortcomings were all subjects of consultative meetings held in Istanbul. By the autumn of 1784, the Sublime Porte prioritized the border with the Habsburgs since it believed that Russia would procrastinate to honour the terms of its alliance with the Habsburgs should Vienna attack the Ottoman territories. Convinced that the real fight would occur in the Danubian basin, decision was made to send a stronger pasha to Sofia. Therefore, relocation of Abdi Pasha in Sofia had emerged as a distinct probability in the meeting held on 11 September 1784. According to this proposal, İsmail Zihni Pasha would fill the post of the commandership of İsmail fortress.²¹

The relocation of Abdi Pasha in Sofia and İsmail Pasha in İsmail took place on 15 March 1785. They were still the governors of Rumelia and Anatolia, respectively. Probably, İsmail Pasha was never to go to his new post, as he was appointed to the governorship of Bosnia shortly after, on 13 May 1785.²² This turned out to be his last post. A terrible plague outbreak was ravaging in Bosnia as testified by local sources. Başeski Şevki Molla Mustafa from Bosnasaray (Sarajevo), noted in his diary the immediate death of the new governor with the words²³:

20 ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 57; Mustafa Öge, "Vaka-i Hamidiyye: Mehmed Sadık Zaim-zâde. Tenkidli Transkripsiyon," (MA thesis, Balıkesir Üniversitesi, 2001), 60-7 [15a-21a].

21 Aydoslu Mehmed Paşa was the other candidate for this post, ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 187-91.

22 *Ruznâme*, 10b, 11b; ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 215,254; *Ruzmerre* gave the date of appointment to İsmail commandership as 17 March 1785 (pp. 26, 29).

23 Kerima Filan, "Başeski Şevki Molla Mustafa. Ruz-Name. Metin-Sözlük-İnceleme," (Ph.D diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1999), 90-1, 231.

“Afore-mentioned İsmail Paşa came down with illness for about a week and died right after he had arrived at Yeni Pazar. A strange incident indeed! Never happened before in Bosnia that way. It occurred in the year of 1199, between the *Petrov* day [July 12] and *Aligün* day [August 2].”

Poor İsmail Pasha most probably died some time before July 28, as the post-mortem bureaucratic routines such as confiscation were already underway by 28 July 1785.²⁴ Assuming that the order of his appointment could not have arrived before the first days of June, he possibly stayed in Sofia at least until mid-June, preparing for the journey to his new post.

İsmail was known for his humility. His demeanors were fitting for his vizieral rank. He was appreciated for his comprehensive knowledge of the sultanic laws and legislation that was part of his education at the Galata Palace School. Vasıf was of the opinion that he would have been a valuable statesman had he led a long life so as to gain experience in his career in provincial bureaucracy.²⁵ Clearly, İsmail followed the career path of an ordinary palace scribe of his age. A combination of calligraphic skills, strong patronage, prudence and good luck made him a typical example of ‘efendi-turned-pasha.’²⁶ What was distinctive about him was that he was a practicing expert in firearms technology.

²⁴ BOA, D.BŞM.MHF 75/29. When exactly the news of his death reached İstanbul is unclear. *Ruzmerre* cited the date 26 May 1785, but this is certainly impossible. Morali Ahmed Paşa, the governor of İnebahtı, was appointed to Bosnia on 30 May 1785 according to this source (p. 31); he reached his post only on 6 September, see Filan, “Ruz-Name,” 91; Vasıf dated the arrival of the news to 24 August 1785 (p. 280).

²⁵ “*etvârı müstahsen dâna-yi şân-ı vezâret ve ârif-i kavânin-i saltanat bir vezir-i rûşen-zamir idi. Füşat-ı ecel ve vüsat-ı ömr-i müstelzimül-emel ile bir zaman taşrada geşt ü güzâr ve ahvâl ve etvâr-ı halkı bi’n-nefs tecrübe ve ihtiyâr etse idi Devlet-i Aliyye’nin katı çok işine yarayacağı zahir idi*”, see ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinül-Âsâr*, 280.

²⁶ Among the examples of similar career paths were Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Halil Hamid Paşa, and Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi, see Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Uzunçarşılı, “Halil Hamid Paşa,” Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi: Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi (1750-1799)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 13-51 and his piece in this volume; for the expression, ‘efendi-turned-Paşa’, see Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities,” repr. in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, eds. Baki Tezcan and Karl Barbir (Madison: Center for Turkish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, 2007), xvii-xxxii.

İsmail Pasha as Polymath: Making of an Ottoman Volley Gun

İsmail had a natural disposition towards applied sciences and mechanics. He was capable of figuring out the method of construction and principles of operation of a mechanical instrument at the first sight. He was also competent in inventing weapons of different sorts which made him a polymath (*bezarfen*); hence his nickname *Zihnî*.²⁷ His probate inventory may stand witness to his genuine interest in mechanical gadgets. Among his belongings there were seventeen clocks of different sorts, six binoculars, two astrolabes and a compass.²⁸ The educational reforms of Sultan Mahmud I was probably as influential in his parents' decision to send him to the Galata Palace School as his professed talent. Reverting back to a palace school in the 1720s, the school had three classrooms of different grades, a library and a hospital in addition to various other facilities such as bath and mosque. The school then underwent yet another renovation in 1753. Sultan Mahmud I transferred many valuable books from the palace library to the library of the new school. Apparently, this school became quite popular among the Muslim families of Istanbul, as they competed to have their sons enrolled. No fees were required for room and board. To the contrary, students were served free meals in copperwares, provided with free lodging as well as education. Moreover, they had a good chance of employment in the civil bureaucracy upon graduation. Among the employed in the school were imams, calligraphers, doctors, and surgeons.²⁹

The curriculum embodied body training, martial games, music, calligraphy, language, grammar, and the traditional madrasah courses on religious disciplines. Apparently, masters and craftsmen from different lodges also taught various arts at the school, which may explain İsmail's training in principles of firearms technology.³⁰ Unfortunately, my research in the archives has turned up only three documents about the volley gun he invented. It is, nevertheless, possible to retrieve the technical specifications of the weapon from these documents. Musket

27 "Müşâriün-ileyh ihtira-ı âlât-ı harbiyyede mâhir ve görüb işitdiği sanayii icrâda misli nadir bezar-fen....", see ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 280.

28 TSMa, D.2302, see Table VI in the Appendix.

29 Traveller accounts and Ottoman documents suggest that there were about 400-500 students at a time in the school, İsfendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi*, v. I, 280-1, 297, 301, 305, 428. For more on the reforms of Mahmud I in the school see pp. 267-88.

30 "Galatasaray'na çerâğ ve bazı maarif tahsili ile ateş-endâz-ı hirmen-ı batâlet ve ferâğ olub...", ed. İlgürel, *Mehasinü'l-Âsâr*, 280; "Müteaddid ders hâceleri ve hattatlar ve haste-hâneye tabibler ve hüdmetçiler ve Pars kethüdâları ve sanayi ve saire için üstadlar tayin buyurulmuşdur", ed. Arslan, *Tarih-i Enderun*, v. I, 176.

barrels without stock and firing mechanism were fixed on a carriage in a group of 20 in two rows. Their calibers were large, ranging between 57.73 - 64.14 gr. (18-20 *dirhem*). Made of iron, these barrels were fired by a single wheel lock mechanism (*zenbüreklü*). Each carriage was rested on an axle so as to be drawn by a horse. There were two of these carts and they were deemed to be quite maneuverable.³¹

İsmail Pasha must have been fully convinced that his weapon would be truly useful in real battle conditions. Thus he decided to construct more of them. As he failed in Sofia to find 'longish, bare iron barrels of 18-20 *dirhem* calibers', he requested 200 of them to be sent from the Imperial Armory after being tested and inspected. A simple calculation would suggest that it is possible to construct 10 more carts with the requested barrels. Apparently, the Imperial Armory did not have the kind of barrels requested by İsmail Pasha. All it had were 40 plain barrels each of which was 154 cm (7 *karış*) long, 31.5 mm (*birer parmak enlü*) thick, and fit for bullets of 64.14 – 80.18 gr (20-25 *dirhem*). The Porte decided to send them all to Sofia, but İsmail Pasha would have to pay the unspecified price.³²

It should be noted that the relevant imperial decree was sent to İsmail Pasha in late August 1784 when he was still the Commander of Sofia. It is likely that he received these barrels and had time to construct more volley guns. There is a relevant entry in his account book recording the expense of musket barrels (*tüfeng timurları*) sent to Zihni İsmail Pasha. The date of this expenditure is 11 March 1785. Thus, he had about three months to construct his new volley guns in Sofia before leaving for Bosnia in mid-June.³³ The number of the volley guns at his disposal is unknown; yet all of them seem to have been confiscated and put in the stores of the Imperial Armory.

31 BOA, Cevdet Askeriye Kataloğu [C.AS] 1118/49528 (22 April 1784). Draft of the imperial decree that was sent later before mid-September; C.AS 2059 suggests that one cart had 20 and the other 24 musket barrels and that they were fired by a wheel lock mechanism.

32 C.AS 1118/49528; I follow the equations: 1 *dirhem* = 3.207 g; 1 *karış* = 22 cm see, Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultans: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 242-47; 1 *parmak* = 31,5 mm, see, Ünal Taşkın, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kullanılan Ölçü ve Tartı Birimleri" (MA thesis, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2005), 143.

33 TSMA, D. 2789. The total expense is 328,5 kuruş. It is not certain if this includes the transportation expenses as well. His probate inventory features three separate entries on the sale of nine musket barrels. Prices are highly fluctuating; a group of four was sold at 610 akçe (152.5 each) while another group of four was sold at 1310 akçe. On the other hand a single musket barrel was worth 1900 akçe, D. 2302, p. 132.

These weapons attracted the attention of both the grand vizier and Sultan Abdülhamid I both of whom examined them separately on two different occasions. They communicated with each other their views on how to improve the design. The grand vizier described these carts as having ‘big’ musket barrels fixed skillfully in groups of 10 and 12 and fired by a wheel lock mechanism (*zenbürekli*). He was convinced that they would ‘do a good job in battle since they are fired by a single match.’ However, he was also concerned about the difficulty of reloading them on the battlefield. The muskets were attached to one another in a row and could not be handled individually. Once discharged, the volley gun had to be withdrawn from the battlefield for safe reloading. This would invite the enemy attack. Thus, the grand vizier ordered the Head of the Imperial Armory to re-design one of the carts. The new design was to allow each barrel to move up and down on a vertical axis so that the volley gun could be reloaded in combat position. Therefore, it was hoped to maintain a continuous barrage of fire. Kağıthane was declared the testing field for the volley guns. The experts were to test both the modified volley gun and one of those with the original design in order to compare their combat effectiveness. Sultan Abdülhamid I approved of this suggestion since he also suspected of their usefulness after examining them himself. He related his observations to the grand vizier as in the following:³⁴

“I have seen the muskets the late İsmail Paşa had constructed on a cart with a wheel-lock mechanism. They are ingenious things (*sanatlı*). But are they fit for shooting on the battlefield? That I can’t know. Discuss with the experts and, if they are so, let me know about the results after trying them.”

Unfortunately, neither the total number of the volley guns nor the test results are clear. However a document dated 5 July 1786 suggests that the initial trials were probably unsuccessful. According to this document six wheel lock muskets in total were delivered to the Imperial Armory. It declares İsmail Zihni as the possessor of these muskets. Half of them were recorded as iron barrels of wheel lock muskets without a stock and flint. This may indicate that they were parts of the volley gun.³⁵

In fact, such multi-barreled non-automatic volley guns have a long history. Many inventors including Leonardo da Vinci had been fascinated with the idea of producing such a superior, battle-winning weapon since the fourteenth century. The obvious theoretical advantage of this weapon was the devastating firepower. Many loaded barrels fired by a single matchlock would produce a deadly barrage

³⁴ C.AS 2059.

³⁵ C.AS 38589.

of fire on the enemy. *Ribauldequin* (rabauld, ribault, ribaudkin, or organ gun), used by the English army of Edward III in 1339 during the Hundred Years War, was presumably the ancestor of this type of weapons. Many inventors then were fascinated with the idea of volley fire delivered by a single weapon. For instance, a contemporary of İsmail Zihni Paşa, the British engineer James Wilson, invented the nock gun in 1779. This was a seven-barreled flintlock smoothbore musket intended to be an anti-personnel weapon in the British Royal Navy. It too suffered from the basic flaw of the non-automatic volley gun: slow reloading and powerful recoil. A continuous barrage of fire by a single piece would not be possible until the upgrading of the gunpowder technology that led to the invention of cartridge bullets and thereby breech-loaders. This was a new departure for the firearms technology hailed by the full automatic Maxim gun in 1884 –the single barreled self-loader.³⁶ Consequently, there is nothing surprising in the failure of İsmail Zihni Paşa's musket cart in the 1780s, which was still a precipitous endeavor by the standards of that epoch.

İsmail Zihni Paşa in Light of His Probate Inventories and Account Book

Following the usual Ottoman practice, the authorities confiscated İsmail's estate after his untimely death. The sale of his effects yielded a modest sum with respect to his rank. The total value of his goods sold in auction was close to 95,590.4 kuruş (11,470,848 akçe).³⁷ Of this sum, 29 percent (27,874.4 kuruş [3,344,930 akçe]) came from the sale of his firearms, swords, daggers, bows and harnessing equipment. Most of these weapons are ornamented, symbols of status of their possessor. Bows and swords in his possession are also signs of the value system of a typical Ottoman statesman that attached high importance to personal gallantry in warfare.³⁸ While these glittering swords and embroidered bows were definitely used by his retinue during public processions, he must have regularly practiced

³⁶ More on the history of this weapon see, John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Guns* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 9-47; Howard Ricketts, *Firearms* (London, 1962).

³⁷ An order sent to Abdi Paşa (the Governor of Rumelia) and the kadı of Berkofça speaks of İsmail's 'plentiful stuff' (*külliyetli eşya*) in Berkofçe, BOA, Cevdet Maliye [C. ML] 23193 (12 November 1785). The probate inventory of Silahdar Abdullah Paşa, the former governor of Bosnia who died on 9 February 1785, records the value of his goods sold as 1,848,650 akçe; that is, one-tenth of the value of Zihni İsmail Paşa's effects, see D. 2302, p. 132.

³⁸ 760,860 akçes; 89 muskets, 9 musket barrels and 54 pistols; 284,195 akçes: bows and arrows; 1,726,535 akçes: 17 swords, 38 daggers and knives; 573,430 akçes: harnessing equipment, D.2302, see Tables I-V in the Appendix.

archery as a Galata graduate as well, as suggested by the existence of numerous arrows in his probate inventory.

İsmail Zihni Pasha's sudden death has left us with scanty archival documentation concerning his career in the provinces. Little is known about his activities as the Commander of Sofia except for Vasıf's brief remark that he was unpopular among his troops and considered to be feeble as a commander. The number of men assembled under his command is not available. Nevertheless, a register of the daily rations offers us a glimpse into his household. The observation force in Sofia under İsmail Zihni Paşa consumed 113,367.5 double loaves of bread, 30,596 kg of meat (23,903.5 *kıyye*), 236,670 kg of barley (10,209 *kile*), and 17,223.6 kg of fodder (13,456 *kıyye*) in 29 days between 16 October and 14 November 1784 (*Zi'l-hicce* 1198).³⁹ A hypothetical calculation based on one double loaf of bread per soldier per day would suggest that İsmail Zihni Paşa had 3,900 troops at most in his army. Obviously, this figure needs to be revised down to roughly 2,500 since daily rations for officers and high-ranking functionaries were much higher. This was a small-scale army composed of five Janissary companies (600 men), a company of armorers (120 men), two companies of gunners (120 men), two companies of wagoners (240 men), perhaps 1236 mercenaries, roughly 100 sipahis with a number of officers, patrolling *çavuşes* (*kol çavuşanı*: 12 men), army scribes (Osman, Emin and Mehmed efendis), the army sheikh (Seyyid Emin Efendi), three surgeons, and finally at least 116 horses servicing the artillery.⁴⁰

When he received the orders to go to Bosnia, İsmail Zihni Paşa departed from Sofia with a small retinue, entrusting most of his men and baggage train in the town with his kethüda, Mehmed Agha, to follow him soon. The small army under Kethüda Mehmed Agha had received the news of his death in the day after arriving in Berkofçe (Berkovitsa) on the road from Sofia to Vidin. This village had been given to İsmail Pasha as a *malikâne* estate. Kethüda Mehmed Agha sent a letter to Abdi Pasha in order to inform him on the situation in Berkofçe upon the death of İsmail. Accordingly, as of the summer 1785, the household of late İsmail Zihni Paşa included roughly 70 Enderun aghas as well as an unspecified number of *sekbans* (mercenaries) and *karakullukçus* (servants/attendants). When he died, he owed an equivalent of 1.5-month pay to his mercenaries, and 2-month pay to his servants. He had not yet paid the *Mekkari-başı* for the horses he had provided whereas the Enderun aghas were expecting to receive their 3-month pay. The pay in arrears

39 C.AS 53719 (2M199/15Nov1784): I follow the equations, 1 *kıyye* = 1.28 kg and 1 *kile* = 23 kg (for barley and fodder). My own calculations yield a slightly different figure for bread consumption: 103,367.5 double loaves of bread.

40 C.AS 53719 (15 November 1784), see Table VIII in the Appendix.

may have accounted for his troops' resentment against him. Abdi Pasha forwarded all the communication to Istanbul and ordered the voivodes, the kethüda and the kadi of Berkofçe to store İsmail's belongings and take care of the soldiers and animals until orders from Istanbul arrived. Nevertheless, some of his belongings had already been sent to Sofia under the custody of Osman Agha, one of the *birün* aghas, a few days before the arrival of Abdi Pasha's *buyuruldu*.⁴¹

Initial orders concerning the process of confiscation and investigation of the rumors about his wealth had actually been dispatched by the end of July 1785 to the kadi of Saraybosna and the deputy kadi of Travnik. According to the rumors İsmail had entrusted 600 purses of kuruş with his treasurer Ali Ağa. This man was a close associate of İsmail. They were classmates in Enderun and graduated at the same time. Upon the death of İsmail, he and İsmail's divan scribe Mehmed Emin Efendi led his retinue from Yenipazar to Berkofçe with the intention of returning to Istanbul.⁴² The Porte devised a secret plan to confiscate this sum. A kapucıbaşı, Sakızlı Mehmed Ağa, was sent to Berkofçe on 5 August 1785 to escort these men in a speedy travel to Istanbul so that they would not have the opportunity to embezzle the money and other belongings of İsmail Paşa. The kapucıbaşı would not disclose that the Porte knew about the money. Yet, should they grow suspicious and attempt to run away, he would have to arrest them.⁴³

The afore-mentioned probate inventory of İsmail Pasha does not include 600 purses of kuruş or its equivalent in gold coins except for a number of jeweled rings, embroidered weapons and clocks. Nevertheless, if he really had 300,000 kuruş in cash, it would be safe to conclude that he was quite well to do.⁴⁴

It was very common for the members of the Ottoman elite to die in debt. When he succumbed to plague, İsmail Pasha left a total debt of 61,438.5 kuruş to be paid back to the state. The claimants included the Imperial Stables that hired out mules to him (*esteran bahâsı*: 6130 kuruş), the Treasury and the Endowment

41 BOA, D.BŞM MHF 75/30 (5) and (2) communication of Kethüda Mehmed Ağa and Hazinekar Ali Ağa; 75/30 (4) from Divan Kâtibi (chancellor) Mehmed Emin Efendi to Kethüda Mehmed Ağa.

42 D.BŞM.MHF 75/48.

43 D.BŞM MHF 75/30 (5), (3); The kadi of Berkofçe informed on 1 October 1785 the Porte that İsmail's properties were sent to Istanbul along with the inspector, BOA, D.BŞM MHF 75/50.

44 Another of his probate inventory of four-page long is retained under C.ML 481/19623. This document is in poor condition and closed to research. The catalogue date is 2 November 1785, which may not agree with the document date. For a list of jewels and selected luxury items in his possession see Table VII in the Appendix.

of the Holy Cities that owned certain tax farms (*Hazine ve Haremeyn mukataaları*: 11,308.5 kuruş; *mukataat-ı miriye havalesi*: 4,000 kuruş) as well as the Imperial Mint that extended a loan to him (*Darbhâne*: 40,000 kuruş).⁴⁵ Yet, revenues at his disposal and his expenditures as required by his post were considerable. His account book recording the transactions between 30 October 1784 – 24 July 1785 reveals that his total spending amounted to 247,143.5 kuruş, whereas his revenues did not exceed 143,111 kuruş. Thus, the net deficit in his accounts for this period of nine months was equal to 104.032.5 kuruş. Four major items of his debts were the loan from the Imperial Mint (*Darbhâne*: 40,000 kuruş), appointment fee to the governorship of Anatolia (*rikâbiye*: 25,000 kuruş), office-holding fee for this post (*ibka rikâbiyesi*: 15,000), and finally appointment fee to the governorship of Bosnia (*Bosna rikâbiyesi*: 25,000 kuruş).⁴⁶

It is noteworthy that a large portion of his expenditures was related to the practice of sale of offices. He had to pay a multitude of fees to high-ranking officials as the price of his appointment to and retaining of his post and rank. In the last two months of 1784, he paid 47,000 kuruş as the promotion (*tevcih*) and office-holding (*ibka*) fees (*caize* and *boğça-bahâ*) to Halil Hamid Pasha and his steward as the Governor of Anatolia. Interestingly enough, 3000 kuruş of this sum was paid 'in return for the bestowal of the vizieral rank [*mirimiranlık*] to Tepedelenli Ali Paşa' on 31 October 1784. His relation to Ali Pasha of Janina remains to be explored. As the governor of Bosnia, the fees he paid were 17,750 kuruş in three months (May-July 1785) with Dürrizâde, the former Sheikh al-Islam, on the list of recipients. The Reis Efendi also had his share (500 kuruş monthly [*avâ'id*]) as did the Imperial Naval Dockyard. In brief, fee-related payments amounted to more than 80,000 kuruş in nine months, almost equaling the deficit in his budget.⁴⁷ In the same period of time, his expenses concerning the tax-farms in Berkofçe and various governorships cost him roughly 90,000 kuruş including courier services, the wages of the inspectors and local men (*müsellemler*) running his tax-farms. A breakdown of his revenues shows that the largest sources of revenues were the taxes from Anatolia (*seferiye ve hazariye*: 68,966 kuruş), treasury bonds (*esham*: 35,000 kuruş), and his tax-farms in Berkofçe (33,645 kuruş).⁴⁸ Besides the Berkofçe tax-

45 D.BŞM MHF 75/29.

46 D. 2789.

47 Dürrizâde received 3000 kuruş on May 16 in addition to 6,950 kuruş he had already received on April 7 and 20 as *boğça-bahâ*. Halil Hamid Paşa had also received 10,500 kuruş on 21 March 1785 in gold coins. The former chief treasurer received 2000 on 12 May 1785, see D. 2789.

48 D. 2789

farms and his salary İsmail Paşa also owned vineyards in the Morea. Not much is known about this property as the related document has decomposed.⁴⁹

At the time of his death, the *sipahiyân* (timariots) of Berkofçe owed him 5000 kuruş.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the real fiscal challenge for İsmail Paşa was the accumulated debt of the *reaya* of Berkofçe tax-farms from the fiscal years of H. 1197 (1782/3) and H. 1198 (1783/4). The taxes had long fallen in arrears, reaching 60,599.5 kuruş.⁵¹ This in turn might explain the delay of the pay of his troops. By November 1785, the Porte devised a payment plan that envisioned the paying off the arrear taxes in installments in a few years.⁵² After assigning the collected sum to several expenses, the Sublime Porte was to have a surplus of 9557,5 kuruş.⁵³ Nevertheless, this sum was left unpaid as of September 1792 due to upheavals in the region.⁵⁴

The account book has entries that provide a glimpse into his intimate life as well. Apparently, he had rented a mansion in Istanbul probably for his wife for 57 kuruş a month. On 21 May 1785, he forwarded 1095,5 kuruş for repairing the walls and apartments of his mansion. He had at least one brother named Feyzi Bey to whom he gave 360 kuruş on 25 March 1785. He also had at least one son and he gave him 1400 kuruş as *boğça-bahâ* on 20 April 1785. On September 29, long after his death, an allotment of 1530 kuruş was made for repairing the house of his sister. She was also given a monthly allowance to cover her food expenses amounting to 1875,5 kuruş. Another postmortem expense is the allowance made

49 BOA, Cevdet Dahiliye Kataloğu [C.DH 244/12190] (16CA1200): “Müteveffa Zihni İsmail Paşa'nın bağlarına dair Mora kaymakamı Ahmed'e hüküm” [the catalogue summary].

50 D.BŞM 75/30 (2) from Kethüda Mehmed Ağa.

51 TSMA, D. 2057, p. 3 and D. 2052, p. 8.

52 C.ML 23193. The sum is recorded as 52,967 kuruş of which 3000 kuruş was due for the spring (*ruz-ı hızır*) and 2000 kuruş for fall (*ruz-ı Kasım*) of H. 1200. Then, this would rise to 10,000 kuruş a year. C.ML 23387 states that the total debt amounted to 40,590,5 kuruş to be paid in four installments: 12,500 (spring installment of H. 1200), 7500 kuruş (fall installment of H. 1201), 12,500 kuruş (spring installment of H. 1201), 8090,5 kuruş (fall installment of H. 1202).

53 D. 2057, p. 3 and D. 2052, p. 8: (1) 5900 kuruş: delivered for the cost of army animals and his retinue; (2) 15,000 kuruş: delivered to the Enderun treasury in return for the debt of the deceased; (3) 12,500 kuruş: transferred to the Janissary guards of the fortresses in Bosnia as the spring installment of their pay for H. 1201 [30 July 1786]; 12,500 kuruş: the spring installment of the loan taken from Halebli-zâde Ahmed Ağa; 5142 kuruş: delivered to the Treasury [1 November 1786]. The surplus is recorded as 9598,5 kuruş in C.ML 23387.

54 C.ML 23387.

for those in charge of brushing Ka'ba (*müşârinileyhin ferâset-i şerîfesiçün*). Presumably, his family gave the equivalent of 1095.5 kuruş in gold coins on 26 August 1785 as redemption for the soul of the diseased. İsmail Zihni Paşa hired a room in Vezir Han at least for 13 months for 8 kuruş a month (104 kuruş in total). This was one of the biggest khans at the heart of the old city that is still functioning.⁵⁵ A separate probate inventory kept for his belongings in this room only listed domestic items such as 12 comforters, cushions, and kitchen utensils. This suggests that he kept this room for the messengers he sent to Istanbul or his men staying in Istanbul.⁵⁶

Conclusion

There is only circumstantial evidence to determine how İsmail Paşa viewed his identity and career. In light of early studies on the Ottoman statesmen of this period, we can conclude that he had taken the usual path to build up a career in Ottoman palace bureaucracy.⁵⁷ His 'Ottoman' identity was contingent on education in the reformed Galata Palace School; entrance to palace service; and, joining the right palace faction. We can identify him and his faction as the proponents of military reform along the Western line. This point of view can be traced back to the beginnings of the eighteenth century, but it gradually became the mainstream political position only during the period under discussion owing to the policies of several statesmen including Halil Hamid Paşa. This grand vizier owed his sudden rise to power to İsmail Efendi. Halil Hamid rekindled the faltering attempts at military reform by inviting the official French military mission to renew their military industrial plants, reinforce the fortresses and reform the technical corps. Acceptance of official military assistance from another state was a novelty in Ottoman politics. One of the concrete achievements of Halil Hamid was the re-establishment of the Rapid-fire Artillery Corps (*Sûrat Topçuları Ocağı*) composed of 2,000 gunners.⁵⁸ İsmail Paşa surely had an inventive mind and a natural disposition to engineering as suggested by his nickname 'zihni' and his fame as a polymath. However his political stance and intellectual motivations must have been just as decisive in his experimental studies in firearms technology. It should

55 D. 2789. He also granted 250 kuruş as dowry (*cibaz*) to the daughter of his warden of the headdress (*ser-destari*).

56 D.BŞM MHF 75/48. Two small chests made of plane tree (*çınar çekmece*) originally in this room was taken by İsmail's wife (*kadın efendi*) so that the officials could not find it. This suggests that he had a wife and the mason he hired was intended for her stay.

57 Refer to footnote 25 for a list of these studies.

58 Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), 186-206.

be noted that there is a general belief that Sultan Selim III also experimented with artillery and wrote a manual on artillery tactics. İsmail Paşa had his volley guns constructed in the early 1780s when war with Russia over the Crimea was imminent. As we have seen, he was the commander of the observation force deployed in Sofia. He probably contemplated that his volley guns might undo the Russian and Habsburg superiority in firepower in the likely possibility of war.

A study of his probate inventory reveals that the faction in power was aware of the redistribution of power and wealth inherent in this period of transformation. Halil Hamid Paşa granted İsmail a solid financial base by appointing him as the Governor of Anatolia. One of the criticisms directed against the grand vizier was nepotism; he had an explicit aim to strengthen his faction by monopolizing influential posts in bureaucracy.⁵⁹ İsmail exhibited the typical consumption patterns of the group he participated in. Neither did his sources of revenue and investment patterns change. His salary and investment in tax-farms were his principal sources of wealth. What made this 'efendi-turned-pasha' exceptional, as an Ottoman statesman in the final analysis was his enterprising endeavor to invent things.

⁵⁹ Uzunçarşılı, "Halil Hamid Paşa," 171.

APPENDIX: TSMA, D.2302

Table I: Cold-steel weapons

Ömer Simli gaddâre 2 3100 akçe Mustafa Külâhi tâbî'-i kilerci ağa	Ahmed Simli gaddâre 2 1830 akçe Esad Ağa seferli	Osman Simli şâtır gaddâresi 2 aded 25.300 akçe Hacı Yahya	İbrahim Simli şâtır gaddâre 1 13.000 akçe Uzun Tahir Ağa hazîne	Musa Simli şâtır gaddâresi 3 34.500 akçe Kapı kethüdâm ağa	Ahmed Simli bel gaddâresi 1 12.000 akçe
Musa Simli bel gaddâresi 1 1700 akçe Ak çukadâr ağa	Ahmed Simlice bel? gaddâresi 2 2230 akçe Hacı Yahya	Musa Simlice bel gaddâresi 2 5000 akçe Derviş Ali Çelebi	Salih Simli av gaddâresi 3 4330 akçe Hacı Yahya	Ahmed Simli av gaddâresi 3 4350 akçe Küçük Hâfız	Süleyman Simli pala 1 12.000 akçe Tüfenkci Ahmed Ağa
Musa Sim hançer 1 3020 akçe Eskici Said Ağa hazîne	Abdullah Oyma çiçek kabzalı mücevher hançer fi 1532 183.480 akçe Kullukcu İbrahim Ağa	İbrahim Kehribâ kabzalı mücevher altın hançer 1 50.100 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	İbrahim Sim şâtır kuşağı ma'a hançer 2 61.050 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Mücevher bıçak 1 aded 2020 dirhem 962.400 akçe Düzöğlü	Salih Sim kabzalı namluca sağır bıçak 1 3300 akçe
Salih Bıçak-ı kebîr-i kopar 1 1500 akçe Arif Ağa kiler ve bostancıbaşı bekci	Abdullah Mücevher bıçak 1 (?)	Musa Çift meç 1, Şamkârî balta 10260 akçe Hazinedâr ağa Kolcusu Ali	Salih Mardini bıçak 4, yeşil sandal bıçak 1, bıçak 4, nühâs baba 1, alem 10 24.000 akçe Kullukcu İbrahim Ağa	Osman Seyf 6 2005 akçe Müezzîn İbrahim mir seferli	Hüseyin Örme sim kabzalı kılıç 1 9200 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
İbrahim Sim mühürlü simli kılıç 1 12.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Musa Polad donanmalı kılıç 1 4800 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Ömer Polad donanmalı kılıç 1 13.100 akçe Dülbend ağası ağa	Ahmed Sim donanmalı kılıç 1 9500 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Abdullah Altın donanmalı kılıç 1 84.000 akçe Başçukadâr ağa	Abdullah Altın donanmalı kılıç 1 84.000 akçe Başçukadâr ağa
Musa Yılkavî kılıç 1 12.510 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Osman Sim donanmalı sevadkârî kılıç 12.010 akçe Hacı Yahya	Ahmed Sim donanmalı sevadkârî kılıç 1 18.000 akçe Hayfâlî Emin ağa kiler	Ömer Sim donanmalı kılıç 1, gaddâre 7350 akçe Mustafa Sadık Ağa	Ömer Simli balta 2 6000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Musa Hâzâb (?) mızrak 1 1060 akçe Ser-huddâm-ı hazîne

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Hâzâb (?) mızrâk 1 1060 akçe Kaftanî	Musa Sîm kalkan 14.310 dirhem, fî 33 472.230 akçe Anton zimmi	Ömer Sâde kalkan 1 1000 akçe Koltukcu Emin	Ahmed Simli topus 2 7410 akçe Karbyık	Osman Sîmlice topus 3 3050 akçe Uzun Tahîr Ağa hazîne	Zırh 1 10.050 akçe Kapı kethüdâm ağa
<p><i>Total value: 1,726,535 akçes</i> <i>Gaddare: 20</i> <i>Pala: 1</i> <i>Hançer: 5</i> <i>Bıçak: 12</i> <i>Meç: 1</i> <i>Balta: 3</i> <i>Kılıç: 17</i> <i>Mızrak: 2</i> <i>Kalkan: 2</i> <i>Topuz: 5</i> <i>Zırh: 1</i></p>					

Table II: Bows and arrows

İbrahim Sîm karalı (?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 1 6000 akçe Selim Ağa hâs oda	Süleyman Sîm karalı (?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 1 4500 akçe Üsküdarî Emin Ağa kilârî	Abdullah Sîm karalı (?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 2 9050 akçe Mü'ezzin İsmail Ağa kiler	Ömer Sîm karalı (?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 1 3755 akçe Salih Ağa	Salih Sîm karalı (?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 2 12.600 akçe Üsküdarî Emin Ağa kiler	İbrahim Tîr 84 memlû kubûr 1, sâde kemân 2 2000 akçe Şileli Hüseyn Ağa
İbrahim Halka-i kemân 6 3050 akçe Musâhib Bilal Ağa	Salih Tîr 60 410 akçe Hâfız Ömer Ağa hazîneî tâbi'-i bâkî	Altın tırkeş ma'a okluk 1, 499,5 dirhem, 333 miskâl, fî 5,5 219.780 akçe Düzoğlu	Osman Sîm karalı(?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 2 13.000 ake Hayfalı Emin Ağa kiler	İbrahim sim karalı(?) tırkeş ma'a okluk 2 10.050 akçe Hayfalı Emin Ağa kiler	<i>Total value: 284,195 akçes</i>

Table III: harnessing equipment

Süleyman Zincir enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 32.000 akçe İznikmidî Ahmed Ağa hâne-i hâssa	Abdullah Zırh enselikli at rahtı sagır ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 36.000 akçe Gönüllü ağası teberdâr	Musa Zırh enselikli sım kemer raht ma'a başlık 1 aded 31.000 akçe Salih Ağa kilerci	Zırh enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 64.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Zincir enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 23.000 akçe Lütfullah Bey hazîne	Musa Zincir enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 40.050 akçe Kullukcu İbrahim Ağa
Ahmed Zincir enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 36.600 akçe Salih Ağa	Abdullah Zırh enselikli at rahtı ma'a başlık 1 26.005 akçe Salih Ağa	Ömer Zırh-ı enselikli sım at rahtı ma'a reşme (?) ve palaslık 1 44.000 akçe Teberdâr-ı gönüllüler ağası Hüseyin	Osman Zırh enselikli sım kemer raht ma'a başlık ve reşme (?) 1 aded 40.810 akçe Salih Ağa	Ahmed Zincir enselikli sım at rahtı ma'a başlık 1 aded 20.050 akçe Ağa çırağı İsmail Ağa	Musa At gömleği ve pûşidesi 4 1400 akçe Ser-huddâm-ı kılar
Ahmed At gömleği ve pûşidesi 1 2000 akçe Kiler berberi Halil	Ahmed At gömleği 6 1355 akçe Ağa çırağı İsmail Ağa	Musa Mercanlı sım kemer raht ma'a başlık ve reşme(?) 1 72.010 akçe İbrahim Ağa kullukcu	Salih Mercanlı sım at rikâbı 1 çift, 790 dirhem, fi 45 35.550 akçe Anton zimmî	Ömer Sım at rikâbı 1 çift, 680 dirhem, fi 40 25.840 akçe Anton zimmî	Abdullah Sım at rikâbı 1 çift, 575 dirhem, fi 34 19.500 akçe Anton zimmî
Musa Sımlice at rikâbı 1 çift 1400 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	İbrahim Rikâb demir 2, tombak 1 1330 akçe İbrahimpaşalı Ahmed Ağa	Ömer Tombak rikâb 1, bıçak 1 1350 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Tombak-ı rikâb 1 çift, temr 2000 akçe Esad Ağa destârî	Ahmed Tombak-ı rikâb 1 çift 2505 akçe Kaftanî	Musa Tombak-ı rikâb 1 çift, pirinç 1 m. 950 akçe
Salih Sım kaplama eğer 1 3820 akçe Şerbetci İbrahim Ağa	Ömer Sımlı eğer 3 4005 akçe Mustafa tâbi'-i kilercibaşı	Salih Sımlı eğer 2 3400 akçe Mustafa tâbi'-i kilercibaşı	Musa Sımlı eğer 1 1500 akçe Dellâl Musa	Total value: 573,430 akçes	

Table IV: Muskets and rifles

Ömer Sım kakmalı filinta tüfenk 1 42.000 akçe Ali Teberdâr tâbi'-i baş ağası	İbrahim Sımlı tüfenk filinta 1 19.000 akçe Hanımhanım İbrahim Ağa	Salih Filinta tüfenk 1 12.500 akçe Salih Ağa	Musa İngilizkârî filinta 1 aded 9305 akçe Kaftanı	Osman Filinta tüfenk 1 5000 akçe Kaftancı	İbrahim Filinta 1 5000 akçe Kaftanı
Salih Sagır filinta 1 4900 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Osman Amele Musa şeshâne tüfenk 1 38.000 akçe	Kebîr şeshâne tüfenk 1 aded 20.050 akçe Şileli Hüseyin Ağa	Ömer Şeshâne tüfenk 1 13.400 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Şeshâne tüfenk 1 13.100 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Ahmed Şeshâne tüfenk 1 11.140 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
Abdullah Şeshâne tüfenk 1 8510 akçe	Musa Sımlı şeshâne tüfenk 1 7400 akçe Teberdâr Musa tâbi'-i Ahmed Bey	Ömer Şeshâne tüfenk 1 5525 akçe	Süleyman Şeshâne tüfenk 1 5120 akçe Hayfalı Mustafa tâbi'-i ağa-yı çukadâr	İbrahim Şeshâne tüfenk 2 ()	Ömer Sırçalı alay tüfengi 14.025 akçe Salih Ağa
İbrahim Sırçalı alay tüfengi 1 10.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Süleyman Sırçalı alay tüfengi 1 5700 akçe Hayfî Emin Ağa	Abdullah Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 19.005 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 18.100 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	Abdullah Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 18.005 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Süleyman Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 18.005 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
Salih Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 17.100 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	Salih Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 17.100 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	İbrahim Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 16.600 akçe Külâhî Bektaş tâbi'-i aşıcıbaşı	Ahmed Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 16.005 akçe Külâhî Mustafa tâbi'-i kilercibaşı	Musa Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 15.250 akçe Salih Ağa	Süleyman Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 15.200 Haseki Hacı Mehmed

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Süleyman Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 15.005 akçe Salih Ağa	İbrahim Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 15.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Osman Sırçalı alay tüfengi 2 14.100 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Ahmed Alay tüfengi 2 15.015 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	Ömer Bel tüfengi 1 11.600 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	Musa Stimli tüfenk 1 40.010 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
Süleyman Mercanlı Cezayirkârî tüfenk 19.500 akçe Hâfiz Ali Ağa çukadar-ı kiler	Abanos kundaklı şeshâne 1 aded 8000 akçe Çavuş Hasan Ağa hazîne	Ahmed Sım kaplama tüfenk 1 7000 akçe Bektaş tâbi'-i aşcıbaşı	Abdullah sim kaplama tüfenk 4 aded 14.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Musa Sımlice karabina 1 4550 akçe Hazinedâr ağa Kuşcu Ali	İbrahim Karabina tüfenk 1 aded 3000 akçe Hürşid Ağa
Abdullah Karabina tüfenk 1 2700 akçe Koltukcu Emin	Salih Karabina tüfenk 1 1650 akçe İznikmidî Ahmed Ağa hâs oda	Ahmed Karabina 1 aded 1530 akçe Hâfiz Mahmud tâbi'-i ser-kâtib	Ömer Karabina tüfenk 2 5160 akçe Kaftanı	Süleyman Karabina tüfenk 2 3300 akçe Teberdâr Abdullah	Ahmed Karabina tüfenk 2 2740 akçe Koltukcu Emin
Ahmed Karabina tüfenk 2 2405 akçe Teberdâr Abdullah	İbrahim Karabina tüfenk 2 2350 akçe İbrahim Mîr mü'ezzin seferli	Osman Karabina tüfenk 2 1230 akçe	Salih Karabina tüfenk 1 ()	Musa Tüfenk 2 8210 akçe	Süleyman Kaval tüfenk 1 aded 2905 akçe Hayfalı Hüseyin tâbi'-i ser-huddâm-ı hazîne
Süleyman Kaval sağır tüfenk 1 2705 akçe	Ömer Kaval tüfenk 1 aded 2105 akçe İsmail Ağa çırağı	Musa Kaval tüfenk 2 4700 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Süleyman Kaval tüfenk 2 3405 akçe Hayfalı Hasan Berber	Musa Kaval tüfenk 2 3050 akçe Çukadar Feyzullah Ağa hazîne	Musa Kaval 1, karabina 1 3000 akçe Teberdâr Bağdadî
Musa Tüfenk demiri 1 1900 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Abdullah Tüfenk demiri 4 1310 akçe Hayfalı ömer tâbi'-i baş ağa	Musa Sâde tüfenk demiri 4 610 akçe Mü'ezzin İsmail Ağa kiler	Ömer Sım harbî demiri 1, sim vezne 1, ... 5130 akçe Salih Ağa kilerci	Abdullah Sımlı vezne 2 1005 akçe Hazinedârbaşı çırağı Mehmed Ağa seferli	<i>Total value: 649,925 akçes 89 muskets and 9 musket barrels</i>

Table V: Pistols

Ömer Piştovlu bıçak 1 15.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Simli piştov tek 6010 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Ömer Simli piştov 1 aded 5200 akçe Hüseyn mir seferli	Salih Çift demirli piştov 1 7000 akçe Hacı Mehmed Haseki	Ömer İngilizkârî piştov 1 çift 13.100 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	İbrahim Sim kaplama piştov 1 çift 11.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
Salih Sagîr piştov 1 çift 4900 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Osman Piştov 1 çift 3610 akçe Eyüb Ağa seferli	Ömer Piştov 1 çift 3300 akçe Hüseyn Mir seferli	Ahmed Çift piştovu 1 çift 3200 akçe	Osman Piştov 1 çift 1310 akçe Hayfalı Süleyman tâbi'-i peşkîr ağası	İbrahim Piştov 2 çift 2300 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed
Musa Piştov 2 çift 1250 akçe Mustafa Külâhi tâbi'-i kilercibaşı	Süleyman Piştov 2 çift 1200 akçe Dellâl Süleyman	Ömer Sim kaplama piştov kubûru 2 çift 4050 akçe Lütfullah Mir hazîne	Ahmed Sim kaplama piştov kubûrû 2 çift 4260 akçe Hacı Yahya	Süleyman Sim kaplama piştov kubûru 2 çift 4060 akçe Hacı Yahya	Musa Sim işleme piştov kubûru 2 çift 4060 akçe Uzun Tahir Ağa hazinei
Salih Sim işleme piştov kubûru 2 çift 4020 akçe Nevbetcibaşı ağa hazinei	Abdullah Sim kaplama piştov kubûru 2 çift 12.105 akçe Karabıyık	<i>Total value: 110,935 akçes 54 pistols</i>			

Table VI: Clocks, binoculars, astrolabes, and compass

Ahmed Mücevher sâ'at ma'a köstek 1, fi 1515 dirhem 181.800 akçe Salih Ağa	Abdullah Taşlıca basma sâ'at 1 44.000 akçe Baş çukadâr ağa	Salih Mücevher basma altın sâ'at ma'a köstek 1 34.000 akçe Hâs odabaşı ağa	Salih Kebîr sâ'at 25.900 akçe Çukadar Feyzullah Ağa	Salih Çalar altın koyun sâ'ati 1 17.050 akçe Kapı kethüdâm ağa	Osman Yalancı taşlı altın sâ'at 12.090 akçe Ahmed Bey kiler
Abdullah Taşlıca sapı altın sâ'at 1 10.000 akçe Halil Ağa havcı	Süleyman Sim sâ'at 1 8800 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Salih Sim sâ'at 1 8300 akçe Çavuş Mehmed Ağa kiler	Süleyman Altın koyun sâ'ati 1 7030 akçe Ömer Bey bâbü's-sa'âde	Ömer Sim sâ'at 1 6650 akçe Ağa çırağı İsmail Ağa kiler	Osman Sim sâ'at 1 5200 akçe İsmail mir hâs oda
Osman Asma köhne sâ'at 1 5175 akçe Kapı Çukadârı İbrahim	Osman Altın koyun sâ'ati 1 4910 akçe Kaftanı	Musa Çekmece sâ'ati 1 3200 akçe Selim Ağa hâs oda	Ahmed Sim sagîr koyun sâ'ati 1 2515 akçe Nevbetcibaşı-i hazine	Çekmece sâ'ati 1	
Musa Dûrbîn 1 5500 akçe Hâfiz Mehmed Ağa seferli	Abdullah Kaval dûrbîn 1 5000 akçe İbrahim Ağa kullukcu	Osman Kebîr dûrbîn 1, sagîr 1, palaska kubûr 2 aded 910 akçe Kağıdıcı efendi	İbrahim Kaval, dûrbîn 1 1750 akçe Hâfiz Ali Ağa hazîne çukadârı	Osman Dûrbîn 2 ma'a hurdavât 120 akçe Dellâl osman	Ahmed Kible-nümâ 1 3050 akçe Hacı Mehmed haseki
Abdullah Ustûrlop 1 1200 akçe Havcı Halil Ağa	Ahmed Usturlop 1 1055 akçe Selim Ağa kiler	<i>Total value: 395,205 akçes</i>			

Table VII: Jewels and selected luxury items

Musa Kol başları elmaslı pırlanta yüzük 1, 1313 dirhem 157.560 akçe Hazine vekili ağa	İnci 42 miskâl, fi 22 110.880 akçe Derzioğlu	Abdullah Tepesi zümrüdlü mücevher altın tatlı hokkası 96.000 akçe İbrahim Ağa kullukcu	İbrahim Mücevher altın tatlı hokkası 1 84.000 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Musa Elmas ve yakut ile müzeyyen altın zarf 1 72.000 akçe Düzoğlu	Osman Yirmi beş aded elmas pırlanta 15, roza 10 66.000 akçe Aşçı Said Ağa hazine
Abdullah Elmas ve yakut ile müzeyyen altın zarf 1, sahan 1 54.000 akçe	Abdullah Pırlanta elmas yüzük 1 50.100 akçe İbrahim Ağa kullukcu	Süleyman Mücevher çeşm kapaklı altın kutu 1 45.000 akçe Ali Külahî tabî'-i baş ağa	Ömer Zümrüd yüzük 1 44.000 akçe, fi iki bin Düzoğlu	Salih Kol yeri elmaslı zümrüd yüzük 42.160 akçe İbrahim Ağa kullukcu	Süleyman Kebir zümrüd yüzük 1 30.100 akçe Hürşid Ağa
Salih Mücevher sim zarf, fincan 1 27.200 akçe Haseki Hacı Mehmed	Süleyman Kırmızı yakut yüzük 1 18.550 akçe odabaşı ağa	Kırmızı Yakut yüzük 1 8400 akçe Kaftani	Ömer Sâde zümrüd 2 7550 akçe Ser-huddâm-ı hazine	Ahmed Kırmızı yakut yüzük 1 6000 akçe	Ahmed Siyâh kuşlu yüzük 1 2160 akçe Hayfalı Emin ağa-yı kiler

Table VIII: Monthly rations delivered to the army of İsmail Zihni Paşa (based on C.AS 53719)

29 days (16 Oct- 14Nov1784)	Bread (<i>Nan-ı aziz</i>) [çift] (daily rations)	Meat (<i>Guşt</i>) [kıyye] (daily rations)	barley (<i>şarır</i>) [kile] (daily rations)	fodder (<i>saman</i>) [kıyye] (daily rations)
İsmail Paşa	17,400 (600)	4350 (150)	4350 (150)	0
Abdullah Paşa	2610 (90)	652.5 (22.5)	652.5 (22.5)	0

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The Janissary commander (<i>başbuğ</i>)	1450 (50)	290 (10)	116 (4)	0
The commanders of gunners (Hüseyin, Abdi, Şahin, Sadullah, Emin aghas)	7250 (250)	1450 (50)	(20) 580	0
The Janissary scribes (Osman, Emin, Mehmed efendis)	2827.5 (97.5)	565.5 (19.5)	(6) 174	0
(a) Haseki Feyzullah Agha (b) Çorbacı-yı cedid Ahmed Ağa (c) Ser ... sabık (d) Ser saksoni-yi sabık serdâr-ı Sofya	(a) 25 (b) 25 (c) 25 (d) 15 2610	(a) 5 (b) 5 (c) 3 (d) 3 522	(a) 2 (b) 2 (c) 2 (d) 0.5 196.5	0
Patrol sergeants (<i>kol çavuşanı</i>): 12	4350 (150)	870 (30)	246.5 (8.5)	0
The Janissary <i>çorbacı</i> s: 5	3635 (125)	725 (25)	290 (10)	0
(a) Ordu şeyhi Seyyid Emin Efendi (b) Şatır İbrahim	(a) 6 (b) 20 754	(a) 1 (b) 4 145	(a) 1 [<i>sennih?</i>] (b) 4 [<i>sennih?</i>] 36.5	0
Janissary companies: 5	9280 (320)	1856 (64)	609 (21)	0
<u>Mercenaries</u> (<i>sekbans</i>) (a) 21 commanders (<i>başbuğ</i>) (b) 11 standard-bearer (<i>alemdar</i>)	(a) 210 (b) 55 7685	(a) 42 (b) 11 1547	(a) 9 (b) 0 261	0
Mercenaries (<i>sekbans</i>)	20819 (1203)	6168.5 (241)		0

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Terakkilü <u>sipahiyân</u> , beşyüzbaşı, yüzbaşı, alemdaran, sakayân, çavuşân etc.	(40) officers (50) soldiers 2610	(19.5) officers (10) soldiers 855.5	(9) officers (10) soldiers 551	0
Terakkilü <u>silahdarân</u> , beşyüzbaşı, yüzbaşı, alemdaran, sakayân, çavuşân etc.	(40) officers (50) soldiers 2610	(19.5) officers (10) soldiers 855.5	(9) officers (10) soldiers 551	0
Company of Armorers: 1	3499 (131)	638 (22)	181 (6)	0
Company of gunners: 2	7772 (268)	1256.5 & 57 <i>dirbem</i> (43 & 133 <i>dirbem</i>)	290 (10)	0
Company of wagons: 2	6119 (211)	1073 (37)	261 (9)	0
Surgeons	87 (3)	43.5 (1.5)	21.5 (3)	0
Artillery horse: 116 excluding horses from Fethül-İslam	0	0	841 (29)	13,456 (464)
TOTAL	113,367.5	23,903.5	10,209	13,456

Hattat İsmail Zihni Paşa: Life and Death of an Ottoman Statesman and an Inventor

Abstract ■ The principal concern of this paper is to shed light on the question of what it took to be an Ottoman for a statesman in late 18th century. This was an age of significant turmoil caused by a series of diplomatic and military crises when identities and allegiances were recast. The present paper will challenge the conventional views about the adoption and adaptation in the Ottoman Empire and the attitudes of the Ottoman ruling elite towards innovation in this period. Based on the Ottoman archives and narrative sources, the essay will focus on the educational background, bureaucratic career, and inventive mind of an Ottoman statesman: İsmail Zihni Paşa. While his membership to a faction and accumulation of wealth were typical in the career of an Ottoman statesman, his passion for technological invention and taste for artifacts of wonder were not. It is hoped that this essay will contribute to the question of “who is an Ottoman?”

Keywords: İsmail Zihni Paşa; Halil Hamid Paşa; Ottoman military reforms; volley gun; Galatasaray; probate inventories

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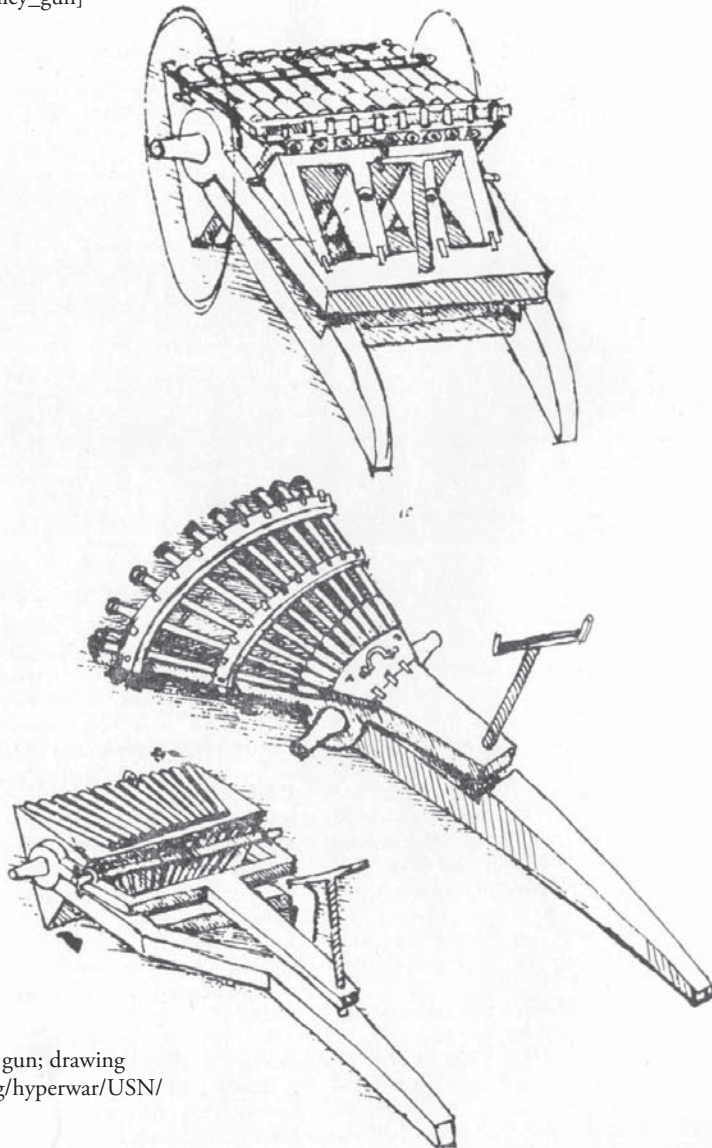
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Ottoman volley gun; early 16th century
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Zaporozhian Cossack multi-barrel gun [courtesy of Victor Ostapchuk]



Da Vinci, multi-barrel gun; drawing
[<http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USN/ref/MG/I/MG-1.html>]

Portrait and Self-Portrait: İbrahim Müteferrika's Mind Games

*Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih)**

Portre ve Otoportre: İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Akıl Oyunları

Öz ■ Bu makalede, Osmanlı kültür tarihinde ilk Türk matbaasının kurucusu olarak ün kazanmış olan bir aydın ele alınmaktadır. Söz konusu kişi Macar asıllı bir Protestan (iddialara göre Üniteryen) olup, 18. yüzyılın sonlarında memleketi olan Erdel'i terk ederek Osmanlı'ya sığınmıştır. Daha sonra ihtida edip İbrahim Müteferrika adını alarak Müslüman-Osmanlı kimliğini benimsemiştir. Çalışmada, İbrahim Müteferrika ile ilgili günümüze ulaşan az sayıdaki anlatılardan aktarılanlarla yetinilmemiş, Müteferrika'nın portresi ve otoportresi, Osmanlı olmadan önceki kimliğine dair önemli hususlar hakkında bize ipuçları veren Erdel sonrası hayatından hareketle çizilmiştir. Müteferrika'nın hayatı hakkında bilgi veren sadece üç anlatı bilinmektedir: Müteferrika'nın kendi yazdığı hayat hikâyesi, Müteferrika'nın çağdaşı César de Saussure'ün ve Charles Peyssonnel'in kaleme aldığı mektup ve raporlar. Bununla birlikte gerek Saussure ve Peyssonnel tarafından çizilen portreler, gerekse Müteferrika'nın çizdiği otoportre, bu portrelerde beliren farklı imgelerin karşılaştırılabilmesi açısından oldukça faydalıdır. Söz konusu üç anlatıdan hareketle Müteferrika'nın tam olarak ne zaman ihtida ettiği, Müslüman olmadan önce hangi Hıristiyan mezhebine bağlı olduğu ve kendi isteğiyle mi, yoksa içinde bulunduğu olumsuz şartlardan dolayı mı Müslüman olduğu gibi girift meseleler hakkında yeni ve iddialı yorumlar yapılmıştır. Müteferrika'nın, ihtidısıyla ilgili gerçekleri gizemli bir hâle getirerek yeni konumuna daha uygun düşen, yani yeni hükümdarına yaranmak için gerçektekenden farklı, düzmece bir otoportre çizmiş olduğu düşünülebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: İbrahim Müteferrika, Osmanlı kimliği, ihtida, 18. yüzyıl, otoportre

I remember clearly from my childhood a scene of a Bulgarian television series released in the early 1980s and devoted to the prominent Bulgarian revolutionary

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Kapitan (Captain) Petko Voyvoda (1844–1900) who fought for the liberation of Thrace and the Rhodopes from Ottoman rule. In the scene in question Ottoman soldiers tried to reveal the identity of a Bulgarian man disguised as Muslim by pulling his pants down to see if he was circumcised. The scene, invented or not, could be considered plausible and illustrates some important components of a particular identity, on the one hand, and how this identity was confirmed or disconfirmed, on the other. In this case the identity issue operated within the dichotomy between Christian/uncircumcised-Muslim/circumcised opposition. Yet, this “identity test” was only applicable for male identities. In other contexts there are, for sure, other features that contribute to the formation and verification of identity. In the Ottoman context there were numerous identities, and some of them have been extensively studied during the last decade or so.¹ However, defining of collective Ottoman identity, if such a thing can be posed for the 18th century, implies the existence of collective non-Ottoman identity/identities that could be contrasted with a collective Ottoman identity as a distinct, specific, unique and, above all, homogeneous entity. Yet, if such a category existed before the idea of Ottoman citizenship evolved as “a common political identity” (in Kemal Karpat’s words²) in the late 19th century, then further studies are needed to reveal what constituted an assumed pre-19th-century Ottoman identity,³ to what extent it was constant

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- 1 See for instance: Kemal H. Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk,” in *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000), 1–28; Christine Isom-Verhaaren, “Shifting Identities: Foreign State Servants in France and the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 8/1–2 (2004): 109–34; Maya Jasanoff, “Cosmopolitan: A Tale of Identity from Ottoman Alexandria,” *Common Knowledge* 11/3 (2005): 393–409; Julia Landweber, “Fashioning Nationality and Identity in the Eighteenth Century: The Comte de Bonneval in the Ottoman Empire,” *International History Review* 30/1 (2008): 1–31; Joel Elliot Slotkin, ‘Now Will I Be a Turke’: Performing Ottoman Identity in Thomas Goffe’s *The Courageous Turk*,” *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 12/2 (2009): 222–35; Yannis Spyropoulos, “The Creation of a Homogeneous Collective Identity: Towards a History of the Black People in the Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 16/1–2 (2010): 25–46; Will Smiley, “The Meanings of Conversion: Treaty Law, State Knowledge, and Religious Identity among Russian Captives in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” *International History Review* 34/3 (2012): 559–80.
- 2 Kemal H. Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change”, 6.
- 3 Recently some authors have argued that, besides Turkishness and Islam, the concept of *Rum*, i.e. the claim of the Ottoman dynasty/state that it inherited the Eastern Roman Empire, is hitherto ignored aspect of Ottoman identity. See: Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14.–17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (İstanbul: Kitap

or modified over time, and whether it was conscious or subconscious. A recent publication, concerning an early 18th-century female Ottoman subject, raises the question of personal identity and identification. The publication reveals a court case dating from May 1700, in which the kadi of Adana had to clarify the real identity of a certain Ayşe Hatun, whose second husband, after divorcing her, sold her as a slave. Ayşe Hatun was resold as a slave twice before she managed to be set free by pretending to be Fatma Hatun, the late wife of the then governor (*vali*) of Adana. The real identity of the poor impostor Ayşe/Fatma Hatun was confirmed through her own confession and the testimony of 136 (sic) witnesses.⁴ This case is a good illustration of how a given person could be forced by unfavorable circumstances to change or forge her identity. It also demonstrates that identity is a matter of dichotomy and confirmation. That is, one's identity is a combination of two simultaneous processes of self-identification and identification by the others. These two identifications sometimes converge, sometimes they don't. Furthermore one's self-portrait/portraits and the portraits drawn by the others could be the same as well as totally different.

The current paper will deal with an intellectual who became famous in Ottoman cultural history as the founder of the first Ottoman-Turkish printing house (1726). He was a Hungarian-born Protestant (allegedly Unitarian), who left his homeland Transylvania in the late 17th century, took refuge in the Ottoman Empire and converted to Islam, gaining a new Ottoman and Muslim identity under the name İbrahim Müteferrika. I intend to reveal Müteferrika's portrait and self-portrait by dwelling not only on the few available narratives dealing with it, but also on those aspects of Müteferrika's post-Transylvanian activities in which one could see some important idiosyncrasies of his pre-Ottoman identity. The narratives provide a basis for different and even controversial interpretations of the following more or less unclear issues: how did Müteferrika exactly become an Ottoman subject; what was his religious affiliation before his conversion to Islam; and how did he convert to Islam: of his own free will or under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances?

Yayınevi, 2004); Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 24 (2007): 7–25; Namık Sinan Turan, "Kimlik Sorunu Üzerine Bir Yaklaşım: Roma'nın Varisi Olmak "İhmal Edilmiş Bir Osmanlı Kimliği Olarak Rumilik," *Türkoloji Kültürü* 4/8 (2011): 13–28; F. Asli Ergül, "The Ottoman Identity: Turkish, Muslim or Rum?," *Middle Eastern Studies* 48/4 (2012): 629–45, and the Isom-Verhaaren and Mengüç contributions in this volume.

- 4 Işık Tamdoğan, "La fille du meunier et l'épouse du gouverneur d'Adana ou l'histoire d'un cas d'imposture au début du XVIIIème siècle," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 127 (2010): 143–55.

My main hypothesis is that Müteferrika himself created likely a much more favorable self-image through mystifying the circumstances that led to his conversion. This story could serve also as an act of servility before his new Muslim rulers. In other words, one could assume that Müteferrika had created an alternative and fictitious self-portrait, which seems to have been much more accepted than the real one.

Ibrahim Müteferrika's Ottoman Adventure

In the late 1680s the Ottoman protection of Transylvania was terminated when it was occupied by Austrian troops. Later, in the early 1690s the local Hungarian notables led by Imre Thököly, in alliance with the Ottoman army, unsuccessfully tried to restore the independence of the Transylvanian principality. During the turmoil of the Hungarian revolt a young Hungarian-born Protestant whose original name was unknown went through the major shift of his life. He left his native Kolozsvár (today's Cluj-Napoca), took refuge in the Ottoman Empire and converted to Islam, gaining a new Ottoman and Muslim identity under the name Ibrahim Müteferrika. This is what we know as fact about the origin of this man, who enjoyed a diplomatic career at the Ottoman court, but what made his name memorable even far away from the Ottoman borders was his activity as the first Ottoman Muslim printer. Unknown are Ibrahim Müteferrika's original name, social background, post-graduate activities, his behavior during Imre Thököly's revolt, as well as the way of his becoming an Ottoman subject and conversion to Islam. This is due to the lack of documentary or narrative evidence dating from his pre-Ottoman period or from the years of the above-mentioned turmoil. Even so, it is possible to get some general notion about Müteferrika's portrait as a youth because a certain part of his pre-Ottoman identity was still visible in his post-Transylvanian personality. For the time being, three narratives revealing Müteferrika's pre-Ottoman period are known, namely those of Müteferrika's contemporaries César de Saussure and Charles Peyssonnel, as well as of Müteferrika himself, all from his Ottoman period. Given this peculiarity one should be careful in judging their reliability. As it will be seen below, despite their ultimate truth claims some of these narratives could be considered later interpretations, and need to be used with caution. Even so, the very fact that we have Saussure's and Peyssonnel's portraits, on the one hand, and Müteferrika's self-portrait, on the other, allows a critical cross-examination of the emerging images.

César de Saussure, who was a Hungarian nobleman, met Müteferrika on Ottoman soil, when the former followed Prince Ferenc Rákóczi during his exile to the

Ottoman Empire from 1717 onwards, and the latter was appointed liaison officer to the prince on behalf of the Ottoman government. The two compatriots must have become at least good acquaintances and Saussure's narration of Müteferrika's life, provided in a letter, written in French on 21 February 1732 and addressed to a Swiss friend, claims to be as trustworthy as possible. Saussure's account reads as follows:

He was an 18-20-year old young Hungarian who had studied to become a Calvinist minister one day. Due to unhappy concurrence of circumstances the Turks enslaved him in 1692 or 1693 during the war led by Thököly. He happened to live quite long a time in the house of a hard-hearted and cruel master and became a Muslim since he was unable to submit himself to the fate as a slave anymore Ibrahim, this is the name he took, was smart and clever; he spent many years in learning the language and the law of the Turks, making huge progress and becoming a capable effendi. He was lucky to get to know the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, who was later killed during the 1730 revolt that led Mahmud I to the throne. This vizier had successfully used Ibrahim Effendi in various state affairs. [Ibrahim Effendi] had soon displayed his great and manifold talent and intimated his desire to introduce the arts and sciences to the Turks. To this end he had suggested to set up a printing shop in Constantinople...⁵ Müteferrika himself provides autobiographical notes in an untitled treatise written in 1710, that is, after he had already spent nearly twenty years in an Ottoman/Muslim milieu. Scholars are convinced that that unique manuscript, which is, in fact, not only untitled, but also unsigned, is Müteferrika's autograph, and entitle it conditionally *Treatise on Islam (Risāle-i İslāmiye)* since it defends the doctrine of Islam

5 Coloman de Thály, ed., *Lettres de Turquie (1730–1739) et Notices (1740) de César de Saussure* (Budapest, 1909), 93–4 (Un jeune Hongrois âgé de 18 à 20 ans, qui avait fait ses études pour un jour Ministre Calviniste eut le malheur être pris et fait esclave par les Turcs en 1692 ou 1693 dans la guerre de Tököly. Il traîna pendant longtemps une vie assez misérable, étant tombé entre les mains d'un Maître dur et cruel, jusqu' à ce que ne pouvant plus supporter la servitude, il se fit Musulman. Ibrahim, c'est le nom qu'il prit, avoit de l'esprit et du génie ; il s'appliqua pendant plusieurs années à l'étude de la langue et de la Loi Turque ; il y fit de si grands progrès qu'il devint un habile Effendi. Il eut le bonheur de se faire connaître d'Ibrahim Pacha Grand Vizir qui fut étranglé en 1730 à l'occasion de la Rébellion qui mit sur le trône Mahmoud I. Ce Vizir employa avec succès en différentes affaires Ibrahim Effendi, qui connut bientôt le grand et vaste génie du premier Ministre, et le désir qu'il avait d'introduire parmi les Turcs les Arts et les Sciences. Pour cet effet, il lui proposa d'établir à Constantinople une Imprimerie. Le Vizir approuva son dessein, lui donna charge de l'exécuter, et lui fit les avances nécessaires pour cela.)

and criticizes strongly the Papacy and its doctrine. In this treatise Müteferrika provides autobiographical details, which differ from Saussure's version. Müteferrika notes that he was born in the Transylvanian town of Kolozsvár, and that since his childhood he had been learning the contents and the interpretations of the Torah, the Psalms of David, and the New Testament. However, when he graduated and became competent in preaching, he had to read and explore the Torah secretly since his lecturers banned its study. Müteferrika claims that in the course of this exploration he had come across a line, predicting Mohamed's prophecy, and thus he had clearly seen that Islam is the right faith. Then he had gone to his former lecturers, with the Old and the New Testament in hand, and argued with them about their doctrinal teachings.⁶ In other words, Müteferrika claims that soon after his graduation from the college and certainly before his passage to Ottoman milieu he had found himself inclined to believe in Mohamed's prophecy rather than in Christian doctrine. However, he is completely silent in his treatise about when and how he had become an Ottoman subject and an educated Muslim. Saussure's narrative, therefore, remains the only source that the scholars used for the story of his conversion. The Hungarian Catholic priest Imre Karácson was the first interpreter of the Saussure and Müteferrika texts. He tried to make the accounts more comprehensible by filling in the gaps with allegedly outright inventions. Karácson's version of Müteferrika's biography is as follows: Müteferrika was born in 1674 in Kolozsvár in a poor Calvinist Hungarian family; when he was eighteen-year old, during the Thököly revolt of 1690–91, he was captured by Turkish soldiers who held him to ransom; since their hopes failed they took him to Istanbul and sold him at the slave market.⁷

In an extensive article the Turkish scholar Niyazi Berkes criticizes strongly both Saussure and Karácson. According to Berkes, the incomprehensibility of Saussure's account speaks in itself that he either did not know Müteferrika well enough or presumably intentionally failed to reveal the whole truth about Müteferrika's past.⁸ As for Karácson, Berkes stresses that his writing is often accepted uncritically by other scholars,⁹ and reveals Karácson's intentional

6 Halil Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrâhîm-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiye. Tenkidli Metin* (Ankara: Elif Matbaacılık, 1982), 6, 12–14, 56–58.

7 Imre Karácson, "İbrahim Müteferrika," *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası* 3 (1326/1910): 178–85.

8 Niyazi Berkes, "İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikrî Kimliği," *Belleten* 26/104 (1962): 715–37.

9 See for instance T. Halasi Kun, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5/2 (İstanbul, 1965): 896–900.

inventions. Berkes questions the claim that Müteferrika had been captured by Turkish soldiers and reminds that Imre Thököly's revolt against the Habsburgs was supported by the Ottoman Empire. Instead Berkes supposes that Müteferrika had been taken captive by the Ottomans not as their enemy, but as one of Thököly's supporters who needed protection after the revolt was suppressed by the Austrians.¹⁰ In 1687 the Habsburgs occupied Transylvania and favored Catholicism at the expense of the Protestant denominations. According to Berkes, Müteferrika's claims that his former lecturers banned the study of the Old Testament at his college are plausible under these circumstances. Yet Berkes assumes that Müteferrika had studied at a Unitarian college and that the so-called *Treatise on Islam* reveals that his author had been not simply Protestant, but Unitarian, although Müteferrika himself does not specify his pre-Muslim religious affiliation.¹¹ Berkes suggests that like many other Unitarians, who escaped the persecutions of Counter-Reformation through converting to Islam,¹² Müteferrika, too, had converted to Islam of his own free will. In his monograph on the *Development of Secularism in Turkey* Berkes repeats once again that Saussure's accounts of Müteferrika's biography could not be considered trustworthy. Yet, according to Berkes, Saussure deliberately invented the story of Müteferrika's capture in order to excuse his compatriot's apostasy.¹³ Berkes holds the same opinion in other works as well.¹⁴

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- 10 In another his article Berkes draws attention to an Ottoman document from July 1690 published in: Ahmet Refik, *Türk Hizmetinde Kıral Tököli İmre, 1683–1705* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmed Halit Kütüphanesi, 1932), 13–4. According to it the Ottoman authorities gave a mill on the river Mures in Transylvania into possession of a certain Ibrahim, who was a scribe in service of Imre Thököly. The latter himself asked his Ottoman ally to do so because of Ibrahim's numerous services rendered to him. Berkes suggests that the said scribe could be associated with Ibrahim Müteferrika; see Niyazi Berkes, "104 Sayılı Belleten'de Çıkan "İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikrî Kimliği" Adlı Yazı İçin Bir Not," *Belleten* 28/109 (1964): 183.
- 11 Coşkun Yılmaz, "Hezarfen Bir Şahsiyet: İbrahim Müteferrika ve Siyaset Felsefesi," in *İstanbul Armağanı, 4. Lâle Devri*, ed. Mustafa Armağan (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000), 262.
- 12 Lajos Fekete, "Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar 1366–1699," *Belleten* 13/52 (1949): 663–743.
- 13 Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 36–9.
- 14 Niyazi Berkes, "İbrahim Müteferrika," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 996–8; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2002), 50–3.

Berkes's suggestions, especially about Müteferrika's Unitarianism, had great influence over later studies on Müteferrika.¹⁵ Some scholars, however, do not share Berkes's assumption that Müteferrika's conversion was of his own will, and not under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances. A. D. Zhelytyakov, for instance, considers Berkes's assumption plausible, but yet unproven.¹⁶ A. H. Halidov rejects firmly Berkes's claims and holds the opinion that Saussure's account is trustworthy.¹⁷ The Hungarian scholar Lajos Hopp also prefers Saussure's version at the expense of Berkes's assumption.¹⁸

Müteferrika's affiliation to Unitarianism seems to be confirmed by a German newspaper, *Neue Zeitungen für Gelehrten Sachen* (Leipzig), a source unknown to Berkes and only recently revealed by Kemal Beydilli. On 31 July 1727 the newspaper informs us that the convert who is running the press in Istanbul was formerly a Transylvanian Socinian or Unitarian.¹⁹ Another German source, dating from the 1750s and providing an engraving depicting the Müteferrika press in 1728,

15 See for instance: William J. Watson, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 435–41; Halil Necatioğlu, *Matbaacı İbrahim-i Müteferrika*, 8–15; L. Hopp, "İbrahim Müteferrika (1674/75?–1746). Fondateur de l'imprimerie turque," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29/1 (1975): 107–13; Jale Baysal, "II. Rákóczi Ferenc'in Çevirmeni Müteferrika İbrahim ve Osmanlı Türklerinin İlk Bastıkları Kitaplar," in *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu/Symposium on Rákóczi Ferenc II and the Hungarian Refugees in the Light of Turco-Hungarian Cultural Relations* (İstanbul: İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976), 217–25; Michael W. Albin, "Early Arabic Printing: A Catalogue of Attitudes," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–91): 114–22; İsmet Binark, "Matbaanın Türkiye'ye Geç Girişinin Sebepleri," *Yeni Türkiye* 12 (1996): 1614; Ahmet Usta, *İbrahim-i Müteferrika'nın Risâle-i İslâmiyesi, Eserin Dinler Tarihi Açısından Tablîli ve Günümüz Türkçesine Çevirisi* (PhD diss., Samsun, 1991), 5; Erhan Afyoncu, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 21 (İstanbul, 2000), 324–7; Erhan Afyoncu, "İlk Türk Matbaasının Kurucusu Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler," *Belleten* 65/243 (2001): 607–22; Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Türk Matbaacılığı* (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 2002, 4–5; Fikret Sarıcaoğlu and Coşkun Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi ve Müteferrika Matbaası/ Basmacı İbrahim Efendi and the Müteferrika Press* (İstanbul: Esen Ofset, 2008).

16 A. Д. Желтяков, "Начальный этап книгопечатания в Турции," in *Ближний и Средний Восток (история, культура, источниковедение). Сборник статей в честь 70-летия профессора И. П. Петрушевского* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 47–60

17 A. X. Рафиков, *Очерки истории книгопечатания в Турции* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 90–3.

18 Hopp, "İbrahim Müteferrika (1674/75?–1746). Fondateur de l'imprimerie turque".

19 Sarıcaoğlu and Yılmaz, *Müteferrika: Basmacı İbrahim Efendi*, 37, 115 (footnote 12).

also points out that the press was run by a Socinian, Jacobin²⁰ from Transylvania (Siebenbürgen).²¹ Socinianism, a Nontrinitarian (in other words, Unitarian) doctrine which was developed in Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was embraced also by the Unitarian Church of Transylvania.²² Gérald Duverdier has published a source dating from 1738, which could also serve as an evidence about Müteferrika's Unitarian past. It is a report written by Charles de Peyssonnel, who was assigned French liaison officer to the Ottoman Grand Vizier during the 1737–39 war of the Ottomans (supported by France) against Austria and Russia. The report, released after Berkes's claims, portrays Ibrahim Müteferrika as follows: "On the other side my neighbor is Ibrahim Effendi. You probably know him, he is the founder of the Turkish printing press, Hungarian by nationality, formerly a [unitarian] minister, [and] now [he is] Turkish. He is a very good man and I don't know how he changed religion. He is the spirit of the project, hardworking rather than skillful. He has retained some ability to speak Latin, therefore I converse with him without an interpreter."²³

It is uncertain whether the brackets, specifying Müteferrika's pre-Muslim denomination, had been put by Charles de Peyssonnel himself or by Gérald Duverdier, who refers to Berkes's 1962 publication in *Bulleten* as "an essential article that explains Ibrahim's openmindedness by his Unitarian training."²⁴

20 Here "Jacobin" might refer to Ibrahim Müteferrika's support to Thököly's revolt by analogy of the Jacobite revolts in Great Britain in the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century that aimed to restore the rule of the Stuart king James II of England and his heirs.

21 Yahya Erdem, "Müteferrika Matbaasının Erken Dönemde Yapılmış Bilinmeyen Bir Resmi," *Müteferrika* 39 (2011): 222.

22 Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 121–2.

23 Gérald Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika: deux drogmans culturels à l'origine de l'imprimerie turque," *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 3 (1987): 353–4 (J'ai d'un autre côté pour voisin İbraîm effendi, vous le connaissez sans doute, c'est le fondateur de l'imprimerie turque, Hongrois de nation, jadis ministre [unitarien], aujourd'hui Turc. C'est un fort bon homme et je ne sais à propos de quoi il a changé de religion. C'est un esprit à projet, plus laborieux que savant. Il a conservé quelque teinture de la langue latine, ce qui me met à portée de converser avec lui sans interprète.)

24 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika", 358, footnote 49. I had some discussions with Baki Tezcan (University of California, Davis) on this issue sparked by a draft paper of him questioning Berkes's thesis. According to Tezcan the brackets in question were put by Duverdier; Baki Tezcan, "İbrahim Müteferrika ve *Risâle-i İslâmiyye*", *Kitaplara Vakfedilmiş Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, eds. Hatice Aynur, Bilgin Aydın, and Mustafa Birol Ülker (İstanbul: Ülke Yayınları, 2014), 454–6.

Peyssonnel's report suggests that during these conversations Müteferrika had probably revealed his pre-Muslim denomination, but not the reason of his conversion to Islam. This is rather suspicious a reminder of what he wrote and passed over in silence in his *Treatise on Islam*: a lot is written against Papacy, but nothing about the circumstances that made him change religion. One could think that he was deliberately abstaining from revealing the mystery of the major shift of his life!

Yet Müteferrika's *Treatise on Islam* creates no impression that the change of faith and destiny was dramatic for him. There are several possible explanations of that. Firstly, it could be indeed a change of his free will. As a Unitarian/Sociinian he probably was not hopeful about his Transylvanian future, although the Habsburgs promised freedom for all the existing denominations, and preferred to become an Ottoman subject and Muslim. Secondly, if Saussure's account is correct, the period comprising twenty years between the early 1690s, when Müteferrika was allegedly captured, and 1710, when he wrote the treatise, supposedly alleviated the drama/trauma of his eventually unwilling conversion. And thirdly, Müteferrika himself maybe created a much more favorable self-image through mystifying the circumstances that led to his conversion. If Saussure's interpretation is correct, Müteferrika's claims in 1710 that he had believed in Mohammed's prophecy while still living in Kolozsvár could be eventually considered an attempt to present his conversion in a favorable light as an act, which was not caused by prosaic reasons to improve the conditions of his life, but prepared on mental level before the early 1690s. This story could also express his servility before his new Muslim rulers. In other words, Müteferrika probably created an alternative and fictitious self-portrait, which is much more convenient than the real one. As Tijana Krstić plausibly claims, he saw this treatise as a "convenient means to jumpstart" his career as a müteferrika²⁵ since only one copy of it survived, a fact that leaves the impression that the treatise was written for the sultan's eyes only.²⁶

25 Müteferrika was the name of a corps at the Ottoman court, whose members were especially attached to the person of the sultan and used for special missions. See Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1997), 116–7.

26 Tijana Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009): 61; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Ottoman Empire* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011), 203.

Müteferrika's *Treatise on Islam* confirms that as an "educated border crosser", in Suraiya Faroqhi's words,²⁷ his adaptation to the new milieu was quite successful. This adaptation, however, did not mean breaking with his pre-Ottoman and pre-Muslim past. The very fact that after twenty years of his conversion to Islam he wrote a treatise dealing with dogmatic issues concerning the Holy Trinity is quite indicative of his intellectual portrait as a man who continued to commit himself to such issues, although in a framework considering Islam a superior religion. In his *Treatise on Islam* Müteferrika appears to have a claim on being a rigid Muslim. Some accounts, however, reveal him as not a very strict observer of the Muslim dogmas and who did not abandon some non-Muslim habits such as wine-drinking, for instance. In a report of 1737, Jean-Raymond Delaria, who was interpreter at the French embassy in Constantinople, relates that Müteferrika did not observe strictly all Islamic rules, despite his conversion, and that wine made talks with him more cordial.²⁸ A connection with Müteferrika's pre-Ottoman and pre-Muslim life could be found in some claims that he was one of the first Ottoman freemasons. Although hitherto almost completely neglected in the historiography on Müteferrika, such claims reveal at least another possible nuance of his portrait. Only recently did the Turkish author Orhan Erdenen quote the assertions of some prominent 20th-century Turkish freemasons like İlhami Soysal that Müteferrika was connected with the Ottoman branch of freemasonry.²⁹ According to Soysal, after the establishment of the first lodge in London in 1717 and the approval of its statutes in 1723, a French lodge was established in Constantinople, Müteferrika being among those pro-western Ottoman dignitaries who joined it.³⁰ As a matter of fact, Soysal's claims are entirely based on earlier assertions made by Kemalettin Apak, another prominent 20th-century Turkish freemason.³¹ Apak, however, does not provide any evidence in support of his claims. Thierry Zarcone's careful studies on Ottoman freemasonry show that the first Ottoman lodges were established in 1738 in Smyrna and Aleppo. The earliest evidences about such lodges in Constantinople are dating from 1748, that is, one year after Müteferrika's death. As for Müteferrika's alleged freemasonry Zarcone makes no

27 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 92–4.

28 Рафиков, *Очерки истории*, 138.

29 Orhan Erdenen, *Lale Devri ve Yansımaları* (İstanbul: TDAV, 2003), 99.

30 İlhami Soysal, *Dünya ve Türkiyede Masonlar ve Masonluk* (İstanbul: Der Yayınlar, 1980), 192–4.

31 Kemalettin Apak, *Ana Çizgileriyle Türkiye'deki Masonluk Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türk Mason Derneği, 1958), 18.

further references except for Apak's book.³² In this respect there is no evidence that Müteferrika was a freemason. However, it is not impossible at all, especially in the light of Müteferrika's pre-Ottoman Protestant past. In contrast to Catholicism, freemasonry was much more tolerant toward Protestantism and considered it just "semi-masonry".³³

Despite Müteferrika's disputable freemasonry, it is obvious that conversion did not delete completely his former identity. Rather, conversion brought to him a co-existence of two identities: a former pre-Ottoman and pre-Muslim identity and a new Ottoman and Muslim one. Müteferrika's intellectual portrait was certainly a symbiosis of his former Protestantism and subsequent Islamic proselytism. As a matter of fact, such a cultural and psychological dichotomy is normal for the converts, and especially for the educated ones.³⁴ Due to such a cultural dichotomy Müteferrika was able to be, in Gérald Duverdier's words, a "smuggler of ideas" (*passer d'idées*).³⁵ In other words, Müteferrika remained a person connected on equal level with two worlds and two cultural contexts, doing his best in contributing to the new Ottoman context his pre-Ottoman mental furniture and cultural luggage.

In this respect, printing was his main contribution to Ottoman culture. His attempts at printing on Ottoman soil were quite persistent, but it is still unclear whether he was indeed proficient in printing. Here comes to mind again his pre-Ottoman past in Transylvania where he was certainly accustomed with printed books and probably had some experience in the printing process itself. T. Halasi Kun suggests that Müteferrika must have known the famous Transylvanian printer and punch-cutter Nicholas (Miklós) Kis (1650–1702).³⁶ In the 1680s Kis was in-

32 Thierry Zarcone, *Mystiques, Philosophes et Franc-Maçons en Islam: Rıza Tevfik, penseur ottoman (1868–1949), du soufisme à la confrérie* (Paris: Institut français d'études, 1993), 187–96; Thierry Zarcone, *Secret et sociétés secrètes en Islam: Turquie, Iran et Asie centrale XIX^e–XX^e siècles. Franc-Maçonnerie, Carboneria et confréries soufies* (Milano: Archè, 2002), 7–8.

33 Jose Maria Ceardenal and Caro Y. Rodriguez, *Tarih Boyunca Masonluk* (İstanbul: Kayihan Yayınları, 1999), 230–1.

34 See Cem Behar, *Ali Ufki ve Mezmurlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1990), 21–46; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Quis Custodiet Custodes? Controlling Slave Identities and Slave Traders in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400–1750*, eds. E. Andor and I. Gy. Tóth (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 121–36; Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam," 35–63.

35 Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika," 359.

36 Kun, "İbrâhim Müteferrika," 898.

volved in printing activities in Amsterdam, but in 1689 he came back to Kolozsvár and revived the local Protestant printing.³⁷ In that year Müteferrika was still there and may easily have been one of Kis's apprentices. Müteferrika himself was not proficient in punch-cutting because for his printing house in Constantinople he resorted to the help of a local experienced Jewish punch-cutter. The above-quoted report by Peyssonel claims that the spirit of the printing project, Müteferrika, was "hardworking rather than skillful." However, Müteferrika must have been more or less experienced in printing technology at all with regard to his being quite keen on printing on Ottoman soil. At his printing shop, which was officially set up in 1727, Müteferrika printed four separate maps during the period 1719–29 and eighteen titles in sixteen books of twenty two volumes between 1729 and 1742. Müteferrika inclined to print books dealing with history, geography, and physics and this inclination had much to do with his western and Protestant educational and ideological background. In the 17th and 18th century history, geography, and natural philosophy became an important part of the curriculum of western universities.³⁸ Müteferrika's Protestant background is visible not only in his printing efforts, but also in his intellectual activities as a writer and translator of works on specific historical, astronomical, physical, military and dogmatic issues. In the above-mentioned *Treatise on Islam* he discusses at length the Holy Trinity, a topic of fiery controversy between the Catholic and Orthodox Church authorities, as well as other Christian denominations, on the one hand, and between Christian and Muslim theologians, on the other. Müteferrika also wrote a short but very influential treatise suggesting to the Ottoman authorities the virtue of pro-European military reforms. He printed this treatise in his printing house in 1732 under the title *Reasonable Principles of Public Order* (*Usûlü'l-Hikem fi Nizâmi'l-Ümem*). In the same year he printed another treatise on magnetism *Features of the Magnets* (*Füyûzât-ı Mıknâtiyye*), translated and compiled by him on the basis of European books on the subject. On the order of the sultan in 1733 he translated Andreas Cellarius's astronomical work *Atlas Coelestis* under the title *Collection of Old and New Astronomy* (*Mecmû'a-i Hey'etü'l-Kadime ve'l-Cedide*). This translation, however, was not printed. In 1729 Müteferrika printed his own translation of Juda Tedeusz

37 See G. Haiman, *Nicholas Kis: A Hungarian Punch-cutter and Printer 1650–1702* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1983), 21–32.

38 See Peter Burke, *Gutenberg'den Diderot'ya Bilginin Toplumsal Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 81–103; Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500–1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London–New York: Longman, 1982), 106–12, 125–7, 271–75; Robert A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500–1800* (London–New York: Longman, 1988), 23–77.

Krusiński's account of Iranian history, written in Latin under the title *Traveler's History About the Appearance of the Afghans and the Reasons for the Decline of the State of the Safavi Shabs* (*Tārīh-i Seyyāh der Beyān-i Zuhūr-i Ağvāniyān ve Sebeb-i İndihām-i Binā-i Devlet-i Şāhān-i Safeviyān*). Müteferrika also edited all the texts he printed, sometimes doing his own interpolations, most significantly those titled *Printer's Addition* (*Tezyilü't-Tabi*) in Kâtib Çelebi's famous geographical work *Mirror of the World* (*Cihānnümā*), printed in 1732. Some scholars suggest that Müteferrika was the author of another proposal for military reforms, dating from the reign of sultan Ahmed III (1703–30).³⁹ All the translations Müteferrika made were from Latin into Ottoman-Turkish. Thus, during the Ottoman period of his life he successfully and effectively made use of his pre-Ottoman proficiency in the Latin language. What Müteferrika brought from Transylvania to Constantinople was not only his mental furniture and proficiency in printing, but also probably a set of books. Among the goods listed in the probate inventory prepared soon after his death in the beginning of 1747,⁴⁰ there are 36 Latin books, almost half of which dealing with geography, and the rest ones with geometry, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, logics, medicine, military issues, as well as grammar books, dictionaries and the Old and New Testament. It is difficult to speculate which of these books had been brought directly from Transylvania or in a broader sense Europe, and which ones had been acquired later.

Ibrahim Müteferrika's Public Image

A gallery of self-portraits and portraits of Ibrahim Müteferrika emerges from the names and attributes he preferred to use in his signatures, on the one hand, and the names and attributes, which the others used in order to designate him, on the other. In the colophon of all his prints he used the following signature: [Printed by] Ibrahim, [one] of the müteferrikas at the imperial court, who is in charge to print [books] at the printing shop in the beautiful city of Constantinople.⁴¹ A

39 Faik R. Unat, "Ahmed III Devrine Ait bir İslâhat Takriri," *Tarih Vesikaları* 1 (1941): 107–21; A. Витол, *Османская империя (начало XVIII в.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 94.

40 İstanbul Müftülüğü Şerhiye Sicilleri: Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi, Defter 98, fol. 39a. See the transliteration of this inventory in: Orlin Sabev, *First Ottoman Journey in the World of Printed Books (1726-1746). A Reassessment* (Sofia: Avangard Prima, 2004), 340–348; Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746). Yeniden Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006), 350–64.

41 "... İbrāhīm min müteferrikān-ı dergāh-ı 'ālī el-memūr bi-'amelü't-tab' be-dārü't-tibā'ati'l-m'amüre fî beldetü't-tayyibeti'l-Kostantiniye ... "

depiction of the celestial bodies and spheres after Ptolemy's system, attached to the printed version of Kâtib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World* (1732), is signed as follows: [Drawn] by the hand of the poor Ibrahim the Geographer, [one] of the müteferrikas at the imperial court.⁴²

An undated marginal note on the first page of a manuscript copy of Kâtib Çelebi's *Chronological Calendar (Takvîmü't-Tevarîh)* dated 1093/1682, which I was lucky to come across during my research at Firestone Library, Princeton University, in 2006,⁴³ and consisting of 12 lines including the names of the provinces and states under Safavi rule, is signed by Ibrahim Müteferrika, a drawer and a geographer.⁴⁴

A map of the Anatolian provinces İçil, Karaman, Anatolia and Sivas, attached to the printed version of Kâtib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World*, is signed as follows: Drawn by Ibrahim of Tophane.⁴⁵ Fikret Sarıcaoğlu assumes that the latter could be, in fact, Ibrahim Müteferrika.⁴⁶ This assumption seems quite plausible, especially in light of Ibrahim Müteferrika's probate inventory, according to which after his death all the unsold copies of the books he printed were stocked in a place called Tophane in the vicinity of the Sultan Selim Mosque in Constantinople.

To summarize, by putting such signatures Ibrahim Müteferrika drew a self-portrait in which he described himself as a müteferrika, a printer, a geographer, and a drawer (or a map-maker). The official Ottoman authorities, however, considered him exclusively a müteferrika. Ahmed III (1703-1730)'s firman of 1139/1727, providing state permission for setting up a printing shop, names him "Ibrahim, one of the müteferrikas at my imperial court".⁴⁷ In the payment bills given to Ibrahim Müteferrika while being appointed a liaison officer to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi and his suite, he is called Müteferrika Ibrahim or Müteferrika Ibrahim

42 "... *Ala yedü'l-bakîr İbrâhîm el-Coğrafi 'an müteferrikân-ı dergâh-i 'âlî ...*" See *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi* (Kostantiniye, 1145/1732), between 25 and 26.

43 Princeton University, Firestone Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Room, Robert Garrett Collection, 3033 T. I would like to express my gratitude to the Friends of the Princeton University Library Research Grants Committee for providing me a fellowship to conduct my research.

44 "*İbrâhîm Müteferrika, ressam, coğrafi*".

45 "*Resmuhu İbrâhîm Tophânevi*". See: *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*, between 629 and 630.

46 Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Harita," in *Türkler*, Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Salim Koca, eds., vol. 11 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), 310.

47 "... *Dergâh-i mu'allam müteferrikalarından İbrâhîm ...*" See *Tercümetü's-Sihâb-i Cevherî [Lugat-i Vankulu]* (Kostantiniye, 1141/1729), p. [4].

Ağa.⁴⁸ On the other hand, in two documents issued by the financial department of the imperial court, dating 1140/1727, which are related to the food supplied by the imperial kitchen to the staff of Ibrahim Müteferrika's printing shop during the printing of its first book, the printer is called "Ibrahim Efendi, who is in charge to print the Vankulu Dictionary."⁴⁹ It is worth noting that the title "efendi" was usually given to educated persons, and especially to scribes and *medrese*-graduates, who pertained to the learned religious class, the *ulema*.⁵⁰ Besides Muslim preachers and jurists it denoted also the book sellers.⁵¹ Since Ibrahim Müteferrika's printing shop was a private undertaking he had also the right to sell the books he printed. Formally, being the first Ottoman Muslim to execute the profession of printer, in legal terms he must have been considered a book seller rather than a printer. As a matter of fact, the early printers ended up also being book sellers. The nonofficial accounts of Ibrahim Müteferrika's personality tend to shift his public image from a müteferrika to a printer. In the very beginning of his printing undertaking, the official chronicler at the imperial court Küçükçelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, who took accounts for the period 1133/1720-21-1140/1727-28, names him Ibrahim the Interpreter, [one] of the müteferrikas at the imperial court.⁵²

A decade or so later, however, in the Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Abdullah Pasha's statement of 1737 Ibrahim Müteferrika is called "Ibrahim Efendi the Printer".⁵³ It is a significant indication that after ten years of printing activity Müteferrika

48 Борис Недков, *Османотурска дипломатика и палеография*, vol. 2 (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1972), 157-9, 309; BOA: Ali Emîrî, III. Ahmed, 1791, 14755; Cevdet-Hariciye, 5256, 6927, 7911.

49 "...İbrâhîm Efendi der hizmet-i basma-i Lugat-i Vankulu ..." See İhsan Sungu, "İlk Türk Matbaasına Dair Yeni Vesikalar", *Hayat* III/73 (1928): 14.

50 See Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, 44.

51 See Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, "Sahhaf," in *Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 3 (İstanbul, 1954), 92; İsmet Binark, "Eski Devrin Kitapçıları: Sahhâflar," *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* 16/3 (1967): 155-62; Arslan Kaynardağ, "Eski Esnaflarımızla - Bu Arada Sahhaflıkla İlgili Bir Kitap: Letaif-i Esnaf," *Kütüphanecilik Dergisi* 3 (1992): 67-72; Yahya Erdem, "Sahhafklar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık," in *Osmanlı*, ed. H. G. Eren, vol. 11 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999), 720-38; Yahya Erdem, "Sahhafklar ve Seyyahlar: Osmanlı'da Kitapçılık," *Müteferrika* 20 (2001): 3-18; Ömer Faruk Yılmaz, *Tarih Boyunca Sahhaflık ve İstanbul Sahhafklar Çarşısı* (İstanbul: Sahhafklar Derneği, 2005); İsmail E. Erünsal, "Osmanlılarda Sahhaflık ve Sahafklar: Yeni Belge ve Bilgiler," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 29 (2007): 99-146.

52 *Tarih-i Çelebizade Efendi* (Kostantiniye, 1153/1741), fol. 119b.

53 "Basmacı İbrâhîm Efendi" (See Ahmed Refik, *Memalik-i Osmaniyede Kral Rakoçi ve Tévabi'* (1109-1154) (İstanbul, 1333/1917), 8).

deserved recognition exactly as a printer. It is confirmed also by some foreign observers such as the above-mentioned Saussure, for instance, who in a letter of 13 August 1735 named him exactly in the same way: “Ibrahim Efendi the Printer.”⁵⁴

Ibrahim Müteferrika’s printing activity won him a new recognition as a printer in the Ottoman intellectual milieu. Moreover, he became publicly known mainly as a printer. A late 18th-century manuscript copy of the printed version of his own work *Reasonable Principles of Public Order* (1732) preserved in the Oriental Department of the National Library in Sofia, Bulgaria, is titled *Reasonable Principles of Public Order by Ibrahim Efendi the Printer*.⁵⁵

Probably the most affirmative indication of Ibrahim Müteferrika’s public image is his probate inventory of 1 April 1747. Probate inventories usually point out the name of the deceased persons and their main personal characteristics: in the case of women reference is usually made to their husbands’ or fathers’ name while in the case of men their profession, rank or service is used as identification. In Ibrahim Müteferrika’s case, disregarding the fact that he served as a müteferrika at the imperial court, his probate inventory names him simply “the late Ibrahim Efendi the Printer”.⁵⁶ Having in mind that probate inventories were official judicial documents, it is a remarkable indication of how Ibrahim Müteferrika’s public image involving not only non-official Ottoman and non-Ottoman but also official Ottoman attitudes towards him shifted in the course of time. Hence in the last years of his life and posthumously, Ibrahim Müteferrika won public recognition neither as a geographer or map-maker, as he obviously insisted to introduce himself in his signatures, nor as a müteferrika, the state service he happened to execute during his lifetime. As a convert of Hungarian-Transylvanian origin he was not recognized according to his ethnic or geographical origin either, as was the case with two other compatriots and namesakes of him, Peçevi Ibrahim Efendi⁵⁷ and Zigetvarlı Köse Ibrahim Efendi,⁵⁸ who happened to convert to Islam and become Ottoman subjects in the 17th century.

What made Ibrahim Müteferrika publicly recognizable were his activities as a printer and his printing efforts became the main expression of his individuality

54 Thály, ed., *Lettres de Turquie*, 176.

55 *Usûlü'l-Hikem fi Nizâmi'l-'Alem li-İbrâhîm Efendi Basmacı* (National Library Sts Cyril and Methodius, Oriental Department, Sofia, Or 2296, fol. 1a).

56 “*Basmacı merhûm İbrâhîm Efendi*” (İMŞS: *Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi*, Defter 98, fol. 39a).

57 See Ahmet Refik, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları* (İstanbul: Timaş, 1999): 91–105.

58 See Avner Ben-Zaken, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kopernik Sistemi,” in *Türkler*, vol. 11 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002): 289–302.

in Ottoman society.⁵⁹ He apparently never broke down fully the link with his pre-Ottoman and pre-Muslim past and managed to combine in some harmony two seemingly opposing identities. His conversion seems to be rearrangement of his consciousness rather than transformation since behind the mysterious smile of his Ottoman and Muslim image one could clearly figure out his Transylvanian and Protestant past. There are better ways to determine his multiple identities than by pulling down his pants. What is needed is to further scrutinize the mind games he bequeathed.

Portrait and Self-Portrait: Ibrahim Müteferrika's Mind Games

Abstract ■ The paper deals with an intellectual who was famous in Ottoman cultural history as the founder of the first Turkish printing house (1726). He was a Hungarian born Protestant (allegedly Unitarian), who left his homeland in Transylvania in the late seventeenth century, took refuge in the Ottoman Empire and converted to Islam, gaining a new Ottoman and Muslim identity under the name Ibrahim Müteferrika. The paper reveals Müteferrika's portrait and self-portrait by dwelling not only on the few available narratives dealing with it, but also on those aspects of Müteferrika's post-Transylvanian activities in which one could see some important idiosyncrasies of his pre-Ottoman identity. To date, there are only three narratives revealing Müteferrika's biography: of Müteferrika's contemporaries César de Saussure and Charles Peyssonnel, as well as of Müteferrika himself. However, Saussure's and Peyssonnel's portraits, on the one hand, and Müteferrika's self-portrait, on the other, allow us to contrast the images appearing from them. All three biographical narratives provide a basis for different and even controversial interpretations of the following more or less unclear issues: how exactly did Müteferrika become an Ottoman subject; what was his religious affiliation before Islam; and how did he convert to Islam: of his own free will or under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances? Müteferrika himself may have created a much more favorable self-image through mystifying the circumstances that led to his conversion. This story could serve also as an act of submission before his new Muslim rulers. In other words, Müteferrika probably created an alternative and fictitious self-portrait, which is much more plausible than the real one.

Keywords: Ibrahim Müteferrika, Ottoman identity, conversion, eighteenth century, self-portrait

⁵⁹ See Rhoads Murphey, "Forms and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society," *Turcica* 34 (2002): 135–70.

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How to be(come) an Ottoman at the End of the Eighteenth Century

*Fatih Yeşil**

18. Yüzyılda Nasıl “Osmanlı” Olunurdu?

Öz ■ Bu çalışma 18. yüzyıl Bâb-ı Âlisinde sivrilen tipik “Osmanlı”yı devrin önde gelen kâtiplerinden Ebubekir Ratib Efendi’nin hayat hikayesi çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Osmanlı Devleti’nin değişen yapısının ve ihtiyaçlarının bir ürünü olan Osmanlı tipinin 18. yüzyıldaki karakterine kavuşmasında Osmanlı ordusunun bilhassa ülkenin batı sınırlarında aldığı yenilgiler büyük bir etkiye sahiptir. Artan oranda deneyimli diplomatlara duyulan ihtiyaç, ideal Osmanlı tipinin “paşa”dan “efendi”ye doğru evriminin ardında yatan en temel sebeplerden birisidir. 18. yüzyıl ortasında doğan Ebubekir Ratib Efendi’nin bürokratik kariyeri bu bağlamda Kalemîye’nin devleti oluşturan dört tarik içerisinde öne çıkışını ve özel olarak ideal “Osmanlı” tipinde gözlemlenen değişimi örneklemektedir. Uluslararası ilişkilerde diplomasinin, en az savaş kadar önem kazanmasına mukabil Bab-ı Âli’de iş yükü artan ve önem kazanan Amedi Kalemî’nde yetişen Ratib Efendi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu, Habsburg İmparatorluğu nezdinde temsil etmiştir. Bu dönemde kaleme aldığı layiha ve sefaretname, Avrupa’nın önde gelen başkentlerinden birisi olan Viyana’da yaptığı gözlemler aracılığıyla Nizam-ı Cedid bürokrasisinin önünde yeni ufuklar açmıştır. Genel olarak devrin Avrupasındaki devlet ve ordu organizasyonlarını tasvir ve teşhis eden layihadaki tahlillerin geçerliliği, doğrudan Ratib Efendi özelinde tartışılan yeni Osmanlı tipinin yetişme tarzıyla alakalıdır. Bab-ı Âli’de tanıştığı İslam siyaset teorisi üzerinden devrin Avrupai kavramlarını anlamlandıran Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, Nizam-ı Cedid siyasetinin planlanmasında başrollerden birisini üstlenmiştir. III. Selim devrindeki Osmanlı ideal tipinin bir örneği olan Ratib Efendi, Nizam-ı Cedid siyasetinin teorik arka planının oluşturulmasının yanı sıra söz konusu teorinin uygulanmasında da etkilidir. III. Selim’in Vüzera Kanunnamesi’nin kaleme alınmasındaki etkisi, Zahirî Nazırlığı’nın kurulmasındaki rolü ve Reisülküttap olarak verdiği hizmet

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Ratib Efendi'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yeniden organize edilmesine pratikteki katkısını gözler önüne sermektedir. Ancak bürokratik hizip mücadelelerinin ve politik haneler arasındaki çatışmaların süre gittiği bir dönemde yaşayan Ratib Efendi, bu türden bir çatışmanın hedefi olmaktan kendisini kurtaramayacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Katip, Elçi, Ratib Efendi, Bab-ı Ali, Nizam-ı Cedid

What makes a historical individual an Ottoman? He is a person who served the Ottoman state as a member of the ruling elite or *askeri* class, in return for which he received an income from the Sultan and was granted certain tax privileges. To be a part of this elite, ideally, one was also required to *behave* as an Ottoman in manners and etiquette and possess certain skills, the most noted of which was the mastery of the *elsine-i selase*, the three languages, namely Arabic, Persian and Turkish. However these characteristics, which contributed to the portrait of an Ottoman did not remain static, but changed with transformations in state organization, social framework and the changing nature of tradition, manners and language.¹

18th century Ottoman history witnessed the alteration of administrative elite, manifest in the substitution of men of sword (*ehl-i seyf*) with men of pen (*ehl-i kalem*). This transformation is an outcome of the changing nature of the relations between the Porte and the European states. As the Russian and Austrian Empires repeatedly defeated the Ottoman army, the Sublime Porte sought the solution in engaging the European diplomatic system, demanding bureaucrats to have knowledge on Europe and international relations.²

Patronage networks were of vital importance for a career as bureaucrat in any early modern empire that lacked a modern education system. In the case of the Ottomans, this key concept was called *intisab*.³ It basically denotes two

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- 1 Virginia Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)*, trans. Ö. Arıkan (Istanbul, 1997), 10-30 and Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in The Ottoman Empire* (New Jersey, 1980), 79-91.
 - 2 Thomas Naff, "The Ottoman Empire and the European States System," ed. H. Bull, A. Watson, *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford, 1985), 143-169.
 - 3 Joel Shinder, "Career Line Formation in the Ottoman Bureaucracy, 1648-1750: A New Perspective," *JESHO* XVI (1973), 222 and 230; Norman Itzkowitz, "Mehmed Raghıb Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand Vezir," (PhD. Diss., Princeton University, 1959), 22-23 and 159; Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (cins) Solidarity in the XVII. Century Ottoman Establishment," *IJMES*, V (1974), 233-239, Carter V. Findley, "Patrimonial Household Organization and Factional Activity in the Ottoman Ruling Class," ed. O. Okyar and H. İnalçık, *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)* (Ankara, 1980), 229-230.

things: 1) becoming attached to the household of a grandee 2) having certain qualifications, to which we just referred.⁴ Nevertheless, these two descriptors were inseparable. Displaying a talent was essential to becoming a member of the household of a grandee. That was the reason why the eligible candidates applying to the Sublime Porte with a letter of recommendation had to have certain skills not only in language but also literature, just as was the case with Ebubekir Ratib Efendi.⁵

Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's career as an Ottoman bureaucrat was typical for the period.⁶ He was born in Kastamonu in about 1750.⁷ His father was a member of *ulema* who apparently liked to travel. Probably in 1750s, he took Ebubekir with him on a visit to the Crimea. It was there that Ebubekir's father Ali Efendi, or perhaps the young Ebubekir himself, appeared to have made an impression on the ruler, Aslan Giray Khan, who wrote a letter of recommendation for Ebubekir Efendi.⁸ Furnished with this letter, Ebubekir was able to obtain an apprenticeship in the *Amedi* Office. Ebubekir's father, who most likely also was his first teacher, would have been instrumental in obtaining this apprenticeship for his son. Young Ebubekir probably took his first Arabic classes from his father, Ali Efendi. Even though children generally followed their fathers' occupations in the Ottoman Empire, Ebubekir Efendi chose a different career path. It also seems plausible that his father made the decision for Ebubekir to enter the *Amedi* Office as an apprentice. Ali Efendi might have felt that his son could reach the upper echelons of the Ottoman State more easily if he entered the *kalemiyye*, because at that time all the high posts in *ilmiyye* were occupied by the children of great *mollas*.⁹ It should be noted that *katibs* could not generally start their career in the *Amedi* Office right away, an institution that had gained great importance in the eighteenth century.

4 James W. Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon* (İstanbul, 2001), 209.

5 It must not be a coincidence, that the poets appeared in the eighteenth century *tezkires* were generally bureaucrats. For the examples see Fatin Efendi, *Tezkire-i Hatimetül'eş'ar*, İstanbul, 1324 and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtk-
unts bis auf Unsere Zeit*, vol. IV, Pesth, 1838.

6 For the career of Ratib Efendi see Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Kâtibi
Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1750-1799)* (İstanbul, 2011).

7 Vasif Efendi, *Tarih-i Vastf*, İstanbul University Library: TY, 6012, fol: 47a-49b.

8 For Ebubekir's travel with his father to Crimea see, Vasif Efendi, *Tarih-i Vastf*, fol:47b-
48a. According to a document in Topkapı Palace Archive (hereafter TSMA), he was in
İstanbul when he was seven years old TSMA (E. 11388). Thus, the journey must have
taken place between Ratib Efendi's date of birth (1750/1170) and 1757.

9 Madeline C. Zilfi, "Elite Circulation in The Ottoman Empire: Great Mollas of The
Eighteenth Century," *JESHO*, 26 (1983), 318-364.

However, possessing a letter of recommendation from the Khan of the Crimea seems to have enabled Ratib Efendi to begin his career in one of the most prominent offices in the Sublime Porte.¹⁰

The *Amedi* Office in the mid-eighteenth century came under the jurisdiction of the *Reisülküttabs* and was the office that dealt with diplomacy.¹¹ Working in this office would have brought the young Ebubekir into contact with foreigners, the translators, and perhaps even with foreign ambassadors. It was this early training in diplomacy that prepared Ebubekir for his future role not just as an envoy but ultimately as the *Reisülküttab*. From the *Amedi* Office, he moved to the *Tabvil* office whose main concern were the appointments of provincial governors and military fief-holders.¹² The reason for Ebubekir Efendi's appointment must have been related to the traditions of the Sublime Porte. To educate all apprentices in the various working fields, they were assigned to different offices. This was enabling them to learn different types of scripts used by different offices and various correspondence procedures.¹³ In his apprenticeship, Ebubekir Efendi was first taught how to prepare the rough drafts (*tesvid*), summaries (*bulasa*) and copies (*tebeyyüz*) under the examining clerk (*mümeyyiz*).

Edeb was also crucial part of the training in the Sublime Porte. As a synonym of *sunna* or custom, *edeb* means civility and comity. Following the age-old tradition, the young apprentices were introduced to the eastern political literature by studying key sources such as *Humâyûnnâme*, the Turkish translation of *Kalila and Dimna*, Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*, *Ethics of Nasireddin Tusî* and *Ahlak-ı*

10 Recep Ahıskalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülküttablık (XVIII. Yüzyıl)* (Istanbul, 2001), 142.

11 For the *Amedi* Office and its functions in the Sublime Porte see, Tayyib Gökbilgin, 'Amedci', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I (Istanbul, 1997), 396-397; idem, 'Ameddji', *EP²*, vol. I, (Leiden, 1954), 433; Ahıskalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında*, 136-152; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara, 1988), 55-58; Halil İnalçık, 'Reisülküttab', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. IX (Istanbul, 1997), 675; Carter V. Findley, "The Legacy of Tradition to Reform: Origins of The Ottoman Foreign Ministry," *IJMES*, 1 (1970), 338 and idem, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 78-79.

12 Ahıskalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında*, 118-136; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Merkez ve Bahriye*, 43-45; Findley, 'The Legacy of Tradition', 337; H. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and The West*, vol. I, Part I (London, 1967), 121-122; Joseph von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, vol. II (Vienna, 1815), 113-114.

13 For this tradition see James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern* (London, 1797), 39.

Alai of Kınalızade Ali.¹⁴ It was also thought that the apprentices working in the *Amedi* Office were reading the travelogues and the reports of the Ottoman ambassadors. But more importantly, *edeb*, just as observed in the description of Norbert Elias's *Höflichkeit* (courtesy), which was employed in training the reliable and loyal bureaucrats in enlightening Europe, had not only religious connotation.¹⁵ On the contrary, *edib* was a person who had the knowledge about how he must behave and how he must speak in a certain condition. The secularist and state-oriented character of the tradition, on the one hand, provided a reliable ground for educating obedient and distinguished bureaucrats, on the other it furnished the young apprentices with literary and political knowledge. In the right time and right place, apprentices used this knowledge for drawing the attention of their superiors.

After his return to the *Amedi* Office, eminent bureaucrats considered Ebubekir to have mastered the scribal arts and thus he was promoted to a vacant post. Assignment of a new name (*mablas*), a seat of his own among the cushions on which the clerks sat in the office and letting him grow beard were the ritual part of this promotion. The personal specialties and *katib*'s place of birth were the main sources of inspiration for his *mablas*. We do not know how Ebubekir's new name was chosen. However it might have reflected the time when a new order was being established, as *Râtib* meant "organizer".¹⁶ However, Ratib Efendi must have known that displaying his skills in the office was not enough for reaching higher posts. Apart from the time he spent at the Sublime Porte, he tried to improve his Persian in the *Naqshbandi* lodges and participated in the poetry meetings in the mansions of the high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrats.¹⁷ In these meetings, Ratib

14 F. Gabriel, F. "Adab," *EI*², vol. I, 1954, 175-176. Goldziher, I. "Edeb," *IA*, vol. IV, 1997, 105-106; Aksan, *Abmed Resmî*, 13.

15 Norbert Elias, *Uygurluk Süreci*, vol. I, trans. E. Ateşman-E. Özbek (İstanbul 2000), 81.

16 Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, 418.

17 Fatin Efendi, *Tezkire-i Hatimetül'eş'ar*, 103 and Vâsif Efendi, *Tarih-i Vâsif*, fol: 48a. Ratib Efendi was an accomplished master in *talik* script, which no doubt, was the reflection of his interest in poetry. *Talik*, the most important Persian influence on Ottoman calligraphy, was reserved for writing verse in the Ottoman Empire. Even though he did not leave a *divan*, the collection of poems by one author, we know that he was easily able to write poems in three languages. For poems of Ratib Efendi see, Fatin Efendi, *Tezkire-i Hatimetül'eş'ar*, 100-101; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Ebubekir Ratib Efendi," *Belleten*, XXXIX (1975), 71; Hüner Tuncer, 'Osmanlı Elçisi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Ozan Yönü', *Belleten*, 47 (1983), 584-585 and Abdullah Uçman, *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, (İstanbul, 1999), 34, 49, 50, 72, 74, 80, 81, 93. For *talik* script also see Christine Woodhead, 'From Scribe to Litterateur: A Career

Efendi had ample opportunity to show his literary skills to the higher-ranking bureaucrats and statesmen.

Equipped with literary and political knowledge, Ratib Efendi was ready to find a powerful patron, a task at which he apparently did not have any difficulty. In 1769, we see Ratib Efendi in the Amedi Office under the patronage of influential Halil Hamid Efendi.¹⁸ In parallel with the rise of his patron, ten years later he was assigned to the post of *Amedi Efendi* and became a member of *Hacegan-ı Divan-ı Humayun*, the highest level in the Ottoman bureaucracy. This promotion denoted that he was eligible for posts at the same rank in different institutions.¹⁹ Ratib Efendi was to remain *Amedi Efendi* for the next ten years. It was during this period that his patron Halil Hamid Efendi became Grand Vizier and it was probable on the recommendation of Halil Hamid Pasha and historian Mehmed Emin Edib Efendi, who was close to young Prince Selim, that Râtib Efendi was appointed to the position of tutor to young prince and started teaching him, among other things, to write in *talik* script. In this web of relations, Ratib Efendi's acquaintance with Halil Hamid Pasha who had been *Reisülküttab* is very understandable. But his relation with Mehmed Emin Edib Efendi seems to have started with Ratib Efendi's promotion as *Amedci*. Beside his other duties, the *Amedi Efendis* were also required to help court historians (*vakanüvis*), providing them documents from the Sublime Porte as they compiled their official histories.²⁰

Being the tutor of the crown prince reshaped Ratib Efendi's future career. He was also instrumental in drawing up a series of letters from prince Selim to Louis XVI of France.²¹ But being close to the center of power contains its own danger throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire. Ratib's involvement in prince

of a XVI century Ottoman Katib', *Bulletin of The British Society for Middle East Studies*, 9 (1982), 60.

- 18 For the connection between Halil Hamid Pasha and Ratib Efendi see, Christoph Neumann, "Themen und Verfahrensweisen in der osmanischen Aussenpolitik gegen Ende des 18 Jahrhundert" (MA. Diss., Ludwig Maximillians Universität, 1986), 131-136.
- 19 For *Hacegan-ı Divan-ı Hümayun* and its meaning in the context of the Ottoman promotion system see Cengiz Orhonlu, 'Khadjegane-ı Diwan-ı Humayun', *EP²*, vol.IV, Leiden, 1954, 908-909; Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman*, vol.I (Paris, 1788-1824), 350-352; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Merkez ve Bahriye*, 68-69; Findley, "The Legacy of Tradition to Reform," 346 and idem, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 100.
- 20 For Ratib Efendi's connection with Mehmed Emin Edib Efendi who was assigned as *vakanüvis* (official historiographer) on 13 October 1787 see, Süleyman Faik, *Sefinetü'r-Rüesa* (Istanbul, 1269), 139 and Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. IV (Istanbul, 1309), 195.
- 21 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, 'Selim III'ün Veliâht İken Fransa Kralı Lui XVI ile Muhabereleleri', *Belleteri*, 2, 1938, 191-246 and Aysel Yıldız, "Şehzade (III.) Selim'in XVI.

Selim's unauthorized correspondence might have been the reason for his exile from Istanbul. Early during the war with Russia and Austria in 1788, we see Ratib Efendi assigned to the Ottoman army as *Silahdar Katibi* in the Balkans.²² This new post would however give him an opportunity to observe the weaknesses of the Ottoman army first hand. When Sultan Abdulhamid I died in the following year, prince Selim ascended the throne as Selim III and immediately recalled Ratib Efendi to Istanbul. Indeed, Selim III made dramatic changes in the upper echelons of the Ottoman bureaucracy to better implement his political agenda.²³ All of the newly promoted personnel, including the Grand Vizier, had in some way been close to the Sultan. In this assignment, Ratib Efendi was promoted to the post of *Tezkire-i Evvel* which was likely to lead to the post of *Reisülküttab*.²⁴ *Katibs* who held the post of *Tezkire-i Evvel* were not only personal secretary to the Grand Vizier; they also had to receive the petitions to the Sublime Porte, arrange them and read them in the *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Council). If the post of *Tezkire-i Evvel* was vacant, it was the *Reisülküttabs* who were responsible for these duties.²⁵ It can be argued that Selim III wanted to groom Ratib Efendi for the pivotal post of *Reisülküttab*.

A further and now rapid promotion was offered to him. He was to become *Rikab Reisülküttabı*, which was the deputy to the *Reisülküttab*. But Ratib Efendi, who had a keen interest in astrology,²⁶ noted that the moon was to be in the sign of Scorpio on the day of his promotion and he pleaded to postpone it to a more auspicious day.²⁷ The sultan became so furious that he exiled Ratib Efendi to

Louis ile Yazışmaları ve Doğu Sorunu,” ed: S. Kenan-H. Reindl Kiel, *Deutsch-türkische Begegnungen, Festschrift für Kemal Beydilli* (Berlin, 2013), 417-438.

22 Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında*, 43.

23 Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol.IV, 265.

24 According to archival sources, Ratib Efendi was promoted *Tezkire-i Evvel* on 30 April 1789 (4 Şaban 1203). However the document in the Turkish Historical Society Library gives 29 April 1789 as the date of assignment of his appointment. Erhan Afyoncu, “Osmanlı Müelliflerine Dair Tercih Kayıtları,” *Belgeler*, XX (1999), 127 compare with *I. Abdülhamid’in Saltanat Devrinde 9 Zilkade 1187, 18 Rebi’ülahir 1205 Seneleri Arasında Vukû Bulan Azil Nasb ve Diğer Hadiseler*, no:Y/1001, fol: 23.

25 Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lügatı* (Istanbul, 1986), 337; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol.III (Istanbul, 1993), 491 and Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, 128-129.

26 Ottoman people were very interested in astronomy and astrology and considered them as ‘sciences’. James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, 390-391 and Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. VI, 195-196.

27 Vasif Efendi, *Tarih-i Vasif*, fol: 48b and d’Ohsson, *Tableau General*, vol.VII, 11-13.

the island of Tenedos where he remained for more than a year. However, Ratib Efendi's interest in astrology might well have been a mere pretext. Ratib Efendi's predecessor, Raşid Efendi had connections with the palace and also had a vested interest in having him out of the way.²⁸ So this was the beginning of a factional rivalry, to which Ratib Efendi fell victim at the end.

In 1791, when the Ottoman army desperately needed able and experienced bureaucrats, Selim III decided to pardon Ratib Efendi. Once more, he was immediately sent to the battlefield as the secretary of the Janissary Corps (*yeniçeri katibi*).²⁹ This time his main duty was more important especially for the Ottoman budget that calculating the salaries of the Janissaries. On the cessation of hostilities and signing of the peace treaty at Zıstovi/Sistova, Ratib Efendi was appointed as Ottoman envoy (*Orta elçi*) to Vienna. His ostensible task was to present Selim III's letter to Leopold II but actually he was to make observations in Vienna and report the events unfolding in Europe.³⁰ With his professional background, Ebubekir Ratib Efendi was a perfect candidate for such an appointment.

On his return from Vienna, where he had spent nearly one year, Ebubekir Ratib Efendi started to draw the map of the European state structures for the "*Nizam-ı Cedid*" (New Order) project. Even though continuous relations existed between the Ottoman and European worlds since earlier times, Ottomans' curiosity had concentrated mainly on the power of the European states, disposition of their armies, their trade connections and their diplomatic relations, especially with the Ottoman Empire. However, the disastrous defeats suffered by the Ottomans, especially at the hands of the Russian armies in the late 18th century, represented a watershed in Ottoman attitudes toward the outside world. Now the Ottoman bureaucrats, as Ahmed Resmî Efendi, tried to explain the reasons of the European military supremacy over the Ottomans.³¹ Ebubekir Râtib Efendi was one of these Ottomans who comprehended and described the modern state-building process, which he saw as the main source of Europeans' superiority. We do not know whether Ratib Efendi was explicitly instructed to describe the Habsburg military and state organizations, and their impact on the socio-economic and socio-politic spheres in minute detail. However, it is apparent that he was one of the first Ot-

28 Süleyman Faik, *Sefinetü'r-Rüesa*, 139, Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. VI, 196-197 and Vasif Efendi, *Tarih-i Vasıf*, fol:49a.

29 Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında*, 49.

30 For Ratib Efendi's appointment as *Orta Elçi* to Vienna see BOA *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Decrees) Collection 9553 and 9733.

31 Aksan, *Ahmed Resmî* and Virginia Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing," 1768-1808," *IJMES*, 25 (1993), 53-69.

tomans who felt themselves in need to fully comprehend their enemies' power structure.

The urgency of this sense was a part of changing nature of the "Ottoman". The apprentices, who were trained at the Sublime Porte and had to acquire the necessary language skills and general knowledge on the international relations, became increasingly knowledgeable about foreign affairs. Furthermore, *edeb* literature was extremely useful in their endeavor. The masterpieces of this literature should be considered closely relevant to contemporary European political literature.³² Râtib Efendi's visit of *Orientalische Academie* illustrates this perspective.³³ In the library of the academy, the books on *Polizeiwissenschaft*³⁴ drew the attention of the Ottoman envoy and he immediately inquired of his guide about their contents. When his guide told him that "there are no books or publication on this science [fen] in Islam", Râtib Efendi sarcastically pointed to the *Hümayunname* in front of the student sitting next to him and asked rhetorically if that book was not on politics. In the following days, Râtib Efendi sent Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*, *Ethics of Nasireddin Tusî* and *Ahlak-ı Alai* of Kınalızade Ali to the academy.³⁵ After recounting this anecdote and describing *Polizeiwissenschaft* (*politika fenni*) accurately in his treatises,³⁶ Râtib Efendi strongly advised that the many books of *edeb* literature "are on this science and they must be restudied very carefully".³⁷

32 The Ancient Greek political thought had a great impact on the formation of Islamic political theories. This historical connection can also be observed at the times of the Ottoman Empire. For the relations of Islamic and European political thoughts see Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought, from the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

33 Sema Arıkan, "Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Büyük Lâyihası," (PhD. Diss. İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1996), 380.

34 *Polizeiwissenschaft* (Police Science) was the application of absolutist social discipline by means of secularized natural law to the state and society which derived from one of the Aristotelian forms of government, namely rule by the many/bureaucrats. The main emphasis of the theory was on the welfare and prosperity of the state and its subjects. For further information see Franz-Ludwig, Knemeyer, "Polizei," trans. K. Tribe, *Economy and Society*, IX (1980), 165-196 and Reiner Schulze, *Policey und Gesetzgebungslehre im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1982).

35 For the books that Râtib Efendi gave to *Orientalische Academie* as present see Albert Krafft, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K.K. orientalischen Akademie zu Wien* (Vienna, 1842). These books are now kept in the manuscripts section of Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

36 Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında*, 220-231.

37 Arıkan, "Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından," 381.

In his writings, Ratib Efendi opened new horizons for the Ottomans of the New Order era, however, one cannot find even a passage or paragraph in his treatises and travelogue that can be read as giving direct advice to the higher-ranking Ottoman decision-makers. But nearly every page that described or implicitly praised the European way of organizing things (*nizâm*), in some way, could have been considered as subtle recommendations. With this style of writing, he also legitimated the European New Order.³⁸

Râtib Efendi was not only an author of a political treatise, but acted as states as well. By their writings, on the one hand, Ottomans like him legitimated the European New Order, on the other, they were the political actors of the age who

38 At certain places in his treatise, Ratib Efendi voiced the view that the New Order of Europe actually derived from the “Classical Ottoman Order”. For instance, when he described the Habsburg conscription practices in the second half of the 18th century, Ratib Efendi suggested that the Austrians in fact had copied Ottoman recruitment system for conscripting the Janissaries in the Suleiman the Magnificent’s reign. Should this be accepted as a historical fact, it must be proved, which, needless to say, is extremely difficult to do. If we interpret it as Ratib Efendi’s actual conclusion, I believe that it would be an insult to his intelligence and insight as an Ottoman bureaucrat. In my opinion, as I explicitly described in my book, this was Ratib Efendi’s rhetoric to persuade not only the opponents of the New Order but also the people who did not have any idea on the new policies. Through this rhetoric, he tried to make the New Order more relatable and thus acceptable in the eyes of the literate Ottoman elite. We should not forget the fact underlined by Findley that the eloquent propaganda for the New Order is one of the most noticeable aspects of his treatise. In fact, Ratib Efendi chose the ancient Islamic-Ottoman political, bureaucratic and military concepts meticulously and he *could* apply them in the context of late 18th century Vienna and Habsburg state during his visit. It may also be thought that the main body of the opposition to the New Order, who were probably illiterate ordinary artisans and poor Janissaries, did not have any opportunity to read the treatise. But we know that, there were literate people behind the opposition as they had the power for directing or at least supporting the rebels. In her worthy research on the correspondences between Ratib Efendi and Selim III, Aysel Danacı Yıldız rightly claims that Ratib Efendi desired the transformation of the old regulations according to the necessities of the age. But as I had *tried* to explain in my book, it is clearly apparent that what Ratib wrote was merely rhetorical. Ratib’s main aim, as he wrote in a letter to Prince Selim also published by Dr. Yıldız, to save the Prince from the accusations of acting with “European manners” (*Frenk-meşrep*). Carter V. Findley, “Ebu Bekir Ratib’s Vienna Embassy Narrative: Discovering Austria or Propagandizing for Reform in Istanbul?” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85, 1995, 41-80 and Aysel Yıldız, “Şehzadeye Öğütler: Ebûbekir Ratib Efendi’nin Şehzade Selim’e (III) Bir Mektubu,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları /The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, guest editor: Seyfi Kenan, 42 (2013), 255-256.

attempted to create a similar order that would serve their own personal political interests. It is a well-noted fact that political developments in Early Modern Europe and the formation of nation states was closely connected with bureaucratization of government.³⁹ To reach the main governmental goal, which Thomas Hobbes described as the protection of the state and its people,⁴⁰ early modern states strived to create regular armies that were only loyal to the center, which required efficient bureaucratic machineries for governing the provinces and extracting taxes. The bureaucrats took the place of the hereditary aristocracy in administration, who were assigned to prominent offices, such as commissaries not only in the center of the state but also in the provinces, which directly depended and represented the central government.⁴¹ Their presence in the advisory councils (*Staatsrath*, *Conseil d'Etat*) fortified their newly acquired positions. In sum, this transition in governmentality revolutionized the European state apparatus.⁴²

We can observe a similar process in the Ottoman Empire in the late 18th century. The foundation of the New Order Army according to the advices of the New Order cabinet consisting mostly of experienced bureaucrats⁴³ meant the beginning of a new era in Ottoman history. This cabinet further played an important role in the writing and the revision of the regulations, which re-formed the Ottoman state apparatus. In this comprehensive codification movement, Râtib Efendi was assigned to help Abdullah Efendi making revisions in the laws concerning the viziers.⁴⁴ The goal of the laws was very simple: The prevention or at least reduction of what the new bureaucracy saw as disorganization and misadministration

39 For a good summary of the developments taking place in different European state structure between 1500-1800 see Martin van Creveld, *The Rise and Decline of the State* (Cambridge, 1999), 127-128.

40 Thomas Hobbes, *The Elements of Law, Natural & Politic*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (London, 1984), 72-73; 98-99.

41 Otto Hintze, "The Commissary and His Significance in General Administrative History: A Comparative Study," ed. and trans. F. Gilbert, *Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (Oxford, 1975).

42 Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," *The Foucault Effect, Studies in Governmentality*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, P. Miller (London, 1991), 87-104.

43 For the New Order cabinet or the kitchen cabinet of Selim III see Stratford Canning, *Account of the three last insurrections at Constantinople and of the present state of the Turkish Empire*, The National Archive, FO 78/63 (The report dated 25 March 1809), fol: 183a and Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New, The Ottoman Empire under Selim III*, Cambridge Mass., 1971, 87.

44 Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi* (İstanbul, 1986), 66-70 and 344.

in the provinces. Ottoman bureaucrats of the Selim III era were not only taking active part in codification but they personally governed the new institutions, all of which aimed to create a more centralized system of government. The “Grain Administration” (*Zahire Nezareti*) was one of these new institutions which enabled the revenues from the grain trade to be funneled into a single, central treasury.⁴⁵ It was not a coincidence that the founder and first administrator of the *Zahire Nezareti* was Ebubekir Râtib Efendi, who, in his treatises, had established the connections among “security”, “trade”, “taxes”, and “military reforms” and described the same institutions in Europe in detail.⁴⁶ With his experiences and observations in Vienna, Râtib Efendi shaped his career and his career shaped the state as a political actor of a turbulent era.

In the middle of 1795, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi reached the pinnacle of his career by becoming the *Reisülküttab*.⁴⁷ As *Reisülküttab*, he was in a pivotal position in administering Ottoman diplomacy. Râtib Efendi’s foreign policy was based on the concept of “balance of power”⁴⁸ which he had learned from the enemies of the Ottoman Empire. As a man of the *Grand Siècle*, he was an admirer of French Enlightenment and sympathetic to France. He was persuaded by Raimond Verninac’s assurances, the French ambassador to Istanbul, that an alliance would be signed between France and the Ottoman Empire. But just a few days after the cessation of the negotiations, Napoléon’s unexpected invasion of Egypt provided Râtib Efendi’s opponents with the perfect reason for his dismissal. His former rivals who previously had Râtib Efendi banished from Istanbul, Grand Admiral Küçük Hüseyin Paşa in collusion with Grand Vizier İzzet Mehmet Paşa, determined the fate of Râtib Efendi. When the news about the French invasion reached the Sublime Porte, Râtib Efendi was immediately labeled as responsible for the disaster and sent into exile, this time to the Island of Rhodes where he was executed on November 22, 1799.⁴⁹

45 Yavuz Cezar, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Mali Kurumlarından Zahire Hazinesi ve 1795 (1210) Tarihli Nizamnamesi,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, 6-7 (1978); Tevfik Güran, “The State Role in the Grain Supply of Istanbul: The Grain Administration,” *Journal of Turkish Studies*, III (1984-1985); Lynne M. Şaşmazer, “Policing Bread Price and Production in Ottoman İstanbul, 1793-1807,” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, XXIV (2000) and Fatih Yeşil, “İstanbul’un İlaşesinde *Nizâm-ı Cedid*: Zahire Nezâreti’nin Kuruluşu ve İşleyişi (1793-1839),” *Türklük Araştırmaları*, 15 (2004).

46 Fatih Yeşil, “Looking at the French Revolution through Ottoman Eyes: Ebubekir Râtib Efendi’s Observations,” *Bulletin of SOAS*, 70 (2007), 300 – 301.

47 Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında*, 371.

48 Ernst Haas, “The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept or Propaganda?,” *World Politics*, 5 (1953), 442-477.

49 Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında*, 435.

The ideas and policies of the New Order were prevalent in the higher-ranking Ottoman decision-makers and Râtib Efendi was one of the prominent actors in policy-making during the “New Order” era. However, at the top of his career he made a miscalculation by thinking that he had the control of everything. As a matter of fact, relations between bureaucrats still depended heavily on the factional rivalries and patronage networks,⁵⁰ and in his last conflict, he was once more on the losing side. Another harsh fact of the Ottoman bureaucratic life was no doubt the practice of confiscation (*müsadere*).⁵¹ In Ottoman political thought, any material asset in the realm ultimately belonged to the almighty sultan. Therefore, whatever the bureaucrats possessed must have been somehow acquired by the grace of the Ottoman monarch. This perspective legitimized the confiscations in the eyes of the Ottomans. Confiscations did not have to be in terms of monetary cash; any kind of wealth could be the subject to it. In Râtib Efendi’s case, the Ottoman state considered his books on the European military and fiscal order and forms of government brought from Vienna and Paris as the most precious part of his estate. Ratib Efendi’s books were confiscated for the library of the Ottoman Military Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Hümayun*),⁵² which ironically turned his death into a contribution to the “New Order” that he had passionately worked for.

How to be(come) an Ottoman at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Abstract ■ Using the biography of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, this article aims to scrutinize the typical 18th century “Ottoman” in the service of the Sublime Porte. The military defeats taken in the Balkans and Black Sea had a great impact in the formation of a new Ottoman bureaucrat in the late 18th century. The new “Ottoman” was indeed a product of changing needs and structure of the Ottoman state. Increasing need for experienced diplomats is one of the basic reasons brought the evolution of an ideal “Ottoman”, from military-administrator “pasha” to scribal “efendi”. The bureaucratic career of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi exemplifies the said evolution and the very domination of the Sublime Porte over the other Ottoman state institutions. Ratib Efendi, who was educated in *Amedi* Office, which became a busier place with the

50 Carter V. Findley, “Factional Rivalry in Ottoman Istanbul: The Fall of Pertev Paşa, 1837,” *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986), 127-134.

51 R. Levy and C. Baysun, “Musâdere,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, (Eskişehir, 1997), 669-673.

52 Kemal Beydill, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane (1776-1826)*, İstanbul, 1995, 284-285 ve 297-298 and Mesut Uyar-Hayrullah Gök, “Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Hümayun Kütüphanesinin Akıbeti I,” 4. *Kat, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi Bülteni*, 2003, 34-39.

increasing prominence of diplomacy in international relations. Therefore it was no surprise that he was chosen represent the Ottoman Empire as an envoy in the court of the Habsburgs. His observations in Vienna, which were described in detail in his treatise and travelogue, opened new horizons for the Ottoman bureaucracy of the New Order. The accuracy of Ratib Efendi's descriptions of the European state and army organizations in his treatise prove that new type of "Ottoman" was emerging as well as his talents as a statesman. Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, who had a solid background on the political theories of Islam, well understood the contemporary European concepts. Ratib Efendi was instrumental not only in designing the theoretical background of the New Order policies but also the application of this theory. His impact on the codification of the regulation for viziers, his role in the foundation of the Grain Administration (*Zahire Nezareti*) and his service as a reisülküttab clearly underline his practical contributions to the reorganization of the Ottoman Empire. However, Ratib Efendi, who was living in an age when factional rivalries and conflicts between political households, could not save himself from being the target of factional frictions and intrigues, which were also typical of his age.

Keywords: Katip, Envoy, Ratib Efendi, The Sublime Porte, The New Order

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A Reformist Philosophy of History: The Case of Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi

*Ethan Menchinger**

Islahatçı bir Tarih Felsefesi: Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi Örneği

Öz ■ Bu makalede, vakanüvis ve devlet adamı Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi'nin (ö. 1806) 18. yüzyılın sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda tanık olduğu değişime dair bazı eserlerinde ileri sürdüğü görüşleri, yazarın tarih anlayışı ve felsefi fikirleri ışığında incelenmektedir. Vâsîf'in argümanlarının gayet akli ve de basit kadercilikten uzak olmasının yanında, imparatorluğun bu fırtınalı döneminde ortaya çıkan tarihî ve ahlaki meselelere de matuf olduğu ileri sürülmektedir. Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi salt Osmanlı'nın askerî başarısızlıklarını ve ıslahat ihtiyacını ön plana çıkarmamış, aynı zamanda yaşadığı evreni, vak'alar arasındaki nedenselliği ve tarihsel değişimi, yine kendisinin geliştirdiği kuramlarla geniş bir çerçevede açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Aynı zamanda bir saray görevlisi olan Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi, kendi hamisi olan sultanların ve Osmanlı devlet adamlarının söz konusu dönemde oluşan şartları nasıl algıladıklarına dair bize önemli bilgiler vermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Islahat, III. Selim, Vakanüvisler, Tarih Yazıcılığı, Tarih Felsefesi

Historians rightly see the late 18th century Ottoman Empire as a sort of crucible for reform, when sultans Mustafa III (1757-1774), Abdülhamid I (1774-1789), and Selim III (1789-1807) began the first fitful attempts at European-

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style administrative and military modernization. These efforts are well-attested in scholarship. Yet much less understood is the intellectual climate which surrounded this activity, an outpouring of energies in response to the shock of defeat and imperial collapse. Little research to date has viewed the period from an intellectual angle, to say nothing of how Ottomans specifically understood and rationalized their empire's reverses.¹

This article explores how one Ottoman – the bureaucrat and court historian Ahmed b. Ebülbekâ Hasan al-Harbûtî, called Vâsîf Efendi – grappled with these issues. The last quarter of the 18th century was especially traumatic for the empire, and the political life of the period suggests that elites underwent a deep moral and intellectual crisis.² Military collapse, eroding power, bankruptcy, and the rise of hostile powers like Russia seemed to undermine any pretense of “Ottoman exceptionalism,” the widespread belief that the empire was, somehow, divinely favored,³ while at the same time they demanded cogent answers: *Why did this happen? How could this happen? What must be done?*

Vâsîf's is a complex, cerebral response. The empire's unsettled state posed moral and historical problems that figure at the very heart of his writings. It is no surprise, then, that in his work, and particularly his chronicle and historical essays,

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- 1 Intellectual history remains one of the biggest lacunae in the study of the 18th century. See Jane Hathaway, “Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19 (2004): 29-53. Some outstanding exceptions include Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783* (Leiden, 1995); Kemal Beydilli, “Küçük Kaynarca'dan Tanzimat'a Islahat Düşünceleri,” *İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi* 8 (1999): 25-64; Kahraman Şakul, “Nizâm-ı Cedîd Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma ve İslami Modernleşme,” *İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi* 19 (2005): 117-150; Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında bir Osmanlı Kâtibi: Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1750-1799)* (İstanbul, 2010); and Aysel Yıldız's compendious “Vaka-yı Selimiyye or the Selimiyye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion.” (Ph.D. dissertation, Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2008).
 - 2 For the idea of a moral crisis in the 18th century Ottoman Empire, Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal, 1964), 26-30; George W. Gawrych, “Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and the Nizam-ı Cedid,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1987): 93-96.
 - 3 Gottfried Hagen defines “Ottoman exceptionalism” as the belief that history culminates in the Ottoman dynasty, which is divinely supported, combines absolute justice and zeal in jihad, and will endure until the end of time, “Afterword” in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden, 2004), 233-241. See also Gottfried Hagen and Ethan L. Menchinger, “Ottoman Historical Thought,” in *A Companion to Global Historical Thought*, ed. Presanjit Duara et al. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 92-106.

Vâsîf not only made Ottoman defeat and reform his key concern but outlined a more general framework for understanding the universe, causation, and historical change – one might say, in a word, a philosophy of history. And Vâsîf was by no means alone. As a member of the court, he reflects a milieu increasingly concerned with political reform, agency, and moral responsibility. In this regard, his perspective is unique only in its degree of detail.

Ahmed Vâsîf and his Corpus

Before examining Ahmed Vâsîf's philosophy of history, it will be useful to say a word about his life and work.⁴ Born in Baghdad in the 1730s, Vâsîf entered state service around the year 1768 and began a career of no small distinction. In the nearly forty years between 1768 and 1806, the year of his death, he undertook a number of diplomatic initiatives. Chancery posts aside, Vâsîf negotiated truces in both the 1768-1774 and 1787-1792 Russian-Ottoman wars, helped to re-open the imperial printing press, and served as ambassador to Spain in 1787-1788 and court historian (*vekâyinüvis*) for four terms under Abdülhamid I and Selim III. He was well-traveled and highly-placed; his duties, moreover, brought him into contact with a surprising number of Enlightenment-era personalities: Russian generals Piotr Rumiantsev and Nikolai Repnin, Carlos III of Spain, the English littérateur William Beckford, the Spanish admiral Don Federico Gravina, and Catherine the Great.

As an intellectual Vâsîf was meanwhile one of the most formidable Ottomans of the 18th century. His corpus includes a divan of poetry, an embassy report (*sefâretnâme*), and short works of belles-lettres, geography, and printing in addition to a history covering the entire second half of the 18th century (roughly,

4 Printed sources on Vâsîf include Ahmed Âsım, *Âsım Târîhi* (İstanbul, 1870), 1: 255-259; İsmail Paşa al-Bağdâdî, *Hedîyyetü'l-Ârifîn: Esmâ'ül-Müellifîn ve Âsâr'ül-Musannifîn* (İstanbul, 1951-55) 1: 183; M. Nuri Çınarcı, "Şeyhülislâm Ârif Hikmet Bey'in Tezkiretüş-Şu'ârâsı ve Transkripsiyonlu Metni," (master's thesis, Gaziantep Üniversitesi, 2007), 108; Süleymân Fâik, *Sefinetü'r-Rüesa* (İstanbul, 1852), 146-149; Davûd Fâtın, *Tezkere-i Hâtîmetü'l-Eş'âr* (İstanbul, 1854), 431-433; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (Pest, 1837), 3: 552-554; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi (İA)* (İstanbul, 1940-1987), s.v. "Vâsîf"; Cemâleddin Karslızâde, *Osmanlı Tarih ve Müverrihleri: Âyine-i Zürefâ*, haz. Mehmet Arslan (İstanbul, n.d.), 64-66; Mehmed Nâil Tuman, *Tuhfe-i Nâili: Divân Şâirlerinin Muhtasar Biyografileri* (İstanbul, 2001), 2: 1139; Ahmed Vâsîf, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Abbâr*, haz. Mücteba İlgürel (İstanbul, 1978), xix-xlvi; Otocar von Schlechta-Wssehrd, "Die osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber der neueren Zeit," *Denkschriften der phil. hist. Klasse der Kaiserl. Ak. der Wissenschaften* 8 (1856): 5-9. A careful survey of the author's own work, however, reveals much fuller biographical data.

1753-1805).⁵ Vâsîf, or so it would appear, also authored the pro-reform tract *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risâlesi* and the so-called “Maçın Mahzarı,” which the Ottoman army sent to Selim III from the warfront in 1791 expressing their refusal to fight.⁶ By all lights he was willful, opinionated, and highly involved in the political and intellectual controversies of his day.

Vâsîf’s most important work, however, is his court chronicle *Mehâsinü’l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü’l-Abbâr* (*The Charms and Truths of Relics and Annals*). Perhaps the most extensive Ottoman histories of the 18th century belong to the office of the court historian, or *vekâyinüvis*. The *vekâyinüvis* recorded the dynasty’s contemporary history as a salaried official, often while serving simultaneously in other posts, and submitted his work to the sultan in regular installments. During the 18th century over thirteen men served as court historian. Their efforts, like Vâsîf’s, number thousands of folios and remain mostly unpublished.⁷

Current literature on Ottoman *vekâyinüvises* leaves many stones unturned. Why, to what purpose, and with what degree of autonomy these men composed history is largely taken for granted. Bekir Kütükoğlu, for example, assumes court historians had essentially the same aim as the modern historian: to present the past for its own sake in all factual detail.⁸ The view that *vekâyinüvises* somehow

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- 5 These works survive in numerous manuscripts and often author or presentation copies. No comprehensive bibliography exists. The best available, though outdated, is in *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), xlviii-l.
- 6 The identity of “Koca Sekbanbaşı” seems finally to have been resolved in favor of Vâsîf. See Beydilli, “Sekbanbaşı Risalesi’nin Müellifi Hakkında,” *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 12 (2005): 221-224. Cf. Ali Birinci, “Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesinin Müellifi Tokatlı Mustafa Aga (1131-1239),” in *Prof. Dr. İsmail Aka Armağanı* (İzmir, 1999), 105-120; Beydilli, “Eureka, Eureka veya Errare Humanum Est,” *İlmi Araştırmalar* 9 (2000): 45-66; Hakan Erdem, “The Wise Old Man, Propagandist and Ideologist: Koca Sekbanbaşı on the Janissaries, 1807,” in *Individual and Ideologies and Society: Tracing the Mosaic of Mediterranean History* (Finland, 2001), 154-177.
- 7 Bekir Kütükoğlu’s long article remains the most useful survey, “Vekayinüvis,” in *Vekayinüvis Makaleler* (İstanbul, 1994), 103-138. Lewis V. Thomas gives the best account of an individual chronicler in *A Study of Naima* (New York, 1972). For the 19th century see Christoph Neumann’s *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet’in Siyasi Anlamı*, trans. Meltem Arun (İstanbul, 1999).
- 8 Kütükoğlu, “Vekayinüvis.” His words on Vâsîf’s method are most revealing, idem, “Müverrih Vâsîf’in Kaynaklarından Hâkim Tarihi,” in *Vekayinüvis Makaleler*, 139-194; idem, *Çeşmizâde Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1959), vii-xxiv. See furthermore Filiz Çalışkan, “Vâsîf’in Kaynaklarından Enverî Tarihi,” in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu’na Armağan* (İstanbul, 1991), 143-163.

represented the past in a neutral, Rankean light, “as it actually happened,” is also found in studies by Rhoads Murphey, Baki Tezcan, and others.⁹ With few exceptions do scholars evaluate these histories as the self-contained products of individuals operating within distinct intellectual milieux. To Vâsîf, for instance, history was inherently didactic, useful for its political and moral examples.¹⁰ He was by no means neutral but actively interpreted history. What is more, unlike earlier court historians Vâsîf, commissioned by Sultan Selim III, edited and rewrote the work of at least seven predecessors. He was, quite literally, rewriting the history of his empire. Seen in this way, his corpus expresses a set of values and concerns, a way of viewing the world, likely shared by his patron the sultan and a powerful part of Ottoman society.

It is noteworthy in this respect, finally, that Vâsîf consistently aligned himself with reformist circles. In his early career, he cultivated Grand Vezir Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa and a group that included *reisülküttâb* Abdürrezzâk Bâhir Efendi and Ahmed Resmî Efendi. This trend continued in the 1780s, when he received posts and patronage from Grand Vezir Halil Hamid Paşa. Under Selim III, meanwhile, Vâsîf moved in decidedly *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* circles. With growing prestige, culminating in his selection as *reisülküttâb* in 1805, he fraternized with Selimian reformers like Tatarcık Abdullah Molla, *sırkâtibi* Ahmed Fâiz Efendi, and Mahmûd Râif Efendi.¹¹ These connections should not be gainsaid in Vâsîf’s writings. His views at least partly express those of his milieu, which was sympathetic to political reform.

What follows traces Vâsîf’s understanding of the empire, reform, and the mechanisms of history – that is, his philosophy of history. It moves chronologically through four illustrative works. Beginning with Vâsîf’s earliest words on the subject, an essay (*risâle*) submitted to Abdülhamid I in 1784, it proceeds through

9 Tezcan, for example, argues that court chronicles were seen as “neutral bearers of historical reality,” “The Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Historiography,” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge, 2007), 167-198. Murphey says court historians gave “minutely-detailed, factually accurate description; in other words to portray the world *wie es eigentlich gewesen*,” “Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth-Century: A Survey of the General Development of the Genre after the Reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617),” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993-1994): 282. For dissenting views, Ethan L. Menchinger, “‘Gems for Royal Profit’: Prefaces and the Practice of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Court History,” *History Studies* 2:2 (2010): 127-151; Hagen and Menchinger, “Ottoman Historical Thought.”

10 For example, *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 3; *Mehâsin*, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi (İAM), nr. 355, 3a-3b.

11 See again *Mehâsin* (İlgürel).

his 1789-1794 chronicle, a 1798 piece on the French invasion of Egypt, and ends with sections of his chronicle written around 1802.

The 1784 Risâle

Some of Vâsîf's earliest words on reform, causation, and historical change are found in a short essay (*risâle*) he wrote at the behest of Abdülhamid I and inserted in a chronicle entry for 1784.¹² The timing was no coincidence. For some ten years the Ottoman court had been mired in indecision and bickering, loath to accept the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca and in particular the loss of the Crimean peninsula. The task of reform fell eventually to Vâsîf's patron Grand Vezir Halil Hamid Paşa (1782-1785), whose efforts elicited the historian's hope and lavish praise.¹³

That year, Vâsîf tells us, the Duke of Montmorency-Luxembourg¹⁴ sent the sultan a letter by leave of the French king. Within the Duke suggested that Ottoman territorial losses were due to inadequate training and that their forces were ill-prepared in military science. He hence proposed a mission to instruct the Ottoman army in fortification, mortars, and cannonry.¹⁵ Abdülhamid was inclined to accept the French offer and gave a guarded assent. However, he asked his court historian Vâsîf to first prepare a tract on the soldiers used by Christian kings and related topics.¹⁶

The 1784 essay stridently rejects French offices. The armies of Christian and Muslim kings, Vâsîf says, are inherently different. While European rulers use orphans as soldiers or conscript peasants, employing them under duress, Ottoman levies are virtuous, devoted to their leaders, and cannot be compelled. Their

12 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 149-152; İAM nr. 355, 129a-132b. Cevdet adds a condensed version to his history, *Târih-i Cevdet* (İstanbul, 1891/1892), 3: 85-88. Şerif Mardin also discusses the essay in "The Mind of the Turkish Reformer, 1700-1900," in *Arab Socialism* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 24-48.

13 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 5-9; İAM nr. 355, 5a-8b. Vâsîf goes so far as to call the Grand Vezir the "sâhib-i mia," or the one whom "the Lord God sends to this community at the beginning of every 100 years...who restores its religion." On Halil Hamid Paşa see *Sefînet*, 118-120; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)* (İstanbul, 1997), s.v. "Halil Hamid Paşa"; and İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 5 (1935): 213-267.

14 Probably Anne Charles Sigismond de Montmorency-Luxembourg (d. 1803), a French commander and the Duke of Piney-Luxembourg.

15 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 149; İAM nr. 355, 129a-129b.

16 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 150; İAM nr. 355, 130a.

unity and commitment to holy war guarantee victory, even if, from time to time, the infidel prevails; nor does Vâsîf think such men will ever stoop to learn enemy arts.¹⁷

Vâsîf thus begins from the vantage point of Ottoman exceptionalism, a belief he shared with many, if not all, of his peers.¹⁸ But affairs raised a disturbing question: if the Ottomans were favored by God, if they were guaranteed victory, why did they now fare so poorly in war? Vâsîf presents this dilemma first and foremost as a divine trial. “If things have now altered so that our soldiers are denied victory,” he says, “and if the enemy sometimes prevails by land and sea, this is an effect of their faculty of *istidrâc*, produced by satanic efforts.”¹⁹ To Vâsîf *istidrâc* – a theological concept whereby God gives unbelievers success, making them prideful, in order to lure them to damnation and test believers’ fidelity – has led to recent Ottoman defeats. However, he assures us that *istidrâc* is rare and cannot last long.²⁰ The enemy’s arms and organization are no different than in the past and in the end the Ottomans shall continue to prevail. This fine point is tied to God’s will.²¹

By invoking God’s will, the 1784 essay raises problems of historical causation and agency that were at the forefront of 18th century intellectual debate. While many Ottomans held that mankind had free will of a sort in moral, civil, and political life, and indeed that to deny its existence was sinful,²² there are strong

17 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 150-151; İAM nr. 355, 130a-131a.

18 See for example his words on the merits of the Ottoman dynasty, *Mehâsin* (İstanbul, 1804), I: 4-10.

19 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131a. All source translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

20 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131a. “İstidrâcın hükmü ise kalîl ve her zamân emeli câri olmak müstehîl...” The 19th century scholar Abdülhakîm b. Mustafa Arvâsî gives this definition of *istidrâc*: “Fâsıkların (günahkârların), bilinmeyen bazı şeyleri haber vermeleri, âdet üstü hârikulâde hâdiseler göstermeleridir. Allahü teâlâ, her şeyi bir sebep altında yaratmaktadır. Allahü teâlâ, sevdiği insanlara, iyilik ve ikrâm olmak için ve azılı düşmanlarını aldatmak için, bunlara âdetini bozarak sebepsiz şeyler yaratıyor. Bunlar kâfirlerden, fâsıklardan, günâhî çok olanlardan zuhûr ederse, istidrâc denir ki, derece derece kıymetini indirmek demektir.” Quoted in *Evlîyalar Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1992-1993), I: 21. Cf. Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kâmûs-ı Türkî* (İstanbul, 1899/1900), 98. Ibn al-‘Arabî also discusses this “divine guile” in some detail in *al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya*, summarized by William Chittick in *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabî’s Metaphysical Imagination* (Albany, NY, 1989), 267-269.

21 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131a.

22 Ottoman theologians argued as much in contemporary tracts. Şamil Öçal, “Osmanlı Kelamcıları Eşarî miydi? Muhammad Akkirmânî’nin İnsan Hürreti Anlayışı,” *Dinî*

indications of a sentiment – how widespread is not known – of fatalism, or at least of resigned despair, at even the very highest levels. Mouradgea D’Ohsson, for example, a contemporary, states that a notion of total predestination held increasing sway over much of the population and that complaints against inertia were seen as gross impieties. Whether this attitude was genuine or, as was not uncommon, a cynical way to shirk responsibility is beside the point.²³ Interestingly, and perhaps indicative of a general loss of nerve, others maintain that some Ottomans privately owned a sort of deism or atheism and denied God any active role in earthly affairs.²⁴

This question of agency took on added immediacy in the late 18th century Ottoman Empire. In particular, it became closely tied to political reform and man’s control over the outcome of matters like warfare. Vâsif’s rejection of the French offer leads him to speak openly on this subject, in a passage that merits quotation:

Indeed do victory and defeat depend on the will of God. As for Christian nations, their beliefs dispute this. Hence they say, following a group of philosophers, that the circumstances of war are among particular events [*umûr-ı cüziyye*] and that God – Heaven forbid! – has no effect on particular events. They not only ridiculously contend that whichever side can muster superior means [*esbâb*] of warfare will prevail, but they produce proofs weaker than a spider’s web, crediting victory to the perfection of means [*esbâb*] and necessities and heedless of the sacred import of “Not the least atom is hidden from Him” and “There is no aid but from God the Almighty.”²⁵

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- Araştırmalar* 5 (1999): 225-254; Arif Yıldırım, “Karlı Davud (Davud-i Karsî) Efendi’nin İrade-i Cüz’iyye Anlayışı,” *A. Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 15 (2000): 189-199. See also Mouradgea D’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’empire othoman* (Paris, 1788-1824), 1: 166-168; Mardin, “Mind of the Turkish Reformer,” 29-30.
- 23 D’Ohsson, 1: 166-177. For a cynical use of “fatality,” see *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 167-171. Here Halil Hamid rebukes statesmen who criticize decisions in private but refuse to give their opinion in council, saying only “It is the will of God” or “It is the requirement of the turning celestial spheres.”
- 24 Elias Habesci, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1784), 135-137; Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London, 2006), 62, 110-111; and Sir James Porter, *Observations on the Religion, Law, Government, and Manners of the Turks* (Dublin 1768), 31-32. Some of these are quoted by Berkes, 28-29.
- 25 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131a-131b. Quotations are from the Quran, 34:3 and 3:126, 8:10 respectively. Mardin too quotes this passage, “Mind of the Turkish Reformer,” 28.

Vâsîf, to refute this view, then cites past campaigns in which Ottoman troops won in spite of ill-preparedness and disorder. With such counter-examples, “how,” he asks, “can anyone impute victory to refinement of the means of war [*tekâmîl-i esbâb-ı ceng*] and defeat to inadequate arms?”²⁶

This passage requires some explanation, for it partakes in a long-standing philosophical and theological discourse. “Particular events (*umûr-ı cüzîyye*)” and their counter-part “universal events (*umûr-ı külliyye*)” are key terms in the Ottoman causal lexicon on relations between the earthly and divine. Both are traceable to earlier Islamic scholars and were current in some schools of theology along with the concept of “particular will (*irâde-i cüzîyye*).” Particular will, sometimes translated less strictly as “free will,” denotes human will as the end product and reflection of the divine will (*irâde-i külliyye*). “Particular events,” then, are worldly events that admit human agency, while “universal events” encompass larger historical processes linked to divine pre-ordination.²⁷

Ottoman intellectuals were quite familiar with this discourse. In the 17th century work *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr*, for example, the polymath Kâtib Çelebi explains at some length how worldly causation operates.²⁸ God, to begin, is the Almighty and Primary Cause (*müsebbibü'l-esbâb*) who decrees all things in His earthly dominion. However, God also created the world as a world of causes (*âlem-i esbâb*) so that each event is revealed by way of a cause.²⁹ He furthermore, through benevolence, endowed humans with particular will (*ihtiyâr-ı cüzî*) and made a custom (*âdet*) of creating as an outcome thereof. Kâtib Çelebi consequently argues that it is man’s duty to exert free will through these “secondary causes (*esbâb*).” While humans are not, strictly speaking, the cause of events, they are empowered and enjoined by God to take initiative.³⁰

26 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131b. Vâsîf cites the Eğri campaign of 1596 and the battle of Hisarcık.

27 Mardin, “Mind of the Turkish Reformer,” 28-29. Also Philipp Bruckmayr, “The Particular Will (*al-irâdat al-juz’iyya*): Excavations Regarding a Latecomer in Kalâm Terminology on Human Agency and its Position in Naqshbandi Discourse,” *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2011).

28 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfârî'l-Bihâr* (İstanbul, 1911), 163-164. Discussed by Gottfried Hagen in “Osman II and the Cultural History of Ottoman Historiography,” *H-Net Reviews* (2006), 6.

29 A more accurate translation of *müsebbibü'l-esbâb* is “the one who makes the causes function as causes.” Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazali’s Philosophical Theology* (Oxford 2009), 221. Ottoman authors often refer to *âlem-i esbâb*, though more often than not the idea is assumed.

30 *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr*, 163-164. For a detailed discussion of this understanding of causality, based in Islamic atomism, I refer the reader to my doctoral dissertation.

In this reading the 1784 *risâle* sketches, if vaguely, a stance that might be called “activist.” At no time does Vâsif deny that humans have particular will or that warfare is a “particular event.” His mere use of the phrase suggests otherwise. What he instead rejects is the idea that God has no part in such outcomes – that victory rests only on human initiative through causes, an impious notion to say the least.³¹ That Vâsif connects this idea to a group of “Christian philosophers,” moreover, suggests he is to some degree aware of intellectual trends in Europe. His words are a recognition and firm rejection of Enlightenment-era materialism, and maybe of any home-grown materialist tendencies.³²

Neither does Vâsif question the utility of initiative. This becomes clearer when he turns to his patron Halil Hamid Paşa’s reform efforts. “Ultimately,” Vâsif writes, “there is still reason to struggle for the causes/means [*esbâb*] at the heart of our discussion; and these, praise to God, are now being readied and gradually brought to completion.”³³ In his conclusion, Vâsif extols Halil Hamid and his circle for their cooperation and reform initiatives. The French offer was not to be trusted and is in any case unnecessary. For should the Grand Vezir and his colleagues continue, by God’s grace, to attend to state affairs, “the means/causes will undoubtedly come to full fruition.”³⁴

At least one scholar, Şerif Mardin, characterizes Vâsif’s 1784 *risâle* as a “fatalist,” arch-conservative position.³⁵ On the contrary, in the larger debate of the time it is neither fatalist nor conservative but toes a fastidious line between the poles of fatality and a godless materialism, a stance usually seen as “orthodox” in Sunni Islam. Vâsif considers military defeat a divine trial, or *istidrâc*. At the same time, however, he advises action and his understanding of causation affirms that

31 The term “activist” is Mardin’s. According to Ulrich Rudolph, absolute human free will was seen as a form of unbelief in that it ascribes divine attributes (creative power) to mankind, while fatalists commit unbelief by anthropomorphizing God, associating Him with human wickedness, *Al-Mâturîdî und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand* (Leiden, 1997), 336-339. Both sides, moreover, commit infidelity by harboring a defective hope in God. See D’Ohsson, I: 329.

32 On materialism, Louis Dupre, *The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture* (New Haven, 2004), 18-44.

33 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151; İAM nr. 355, 131b-132a.

34 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 151-152; İAM nr. 355, 132a-132b. Vâsif accuses the French of having base motives, such as designs on the island of Crete where they proposed to offer training.

35 Mardin, “Mind of the Turkish Reformer,” 28-30, 32; idem, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, 2000), 172-173. Cf. Berkes, 66.

humans have a role to play, albeit a limited one. Vâsîf sees the world as a world of causes. He hence ties the military success of the empire to moral considerations but allows room for reform and activism. These same ideas, moreover, played a large and growing role in Vâsîf's historical philosophy in ensuing years.

The 1787-1792 War: the Morality of Victory and Defeat

The second text under examination dates to the Russian-Ottoman-Austrian War of 1787-1792, which raised anew the spectre of Ottoman defeat and collapse. Sparked by Grand Vezir Koca Yusuf Paşa (1786-1789, 1791-1792), who forced an ill-advised declaration of war against Russia on 14 August 1787, the conflict pressed the Ottomans into a campaign along the Danube against Russia and their ally Austria. Vâsîf himself served at the front from 1791 to 1792, witnessing the signal Ottoman rout at Maçın, which effectively ended the war, and negotiating a truce with General Nikolai Repnin in August of 1791. He later reflected on these events, when bid by Sultan Selim III in 1793 to produce a history of the war from the work of two earlier chroniclers, Sadullah Enverî and Mehmed Edîb.³⁶ Most notably, the historian used this occasion to explain the failure of the empire's arms, elaborating on agency and the causes of victory and defeat.

Vâsîf's most explicit words on this subject come in his account of the Ottoman defeat at Foksani. In July of 1789, Koca Yusuf's successor Hasan Paşa (1789-1790) stationed the bulk of his forces at Foksani in Moldavia to prevent a joint Russian and Austrian assault on Bucharest. By means of a forced march, however, the Russians under General Suvorov arrived earlier than expected. The Ottoman force was taken completely by surprise and disintegrated when the Russians and Austrians attacked together on 30 July.³⁷

Contrasting the Ottoman and enemy armies, Vâsîf argues that a disobedient mass of soldiers who disregard secondary causes (*esbâb-ı zâhire*) cannot match the obedient, disciplined, new-style soldier fielded by Russia and Austria; indeed it is outwardly difficult, if not impossible, to defeat an enemy without equal or perhaps superior organization. The pressing concern, then, lies in "secondary causes," which, he says, "encompass warfare and the arts of combat [*kanûn-u muhârebe*

36 Vâsîf was sent to the army to serve, among other things, as court historian. This appointment's date is uncertain but seems to have taken place in April of 1791. Vâsîf was certainly at the front by June of that year. Kütükoğlu, "Vekayinüvis," 118-119. Also *Mehâsin*, İstanbul Üniversitesi (İÜ) nr. 5978, 81a, 87b-89a; *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), xxix; and related documents, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BOA) Hatt-ı Hümayûn nrs. 10467, 11579, 57475.

37 Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), 36; İÜ nr. 5978, 25a-26a.

ve *fünûn-u müzârebe*] – in other words, the new [military] organization which is part of the mathematical sciences [*fünûn-u riyâziye*].”³⁸ Vâsîf then presses the argument at length, stating:

According to the philosophers, everything is contingent; what is contingent admits influence; and what admits influence cannot be without cause. The Sunnis say that although everything issues un-contingent from God and man’s deeds have absolutely no effect nor influence on causes or ability to influence the course of events, it is God’s custom to create everything as an outcome of secondary causes [*âdetüllah bunun üzere cârîdir ki her şeyi esbâb-ı zâhire ‘akabinde halk idê*]. Therefore, it is ever incumbent on all sects that when they must undertake a matter they should secure the secondary causes forthwith and complete necessities pertaining to the circumstance, then await God’s victory and seek the fruits which derive from the sense of “Hobble your camel and trust in God.”³⁹

Vâsîf therefore links acting through secondary causes to both obedience to God and success in battle.

A similar grasp of causality can be found elsewhere in Vâsîf’s day in the work of scholars and statesmen. Indeed, this was a matter of heated debate. While theologians like Mehmed Akkirmanî (d. 1760) and Karlı Davud (d. 1755) argued that human agency was both real and obligatory,⁴⁰ would-be reformers called especially for warfare based on worldly causes. For example, İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745) acknowledged that victory and defeat depend on God’s will but that “God has consigned the outward realization of every matter to initiative through causes. Man must operate thus.” The victorious army is hence pious and just as

38 İÜ nr. 5978, 26a-26b. Vâsîf’s association of mathematics and warfare here and elsewhere seems to corroborate Adnan-Adivar’s claim that modern mathematics entered the Ottoman Empire “through the military channel.” See Berkes, 49.

39 İÜ nr. 5978, 26b-27a. The proverb is from a hadith, G.W.F. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia, vocabilibus instruxit, latine vertit, commentario illustravit et sumtibus suis editit* (Bonn, 1838-43), 2: 112.

40 Such men argued, according to D’Ohsson, that “dans toutes les circonstances de la vie et dans toutes les entreprises publiques ou particulières, on doit d’abord implorer les lumières célestes, par l’intercession du Prophète et de tous les saints du Musulmanisme; ensuite réfléchir, délibérer, consulter ses propres lumières, en usant de tous les secours que peuvent suggérer la prudence, l’expérience et la raison. Ce n’est qu’après avoir employé ces moyens, que l’on peut attribuer aux décrets éternels les événements humains, auxquels on doit alors se soumettre avec une résignation absolue.” I: 168.

well as well-trained, well-led, disciplined, and informed of tactics and weaponry.⁴¹ The 1768-1774 war, provoked and prolonged by men who argued precisely the opposite – that God grants victory on religious zeal alone – intensified this debate and produced a spate of treatises in the 1770s and 1780s. Among them, Ahmed Resmî's (d. 1783) trenchant *Hulâsatü'l-İtibâr* (*A Summary of Admonitions*) rejected the war and its authors' insouciance, and exposed the empire's decrepit military system. Resmî agreed that Russian power was divine punishment (*istidrâc*) for Ottoman moral failings, but called for reform and a pacific foreign policy.⁴² Even Canikli Ali Paşa's (d. 1785) conservative *Tedâbîrül-Gazavât* (*The Expedients of War*) admitted, if in a vague way, that divine preordination and worldly causes work in tandem, and that the Ottomans must attend to strategy if they are to reverse their fortunes.⁴³ Ottoman reformers seem to have internalized this discourse by the reign of Selim III. While Vâsif derided Canikli Ali's essay as outmoded, he found no fault in its notions of causality. The art, rather, was in arguing for reform without veering into outright materialism.⁴⁴

41 İbrahim Müteferrika, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usulül-Hikem ve Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, (Ankara, 1995), esp. 148. "It is secret wisdom that victory, success, and triumph over the enemy depend always and utterly on the Lord God's infinite aid to believers; that rule rests on His exalted will; and that victory and defeat lie within His preordination. However, God has consigned the outward realization of every matter to initiative through causes. Man must operate thus." See also Gottfried Hagen, "Legitimacy and World Order," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden, 2005), 74.

42 Resmî particularly attacks his peers' bellicosity and implicit faith in the "zeal of Islam." For example, *A Summary of Admonitions: a Chronicle of the 1768-1774 Russian-Ottoman War*, trans. Ethan L. Menchinger (Istanbul, 2011), 33-34, 36-37, 57, 65-68, 76, 80, 82. Berkes, following Resmî, blames the war on "conservatives" who hoped to show that pious zeal was enough to bring victory, 55-59. For a discussion of this work and others after the 1768-1774 war, see Virginia Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993): 53-69.

43 Yücel Özkaya, "Canikli Ali Paşa'nın Risalesi 'Tedâbîrül-Gazavât,'" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil-Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7/13-14 (1969): 136-137, 144-145, 167. For example: "Gerçi takdîr-i ilahî böyle imiş lâkin tedbîrde 'azîm hatâ itdiler."

44 *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 278; İAM nr. 355, 214a. Şakul argues that by Selim's time reform had become the only legitimate discourse. Debate therefore centered around the nature of the reforms themselves. Ömer Fâik Efendi, for example, urged a balance of "moral" and "material reforms (*tedbîrât-ı ma'nevîyye / tedbîrât-ı sürîyye*)," but evidently withheld his tract from fear, 129, 145-148; also Beydilli, "Islahat Düşünceleri," 37-42. For examples of such causal language in imperial decrees see, for instance, BOA Hatt-ı Hümayûn nrs. 9284, 56252.

What, then, did “secondary causes” mean to Ahmed Vâsîf? The historian gives us some indication when he clarifies the link between these causes and victory and defeat. Victory over the enemy, he says, occurs through sound judgment and good strategy, together with great effort and preparation, solicitude for proper order, and fortitude on campaign and in bearing hardships. After all this comes whole-hearted trust in God’s aid.⁴⁵ Vâsîf rejects the idea that bravery and zeal suffice for victory. Rather, a successful army must assign each matter to experts and have men of strategy, effort, and vision as leaders “to illumine the darkness of affairs with the light of the proper path of reason, to stand against enemy arms, and to adapt his forces according to the rules of war when is proper.” Defeat, on the other hand, is essentially a moral failure. Sin incurs God’s wrath, says Vâsîf. A sinner betrays the faith and the traitor is fearful by nature, hence Ottoman armies fare poorly because, as sinners, they lack strength of heart. Secondary causes, then, include here military preparations, strategy, and also the active removal of vice through measures like shuttering taverns.⁴⁶

In his 1789-1794 chronicle Vâsîf is clear that although God ordains everything and is the only true agent in a theological sense, man must still live as though his actions are his own, as God has commanded.⁴⁷ This stance resembles those taken by İbrahim Müteferrika and Ahmed Resmî, with whom Vâsîf was familiar and whose work he had thoroughly digested.⁴⁸ However, Vâsîf is more explicit than either in outlining a sort of calculus for war, a morality of victory and defeat. In this calculus human initiative is seen as a moral duty and weighed along with piety, zeal, and other factors. To Vâsîf “observing Islamic practice and perfecting causes” will result in victory; impiety and sin, defeat.⁴⁹

45 İÜ nr. 5978, 27b-29b. Cf. Müteferrika, who lists attention to holy law and justice, awareness of tactics and weaponry, discipline, good intelligence, trust in God, and the Prophet’s intercession, 170-172.

46 İÜ nr. 5978, 33a, 83a.

47 This recalls the axiom attributed to Muslim ibn Yasar (d. 718 or 720): “Act therefore like someone who knows that only his own acts can still save him; and trust in God like someone who knows that only that will strike him which was meant for him.” Eric L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic Thought: the Dispute over Ghazâlî’s “Best of All Possible Worlds”* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), 71.

48 Vâsîf knew Resmî personally and used his *Hulâsat* as a source. *A Summary of Admonitions*, 24-29. Vâsîf’s intellectual debt to Müteferrika meanwhile began in printing, but he seems at least to have read *Usulü’l-Hikem* and reproduced some of its material. Cf. the similarities between the tale of the “Frankish king” in *Usulü’l-Hikem*, 177-178 and *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 187.

49 İÜ nr. 5978, 33a.

The 1798 Tesliyetnâme

The next representative text dates four years later to the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt. According to Yüksel Çelik, the French landing at Alexandria on 1 July 1798 took Selim III and his ministers unawares. The sultan was greatly affected and dismissed Grand Vezir İzzet Mehmed Paşa and *şeyhülislâm* Dürrîzâde Arif Efendi, sending them into exile.⁵⁰ The other ministers feared Selim's volatile moods. In an attempt to calm him, they summoned Ahmed Vâsîf to the Porte and asked him to compose a tract that would sooth and admonish the sultan. Vâsîf hastily put together a few folios of material to submit.⁵¹ The result was an essay in the literary genre of *tesliyetnâme*, or letter of consolation. Yet Vâsîf's 1798 *Tesliyetnâme* is also a historical essay, as he uses fourteen historical examples in an attempt to draw parallels to the French invasion and demonstrate to the sultan that their disturbance is temporary. The work, then, presents the invasion as a historical problem, lending more insight into the author's view of causation, historical change, and the universe at large.⁵²

Vâsîf begins by claiming that the invasion, while serious, is no cause for despair. The French have taken Alexandria but are in an untenable, doomed position. They betrayed in the empire a friendly and generous power and have become haughty in their faculty of *istidrâc*; their pride is extreme and scripture confirms they will soon suffer God's wrath.⁵³ The *Tesliyetnâme*, then, invokes in the idea of *istidrâc* the same divine providence as the 1784 essay. As further consolation, however, Vâsîf reassures the sultan that such mishaps occur because the universe is naturally variable. "This world," he declares, "is the world of generation and corruption (*'âlem-i kevn ü fesâd*)."

50 Yüksel Çelik, "Siyaset-Nasihât Literatürümüzde Nadir bir Tür: Mısır'ın İşgali Üzerine III. Selim'e Sunulan Tesliyet-Nâme," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeler Dergisi* 22 (2010): 88-95.

51 Çelik, "Tesliyet-Nâme," 94. See also *Târih-i Cevdet*, 7: 7. This story is related in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Serez nr. 1890, a copy commissioned by one of Vâsîf's sons, probably Vâsîfzâde Abdullah Lebîb Efendi, 1b-2a. In the presentation manuscript, Vâsîf writes in a marginal note that he tried to submit the work to the Porte but was thwarted by administrative turn-over. The work went unread and he resubmitted it, hoping it might preface another, separate work on the Egypt campaign, 117; Topkapı Sarayı Hazine (TOP) nr. 1625, 1a. The latter appears to be the unfinished *Mehâsin*, İÜ nr. 6012.

52 Çelik, who published the text, analyzes it as a literary piece with little "real" historical value, "Tesliyet-Nâme," 96-99.

53 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 118; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 1a-1b.

Its edict is changeable, ephemeral, and always prone in base bodies to give rise to sundry accidents. It defies the natural course of the world for nations' circumstances to remain in a single disposition [*nüsûk-ı vâhid üzere ber-karâr bulmak*] or for states' affairs to be free of accidents affecting the realm [*umûr-ı düvel 'avarızât-ı mülkiyyeden vâreste olmak*]. And though the various aspects inscribed by God in the cosmos at times take loathsome form, holy scripture demonstrates that they lead to great good and benefit.⁵⁴

Historical examples then follow to demonstrate Vâsîf's thesis: that calamities have occurred "from the beginning of the world and Sublime State till our own day" but lead, ultimately, to the good.⁵⁵

The *Tesliyetnâme's* historical examples number fourteen and are taken from Ayyubid, Mamluk, European, and Ottoman history. Generally these examples show the hand of providence or a fortuitous Muslim victory. During the Fifth Crusade, for example, crusaders landed in Egypt and took Alexandria and Damietta. They then marched on Mansure. In the course of the siege, however, the Nile flooded and cut off the crusaders' path of retreat. Desperate, they were forced to negotiate with the Ayyubids and relinquish Damietta in exchange for safe conduct.⁵⁶ In another example, the Andalusian emir Ebü'l-Velîd İsmail met a huge Christian army outside of Grenada with only 5,000 men and slaughtered over 50,000.⁵⁷ Vâsîf even adds an anecdote of his own. During the 1768-1774 campaign, the Russians besieged Silistre with 70,000 soldiers, routing two Ottoman commanders in turn. Silistre was hopelessly surrounded. Yet, at the time of the final assault 6,000 Ottomans made a sally, "like a speck of white on a black cow," and with God's aid crushed the Russians and broke the siege. Vâsîf himself passed through Silistre after the battle as a courier. He claims the defeat was such that cannons and munitions lay scattered everywhere, abandoned, and that the road was nearly impassable from heaped Russian corpses.⁵⁸

Vâsîf's examples on one hand show that all rulers in all ages are subject to flux. "Were I to detail these affairs, the quarrels between states, and the property thereby wasted," he insists, "they would form a weighty, instructive tome. Sovereignty

54 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 118-119; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 1b.

55 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 119; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 2a.

56 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 119; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 2a-2b.

57 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 121; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 4a.

58 "Tesliyet-Nâme," 121-122; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 4a-4b. Vâsîf says elsewhere that he was there to announce the accession of Abdülhamid I. *Mehâsin*, TOP nr. 1406, 22a-23a.

and dominion are never without cares nor rulers without enemies.”⁵⁹ On the other hand, though, these self-same events confirm God’s solicitude for believers. According to the *Tesliyetnâme*, God will support the Ottoman Empire until Judgment Day and despite reverses, as history and scripture attest. Vâsif therefore encourages Selim III to bestir himself against the French. The remedy, he says, “is to immediately put trust and forgiveness with God and, asking aid from the Prophet, to purify intent, strive with all effort, and spend might and main to perfect secondary causes [*esbâb-ı zâhire*] before any time is lost.”⁶⁰ Vâsif then suggests a number of reforms should the sultan succeed in regaining Egypt, including dividing Egypt into three provinces, transferring Mamluk posts to loyal men for three-year terms, and stationing a flotilla at Alexandria.⁶¹

The *Tesliyetnâme* responds to many of the same problems as the 1784 *risâle* and 1789-1794 chronicle. Perhaps most pressing to Vâsif and his peers was to reconcile Ottoman exceptionalism with the reality of defeat, which he does here, most outstandingly, by theodicy. As earlier, Vâsif interprets defeat as a trial by God. However, at the same time he adds that accidents are universal. The world is one of constant change, of atomistic “generation and corruption” through which God realizes His perfect cosmic plan and where apparent evils are in fact good.⁶² These two premises are not openly integrated but do not contradict each other. Vâsif’s argument, furthermore, rationalizes French power while still upholding the semblance of exceptionalism. His parallels suggest that the Ottomans, and believers more generally, experience peaks and valleys, times of good fortune and ill, but that history and their role within it progresses onward to God’s ordained end. Everything changes, as it were, while nothing really changes at all. The French invasion is no different.

In terms of causality, Vâsif must also, again, address man’s power to affect outcomes. His universe is one in which change is a fixed principle and through which God, the Primary Cause, reveals His will. Humans are powerless in this universe’s larger revolutions. Victory follows defeat by God’s grace, as Vâsif illustrates, and believers to an extent must simply remain faithful and trusting. Yüksel

59 “Tesliyet-Nâme,” 121; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 3b.

60 “Tesliyet-Nâme,” 122-123; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 4b-5a.

61 “Tesliyet-Nâme,” 123; TOP Hazine nr. 1625, 5a-5b.

62 Ormsby calls this explanation of suffering “apparent evil, real good.” This type of theodicy holds that divine wisdom is hidden within suffering. Evils are really disguised goods, and all evil contains some hidden benefit such that the good would come to naught were the evil removed. The reverse can also be true, with apparent blessings working evil, 255-257. Also Griffel, 225-231.

Çelik deems this view “irrational” and “fatalistic,” but such is not the case.⁶³ To Ottoman intellectuals the link between worldly and divine causation was complex but reasoned. Humans could not compass larger historical processes or “universal events,” as said above. But they could exert will in “particular events” by taking initiative and preparing secondary causes that God, if He desired, would realize. This is why Vâsif ends the *Tesliyetnâme* with a plea for action. An absolute fatalist would neither urge the sultan to “perfect secondary causes before any time is lost” nor suggest reforms. Since God allows humans to act, at least in limited cases, Vâsif again holds that initiative through secondary causes complements faith and trust in God as a solution.

Vâsif’s 1798 *Tesliyetnâme* is by no means “fatalistic.” Like his earlier writing it enjoins moral considerations alongside action and is, in fact, sympathetic to reform. It depicts a universe where men are partly bound to flux and destiny, partly able to foresee and condition outcomes. This is a universe of “generation and corruption” as well as one of “causes.”

Later Chronicles

Ahmed Vâsif expanded and applied these ideas on a larger scale in his later chronicles. Under Selim III, Vâsif rewrote earlier court histories like those of Sadullah Enverî, Mehmed Edîb Efendi, and Halil Nûri Bey. These works covered Selim’s reign from 1789 onward.⁶⁴ But during his last term as court historian the sultan gave a further commission: to edit and rewrite a twenty-three year period of history back to the 1750s, including the work of Hâkim Mehmed Efendi and Enverî’s account of the 1768-1774 war and Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. Vâsif completed this work around 1802 and it was subsequently printed.⁶⁵ It is the latter, the war chronicle, that is of interest here.

63 See “Tesliyet-Nâme,” III for a clear example. Here Çelik ascribes Vâsif’s “fatalism” to “a submissive understanding that takes refuge not in analysis but in categorical perceptions of religion and the world...”

64 Kütükoğlu, “Vekayinüvis,” 118-122; *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), xxxix-xliv.

65 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 3-4, 315. Vâsif calls himself the “former chancellor” (*tevkî’î*) in the first volume but had regained the post by the second. *Mehâsin* (1804), 1: 3, 2: 3-4. He therefore finished the first volume between his dismissal and re-appointment as *tevkî’î* (18 February 1801 – 7 February 1802), the second volume during his second appointment (8 February 1802 – 29 January 1803). The work was printed in November/December of 1804. Also on these appointments, İÜ nr. 5979, 271a; İÜ nr. 6013, 49b-50a, 110b-111a, 171b; BOA Bâb-ı Asâfi Rûûs Kalemi Defterleri nr. 1628, 37; BOA Hatt-ı Hümâyûn nr. 15168.

Vâsîf's chronicle of the 1768-1774 war shows clearly his active interpretation and belief in edifying history. Here, as elsewhere, he not only reckons history's practical uses but adds analysis and morals to the text, usually as addenda or asides.⁶⁶ Vâsîf also disparages Enverî's method and insists his version is superior because it makes use of moral and practical philosophy, understands "the cosmic revolutions that are tenets of historical science," and seeks to profit the state. In this way, he claims, it will better instruct statesmen.⁶⁷

But there is more. In the 1768-1774 chronicle, Vâsîf reiterates his views on the universe, change, and causation. The history covers a dire military defeat that was still fresh in Ottoman minds and which raised the problems of the 1784 *risâle*, the 1789-1794 chronicle, and 1798 *Tesliyetnâme* on a mass scale. Vâsîf applies his philosophy to the work as an interpretive framework and is thereby able to broach issues like agency, morality, historical change, and reconciling defeat with exceptionalism.

To begin, the chronicle preface places the 1768-1774 Russian-Ottoman war directly within a framework of the "universal" and the "particular." Vâsîf writes:

Because the universe is formed of constituent elements, and because it is changeable, the periodic appearance of misfortune on the face of the earth – now peace and harmony, now misery and war – is, according to men of great acuity, a precept of philosophy. The occurrence of these two opposing states, moreover, depends on certain causes that by the will of God and hidden verdict of fortune cause quarrel between peoples. Such it is that if one cares to scrutinize the universal and particular events that have occurred in the world from the creation of man till this age, all of them will be founded upon a cause. All things issue from God, who doeth what He will. But if man's deeds have, in fact, absolutely no effect on causes nor ability to influence the course of events, then it is clear the Lord God (His Majesty be exalted) has a divine custom of creating something as the outcome of secondary causes [...*bir şeyi esbâb-ı zâhiresi 'akabinde halk itmek 'âdet-i ilâhîyesi olduğu muhtâc-ı beyân olmayub*]. Indeed, this approximates what the philosophers say: everything is contingent; what is contingent admits influence; and what admits influence cannot be without cause.⁶⁸

The war, the preface continues, began because Russia's reform efforts had made them powerful. They grew bold through *istidrâc* and asserted themselves abroad,

66 *Mehâsin* (1804), 1: 2-3. A wider discussion on the value of history can be found in his first chronicle, *Mehâsin* (İlgürel), 1-4; İAM nr. 355, 2a-4a.

67 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 3-4, 314-315.

68 *Ibid*, 2: 4. Vâsîf follows Kâtib Çelebi nearly verbatim.

even in neighboring Poland, while the Ottomans thought to make territorial gains, “commenced a serious matter of unknown outcome,” and declared war.⁶⁹ Vâsif lastly promises to retail the armies’ movements and “whenever...through poor command, lack of provisions, or disloyalty among the troops, occasions arose which had consequences for the campaign.”⁷⁰

The preface places human agency at the very heart of the chronicle. Vâsif again evokes a universe of “generation and corruption” and “causes” wherein God alone is responsible for events leading to the war, His causes inscrutable, determined, and necessary. However, the historian leaves room for action alongside God’s will, with the caveat, as in his earlier work, that secondary causes are meaningful. The Ottomans could not prevent Russia’s rise through *istidrâc*, for instance, which led to the conflict. But Ottoman statesmen were perhaps too rash and misjudged the situation. War was avoidable. Vâsif, moreover, indicates he will narrate so as to highlight secondary causes – movements, mistakes, and critical junctures all caused by decision-making – and to show how actions like poor strategy and preparation (“particular events”) contributed to a larger outcome: a disastrous Ottoman defeat (a “universal event”). Vâsif, then, raises agency as a basic problem through which the campaign can be understood; his preface offers readers a legend to interpret the history as a whole.

An example will illustrate how Vâsif draws these connections – the Ottoman defeat at Falça in 1770. During that year’s campaign season a large Ottoman army under Abaza Mehmed Paşa and Abdi Paşa joined a Tatar force north of the Danube at the ford of Falça. Vâsif, himself an eyewitness, was serving in the entourage of Abaza Mehmed.⁷¹ After skirmishes with the main Russian force under Field Marshal Rumiantsev, the Grand Vezir, south of the Danube at the imperial camp, sent reinforcements with Janissary Ağa Kapıkıran Mehmed Paşa. The Russians moved before Kapıkıran could arrive. The night of July 18, they caught the sentries asleep and attacked at dawn, causing the Ottomans to beat a hasty retreat and abandon their camp and ordnance.⁷²

The chronicle’s account of this event stresses agency. Vâsif notes that some blamed the rout on the soldiers’ negligence and some on the commanders, but calls the latter claim baseless. God, he argues, enjoins believers to jihad and other

69 Ibid, 2: 4-5.

70 Ibid, 2: 6.

71 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 84-85. See also *A Summary of Admonitions*, 52-53 for English translation and 106-107 for Ottoman text; Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 148-151.

72 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 85-88; *A Summary of Admonitions*, 53-54/107-108.

religious duties. The Russian victory was divine punishment because the soldiers had abused Ottoman subjects during the campaign, disobeyed orders, and behaved immorally. And as exegetes know, the inner truth of the matter (*emrin hakikati*) is that scripture reveals what sort of behavior brings victory.⁷³ To further defend his commanders, Vâsif then turns from “inner truths” to “externals” connected with secondary causes:

On the other hand, men who observe outward appearances [*erbâb-ı zevâhir*] claim that the Russian soldiers were trained in the newly developed principles of war and combat; that they were obedient to their officers; that they were assiduously drilled in all the means of artillery, prevented from luxury, and kept from rest; that there was no place in their ranks for the untrained and, in most situations, victory will go to the trained, hardened soldier over the untrained, soft, disorderly soldier.⁷⁴

In this respect, he believes one cannot fault Abdi Paşa and the others, especially as the Tatars fled the field and induced panic.

Vâsif’s analysis of Falça balances concrete action and morality, the earthly and the divine, in what is, once more, a calculus of victory and defeat. “External” factors like order, provisioning, obedience, and up-to-date strategy are juxtaposed with “internal” moral factors. Neither is preferred over the other. Yet Vâsif’s preface suggests divine and human agency are closely entwined and do not merely co-exist.⁷⁵ As Kâtib Çelebi writes in *Tuhfetü’l-Kibâr*, God determines outcomes but it remains for man to obey and discharge his duties, both in living morally and exerting particular will; “inner” and “outer” causes are thus complementary.⁷⁶ The soldiers at Falça forsook their duty, especially waging war, and failed to behave obediently. However, Vâsif’s contrast of the two forces indicts the Ottomans’ preparation, training, and seriousness, all secondary causes which ought to have been prepared beforehand. Here as elsewhere, his remedy lies in a combination of moral renewal and activism. The lesson of the passage, furthermore, is not simply historical. Its reformist implications would have been clear to readers in 1802.

Ahmed Vâsif also applies his philosophical framework to war and peace. For Ottomans the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which ended the war, was a

73 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 88. Aksan notes his analysis in *An Ottoman Statesman*, 151.

74 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 88.

75 See Hagen, “Osman II,” 6, where he is critical of Gabriel Piterberg’s statement that divine and earthly causes “simply coexist” and are unproblematical. Cf. Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley, 2003), 89.

76 *Tuhfetü’l-Kibâr*, 163-164.

humiliating blow.⁷⁷ One of chronicle's chief aims is to explain why this treaty was necessary and perhaps how it could have been avoided. Vâsîf's own position is clear. He believed that internal bickering and failure to agree to initial settlements led, ultimately, to the more onerous terms of Kaynarca.

As in all things, war and peace to Vâsîf result on a universal scale from change and instability. This is why the 1768-1774 campaign inclined toward peace:

The Lord God, who doeth what He will, settled this world of generation and corruption with mankind, and since human nature consists of contrary elements, enmity and opposition being natural to this creature, the wars that occasionally occur between states can be considered a precept of philosophy. The universe, however, is not fixed in a single disposition [*nesak-ı vâhid üzere ber-karâr olmayub*]. However long warfare lasts, the ephemeral conditions of the universe demonstrate that accidents – here peace and repose, there war and suffering – will befall peoples settled on the face of the earth. The will of God inevitably deigned that the quarrel between the Sublime State and the Russians give way to peace; and there being now truce and now negotiation, the foundations for a reconciliation of both parties began to be laid.⁷⁸

On a lesser scale, nevertheless, humans have influence over war and peace. For example, after the Battle of Kartal in 1770 Marshal Rumiantsev wrote Grand Vezir İvazpaşazâde Halil Paşa to propose peace negotiations. The Grand Vezir deferred to Istanbul, where the sultan's circle dismissed the overtures.⁷⁹ Vâsîf laments this failure by saying that the outcome of war is uncertain. Since ancient times men, and especially Europeans, have therefore made it a habit to be peaceable in wartime, warlike in peacetime, and to secure victory whenever possible. Hence the Ottomans refused peace for nothing but more lost blood and treasure.⁸⁰

War and peace too are therefore fitted on a framework of flux and causality. Vâsîf allows that God ordains the larger patterns of amity and enmity so that, for instance, an enemy might grow menacing or docile. Yet he also stresses that Ottoman decision-making forestalled peace and did the realm great harm. He repeatedly states that reluctance to make peace led to death, destruction, and in

77 On Kaynarca see *DİA*, s.v. “Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması”; Osman Köse, *1774 Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması*, Ankara, 2006, esp. 107-232.

78 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 196-197.

79 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: III-III. For more on these peace overtures, *A Summary of Admonitions*, 56-57/III-III; Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 153-154; Köse, 52-57.

80 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: III.

the end the bitterer terms of Kaynarca.⁸¹ These are pointed words if one considers contemporary attitudes. While most statesmen desired peace, he says, the court refused to act. Sultan Mustafa III, despairing, expressed his lack of faith in peacemaking with the words, “There shall be no peace in our time,” which others like Yenişehirli Osman Efendi, who subverted the first round of negotiations in 1772, used to insist that war and peace were predestined. What was the use in trying? Even Grand Vezir Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa, Vâsîf’s patron, refused from fear to assent to peace and thus, the historian says, showed grave moral weakness.⁸² If the “true” cause of peace’s failure was God’s will and *istidrâc*, then, Vâsîf still includes war and peace as secondary causes over which humans can and should exercise control.⁸³ In this vision God, in essence, sets the basic conditions while man is left the choice – a moral one – to act or not.

In sum, Vâsîf’s chronicle of the 1768-1774 war sets out what might be called a “reformist” philosophy. The work’s main problem is agency and, in applying this question to Ottoman history, it stresses the ability of men to exert their will. To act, moreover, is not an idle decision. It is a moral one. Finally, the chronicle labors like Vâsîf’s other work under an even bigger problem: how can defeat be reconciled with Ottoman exceptionalism? The answer to this question is that the entire work forms a sort of theodicy. As in his other writing, the chronicle depicts a universe in constant change but one bound ultimately to God’s immutable will. In this universe, Vâsîf hopefully asserts, trust, piety, and abiding by the morality of victory and defeat will deliver the empire and community of believers now and till the end of time.

Final Observations

Vâsîf Efendi’s philosophy of history – his understanding of the universe, causation, and historical change – is too complex to be fully detailed in this article. His life and career during a tumultuous period of Ottoman history was simply too long, his output too large, and the above discussion omits much of his court chronicle. However, a few points merit final emphasis.

81 Ibid, 2: 115, 203-204, 225-226, 244-246, 305-306.

82 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 247, 280-281; Cf. Osman Efendi’s words on peacemaking in Muharrem Saffet Çalıŝkan, “(Vekâyi’nüvis) Enverî Sadullah Efendi ve Tarihi’nin I. Cildi’nin metin ve tahlili (1182-1188 1768-1774),” (Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2000), 347-348.

83 *Mehâsin* (1804), 2: 245-247. In this passage Vâsîf sets human and divine causes side by side.

Firstly, Vâsîf presents a coherent and rationalized view of the universe. He tackles contemporary moral and intellectual problems, those raised in late 18th century Ottoman society, and attempts to reason through and understand them. Causality, human agency, and reconciling defeat with Ottoman exceptionalism were not academic diversions; these were among the most urgent questions of the day. Vâsîf's work thus addresses immediate concerns and sheds light on the learned milieu in which he lived, wrote, and worked.

Secondly, Vâsîf's philosophy is activist. It refutes a "fatalism" that would rely on God's will alone or deny humans the ability to influence outcomes. While Vâsîf recognizes God as the ultimate Primary Cause, he holds that initiative is not only desirable but itself a moral obligation, enjoined by God alongside other divine commands. This position creates a powerful intellectual justification for reform. It is hardly a coincidence that Vâsîf's work buttresses the type of efforts undertaken by reformers and especially his patrons Halil Hamid Paşa and Selim III.

Thirdly, Vâsîf's ideas are not overly novel but draw on much older lines of reasoning. They stem from native currents of thought going back to at least Kâtib Çelebi and derived from even earlier thinkers. Scholarship, however, has yet to come to terms with this intellectual heritage. Exactly how such thought was nurtured, developed, and adapted remains, as so much in Ottoman cultural and intellectual history, unknown.

Fourthly and finally, Ahmed Vâsîf lends insight into Ottoman court historiography. Namely, his work belies much that scholars have claimed about *vekây-inüvises*. His history and essays are not neutral, factual repositories but openly didactic, highly interpretive, and seek to impart readers with lessons and a certain worldview. Vâsîf makes no pretenses to neutrality or to record things "as they happened." To him, as to others, history's purpose was to instruct and limn the moral contour of events. But by no means does this fact make his history mere "political propaganda." To read it as such over-simplifies complex intellectual discourses as well as a historiographical tradition in which moral and political concerns were convergent, if not inseparable. "Universal," "particular," and related terms (*esbâb*, *istidrâc*) can therefore help us grasp Vâsîf's political orientations but also, more importantly, how he and his peers in the late 18th century interpreted the immense changes around them.

A Reformist Philosophy of History: The Case of Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi

Abstract ■ This article examines the historical and philosophical outlook of the chronicler and statesman Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi (d. 1806) on the changes of his own time, the late 18th century, through a study of some of his written work. I argue that Vâsîf's views are complex, reasoned, and address moral and historical problems raised by the empire's unsettled state; the historian not only made Ottoman military collapse and reform his key concerns but outlined a more general framework for understanding the universe, causation, and historical change. As a court official, meanwhile, Vâsîf sheds light on how his patrons – sultans and statesmen both – came to digest their new circumstances.

Keywords: Reform, Selim III, Court Historians, Historiography, Philosophy of History

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S E C T I O N 3

Beyoğlu, Getting by as foreigners and non-Muslims

‘Levantine’ Dragomans in Nineteenth Century Istanbul: The Pisani, the British, and Issues of Subjecthood

Frank Castiglione*

19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda ‘Levanten’ Tercümanlar: İngiliz Sefareti ve Pisani’lerin Tabiiyet Meselesi

Öz ■ 19. yüzyılda yaşayan Kont Alexander ve Frederick Pisani, Pisani dragoman ailesinin İstanbul’daki İngiliz elçiliğine hizmet eden iki üyesiydi. Kont Alexander ve Frederick Pisani Osmanlı başkentinde doğan ve büyüyen İtalyan kökenli gayrimüslimler olduklarından, tarihçiler tarafından genellikle ‘Levanten’ olarak adlandırılmışlardır. Bu makalede, Pisani ailesinin söz konusu iki mensubunun kendi kimliklerine dair algıları, hangi tabiiyetten olduklarını yetkili mercilerle nasıl müzakere ettikleri ve İngiliz elçiliğindeki amirlerinin onların tabiiyetlerini ne şekilde tavsif ettikleri incelenmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, Pisani’lerin ve İngilizler’in tabiiyet kavramını tanımlarken yaşadıkları çekişmeleri irdelenmekte ve tabiiyet kavramının hukukî olarak tanımlanmasının aslında ne kadar zor olduğu ortaya koyulmaktadır. Çalışmada, İngiltere’de Frederick Pisani’nin *Times* gazetesine karşı açtığı davanın ve Kont Alexander Pisani’nin İstanbul’daki İngiliz elçilik mahkemesine sunulan vasiyetinin muameleli evrakı kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: 19. yy. İstanbul’u, Dragomanlar, Tabiiyet, Levanten, Kapitülasyonlar, Pisani

In February 1842, an article entitled ‘The Libel Law’ was published in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. In the context of a discussion on British libel laws, the unnamed author drew primarily on the example of the trustworthiness of Levantine dragomans employed by the British Embassy in Constantinople.¹ The

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1 I use Constantinople and Istanbul interchangeably throughout the article.

unnamed author discussed a recent court case filed by Frederick Pisani, 'a Greek,' and Chief Dragoman at the British Embassy in Istanbul. Pisani had presented a case to the British Court of Common Pleas against the well-known daily *The Times* (London). The newspaper published two letters, one in February, and one in March 1837 that criticized the employment of foreign-born dragomans by the British. Although there is no other mention of Frederick Pisani, the author of the 'The Libel Law' quoted the testimony of Count Alexander Pisani, archivist at the British Embassy, and Frederick's nephew.

What is interesting for our purposes is the information that Count Pisani provided about the dragomans employed by the British. He stated that in 1837 there were five active dragomans in the embassy, including his brother Etienne. He described their duties, explaining that the 'office [of dragomans] was one of responsibility and trust,' and that they were charged with interpreting and exchanging communications between the embassy and the Sublime Porte. He stated that he was born in Istanbul but was of Italian origin, that he believed that his uncle Frederick was also born in the same place, and that all of the Europeans, or 'Franks' as they were known, lived in Pera, a district of Istanbul. His title of Count was passed on to him from a relative in Italy that had it conferred by the Pope. He then told of how he had relatives employed by the Russian Embassy in Constantinople, naming Nicholas Pisani and his second cousin, Paul. Count Pisani added that many Pisanis also lived in Russia. Based on Count Pisani's testimony, the author of the article accused the dragomans of lack of loyalty to Britain, questioning their reliability in British service, given their familial connections with the Russians. He also queried how secrecy in British affairs was handled.²

From this anecdote, a few basic characteristics about foreign-born dragomans employed by the British Embassy can be discerned. The first is the complexity and diversity of cultural interactions that existed on an official and unofficial level through the dragomans. The second is the access that the dragomans had to important and classified information, and finally, that there were members of one family that stretched beyond the service of one single embassy.

This story provides a snapshot of the multiple layers of identity of one particular family that was neither Muslim nor Turkish, but Latin Catholic, and very much active in Ottoman politics and society. Defining groups of people, or specific people is complicated in the Ottoman context because until the late nineteenth century, subjecthood and identity were based upon religious confession, as subjects were organized along religious lines, or the *millet* system, as it is commonly

2 "The Libel Law," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* vol. LI no. CCCXVI (Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Hughes) February 1842, 141-143.

referred to.³ This also rings true for trying to establish a working definition for those that fell in between the cracks of ‘Ottoman and foreign,’⁴ such as so-called Levantines and non-Muslim dragomans in the nineteenth century. As Julia Landweber points out in this volume, people residing in the empire were not necessarily Ottoman subjects, and not all subjects considered themselves to be Ottoman.⁵

Using a case filed in the British Court of Common Pleas by Frederick Pisani against *The Times*, and the process of registering the Last Will and Testament of Count Alexander Pisani at the British Consular Court in Istanbul, this article discusses the application of legal categories of subjecthood placed on Frederick and Count Pisani by their British employers. I discuss these categories alongside personal, self-identifying accounts by Frederick and Count Pisani to emphasize that there were conflicting views concerning their subjecthood. Frederick believed that he was not a British subject, and Count Pisani argued that he was a British subject, or at least a quasi-British subject. In both incidents, the Pisanis were able to argue their own claims of subjecthood by using the protection that they received under the Capitulatory agreement between the British and the Ottomans, with mixed success. These two examples provide insight into how members of a so-called Levantine family were categorized by their employers, and how they categorized themselves, while demonstrating that even in the nineteenth century applying such categories was difficult. That the British and the Pisanis struggled with concepts of subjecthood, calls these categories into question. These two examples also raise the issue of the usefulness of the label or category of ‘Levantine.’ The term ‘Levantine’ itself is imprecise, refers to the area known as the Levant, or Eastern Mediterranean, and has very little analytical value in helping to define the identity of the Pisanis.

Some important perspectives, definitions and frameworks have emerged to explain the origins and identities of Levantines, and how some of them were able to straddle or to have completely crossed political, social and cultural boundaries. Alexander H. de Groot believes that Levantine dragomans should be taken for ‘as they were.’⁶ For de Groot, it is ‘historically meaningless to try to establish their

3 On the *millet* system, and the problems of this terminology see Benjamin Braude, ‘Foundation Myths of the Millet System,’ *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Volume 1: The Central Lands*, eds, Benjamin Braude, Bernard Lewis (NY: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc, 1982), 69–88.

4 Christine Philliou, ‘Mischief in the Old Regime: Provincial Dragomans and Social Change at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,’ *New Perspectives on Turkey* 25 (2001), 111.

5 Julia Landweber, ‘Venetian Vagabonds and Furious Frenchmen: Nationalist and Cosmopolitan Impulses among Europeans in Galata,’ in the current volume.

6 Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf and Jutta Kornrumpf, *Fremde in Osmanischen Reich 1826-*

single national standing and to define them as foreigners, westerners or orientals, or as native Ottomans,' given their complex identities. They were Ottoman subjects, but ostensibly 'binational' because of their status as protégé with a foreign power in the Ottoman Empire.⁷ Nora Şeni views Levantines as a 'pure product of mixtures,' mainly between '*francs*' and members of Ottoman-Christian nations.⁸ Oliver Jens Schmitt argues that nineteenth century Levantines were an ethno-confessional group that was mainly Catholic, yet ethnically diverse.⁹

Jens Hanssen uses a transimperial framework in his analysis of the networks of the Malhamé family from Beirut, just before the outbreak of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. The Malhamés operated among and between Levantine networks, the provinces and the imperial center. Hanssen 'treats the Levant and Levantine actors as a historically evolving, regionally bounded instantiation of transimperialism.' He also notes that there is no evidence of Levantine self-identification by the Malhamé family. Although he is not concerned with uncovering how members of this family viewed themselves, self-identification is nevertheless important for any discussion regarding identity claims, or how to define non-Muslims living and operating in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

These constructs that are used to frame 'identity' or 'identities' are useful but become more complex when identity is forced, negotiated, or appropriated. In the case of the Pisanis, this non-Muslim family has become identifiable as Levantines because of their origin, occupation, religious affiliation, where they lived in Istanbul, and the fact that they shared these characteristics with other non-Muslim families in Pera. But grouping the Pisanis under the category of 'Levantine,' however, is based on a broad definition of a specific group of non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire.

1912/13 (Stutensee, 1998), p. X in Alexander H. de Groot, "Dragomans' Careers: The Change of Status in Some Families Connected with the British and Dutch Embassies at Istanbul 1785-1829," *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, eds., Alastair Hamilton, Alexander H. de Groot, Maurits H. van den Boogert (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 246.

7 Ibid, 246.

8 Nora Şeni, "Dynasties Drogmans et Levantinisme à Istanbul," *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Montreal: L'Harmattan Inc, 1997), 161.

9 Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Levantiner: Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich im "langen 19. Jahrhundert"*, (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag München, 2005), 15; Section 2 of the book. Jens Hanssen also cites Schmitt.

10 Jens Hanssen, "Malhamé – Malfamé: Levantine Elites and Transimperial Networks on the Eve of the Young Turk Revolution," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (1) 2011, 31.

The Pisanis were eclectic. Members of the branch of the family that were employed by the British Embassy in nineteenth century Istanbul were all born in the Ottoman Empire and received diplomatic protection by the British. They were members of the Latin Catholic community in Pera, with Italian heritage. Some were dragomans and others were not, presumably having been involved in commerce.¹¹ They were similar to other non-Muslim families in Pera in that they built up their own networks and household through marriage with other elites in that community, including the Crespins, a prominent family under French protection.¹² But how can the Pisanis be classified? Were they Ottoman subjects? Italian citizens? British nationals? Levantines? How did their British employers classify them?

Being a Dragoman: Privileges, Protection, and Subjecthood

As intermediaries, negotiators and above-all translators, dragomans shouldered important responsibilities. Their jobs were complex and difficult, and went well beyond the duties of translation and interpretation. On call twenty four hours a day, seven days a week, dragomans were the ‘right hand man’ of the ambassador, and all embassy personnel. They were not marginal, but ‘in the mix’ as intelligence gatherers, mediators, and advisors to the ambassadors, who relied upon their expertise of Ottoman and European cultural, social and political norms and procedures. They could be found at the local *kadı* court or consular court, in the imperial shipyards, at the imperial arsenal, the police houses, the summer homes of Ottoman officials, and at the Sublime Porte. They engaged in almost daily conversation with the Grand Vizier, the *Reis Efendi*, dragomans of the Sublime Porte, and dragomans of other European embassies in Istanbul.

Their business was managing, relaying, and providing information to the embassies and the Ottomans, and they were indispensable links for both. They received daily instructions from the ambassador, and returned with detailed reports on the events of the day, ensuring a constant flow of information needed to maintain a

11 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi HR.H 426/25. Nicholas Pisani (Etienne and Count Pisani’s brother) and Stamatello Volgo, a French subject, lent Osman Efendi, a servant and agent of Princess Sulfiraz, wife of Sultan Abdülmecid I, two separate sums of money in 1858, totaling 2,982,770 piastres. Upon failing to pay his debt, Pisani and Volgo took Osman Efendi and Sulfiraz to court (*Ticaret*, or Tribunal of Commerce). After the accumulation of interest, the final debt amounted to 3,968,373 piastres.

12 Natalie Pisani, the daughter of Etienne Pisani, another dragoman at the British Embassy, married into the Crespin family. See The National Archives, Kew (TNA) FO 780/165 Etienne Pisani Estate, 25/06/1885.

steady diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans. They were professionals and largely devoted to their positions in the embassy, which spanned most if not all of their teenage and adult lives. Count Alexander Pisani, for example, not only worked at the British Embassy for approximately 59 years, he also lived inside of it.

In Istanbul, locally recruited dragomans mainly resided in the European, or Levantine quarter of the city, a community built around Pera and Galata, composed of artists, intellectuals, and merchants involved in trade with Europe. Those that acquired the necessary language skills and that achieved employment with the embassies as dragomans also obtained official protection from the embassy to which they were attached. Unilateral guarantees, or Capitulations, were granted by the sultan to foreign nations, which regulated political, diplomatic and commercial relations. The sultan’s pledge also recognized members of foreign nations as legal residents in the empire, and allowed foreign governments to employ non-Muslim subjects of the sultan as interpreters. In return, the sultan received a guarantee of the preservation of peaceful relations from the foreign power.¹³

Although largely considered subjects of the sultan, locally recruited dragomans enjoyed the same privileges and protection given to members of a European nation through the capitulations. Dragomans were issued a *berat*, or deed of appointment, which recognized their status as an employee or functionary of the embassy of a foreign power. The status of a *beratlı*, or licence holder was advantageous for dragomans because of the individual diplomatic protection that they and their families acquired. They were exempt from certain taxes and duties, such as the poll-tax (*haraç*), and the transit and customs taxes that non-Muslims residing in the empire were required to pay.¹⁴ These privileges extended to the sons and servants of dragomans, but not to their brothers. Their protection by a foreign power lasted until the death of the original *berat* holder, unless he lost his position or voluntarily left the service.¹⁵

The level of protection enjoyed by dragomans and the hereditary extension of their privileges allowed them to create their own networks of influence through intermarriage between prominent non-Muslim families in Pera, such as the Chaberts, Fontons, Testas and Pisanis. These families branched out into positions in the many European embassies in Istanbul, not only as dragomans, but

13 Maurits van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beratlıs in the 18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 6-8.

14 van den Boogert, *The Capitulations*, 66-67.

15 *Ibid.*, 67-68. van den Boogert points out that some *berat* holders would list their brothers as their servants in order to extend their privileges to family members.

as chancellors and secretaries. The Testas, for example, had family members in the service of Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Tuscany and the Netherlands during the early to mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶

By the 18th century, the *berat* system became widely abused by the foreign embassies. Increasingly high numbers of foreigners and Ottoman subjects became protected by consuls and embassies, which sold the deeds of appointment to artisans and merchants, in turn making them ‘honorary dragomans.’ The Ottomans were aware of this practice and attempted to stop it by tightening regulations connected to issuing *berats*.¹⁷ It was only in 1863 when the Ottomans officially curbed the power of embassies in granting *berats* and redefined its terms and conditions. The policy of hereditary extension was abolished for those that obtained patents of protection after 9 August 1863,¹⁸ and the number of dragomans that could be employed by foreign powers was limited.¹⁹ This decision by the Porte did not do much to change the situation, as *berats* continued to be sold, and there was reportedly an increase in the number of Ottoman subjects adopting foreign nationality.²⁰ On 19 January 1869, the Porte promulgated the Ottoman Nationality Law, through which the naturalization of Ottoman subjects by foreign powers was prohibited, unless they were granted authorization by the Porte. If an Ottoman subject was given permission to take another nationality, then they were not to

16 Roderic H. Davison, “The French Dragomanate in mid-Nineteenth Century Istanbul,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Montreal: L’Harmattan Inc, 1997), 273.

17 van den Boogert, *The Capitulations*, 105-108. In 1852, the Porte issued an official note to the embassies in Istanbul stating that the foreign protection of Ottoman subjects would no longer be recognized, unless they were directly attached to the embassies or consulates. P. Dislere, R. de Mouy, *Droits et devoirs des Français dans les pays d’orient et d’extreme orient* (Paris, 1893), 45 in Nasim Sousa, *The capitulatory régime of Turkey, its history, origin, and nature* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1933), 101. In 1860, another note was sent to the embassies announcing that new protégés were to be subjected to Ottoman jurisdiction and that ‘the inheritance of rights for protection’ was abolished. But the efforts put forward by the Porte to control the protection system only produced the creation of a mixed commission to revise the titles of protection. The citation is written as Du Rausas, op. cit., II, 36, but the full title is not listed in Sousa’s bibliography. See Sousa, 102.

18 Sousa, 103.

19 Alexander H. de Groot, “Protection and Nationality. The Decline of the Dragomans,” *Istanbul et les Langues Orientales*, 238-239. The number of dragomans that could be employed were set to four for consulates-general, three for consulates and two for consular agencies. de Groot does not list the numbers for embassies.

20 Sousa, 104.

return to the empire, and if so, they would once again be considered a subject of the sultan. If a person had become naturalized without the permission of the Porte, their foreign status would have been considered invalid, and they would have still been considered an Ottoman subject.²¹ The Law also stipulated who was an Ottoman subject, and who could become an Ottoman subject. Article 1 stated that any person born to an Ottoman mother and father, or only of an Ottoman father, was considered to be an Ottoman subject; Article 2 decreed that any person born to foreign parents could rightfully claim to be an Ottoman subject within three years of obtaining [age of] majority. Article 3 specified that every ‘major [sic] foreigner’ that resided in the empire for five consecutive years could apply for Ottoman nationality. The remaining articles stipulated that all people living in the empire were Ottoman subjects; that an Ottoman woman married to a foreign man may obtain Ottoman nationality within three years of becoming a widow; that a child of an Ottoman subject who became naturalized as a foreigner or who lost that nationality did not keep that nationality and remained an Ottoman subject, while the child of a foreigner who became a naturalized Ottoman subject would not become an Ottoman, and would remain a foreigner.²²

de Groot notes that the changes in Ottoman policy regarding nationality brought the European naturalization of some dragoman families, who took the nationality of the European power that employed them. These included the Testas, who became Dutch, Austrian, French, Italian, and German citizens, and the Pisanis, British and Russian.²³ This may be true for the Testas, and for the Pisanis that were in Russian service, but it is unclear for the Pisanis employed by the British. Their subjecthood was unclear, and contested.

The concept of British citizenship did not exist in the nineteenth century. People born in Britain and inside its dominions were considered to be subjects of the British

21 Ibid, 105. Sousa cites the English version of the *irade* from the *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1893, 714. Sousa states that the British passed the Nationality Act of 1870 (see below) in order to avoid difficulties with the Porte over issues of nationality with Ottoman subjects that received their protection. However, J. Mervyn Jones connects the creation of the Naturalization Act (Nationality Act, as Sousa terms it) with a suggestion made by the United States, in order to clear up questions of nationality with Irish immigrants in the United States at that time. See J. Mervyn Jones, *British Nationality Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 75-78.

22 For the full English text, see United States Department of State. *The executive documents of the House of Representatives for the second session of the fifty-third Congress. 1893-'94*. Vol 1. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893-1894), 714. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS189394vol1>

23 de Groot, “Protection and Nationality,” 254.

monarch, and subjecthood was based on allegiance. British subjects were required to give their full allegiance to the monarch and in return, received all of the rights and privileges that the monarch provided. Subjects were either naturally born, or aliens that became naturalized subjects or denizens.²⁴ British Common Law distinguished between these two types of subjects, and four types of allegiance. The four types of allegiance were *Ligeantia naturalis*, or people born with allegiance; *Ligeantia acquisita*, or subjects by acquisition; *Ligeantia localis*, an alien person arriving in Britain on amicable terms who, while there, owed allegiance to the monarch in return for the King's protection; Legal obedience, which applied to all legal male subjects aged twelve and up, whether natural born or naturalized, and were required by law to take an oath that reaffirmed their allegiance to the monarch.²⁵ Natural born subjects were those born inside the dominions of Britain 'within the allegiance' to the monarch. Those born outside of the dominions may also have been born with allegiance to the monarch, such as children of British ambassadors or children of male members of the British forces.²⁶ Until the passing of The Aliens Act in 1844, the naturalization of an alien could only be achieved through an Act of Parliament, a letter of patent, or the annexation of new territory of the monarch.

A letter of patent gave an alien the status of denizen, bestowing some but not all of the rights of a natural born subject. An Act of Parliament could also grant an alien naturalization, but their rights and privileges could also be limited.²⁷ Temporary residence in British dominions could also be achieved, but that too, was based on allegiance to the monarch²⁸ and the maintenance of good relations between the alien's original place of birth and Britain. Therefore, an alien friend could obtain a place of residence in Britain if it were a necessary habitation, but had to maintain allegiance to the monarch because while there, they received protection from the monarch.²⁹ They were not, however, considered to be British subjects. The Aliens Act of 1844 shelved the system of granting denization letters and Acts of Parliament, and replaced

24 Jones, *British Nationality Law*, 61. Jones notes that natural-born subjects and naturalized subjects/denizens were the two main types of British subjects.

25 Ibid, 57-61. For a more in-depth discussion on these forms of allegiance, see J. Mervyn Jones, *British Nationality Law and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), 34-73.

26 Ibid, 58.

27 Ibid, 58. Acts of Parliament that granted an alien naturalization could be passed to particular individuals, or certain classes of desirable individuals for economic or political reasons. See page 64.

28 Ibid, 58-59.

29 John Scott, *Cases in the Court of Common Pleas and Exchequer Chamber* vol VIII (London: W. McDowall, 1841), 195.

it with a case-by-case decision process by the Secretary of State. If the applicant was considered to be a suitable candidate, the Secretary was empowered to issue them a certificate of naturalization.³⁰ The Naturalization Act of 1870 did not alter the administrative process for aliens seeking British subjecthood set down in 1844, but there were, however, alterations made in the conditions that had to be met in order to obtain naturalization. For our purposes, these were 'residence in the United Kingdom for no less than five years, or having been in service of the Crown for no less than five years.' Service under the crown or intention of living in the United Kingdom had to be fulfilled after naturalization was granted.³¹

Allegiance to the monarch was the basis for British subjecthood, and Frederick Pisani's case against *The Times* reveals, from the perspective of British Common Law, the complexity and difficulty in classifying foreign aliens in the service of the British Embassy in Istanbul. Frederick's argument did not center on his being or trying to be British, or his allegiance to the British monarch, stipulations with which the court was deeply concerned. Instead, Frederick was able to navigate among and between the conditions of his position as a dragoman, as set out in the capitulations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain.

Frederick Pisani vs. James Joseph Lawson (The Times)

When Frederick Pisani read the first letter that was published in *The Times* on 24 February 1837 he was probably quite agitated. The anonymous author argued that relations between England and the Ottoman Empire had suffered because of the system of translation that had been in place between the two empires. The author criticized Lord Ponsonby for being an inactive ambassador, stating that he had 'retired in his residence in Therapia' ever since he had been in Constantinople, and hardly ever met with officials from the Porte. The author then faulted the British government for employing non-British dragomans that were born and raised in Pera, and offered two separate viewpoints of their character.

The first was from an unnamed French author who stated that the 'Perotes [inhabitants of Pera] belonged to a degraded race.' The second came from Commodore [David] Porter, the American Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople, who described them as 'ignorant,' 'immoral,' and 'only tolerated because of their supposed necessity...to be up to all sorts of tricks and villainy, intrigue and rascality.' The author also wrote that they possessed more facts to prove the 'incapacity and flagrant dishonesty of the interpreters,' but did not provide any other details. The

³⁰ Jones, *British Nationality Law*, 65.

³¹ Jones, *British Nationality Law and Practice*, 93.

author ended the letter warning that unless this ‘cancer’ [the dragomans] was removed, British affairs in the Ottoman Empire would not improve.³² A second letter, published less than two weeks later in *The Times*, and signed as ‘O’, was no kinder to the dragomans or to the British government.

The letter continued the attack on the use of non-British dragomans, even noting that ‘every member of the Divan’ did not want to deal with them, which was publicly expressed. The account deepened. The author discussed how the British were behind when it came to training their own nationals as dragomans, as the Austrians³³ and the French had been doing,³⁴ but noted that the Russians continued to use ‘Perotes.’³⁵ The author also pointed out the family connections between the Pisanis employed by the British Embassy and the Russian Embassy. Another dragoman at the British Embassy, Francis [François] Chabert, was also mentioned for having a similar situation, as his uncle and brother-in-law were also in the service of the Russians.³⁶ The author

32 Private Correspondence. *The Times* (London, England), Friday, Feb 24, 1837; pg. 5; Issue 16348. There were two letters from Constantinople published by the newspaper that day. The first was regarding the dragomans. There was no signature after this letter. Following the second letter, a signature ‘O’ was provided. From the letters published that day, it is unclear if both were in fact written by ‘O.’ But there is reason to believe that these letters, and the second letter about Pisanis and the dragomans published in March were written by the same author. See footnote #39.

33 The Austrians began to train their own dragomans in 1754, and were educated at the *Orientalische Akademie* where they were taught German, French, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Arabic and Persian. On the founding of the *Orientalische Akademie*, see Marie de Testa, Antoine Gautier, “L’Académie Orientale de Vienne (1754-2002), Une Création de L’Impératrice Marie-Thérèse,” *Drogmans et Diplomates Européens Auprès de la Porte Ottomane*. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2003), 53-61.

34 French nationals were sent to the *L’École des Jeunes de Langues*. For a brief discussion on the creation of the *L’École des Jeunes de Langues*, see Marie de Testa, Antoine Gautier, “De l’établissement des Pères capucins à Constantinople à la fondation de l’école des jeunes de langues (1626-1669),” *Drogmans et Diplomates Européens Auprès de la Porte Ottomane*, 43-46.

35 The British did in fact try to implement a system of training their own nationals once in the 1640s, and once in the early nineteenth century, but were unsuccessful until 1877. See G.R. Berridge, “Dragomans and Oriental Secretaries in the British Embassy in Istanbul,” *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 151-166.

36 Private Correspondence. *The Times* (London, England), Friday, Mar 03, 1837; pg. 2; Issue 16354. The author listed Chabert’s uncle as Mr. Timoni, a Counselor for the Russian Embassy, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Kirico as the Russian Secretary of the Legation.

criticized Ponsonby and his predecessors' unwavering reliance on their dragomans, whose reliability and trustworthiness were questioned.

Their low salary and lack of connection to England, the author argued, meant that the dragomans were prone to 'temptation.' A previous incident of mistrust was cited when the embassy's secrets were given to the Prussian envoy Baron Maltitz [Miltitz], in 1826.³⁷ The author resumed his criticism of 'Perotes,' and again, used Commodore Porter as an example. Apparently Porter had hired a 'Perote' named [Nicolas] Navoni to act as a dragoman for the American Embassy. Porter learned from Navoni that the *Reis Efendi* stated that the Porte would not officially receive the Commodore, because he did not hold the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, but a lesser rank of Minister. Navoni, in turn, had urged the Commodore to return to America. After some time, Porter went directly to the *Reis Efendi*, and learned that the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs had not relayed such information to Navoni. The dragoman was later discharged of his duties, and the Commodore referred to 'Perote' dragomans as 'worthless.'³⁸ The writer then described an incident where [Frederick] Pisani failed to procure the Porte's permission for British use of the Euphrates as a passageway to India.

According to the author, Pisani had made numerous applications for a *ferman*, or letter of permission to the *Reis Efendi*, but after months of negotiations the dragoman told Ponsonby that the matter was 'hopeless.' Permission to use the Euphrates was later achieved, however, due to the efforts of an Englishman, Mr. Millingen. The author argued that Pisani misjudged the possibility of the application being approved, and the story was used to strengthen the author's point that there was a real problem with using foreign-born dragomans as intermediaries. Pisani's foreignness was juxtaposed against Millingen's being a British subject,

37 The incident involved François Chabert, the chief dragoman at the embassy at the time, who was the alleged informant. See Allan Cunningham, "The Dragomans of the British Embassy at Constantinople," *Eastern Questions in the Nineteenth Century: Collected Essays vol. 2*, ed. Edward Ingram (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 9-10, who cites Stanley Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning vol. 1* (London, 1888), 406-16. G.R. Berridge calls it the 'Chabert Affair.' See G.R. Berridge, "Nation, Class and Diplomacy: The Diminishing of the Dragomanate of the British Embassy in Constantinople 1810-1914," *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815-1914*, ed. Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riotte (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 409-410. He too, cites Cunningham and Lane-Poole. Baron Maltitz was actually Baron Miltitz. See Lane-Poole, 412.

38 *The Times*, Friday, Mar 03, 1837.

who ‘was a sincere patriot’ and had the ‘welfare of his country at the forefront of his thoughts.’³⁹

Frederick Pisani’s claim of libel hit the British Court of Common Pleas on 12 June 1837,⁴⁰ three months after the letters were published in *The Times*. The case continued until 1841. Since the identity of the author of the letters to *The Times* was not known, Pisani sued James Joseph Lawson, the editor of the newspaper, for libel. Pisani argued that he had been the victim of libel because of what had been published about him in the two articles, that he had always been held in high esteem, and had never shown any incapacity in his position as a dragoman for the embassy. The articles, however, tried to ruin his character and employment, and to wholly disgrace him. Pisani claimed that the description of ‘Perotes’ offered by the author in the first article ‘injured his employment,’ and his ‘good name’ and ‘credit,’ and also that of all of the dragomans employed by the embassy.⁴¹ The

39 Ibid. The author was quite clear in explaining that Millingen had dealt with Ahmet Ferzee Pasha [sic], who was said to be the ‘intermediary between the sultan and the *divan*.’ This was Ahmed Fevzi *Paşa*, the *Kapudan Paşa*, or Admiral of the Navy, who later informed the embassy that permission was granted. Berridge names the author ‘O’ as Dr. Julius van Millingen. Berridge, “Nation, Class, and Diplomacy,” footnote 8, 410. No biographical information about Millingen was provided in the letter to *The Times*. According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Millingen was Dr. Julius Michael Millingen, a surgeon and archaeologist. While serving as a surgeon in the Greek army during the Greek War of Independence, he was taken prisoner by Ibrahim Pasha after the Greek surrender to the Ottomans. He later settled in Istanbul in 1827, and became a court physician to five sultans. See David Cameron Hall, “Millingen, Julius Michael (1800–1878),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/article/18760>. Lord Ponsonby believed that Millingen was in fact ‘O,’ the anonymous author that attacked him and the dragomans in the two letters to *The Times*. Millingen apparently sent Ponsonby a letter that discussed the arguments that Millingen made to a Turkish Minister in order to obtain permission to use the Euphrates on an expedition, which he was presumably part of. I have not seen the letters, but they are available in the Durham University Library Special Collections in the Papers of John Viscount Ponsonby Collection. For Millingen’s letters, see GRE/E413(1800–1878); On Ponsonby’s suspicions, see Letter Ponsonby to 2nd Earl Grey 6 April 1837, GRE/E270, GREY Charles.

40 TNA C13/1257 22 ‘Answer of Frederic Pisani the defendant to the Bill of Complaint of John Joseph Lawson Complainant,’ 7 January 1841, 1. This source is from the Court of Chancery, and the only one that I could locate in the TNA related to this case. It is a Bill of Complaint against Frederick Pisani. It is not clear if this is an extension of the original case filed by Pisani in the Court of Common Pleas, or if it is a separate case altogether.

41 Scott, *Cases in the Court of Common Pleas*, 184–187.

second article, where the author wrote about Pisani's alleged failure to receive permission from the Porte for passage through the Euphrates, was also libelous, and that this was 'an imposition on his character as chief dragoman.'⁴²

Lawson pleaded not guilty, and challenged Pisani's right to even bring the matter to a British court because he was not a British subject. Lawson argued that since Pisani had never been naturalized or domiciled in Great Britain or its dominions, was not a merchant involved in trade with Great Britain or its dominions, had no allegiance to the sovereign, and was not subjected to its laws, that he could not bring the matter to court.⁴³ Pisani admitted that he was not a formal British subject, was never a resident there, and had never become naturalized. He based his ability to bring the case to a British court on the fact that he had always been under the jurisdiction of England because of his position as dragoman at the embassy, which, according to the treaties between England and the Ottoman Empire granted him all of the rights and privileges of British subjects inside of the empire. He also admitted that he was not in allegiance to the Queen.⁴⁴ The court later decided that although Frederick Pisani did in fact live outside of Great Britain and its dominions, the case could proceed because of his being an alien 'friend,' his service to England, and because the alleged offence committed by Lawson and *The Times* took place in Britain.⁴⁵

Lawson based his defence on the claim that the letters were not particularly directed towards Frederick Pisani, or all of the dragomans that worked at the British Embassy in Istanbul. Instead, the letters were directed towards all of the dragomans of foreign embassies, and all of the residents of Pera. He argued that the purpose of publishing the letters was two-fold. The first was to draw public attention and to generate public discussion regarding the employment of foreign-born dragomans at the embassy, and to show how the British system of translation in Istanbul operated. The second was to reveal that this system, and providing the dragomans with sensitive information was harmful to British interests, and that Britain would be better served by employing natural-born Englishmen. The overall intent was not to malign or defame Pisani. After 20 minutes of deliberation, the jury served a verdict in favor of Lawson.⁴⁶

42 Ibid, 187.

43 Ibid, 187-188.

44 TNA C13/1257 22, 'Answer of Frederic Pisani,' 14.

45 Scott, *Cases in the Court of Common Pleas*, 190-201.

46 *The Morning Post* (London, England), Wednesday, December 22, 1841; Issue 22131. The case was covered rather well in the British press. See for example. *The Morning Post* (London, England), Thursday, November 14, 1839. Issue 21469; *The Standard* (London,

Although unsuccessful, Frederick Pisani's case shows how difficult it was to apply legal categories of subjecthood to foreign-born dragomans, for a few reasons. Pisani, the court, and Lawson had different and contradictory opinions on where Pisani fit in the British legal system. The case was framed as one that had to do with whether or not Pisani could even bring the charge of libel to the British court because his status as a subject was unclear. The fact that the court ended up settling on the legal category of 'alien friend' for Pisani neither defined him as a British subject, nor completely dismissed him or his service as a dragoman to the British Empire. After all, Frederick had never claimed to be an Ottoman either.

Lawson and the British Court of Common Pleas were less concerned with Pisani's argument that he had been the victim of libel and that the published letters did in fact cause him harm in his community in Istanbul. Pisani's 'Britishness' had to be scrutinized, discussed, and then ruled upon for the case to even move forward. As the Common Law laid out, it rested on residency, commerce or trade, and most importantly, allegiance. From the point of view of Lawson and his lawyers, being British, if not born in England or formally naturalized, was conditional. Yet Pisani, as he declared, had not fulfilled any of these requirements, and claimed no allegiance to the British monarch. Instead, his defence rested on his rights under the capitulations. He was more concerned with proving that he was the victim of malice and slander, and in turn, protecting his own image as a dragoman, rather than proving his own subject status. Frederick's ambiguous self-identification, however, was much different than his nephew Count Alexander Pisani's, who believed that he was a British, or at least a quasi-British subject.

The Estate of Count Alexander Pisani

Alexander Bartholomew Stephen Count Pisani dated his Last Will and Testament on 30 May 1876, and paid the £100 fee to have it deposited in the Consular Court in Istanbul. In it, he distributed his wealth between members of his large extended family, all of whom lived in Istanbul. He also provided clear instructions on how his funeral should be conducted, and named his trustees/executors, his

England), Thursday, November 14, 1839 pg. [1]. Issue 4806; *The Derby Mercury* (Derby, England), Wednesday, November 27, 1839. Issue 5603; *The Morning Post* (London, England), Friday, July 09, 1841; pg. 7; Issue 21990; *The Examiner* (London, England), Saturday, December 25, 1841. Issue 1769; *The Bury and Norwich Post, and East Anglian* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Wednesday, December 29, 1841. Issue 3105.

brother Etienne Pisani, and a solicitor, George Henry Clifton.⁴⁷ A third, James Hanson was added as a trustee/executor in April 1882, but it is unclear why. His other brother Charles was also later named as a trustee/executor with Clifton and Hanson in May 1882, because of Etienne's death in that same year. Hanson was temporarily replaced with George Henry Simmons, Secretary and Treasurer of the British Consulate in Istanbul, however, because he left the Ottoman Empire in 1885. Clifton died presumably in 1897, and Charles Pisani and Simmons appointed a barrister, Evelyn Fawcett, as a trustee/executor in that same year.⁴⁸

The process of filing and obtaining probate for Count Pisani's Last Will and Testament at the British Consular Court in Istanbul began in 1886, and is another example of the complexity and difficulty of applying categories of subjecthood to the Pisani family. It reveals how Count Pisani and his brother Charles categorized themselves, how they tied their family's identity to the embassy, and how they negotiated their subjecthood in order to have the Last Will registered. It also shows how Count Pisani and Charles Pisani struggled with their own ideas about how categories of subjecthood applied to them. Neither claimed to be subjects of the sultan, though they were both born in Istanbul, and according to the Ottoman Nationality Law of 1869 they were considered to be Ottoman subjects. Although both acknowledged their Italian heritage, they did not identify with it.

The task of registering and obtaining probate for the Last Will was left to Count Pisani's trustees, who relied on the Pisani family history and a personal account of Count Pisani regarding his subjecthood. As in Frederick's case, there are different points of view on whether or not Count Pisani was or could be considered a British subject. Count Pisani died sixteen years after the passing of the British Naturalization Act, which added conditions to the previous Aliens Act of 1844. While allegiance was still the basis for subjecthood, naturalization was now conditional upon either having been a resident in Britain for at least five years, or having served the crown for at least five years. Count Pisani fulfilled the latter condition, but there is no evidence to suggest that he ever applied for naturalization to become a British subject. Yet, in an affidavit filed by Charles, he tried to fashion his brother as at least a quasi-British subject. In the request for probate by Charles and the other trustees, they argued that Count Pisani's service to the embassy gave him all of the rights of a British subject. There was not a legal

47 TNA FO 780/217 'Last Will and Testament of Count Alexander Pisani,' 30/05/1876.

48 TNA FO 780/217. 'First Codice 17/04/1882; Second Codice 10/05/1882; Third Codice 22/06/1885' 'Appointment of Evelyn Fawcett' 05/02/1897 in this file to the original Will of Count Alexander Pisani, 1876. Hanson did in fact return to Istanbul. His signature is on documents in this file, after Count Pisani died.

category, provision, or statute in British Common Law, however, that recognized a quasi-British subject. The trustees instead used the capitulations as the basis for their argument that Count Pisani's Last Will should be granted probate, and be administered by the Consular Court.

According to Charles Pisani's testimony in his affidavit for filing his brother's Last Will, Count Pisani, the archivist at the British Embassy and nephew of Frederick Pisani, was born in Istanbul in 1802. He never married and after becoming an employee of the British Embassy, he resided in rooms inside the embassy and in the summer residence of the embassy until his retirement in 1876. In the last few years of his life, Count Pisani was brought under Charles' care through a '*Commission de Lunatico Inquirendo*,' or 'an inquiry into the state of mind' that was issued by the embassy, through which he was found to be of unsound body and mind. He died on 27 October 1886 at the home of his brother Charles, at 41 rue Tepebaşı in Pera.⁴⁹

Charles Pisani also provided a detailed account about his brother and his family, including a sketch of their family tree. At the time, Charles was 70 years old, and Count Pisani's only surviving brother. Charles wrote that Count Pisani had entered into the service of the British Embassy in approximately 1819, and remained there for 59 years.⁵⁰ During his tenure, he was the Superintendent of the Diplomatic Chancery [Chancery] and a Keeper of the Archives. The Queen also conferred upon him the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He retired due to old age, but remained on the British Foreign Office list until his death. Between his retirement and death, Count Pisani collected a pension of £750/year, and continued to enjoy the protection and benefits of being an employee of the embassy. His brother, Charles wrote, amassed a fortune of £19,000 from savings from his salary over the course of his 59 years of service, and from investments and interest, mainly from the '3 percent consols' in the Bank of England. Charles also noted that his brother remained a bachelor his entire life, and 'was of frugal habits.'⁵¹

49 TNA FO 780/217 'Affidavit of Filing, Charles Pisani.' Translated from the French original by Alphonse Divioni, 17/12/1886.

50 Count Pisani's years of service are unclear. Although Charles wrote that Count Pisani began his service in 1819, the Foreign Office lists him as starting as a student interpreter on 25 June 1814. He did not become an official dragoman, opting instead to be the archivist of the embassy. See TNA FO 366/569 'Statement of the Salaries of the Dragomans at Constantinople,' 10/05/1850, p.169.

51 TNA FO 780/217 'Affidavit of Filing, Charles Pisani.' In a letter to his trustees Count Pisani listed his wealth as £17,011.26 and wrote that he had investments in the Bank of England. 'Letter to the Executors of My Will,' 12/04/1882 in this file. But this is

Charles stated that over the course of his life his brother took great interest in studying his family history, and was the self-avowed head of the family. Count Pisani maintained papers and writings about his family, and Charles confirmed that in the affidavit. With Count Pisani's writings on the family history, and Charles' own knowledge on the subject, he reconstructed the history of the branch of his family that settled in Istanbul in the 17th century.

According to Charles, his family hailed from Pisa. Dominique Pisani was taken prisoner by 'the Turks' in 1696 during the Ottoman-Venetian War.⁵² Dominique was brought to Constantinople, settled there and later married Victoria Bianchi.⁵³ Dominique's eldest son returned to Italy and Pope Clement [XI] bestowed him the title of Count, apparently previously given to one of his ancestors, Bartholomew.⁵⁴ Dominique's other son, Antonio, was born in Pera and became first dragoman for the British Embassy in 1741, the first member of this branch of the family to do so. Apparently he was awarded the position through a patent signed by King George II and the Duke of Newcastle, when he traveled to England with Lord Faulkner in 1741.⁵⁵ Antonio had two sons, Etienne Stefano Pisani (d.1797)

debatable because the trustees of his Will contested that amount. They stated that Count Pisani's wealth did not add up to £19,000. Presumably the £1,988.74 difference between what Count Pisani listed and what his trustees listed came from the accumulation of interest. Affidavit, 17/12/1886 and 23/12/1886 in this file.

- 52 TNA FO 780/217 'Affidavit of filing, Charles Pisani.' In the Application for Probate, dated 18/12/1886, Count Alexander's trustees added that the family was from Pisa but was 'shuffled to Venice.' See 'Affidavit for Probate' 18/12/1886, 2, in this file.
- 53 Ibid. Dominique's eldest son, who is not named in Charles' account, returned to Italy at some point, and married Amelia Pallavicini [?].
- 54 Ibid. Bartholomew was a friend and relative of a Cardinal Pisani. The title, Charles noted, passed down through the branch of the family that settled in the Ottoman Empire.
- 55 Ibid. The year 1741 that Charles provided is problematic and his claim that Antonio Pisani received the patent is also questionable. Charles stated that the 'records and documents relative to the Family Pisani, especially the original patent... were in the possession of my said brother... and were destroyed in the fires which in 1831 and 1870 destroyed the greater part of Pera... and which the latter fire burnt the British Embassy.' I have not been able to locate evidence that Antonio Pisani actually accompanied Lord Faulkner to England in 1741, but he was appointed first dragoman in 1749, succeeding Luca Chirico, who died. See TNA State Papers 105/118: 134-135 24 January 1749, Levant Company, London to [Ambassador] James Porter, Constantinople. Antonio Pisani later became the 'King's Official Interpreter of Oriental Languages' shortly afterwards. Also See TNA State Papers 105/118: 139-140, 23 March 1749, Levant Company, London to [Ambassador] James Porter, Constantinople. I thank Dr. Maurits van den Boogert

and Bartholomew Pisani, who both served the British Embassy as dragomans. Etienne Stefano Pisani had two sons, Frederick Pisani and Antonio Pisani, who also were employed by the embassy. That Antonio had four sons, [Count] Alexander, Etienne, Charles and Nicholas, and three daughters, Helen, Marie and Beatrice. Count Pisani and Etienne were the only two sons employed by the embassy. Charles wrote that all of the descendants of the eldest Antonio Pisani, including the children of Etienne, Nicholas, Charles and Beatrice, had been born in Istanbul and never became and had never been claimed as Ottoman subjects by the Porte, or by the Italian government.⁵⁶

Charles' narrative highlighted the fact that neither he, nor members of his family ever became Ottoman or Italian subjects. It is unclear what Dominique Pisani's status was after he was brought to the Ottoman capital. There is no indication if he became a slave after being taken a prisoner, if he was ransomed, or if he had been claimed by the Porte as a subject. But the service of his family to the British Embassy, Charles stated, granted them specific protections and immunities which, in Charles' words, made them 'quasi-natural born British subjects with a domicile in England.' He believed this because the Last Wills and Testaments of many of his ancestors were placed and legally certified in the embassy and in the British Consular Court in Istanbul.⁵⁷ He also provided a statement made by his brother, explaining Count Pisani's ideas concerning his own subjecthood.

In conversations that Charles had with his brother, he wrote, Count Pisani believed that if his being a resident in Istanbul would have ever meant that he actually acquired a domicile there, or if it had ever deprived his rights as a 'quasi-

for these references. Also, according to Samuel Medley, the butler to Lord Kinnoull (George Henry Hay), the Ambassador at Constantinople, Antonio Pisani was a dragoman at the British Embassy before 1741. He actually served as first dragoman, then was replaced and appointed second dragoman in 1731, briefly resigned in 1734, but was later reinstated as a dragoman. Kinnoull described Antonio Pisani as a 'Greek of the Latin Church who has family here [Constantinople] and a Turkish subject.' See Nigel and Caroline Webb, *The Earl and his butler in Constantinople: the secret diary of an English servant among the Ottomans* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 95-97.

56 TNA FO 780/217 'Affidavit of Filing, Charles Pisani.' These descendants exclude Dominique Pisani's eldest son that returned to Italy.

57 Ibid. The Will of Etienne Stefano Pisani, Charles' grandfather, was also deposited in the embassy when he died on 15 March 1797, and so too was the Will of Antonio Pisani, his father, who died on 20 August 1850. Since no executor was named in Antonio Pisani's Will, his daughter, and Charles' sister Marie Pisani was named to administer it through a judgment in the British Consular Court in 1866. His brother Etienne's Will was also deposited and certified in the embassy.

British natural born subject... gained by having served the British Embassy’ he would have left the Ottoman Empire to live in England or elsewhere. He also said that ‘he would never have done the least act that would have made him a subject in any sense to the jurisdiction to the Porte.’⁵⁸ Although Charles did not have definitive proof, he stated that his father or brothers never tried to become Italian subjects, and that Count Pisani never identified with being an Ottoman or an Italian. Through his position at the embassy, he faced questions concerning nationality and protection by the British government, and therefore had knowledge about how such questions were handled by the embassy. Charles wrote that he (and presumably his other family members) paid the registration fee for their ‘certificate of nationality,’ or patents, to the British Consulate General. Yet, Count Pisani did not pay that fee because he believed ‘that he was an actual British subject.’⁵⁹

In another affidavit, the trustees requested probate of Count Pisani’s Will, and focused on the question of his nationality. This had to be done in order for the British Consular Court to file and to administer it. Their main argument was that Count Pisani, by taking a position with the embassy, would have lost his Italian citizenship anyway, and not having been claimed by the Ottomans as a subject, he was without nationality.⁶⁰ But his lifetime appointment with the embassy and the jurisdiction that the embassy had over Count Pisani after the ‘*Commission de Lunatico Inquirendo*,’ afforded all of the rights of a British subject that lived in England. They supported much of the information that Charles provided in his affidavit, and tried a number of different tactics to further emphasize Count Pisani’s ‘Britishness.’

The trustees attempted to present the patent that awarded the position of dragoman to Count Pisani’s great grandfather Antonio as one that was possibly a patent for naturalization, or denization as a British subject. They stated that the original patent was apparently burned in the Great Fire of 1870 in Pera. They also

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid. Charles received written protection by the British Embassy through a patent in 1840, signed by Ambassador Ponsonby.

60 It was not uncommon for people to believe and to declare that they were unclaimed by the Porte as subjects. For example, in 1826 G. Calavro Umberti, a dragoman for the British Embassy wrote to Ambassador Stratford Canning to request clarification on how to handle the issue of granting official documents of nationality to people ‘born in Turkey by a Raya [sic] mother.’ Calavro noted that other European Ministers in the Ottoman Empire ‘never ceased to grant official documents from the embassy to protect such of their people, and it appears that the Porte itself is little inclined to claim them as their own subjects, though it always endeavored to put a stop to marriage taking place between Franks and Rayas [sic].’ TNA FO 352/14B Calavro to Canning, 26/07/1826.

acknowledged that it seemed 'highly improbable' that George II and the Duke of Newcastle would only sign a patent to appoint a dragoman, but 'very possible' that this was a patent for naturalization or denization as a British subject for Antonio Pisani and his family.' They also stated that searches were conducted at the Foreign Office in order to understand the exact nature of the patent, but that had been unsuccessful. They did point out, however, that would have done little for Count Pisani. According to British nationality law the patent would not have extended to him unless the capitulations provided that all those born to British subjects inside the Ottoman Empire were also considered to be British, and that 'British jurisdiction might be deemed to them the same nationality and domicile as if any such subject, though born in Turkey had been born in Great Britain.' The executors believed that doing so would be reasonable since British subjects going to the empire did not change or lose their 'domicile of origin,' which was allowed under the extra-territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain, in the empire.⁶¹

There was obviously cause for disagreement over whether or not Count Pisani could be considered a British subject because he had never lived in Britain, as stipulated in British nationality law. According to the capitulations between the British and the Ottoman Empire, the estates of deceased dragomans fell under Ottoman jurisdiction if the dragoman did not come directly from England. This was especially the case if the deceased had no heir to bestow their estate.⁶² Whereas Count Pisani did not come from England, he did leave his possessions to his heirs, as stated in his Will.

There was no doubt that Count Pisani and the rest of the Pisanis in Istanbul were of Italian descent, but the trustees argued that he could not be considered an Italian subject. The executors commissioned a statement from Jean Rosasco, an Italian subject and 'Doctor of Law in the faculty of Genes and at the Consulate General of Italy,' in Istanbul. According to Italian civil law, Italian nationality passed between father and son, and continued through the family line. The Italian citizenship of Antonio Pisani, Count Pisani's great grandfather, passed on to his

61 TNA FO 780/217 'Affidavit for Probate' 18/12/1886, 2-5. The executors cited a case where the British Consular Court made a decision regarding the nationality of one Padre Agostino. But it is unclear if he was born in the Ottoman Empire to parents that were British subjects or if he received protection by the British Embassy in Istanbul, and then became naturalized.

62 van den Boogert, *The Capitulations*, 175-176. Also see Edward A. Van Dyck, *Report of Edward A. Van Dyck, Consular Clerk of the United States at Cairo Upon Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire Since the Year 1150, Part 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), Appendix 5, 94.

son [Etienne] Stefano, and that nationality passed on to Antonio Pisani, Count Pisani's father. However, their Italian nationality would have become null and void because Italian law also stipulated that if an Italian subject took a position with a foreign government without the consent of the Italian government, they automatically lost their citizenship.⁶³ The executors explained, as Charles had previously, that Italy or the Porte had never claimed the Pisanis as subjects.

Although the executors pointed out the possibility that Count Pisani and his family could be considered without nationality, they argued that he could have been taken under the jurisdiction of Britain, since he was under the embassy's jurisdiction.⁶⁴ They went on to argue that Count Pisani's Last Will, whether under Ottoman or British law, was in good standing, but that it should be administered by the Consular Court. Because of his position with the embassy and the protection that was given to him, they wrote, his Last Will should be validated 'as if he were a quasi-British subject born in England.' Since the Court had administered other Last Will and Testaments of his previously deceased family members, probate should be granted.⁶⁵ The executors believed that Count Pisani held a 'higher protection... than could have been enjoyed by other British protected persons' that were not part of the embassy, and because of this and his length of service, that he should be given a 'domicile in Great Britain.'⁶⁶ Furthermore, they stated that Count Pisani, by virtue of serving the embassy by choice, abandoned any residence in the Ottoman Empire for that of Great Britain, which he held until his death.⁶⁷

According to the executors, Count Pisani's service and the protection offered through his position as a dragoman (read capitulations) brought with it the rights of British nationality and the rights of British residence. The fact that the embassy issued the '*Commission de Lunatico Inquirendo*,' signed by ambassador Sir William White, meant that Count Pisani's person and estate was brought under the direct jurisdiction of the embassy and the Consular Court, which provided him with all of the rights of a British subject, as if he were a resident of Great Britain.⁶⁸ On 30 December 1886, Count Pisani's Last Will and Testament were registered at the

63 TNA FO 780/217, 'Affidavit for Probate.' For the statement by Jean Rosasco, see 'Dans l'affaire des biens de feu le comte A.B.S. Pisani décédé.' 20/12/1886 in this file.

64 Ibid, 'Affidavit for Probate', 6-7.

65 Ibid, 9-10. These included the Last Will and Testaments of Charles' grandfather Etienne Pisani, his father Antonio, his mother Marie, and his brother Etienne.

66 Ibid, 'Affidavit for Probate', 11.

67 Ibid, 'Affidavit for Probate', 12.

68 Ibid, 11-14.

Consular Court, and the executors were granted probate. The document did not mention anything about his subjecthood, but did note that he was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁹

The process of registering Count Alexander Pisani's Last Will and Testament was no less complex than his uncle Frederick's court case, and centered on issues of subjecthood. Unlike Frederick, Count Pisani believed that he was in fact a British subject, or at least a quasi-British subject and made no claim to having any allegiance to the sultan, in spite of his being considered an Ottoman subject under Ottoman law. Without a legal category in British Common Law that recognized 'quasi-Britishness,' and without any formal application for British naturalization by Count Pisani, the executors had to be more pragmatic. They drew on the history of the Pisani family and their lineage, going so far as to prove that Italian citizenship was never on the table for them, and that he never considered himself to be an Ottoman subject, though he fulfilled the criteria of being considered one. Count Pisani and his family members were born in Istanbul, and the British never officially naturalized him. The executors made a case that demonstrated how not only Count Pisani, but also the family in general were integrated into the embassy in life and death, and had always been under its jurisdiction. The executors invoked the capitulations to support the idea that the protection and rights that Count Pisani received, combined with his length of service with the embassy, made him a British subject.

The differences in opinion between Charles and his brother in how they situated themselves in their British, Italian, and Ottoman identities also sheds light on the difficulties of applying categories of subjecthood. Both Count Pisani and Charles did not identify with being Italian or Ottoman subjects, but Charles knew that through his yearly payment to the British Consulate General that he received protection through the capitulations, and only claimed that his family may have been considered 'quasi-British subjects.' Count Pisani, however, was conscious in what he believed his subjecthood to be, and staked his claim in it through his loyalty and service to the embassy, disregarding the principles of British nationality law and Ottoman nationality law. Yet, there is nothing to suggest in the proceedings of filing Count Pisani's Last Will that the British ever recognized him or his family members as naturalized British subjects.

69 TNA FO 780/217, 8/1/1887. This was a copy of the original grant of registration/probate of 30/12/1886.

Conclusion

Frederick Pisani's court case and the process of registering the Last Will and Testament of Count Alexander Pisani in the British Consular Court in Istanbul reveal the complexity and legality of concepts of subjecthood for dragomans in British service, which were very much at the center of both of these cases. These cases also demonstrate that the concept of 'Levantine' as an analytical category is vague, and does not offer any precision in a discussion on the identity of the Pisani family. This is particularly important since the concepts of subjecthood, nationality and allegiance were unclear in the nineteenth century. The fact that there were differing perspectives within the same family is instructive in understanding how individuals or specific groups have been classified.

In both instances discussed here, there is, to use Palmira Brummet's phrase, 'a complex web of intersecting identities,'⁷⁰ which does not entirely rest on conceived definitions of spatial, confessional, or social statuses, such as the label of 'Levantine.' Three points of intersecting identities emerged in both of these examples; Frederick, who did not identify with being British; Count Pisani, who claimed to be a British or at least a quasi-British subject by virtue of his service to the embassy; and the British, whose point of view of the Pisanis was connected to their professional status as employees in the embassy, but non-British subjects as defined by British nationality law. It did not matter how Count Pisani, his brother Charles, or the trustees of his Last Will shaped the identity of the Pisani family. Their subjecthood was negotiated among and between their positions at the embassy, but had no impact on how they were legally categorized by their British employers.

There was also nothing monolithic about how the Pisanis viewed themselves. Both Pisanis had very different and diametrically opposed personal positions on who they were and where they belonged. Being a 'Levantine' was not presented as a possible category of subjecthood, and did not factor into Frederick or Count Pisani's sense of identity. Using their status as protected subjects under the capitulations, Frederick, and Count Pisani's trustees were able to argue their own identity claims to try to achieve their respective goals. That does not mean that their self-identification was not and is not important. The two Pisanis discussed here provide a rare instance where self-identification and a first-person narrative exist in primary material.

Fredrick sense of self did not match his nephew's Count Pisani, which was connected to his sense of being a British or quasi-British subject, and even that

⁷⁰ Palmira Brummett, "Placing the Ottomans in the Mediterranean World: The Question of Notables and Households," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 36 (2010), 83.

was impacted by his association with the capitulations. Yet, Frederick and Count Pisani had not felt any connection to their Italian heritage or with being an Ottoman subject, although Istanbul was their place of birth. Neither believed themselves to be, nor could have been legally classified to be binational. Their own definitions and points of view on their subjecthood were as complex as the ones that are and have been placed on them as Levantines and dragomans.

'Levantine' Dragomans in Nineteenth Century Istanbul: The Pisanis, the British, and Issues of Subjecthood

Abstract ■ Frederick and Count Alexander Pisani were two members of the Pisani family of dragomans that served the British Embassy in Istanbul during the nineteenth century. As non-Muslims of Italian descent that were born and raised in the Ottoman capital, they are commonly referred to as 'Levantines.' Using a case filed by Frederick Pisani against the British daily *The Times* in the Court of Common Pleas in England, and the process of registering the Last Will and Testament of Count Alexander Pisani in the British Consular Court in Istanbul, this article examines how two members of the same family had different views of who they were, how they were able to negotiate their subjecthood, and how their British employers classified them. It demonstrates how the Pisanis and the British struggled with the concept of subjecthood, and how difficult it was to legally define it in these cases.

Keywords: Nineteenth Century Istanbul, Dragomans, Subjecthood, Levantine, Capitulations, Pisani

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Venetian Vagabonds and Furious Frenchmen: Nationalist and Cosmopolitan Impulses among Europeans in Galata

*Julia Anne Landweber**

Venedikli Serseriler ve Öfkeli Fransızlar: Galata'da Yaşayan Avrupalıların Milliyetçi ve Kozmopolit Refleksleri

Öz ■ 18. yüzyıl Galatası'ndaki yabancı diplomatlar Avrupalılıkları üzerinden kozmopolit bir cemaat kurmaya çalıştılar. Osmanlı başkentindeki alt tabakaya mensup Avrupalılarsa farklı milli menşelerden gelmeleri hasebiyle şiddet içeren çatışmalara pekâlâ girebilmekteydiler. 1729 yılında bir düğün sırasında vuku bulan böyle bir olayda iki Fransız aşçı Venediklilerin öfkelerini üzerine çekti. Bu aşçılardan biri Venedikliler tarafından yaralanırken, diğer aşçı buna tepki olarak Venedikli bir berbere saldırdı, fakat saldırdığı kişi tarafından öldürüldü. Söz konusu yaralama ve cinayetin meydana gelmesi olaylara dahil olanların farklı milli kimliklerden gelmeleriyle doğrudan ilintiliydi. Venedikliler, Fransızlara sırf Fransız oldukları için saldırmışlardı; Fransızlar da Venediklilere sırf Venedikli oldukları için. İlginç olan şu ki, 18. yüzyılın başlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşayan alt tabakaya mensup Batı Avrupalılar için kendi milli kimlikleri üst tabakadakilere kıyasla çok daha önemliydi. Hizmetkârların milli menşeleri, kendi kimliklerini ve birbirleriyle kurdukları ilişkiyi tanımlamaktaydı. Buna mukabil diplomatların milli mensubiyetleri ise Galata'daki resmi statülerini belirlemekteydi. Yine de söz konusu diplomatlar yukarıda bahsedilen "Avrupalı cemaat" içinde uyumsuzlar ortaya çıktığında, uyumu yeniden tesis etmek için beraberce çaba gösteriyorlardı.

Anahtar kelimeler: Galata, Katil, Diplomasi, Milli Kimlik, Kozmopolitancılık

In the eighteenth century the embassies and trading houses of France, England, Venice, and other European powers shared space on the steep hills of Galata and Pera, separated only by the waters of the Golden Horn from Istanbul, capital of

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the Ottoman Empire. Drawn together by its location deep within Islamic lands, this mixed community of western Christians, living side by side with Muslim, Jewish, and Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, might seem to be the perfect testing ground for the birth of an international, cosmopolitan society.¹ Instead it was a fractious community, where conflict often occurred between individuals from different nations. In the most extreme scenarios, and especially among the lower orders, very little excuse was needed for disputes to lead to mayhem and even to murder. In late November 1729, a French chef was brutally assaulted by several Venetian domestics after appearing uninvited at a Venetian wedding. A second French chef used this attack on his compatriot as an excuse to pick a fight with a Venetian barber, which ended with the barber shooting him dead in broad daylight. Such actions were not unknown; a similar incident had occurred the previous year, and the staff of the Venetian embassy had a history of violence toward others.

The events on which this essay is based have been preserved in a smattering of documents now housed in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite the small source collection, the narrative provides an interesting glimpse of competing ideas about national and social-class identities in a place and time before either marker was traditionally thought to exist in a meaningful way. The essay focuses on a group of individuals on the extreme outer periphery of Ottoman society, who nonetheless resided at the heart of the empire, in the greater metropolitan area of Istanbul. No less than the Ottoman subjects surrounding them, they too lived the empire, and in their own way were similarly engaged in questions of establishing and asserting their personal and political identities. Istanbul, like other major cities in the borderlands of the Mediterranean world, had long attracted a society of highly mobile individuals. As Julia Clancy-Smith

1 See Eric R. Dursteler, "Neighbors: Venetians and Ottomans in Early Modern Galata," in *Multicultural Europe and Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. James P. Helfers (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005); Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 1999), 203-228; Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998), 33-35; Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1896; reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1967); and Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 75. On the difficulties, past and present, with realizing a cosmopolitan society in any sense, see Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollack, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds., *Cosmopolitanism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), 1-14.

asks of similarly fluid nineteenth-century Tunis, what made someone a “migrant, stranger, or foreigner” within these communities?² How should we characterize such outsiders, and how did they view themselves and one another? The examination of a pair of violent altercations and their aftermath will show that among early-eighteenth-century Western Europeans living in the Ottoman Empire, a significant tension existed between nationalist and cosmopolitan impulses, a tension highlighted in this particular case by class-differentiated concerns as well as by taking place in the heart of the Empire.

We must tread carefully when using the terms *nation* and *national identity* for the early eighteenth century, as their meanings differed from our modern usages.³ *Nation* originally derived from the classical Latin word *natio*, and for many centuries was used chiefly to identify people born in the same geographical region or even in the same city. It could also be applied to other kinds of communities, such as groups of university students. For both sets of people, national identity (insofar as it existed) was much more in use among the nobility than among commoners; indeed, in France prior to 1789, the nobility alone was thought to truly embody the nation, and likewise in the early modern Venetian Empire only the patriciate and a few non-noble families could officially claim “Venetian” citizenship.⁴ In pluralistic or composite societies, such as the Venetian or Ottoman Empires, most subjects ordinarily possessed little to no sense of a universally-shared national identity, but only of political, ethnic and religious identities.

For Europeans resident within the Ottoman Empire, *nation* was used in yet another way, to refer to “communities of merchants and diplomats living abroad under the aegis of a particular city or state.”⁵ This concept had certain similarities to, but was ultimately very different from, the Ottoman *millet* system, which accommodated non-Muslim subjects by grouping them according to religious, rather than national, identification, and placing each under the authority of a specific

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- 2 Julia A. Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 9-11.
 - 3 Julia Landweber, “Fashioning Nationality and Identity in the Eighteenth Century: The Comte de Bonneval in the Ottoman Empire,” *The International History Review* 30 (2008): 1-31; 4-7.
 - 4 David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2001), 5-6; Jay M. Smith, *Nobility Reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), 6-11; and Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 16.
 - 5 Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 15.

religious leader.⁶ Membership in the diplomatic and mercantile European nations of Galata also bore little connection to either modern nation-state based identities or even, sometimes, to the political entities from which they were derived.⁷ An ambassador, who was appointed directly from the home government, governed each nation. Merchants and diplomats, along with their families and extended households—including both professionals and servants—made up the officially recognized membership of each nation. But the nations also included many unofficial members, who typically added between several hundred (in the French case) and several thousand (in the Venetian case) additional men and women to the community. These were mostly independent artisans, laborers, and their families, who serviced the official residents of each European nation within the Ottoman Empire, and who might or might not be recognizably of the nation from which they claimed protection. Even more confusingly, the unofficial membership also included marginal types such as enslaved persons, wandering adventurers, bandits, exiles, and other potentially troublesome elements who required constant supervision if the nations' reputations with the Ottoman authorities were to avoid compromise.⁸ Despite these complex possibilities, members of the nations sometimes conformed in surprising ways to behaviors which appear recognizably nationalist in a modern sense: that is, they claimed identities forged from the combined elements of birthplace, parentage, and political allegiance, which were often viewed as more important than the potential dividers of ethnicity, religion, and class.

In addition to these individualistic categories of identity based on affiliation with particular nations, the ancient Greek notion of cosmopolitanism was also present within the European community of Galata, albeit less visibly so. *Cosmopolitan* originally meant simply a citizen of the world. Our modern understanding of cosmopolitanism descends from a set of philosophies developed between the 1720s and 1790s by Montesquieu, D'Alembert, and Kant, among others. Practiced individually, cosmopolitanism is an "ethical stance" in which the individual strives to value others in addition to valuing one's own family, tribe or nation; this stance

6 Bruce Masters, "Christians in a changing world," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 274.

7 Consider for example the case of Jan van Maseijk, as discussed by Maurits H. van den Boogert in "Resurrecting *home ottomanicus*: The constants and variables of Ottoman identity," elsewhere in this volume.

8 Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 24-40; Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul*, 205-217; and Amaury Faivre d'Arcier, *Les Oubliés de la Liberté: Négociants, consuls et missionnaires français au Levant pendant la Révolution (1784-1798)* (Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang, 2007), 17-44.

can develop into a world-view that transcends national boundaries. When practiced by whole communities, cosmopolitanism becomes—because of its unusual other-before-self valuation—a “moral achievement built from existing (primarily national state) foundations.”⁹ Ideally, the exercise of cosmopolitanism should result in a borderless world united by mutual moral obligations. Enlightenment thinkers were keenly interested in cosmopolitanism, seeing in it the prospect of overcoming the “blindly given ties of kinship and country” in favor of a universally inclusive society.¹⁰ But unlike today, most eighteenth-century philosophers did not view the particular and universal (or national and cosmopolitan) as being opposed to one another. D’Alembert, for instance, in his entry “Cosmopolitan” in the *Encyclopédie*, described the two conditions as complementary aspects of society. One could belong at multiple levels.¹¹ This notion reached its apogee in 1795, when Kant proposed the novel idea of “Europe” as a universal and peaceful community, bound by a common law of humanity complementary to existing national and international law.¹²

Like national identity in the eighteenth century, a common criticism of cosmopolitanism has long been that it too was only available to the elite, i.e. those with resources to travel and experience other cultures.¹³ But long before Kant had his vision, small European settlements scattered around the globe were already bring-

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- 9 Gavin Kendall, Ian Woodward and Zlatko Skrbis, *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1, 76; and Katja Franko Aas, “A borderless world? Cosmopolitanism, boundaries and frontiers,” in Cecilia M. Bailliet and Katja Franko Aas, eds., *Cosmopolitan Justice and its Discontents* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 136.
- 10 Pheng Cheah, “Cosmopolitanism,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 23 (2006): 486-96; 478. See also Genevieve Lloyd, “Imagining Difference: Cosmopolitanism in Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*,” *Constellations* 19 (2012): 480-493.
- 11 Kendall, Woodward and Skrbis, *Cosmopolitanism*, 37-38; and “Cosmopolitain, ou Cosmopolite,” in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D’Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.* (Paris, 1751-1772), Vol. 4: 297.
- 12 Immanuel Kant, *Project for a Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay* (1795), trans. from the German (London: Vernor and Hood, 1796).
- 13 Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, “Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism,” in Vertovec and Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5. This criticism may apply similarly to peoples of the Ottoman Empire, who although very diverse, tended to live within closed communities. According to Sami Zubaida, prior to the nineteenth century, only “the higher echelons of [urban Ottoman] society” such as wealthy merchants, diplomats, and courtiers, would have inhabited the empire’s few “cosmopolitan milieux” See Zubaida, “Middle Eastern Experiences of Cosmopolitanism,” in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 33.

ing together representatives of Europe's aristocratic and educated elites (merchants, diplomats, naval commanders, colonial governors) with the popular classes (artisans, craftsmen, servants, sailors), all collectively conducting unplanned experiments in cosmopolitan living. The world of the Eastern Mediterranean in general, and of Galata and Pera in particular, was culturally pluralistic to an extreme degree.¹⁴ Not only did men and women of many diverse linguistic, geographic, cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds intermingle fluidly across the region, but Europeanist historians have only recently begun to recognize the degree to which early modern Galata was not an insulated Christian/European island within the Ottoman Empire, but was in fact fully integrated into the greater capital-city region of Istanbul, with a residential Muslim majority by the seventeenth century and double the number of mosques as churches by 1700.¹⁵

Perhaps provoked by the unusually international environment of Galata, the lowest orders among the Europeans resident there consistently exhibited strongly nation-oriented (almost xenophobic) identities, even while the ambassadors responsible for their well-being attempted to promote an idealistic vision of international cooperation and cosmopolitan behavior among all Europeans operating within the Ottoman Empire. The general interest in resolving the disturbing violence which erupted in late 1729 between Europeans of different national origins created an opportunity for the diplomatic communities in Pera and Galata to transcend their national differences, and for a brief interval to behave like true cosmopolitans. Led by France's ambassador, the representatives of France, England, Holland, Austria, Russia, and Venice acted in solidarity to discipline one nation among them. Together they succeeded in briefly engaging in cooperative regulation, government, and justice for the common good in order to prevent the future recurrence of such violent acts.

Let us turn now to a full account of the violence that erupted on 20 November 1729. According to a report written by the French ambassador Louis Renaud de Villeneuve, the following incident disturbed the peace of Galata that night:

At ten in the evening Jean Rimbaud, a Frenchman who was chef to the English ambassador, imprudently went to the home of a Venetian artisan who was married that day and for the occasion was giving a supper for many Venetians, most of

14 Michel Fontenay, *La Méditerranée entre la Croix et le Croissant: Navigation, commerce, course et piraterie (XVIe-XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Garnier, 2010), 129-130.

15 Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), 78-79; Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire*, 35; Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople, 154-157*.

whom were domestics from the Venetian embassy. Rimbaud was poorly treated there, receiving multiple blows from sword, stiletto and dagger. Several domestics of Mr. Stanyan [the English ambassador] then rushed in with his janissaries and the Turkish Guard, seized three domestics of the Venetian embassy, and placed them in the prison of the English embassy.¹⁶

Rimbaud later recovered from his injuries, but he was so seriously wounded that night that many assumed he had died.¹⁷ The next day news of the assault spread among the rest of the French servants in Pera. Remembering that a Venetian had killed another French domestic the previous year, a delegation of these servants came to Villeneuve demanding permission to retaliate “because the Venetians were continually assassinating the French.”¹⁸ Villeneuve tried to calm them with the news that the attackers had already been arrested, and that he and the English ambassador were as concerned as they to insure that justice be served against the guilty. But his assurances were insufficient, and later that day another fight erupted in the rue de Pera, the main thoroughfare which linked the tranquil suburb of Pera, where all the embassies were located, to the more crowded neighborhoods of walled-in Galata, where most Venetians and French resided who were not directly attached to the embassies. Villeneuve reported the following:

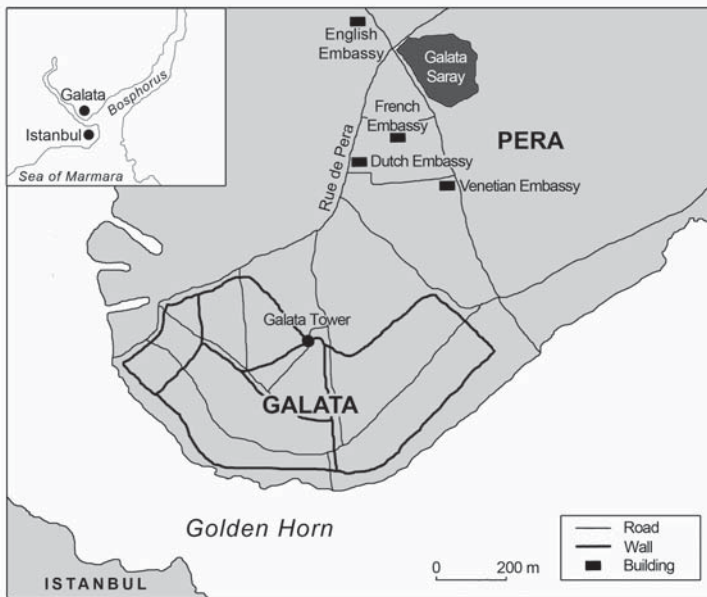
Today after dining my chef [Jacque Avenins] went out with a friend. They ran into a Venetian, a barber by trade, and demanded to know whether he was among those who had murdered the [other] chef the previous evening. Their tempers rising, threats were quickly followed by actions; my chef took a pair of pistols from his pocket, the Venetian did the same, and after receiving the first shot, [the Venetian] pulled his trigger and knocked my chef to the ground. A crowd drawn by the sound of gunshots chased the murderer; he ducked into one of the Grand Seigneur’s palaces, which they call the Palace of the Pages [Galata Saray], but this

16 Louis-Sauveur Renaud, marquis de Villeneuve, to Germain Louis Chauvelin, French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Istanbul, 28 November 1729, C[orrespondance] P[olitique], Turquie, Vol. 81, ff. 210r/v, A[rchives des] A[ffaires] E[trangères], Paris, France. All translations are the author’s own unless otherwise noted.

17 It is confusing to reconstruct exactly what the outcome of the attack was for Rimbaud. The official signed report of the incident states that Jean Rimbaud “fût blessé mortellement” [was mortally wounded]; see “Relation d’une batterie entre un des principaux domestiques de l’ambassade de France, avec quelques uns de ceux de l’ambassade de Venise,” 27 November 1729, CP, Turquie, Vol. 81, ff. 203-207; f. 203r. But one day later Villeneuve writes that “les blessures n’ont pas été mortelles” [the injuries [of Rimbaud] were not mortal ones]: Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 218r.

18 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 210v.

asylum could not prevent him from being chased by those animated from having viewed the murder...[they followed him], penetrating all the way to the second [inner] court.¹⁹



Galata and Pera

Although Villeneuve was briefly unaware of the latest unpleasantness, when he learned what had happened he acted quickly to resurrect order in the community. His first act was to placate the Ottomans, who had been drawn into the general excitement by the Venetian barber's ill-judged decision to hide inside the Galata Saray, an imperial school normally closed to public access. On the advice of the Grand Vizier's *kâhya* (lieutenant), Villeneuve quickly sent "presents" amounting to nearly 400 piasters to Ahmed Agha, director of the Galata Saray, and to the *voyvoda* (mayor) of Galata, to ensure that Sultan Ahmed III would not learn about the accidental invasion of imperial property.²⁰ The French ambassador's second concern was to locate and arrest Angelo Fuci Gradenigo, the Venetian barber who had shot

19 Ibid., ff. 211r-212r. The name of Villeneuve's chef, Jacque Avenins, was reported in the "Relation d'une batterie..." f. 203v.

20 Fethi İsfendiyaroglu, *Galatasaray Tarihi* (Istanbul: Dogan Kardes Yayinlari, 1952), Vol. I: 241-266; and Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010), 26, 135. To give a comparative sense

his chef. Within two hours of the assault, Villeneuve learned that “the Venetian, who had fallen in one of the palace courtyards pretending to be dead from the injuries he’d received, had snuck away to his own house after the crowd dissipated.” The ambassador “judging therefore that his wounds were not serious” sent a dragoman to arrest him and escort him to the prison of the French embassy.²¹

Galata, where the first attack took place, was no stranger to violence. A crowded city within a city, in addition to housing most resident members of the European nations, it was also home to wealthy Jewish, Greek, and Armenian subjects of the Empire; many of the poorest day-laborers in the metropolitan area; and Istanbul’s red-light district of several hundred brothels and taverns. According to Fariba Zarinebaf, Galata was (perhaps because of this intensely mixed population) “the most crime-ridden area of the city.”²² But calm, leafy Pera was another matter. Violence that linked the two districts was deeply disturbing to all.

What should we make of these attacks? Robert Muchembled puts it bluntly: “murderous violence is a male crime, and essentially an affair of young men of marriageable age.”²³ Violence such as this has its own particular history, magnified in this case by the international dimension of both setting and protagonists. Historians have established that European homicide rates declined sharply and almost continuously between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, from a medieval peak of approximately thirty-five killings per 100,000 people per year to a mere three or four annual deaths per 100,000 people by 1750.²⁴ This drop was especially evident in urban populations; only in the more traditional and less prosperous rural areas did homicide rates remain closer to those of earlier centuries.²⁵ The most

of the value of Villeneuve’s gifts, his dragomans’ annual salaries were between 300 and 500 piasters. See Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul*, 216.

- 21 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, ff. 212v-213r; quotes on f. 213v; see also the “Relation d’une batterie...,” f. 203v.
- 22 Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*, 26, 119.
- 23 Robert Muchembled, *A History of Violence From the End of the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, U.K. and Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2012), 40.
- 24 Pieter Spierenburg, *A History of Murder: Personal Violence in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge, U.K. and Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2008), 3-4. See also François Ploux, “L’homicide en France (XVIe-XIXe siècles),” in *Histoire de l’homicide en Europe, de la fin du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Laurent Mucchielli and Pieter Spierenburg (Paris: La Découverte, 2009), 91-92; and Muchembled, *A History of Violence*, 31-44.
- 25 Xavier Rousseaux, Bernard Dauven, and Aude Musin, “Civilisation des mœurs et/ou disciplinarisation sociale? Les sociétés urbaines face à la violence en Europe (1300-1800),” in *Histoire de l’homicide*, ed. Mucchielli and Spierenburg, 275.

influential explanation for this change derives from Norbert Elias' theory of the civilizing process: in the early modern era people learned to suppress unpleasant behaviors (such as poor hygiene and bad manners) and various "unsocial passions;" as a result, interpersonal violence declined. Also, with the rise of the state, early modern governments gradually acquired a monopoly over legitimate violence at the expense of the old feudal elite. Because the male nobility were guilty of the great majority of interpersonal violence in this era, such shifts can account for much of the historical drop in homicides (especially when one considers that the nobility were social leaders for less elite elements of society).²⁶ But even as new internalized concepts of masculine honor caused homicide rates to drop among the nobility and bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century, "many lower-class men continued to cherish traditional notions of honor and stood ready to attack those who insulted or hindered them."²⁷

In early modern French and Venetian cultures more specifically, violence among men of the lower orders was well known, although not condoned. The servants within well-to-do French households were considered children of the master. The head of the household had a responsibility to look after all his or her servants, and their actions reflected upon the master and mistress. But the great houses were open, and servants were free to wander in their hours off—exactly as both Jean Rimbaud and Jacque Avenins did, to their great misfortune. Violence was famously central to male servants' lives; it sometimes seemed the only way to assert or defend one's honor and reputation. In Paris as elsewhere, while physical disputes involving servants, artisans, and laborers were common, homicide rarely resulted.²⁸ In arguments that did lead to homicide, the origins were often remarkably petty. Frequently the trigger that initiated a violent encounter involved a tavern or other social setting with alcohol. A virtual formula existed, in which a verbal insult or quarrel, usually

26 Henry C. Clark, "Violence, 'Capitalism,' and the Civilizing Process in Early Modern Europe," *Society* 49 (2012): 122-130; 124; and Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners. The Civilizing Process: Vol. I*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 53-59, 191-205. See also the discussion of Elias's theories in Erik A. Johnson and Eric H. Monkkonen, "Introduction," in *The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages*, ed. Johnson and Monkkonen (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 4-6.

27 Speirenburg, *A History of Murder*, 66.

28 Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1984), 5, 43-45; David Garrioch, *Neighborhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 48-53, 131-132; and Sara C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), 144-145.

between acquaintances, would lead them to physically brawl; with further escalation weapons were drawn in anger, and occasionally one combatant killed the other. This sequence could occur within minutes, or it could unfold over multiple days.²⁹ In the present case, we see the formula at work: the first encounter was at a wedding party, where Rimbaud was clearly unwanted and likely did or said something to provoke the mixed crowd of Venetian artisans and servants. A day later Avenins, another chef who was at the very least Rimbaud's compatriot and fellow chef, and most likely also his friend, sought accountability from the first Venetian he saw. Again, insults were exchanged and weapons were drawn, this time with deadlier results.

Another aspect worth considering in this case is what Malcolm Greenshields identifies as the three possible "social directions of violence" available to the Third Estate, or non-elite: violence could occur either between roughly social equals, or as a form of "downward" punishment meted out to social inferiors, or as a form of "outward" defense by one community against a perceived external threat.³⁰ In our two incidents the actors would appear at first to have been social equals, and were likely perceived as such by the ambassadors who had to sit in judgment over their actions: victims and attackers all belonged to the socially similar categories of servants and artisans. But upon closer examination, the two French chefs may have considered themselves socially and professionally superior to the artisans and domestics at the wedding as well as to the barber; their income was doubtless higher, and indeed each appears to have been the initial aggressor in their respective situations.³¹ Thirdly, in the general assault of Venetian domestics against Rimbaud on 20 November, and in the delegation of domestics who asked Villeneuve for permission to retaliate *en masse*, and in the deadly encounter between Avenins and Gradenigo who appear to have been unacquainted prior to their fight (and therefore without personal motive for assault), we can see evidence of mutual xenophobic tendencies among the lower orders of the two nations.

29 Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 173-174; and Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 119-123.

30 Malcolm Greenshields, *An Economy of Violence in Early Modern France: Crime and Justice in the Haute Auvergne, 1587-1664* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 154-157.

31 Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, 1; and R. C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2010), 83, 103; see also Sean Takats, *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

The sharply downward trend of urban homicides, coupled with the increasing restriction of crimes of rage and passion to the lower classes, meant that the 1729 events were both shocking for their rarity, and yet somewhat explicable on account of the social status of both perpetrators and victims. Knife fights, such as broke out between Rimbaud and his attackers at the wedding party, had long thrived among the lower classes and peasantry across most of western Europe. Young men, eager to prove themselves in the eyes of their peers, often drew knives and swords in moments of anger to assert their masculinity and defend their honor.³² The second attack, in which the barber Gradenigo shot Jacques Avenins, was more surprising: up through the late eighteenth century, firearms were still highly unusual murder weapons. Especially in urban environments such as Paris, Venice, or Istanbul, guns accounted for less than 10 percent of deaths by homicide. In France only aristocrats were permitted to own firearms. Outlaws were a glaring exception to this rule; but although bandits often carried pistols, because of the challenges to loading and aiming them, these were used more to threaten than to actually injure victims.³³ Across the Ottoman Empire handguns were more readily available, thanks to poorly-regulated private manufacture and trade in firearms throughout Anatolia and the Balkans, but in these regions as in France and the Venetian Empire, most non-military gun owners were bandits and landless wanderers.³⁴ Was either party here a bandit? Avenins was very unlikely to have been; French chefs were highly prized employees anywhere, and to be chef to the French ambassador would require an especially honest character. It is possible (but un-confirmable) that the Venetian barber had a history of banditry, even though the investigation that followed revealed Gradenigo to be a long-established resident of Galata, living with his wife, children, and mother-in-law. Many criminals banished from Venice did come to Istanbul and settle down as useful members of the nation. Because he was well aware of this migration pattern, Villeneuve did not trust anyone associated with the Venetian nation in Galata to be whom he or she claimed. Nonetheless, the record is silent on the question of how either party acquired the pistols they wielded so eagerly.

32 Muchembled, *A History of Violence*, 43.

33 Speirenborg, *A History of Murder*, 100; and Jay Smith, *Monsters of the Gévaudan: The Making of a Beast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 22.

34 Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 95, 200; and Halil İncalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980): 283-337; 286, 293-303.

Less than twenty-four hours after a Frenchman had foolishly crashed a Venetian wedding party matters now stood thus: one French chef lay on the edge of death; another French chef was already dead; and three Venetians were incarcerated (two servants being detained in the English prison and the barber in the French prison).³⁵ On the basis of two related assaults occurring against French nationals within twenty-four hours, and the threat to general safety on the streets of Pera and Galata posed by the escalating violence, Villeneuve convened an urgent meeting at the French embassy of all the resident European ministers. Once assembled, they debated how to end the violence and prevent future accidents “among the Nations.”³⁶ A general consensus prevailed that punishing the attackers, ideally without leaving the Ottoman Empire, would be the best possible warning to future would-be disturbers of the peace. The principle question they faced in the present case was a legal one: in this international setting, whose system of justice should be used? Among the attackers, the victims, and the larger mixed community of upset nationals, who would be best served by using Venetian law, English law, or French law? Under normal circumstances the laws of Venice would have been unquestionably the most appropriate choice for punishing Venetian wrongdoers. Ultimately the national identity of the accused determined the choice of legal system in this case as well, but due to the international dimension of the situation, the choice of a Venetian court was arrived at only by negotiation.

Orazio Bartolini, who had only become the *bailo* (ambassador) of Venice three months earlier when his predecessor died in office, was forceful in championing the use of his government’s legal system for the case. At the meeting he persuaded England’s ambassador Abraham Stanyan to hand over the pair of prisoners in the English embassy, on the grounds that they were “his domestics and subjects of the [Venetian] Republic.”³⁷ Furthermore, he was insistent that his domestics “be judged by their natural judges,” that is, by members of their own nation.³⁸ Stanyan agreed to give up the prisoners, but only after Bartolini promised “that their trial would be held according to the utmost rigor, and that his secretary would attend the procedure.”³⁹ Villeneuve was less amenable about handing over his own captive; he keenly remembered that the death of his other servant (coincidentally,

35 Although initially three Venetian domestics had been arrested on the night of November 20, one of them turned out to be uninvolved in the attack and was immediately released. “Relation d’une batterie...,” f. 203r.

36 *Ibid.*, 204r.

37 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 214r.

38 “Relation d’une batterie...,” f. 204r.

39 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 214r.

also a cook) one year earlier at the hands of a Venetian had never been punished. To avenge the previous year's unresolved incident, he was determined to try the barber Gradenigo under French law if at all possible. Perhaps out of respect for Villeneuve's mistrust in the efficacy of Venetian laws and punishments, Bartolini deferred discussing Gradenigo's release from the French prison until another day.⁴⁰

Throughout the debate one government was left conspicuously unnamed: no one considered the possibility of trying the prisoners under Ottoman law. There were several reasons for this omission.⁴¹ Dating as far back as 1453, Sultan Mehmed II had established two status options for the residents of Galata, replacing their former autonomy under the Byzantines as a Genoese merchant colony. Henceforth, the population would be divided into two groups: *zimmis*, or subjects; and *harbis*, or foreigners. *Zimmis* were non-Muslim permanent residents who agreed to become subjects of the sultan and were legally recognized as such by paying a special head tax; in return they received certain economic benefits and legal protections. *Harbis* were non-Muslims who retained the status of foreigner, and were permitted to reside in Galata, whether temporarily or for many years, under the jurisdiction of their own nation. Crucially, the legal status of these two groups was completely distinct. A 1502 treaty further ruled that Venetians who lived in Galata for more than one year had to pay the tax and become Ottoman subjects, but those who regularly traveled between the two states were not required to do so. The Venetian *bailo* was responsible for certifying these individuals as Venetian subjects, who in return enjoyed Venetian legal protections along with other rights, privileges, and responsibilities.⁴²

In addition to these early laws, more recently signed agreements within the Capitulations historically negotiated between Ottoman sultans and various European governments expressly granted each resident European nation the right to use its own legal system and courts of law for matters, such as these attacks, which concerned its nation solely.⁴³ Yet as Villeneuve revealed in his unofficial report about the affair, keeping its resolution under European control and away from Ottoman authority was, despite these assurances, of paramount concern

40 Ibid., and "Relation d'une batterie..." f. 205r.

41 See Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*, 142-148, on the legal autonomy of non-Muslim communities within the Ottoman Empire.

42 Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 46-48.

43 Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 293-295.

in the ministers' minds. Gradenigo, as a long-time Galata resident, could easily have taken *zimmi* status. It is possible, in fact, that his wife and mother-in-law were *zimmis*. But he had maintained his *harbi* status as a Venetian subject, thus making Bartolini responsible for both protecting and punishing him. Peculiarly, the effort to keep the Ottomans out of the affair resulted in them being largely ignored in the documentary evidence except insofar as they provided local color: the Janissaries as an excuse for European domestics and artisans to bear arms, the imperial palace in which Gradenigo hid, the Turkish guard assisting in the arrests, the requirement to appease Ottoman officials with gifts so the sultan wouldn't learn of the incident.

Aside from the vaguely ominous threat of potential Ottoman involvement, quickly averted by bribery, the description of the attacks and arrests might have been set in any European capital. This apparent closed-mindedness to the real locale was in actuality a concerted effort by the ambassadors to maintain their nations' good standing with the Ottoman government. They feared that if news of the murder, and worse, of the penetration into an imperial residence, were to reach any of the higher echelons of the Ottoman court, then the European community as a whole would risk losing face and possibly real economic and political privileges for its respective governments. This shared concern could have prompted the ambassadors to attempt to judge the accused using general principles of right and law, without recourse to the laws of any particular nation. But such a degree of cosmopolitanism appeared inconceivable in the face of a crime that pitted the members of one nation so violently against another.⁴⁴

The day after the ministers' meeting, Villeneuve ordered his surgeon to examine Gradenigo's injuries and the cadaver of Jacque Avenins, while his chancellor began questioning Gradenigo about the previous day's events.⁴⁵ Villeneuve soon learned that he could not honestly justify imprisoning the barber: "I began to realize...that the Venetian's case was quite forgivable, as my chef was the aggressor and he only killed him from the necessity of legitimate defense."⁴⁶ The next day Bartolini followed upon this disappointing discovery by paying Villeneuve a visit in which he again pressed for the prisoner's release on grounds of

44 Sam Adelman, "Cosmopolitan Sovereignty," in Bailliet and Aas, eds., *Cosmopolitan Justice*, 13.

45 Old Regime France had no official criminal code, but Villeneuve closely followed traditional French legal procedures in compiling his case against Gradenigo, down to the medical examination of both attacker and corpse, and the formal interrogation of the accused. See Greenshields, *An Economy of Violence*, 176-186, 199.

46 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 214v.

his nationality. “The prisoner’s mother-in-law had presented him with a request, in which she explained that her son-in-law was a subject of the Republic and consequently bound to its jurisdiction, and therefore could only be judged by its representative.”⁴⁷ To this request Bartolini added the same promise he had made to Ambassador Stanyan, that he would swear to hold a legitimate trial in Galata, with the judgment to be approved by Venice, and that if the barber were found guilty he *would* be punished. Nevertheless, Villeneuve was reluctant to accede to the inevitable. He sternly addressed Bartolini: “The example of what happened last year allows me to refuse what in other circumstances should have presented no difficulty” (handing over Gradenigo) “but because it seems so easy for Venetians to avoid being punished for their crimes, I am determined to pass sentence upon this man myself.”⁴⁸ Bartolini exited the French embassy once more without having won the barber’s release.

Villeneuve was stalling for time, in an effort to persuade Bartolini of the importance of punishing Gradenigo as a matter of form to keep the peace in Galata and Pera. Even if by rights the barber did not personally deserve to be punished, to Villeneuve he represented the chance to win a symbolic measure of justice against the historically unpleasant behavior of the Venetian embassy. In the preface to his private report on the two assaults to Secretary of State Chauvelin, Villeneuve described the kinds of problems regularly posed by members of the Venetian embassy:

Very frequently quarrels have arisen here between the domestics of the Venetian ambassadors, and those of other ministers. The former are almost always the instigators, and they usually follow up with murder. The House of the *Bailo* is composed not just of subjects of the Republic (among whom are often persons who have been banished from Venice for wicked deeds), but also of Albanians wearing Venetian colors... About two years ago these Albanians assassinated a German working for Mr. Dirling [the Habsburg Resident, or ambassador], who was unable to get reparation apart from the *Bailo*’s promise that the Republic would

47 Ibid., ff. 214v-215r.

48 Ibid., 215r/v. The previous year, two months prior to Villeneuve’s arrival in Constantinople, his *rotisseur* (whom he had sent ahead) got in the way of a dispute between several French and Venetian domestics and was stabbed to death in the rue de Pera by a servant of the Venetian *bailo* at the time, M. Delphino. The perpetrator avoided punishment by vanishing, or so claimed Delphino. Neither Villeneuve nor his predecessor the Sieur de Fontenu believed this disappearance was genuine, but neither saw fit to inform Versailles about the occurrence. See *ibid.*, ff. 208v-209v, and “Relation d’une batterie...,” ff. 205v-206r.

take care to punish the guilty. Last year...my *rotisseur* (roaster)...newly arrived in Constantinople...was fatally stabbed in the middle of the rue de Pera by one of the domestics of the *Bailo*...who escaped punishment. [This past September] these same Albanians ...attacked members of the Embassy of Holland. S. Bartolini [...] chased the most seditious attackers from this country, and hushed up this affair.⁴⁹

With the capture of one representative Venetian for one typical crime, Villeneuve intended to win symbolic restitution for these many other assaults—not only for the sake of his own countrymen, but also for every European nation represented at the Ottoman capital that had ever been injured by a member of the Venetian community. Even while refusing to honor the release request made by Gradenigo’s mother-in-law, Villeneuve admitted privately that “I really resisted [handing over the prisoner] only so long as was necessary to make S. Bartolini [sic] realize how it was in the Republic’s interest not to let assassins remain unpunished, as in last year’s case. Ultimately I decided against persisting in my stubborn refusal, because I foresaw that by the rules of law I would not find material sufficient to convict the Venetian who had killed my cook.”⁵⁰

Three more days elapsed. Then at Villeneuve’s instigation another general meeting of all the European ministers was held at the French embassy, during which Bartolini made a third attempt to reclaim the prisoner. Finally Villeneuve allowed him to take Gradenigo, but only after all the ministers agreed to jointly write and sign a formal report of the murder and its resolution. This document became the “Relation of an assault between one of the principle domestics of the Embassy of France and several domestics of the Embassy of Venice.”⁵¹ Each minister received his own copy of the report and forwarded it to his home government. In addition Villeneuve held Bartolini to his former promise of a local trial for Gradenigo, assisted by the secretary of the French Embassy. But no sooner was the trial begun, then Villeneuve was confirmed in his suspicion that Venetian law would absolve the barber of having committed a crime and thence he, Villeneuve, would lose his scapegoat. Villeneuve seriously desired to inflict corporal punishment on the man as a public lesson to others, but according to Venetian law, homicide committed in legitimate defense was simply not a criminal act. And while the bearing of arms was technically a crime, it was accepted custom for Franks (as all European Christians were known locally) to carry weapons in the Ottoman Empire “under pretext that they are a necessary guarantee against

49 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, ff. 208v-210r.

50 Ibid., ff. 215r/v.

51 See note 17.

insults from Levantines or Janissaries.”⁵² Villeneuve’s token prisoner was slipping through his fingers like water through a sieve.

Realizing that he would never succeed in gaining justice against a Venetian as long as he operated in accordance with the laws of Venice, Villeneuve changed tactics from insisting on a trial to negotiating a private settlement with Bartolini that satisfied both ministers and still provided a fair warning to future offenders. They sentenced Gradenigo to permanent exile on the island of Corfu, separating him from his wife and children who were to remain in Galata.⁵³ All things considered, this let Gradenigo off lightly. In both France and the Venetian Empire, over 60 percent of homicide convictions were penalized by a death sentence, and less than 10 percent by banishment.⁵⁴ Villeneuve decided that exile was an adequate punishment. If the barber had been whipped, beaten, or otherwise physically punished, yet permitted to continue living in Galata as before, “his residency would not have been accepted easily by the French, and doubtless would have led to some fresh trouble.”⁵⁵ However, Villeneuve also tried to ensure that a certain amount of external pressure be applied to the Venetian embassy, to make its residents behave less like uncouth ruffians and more like dignified diplomats. Two months after Avenins’ murder, Villeneuve urged his government to encourage reform within the Venetian diplomatic corps:

I think...that in order to prevent a future reoccurrence [of affairs like this], it would be good if Your Excellency [the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] could...explain to the Doge that too often are found, among the servants of the Venetian ambassadors who come to Constantinople, vagabonds and bandits who only come here to avoid the full rigor of the law...indeed often the entire household of the ambassador is composed of such men... Your Excellency might

52 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 217r. See also Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire*, 13-28, and Masters, *Origins of Western Economic Dominance*, 77.

53 Banishment to an isolated Greek island was also a common punishment meted out by the Ottoman courts, usually applied to individuals judged to be “undesirable neighbors” by their community. See Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*, 168-169.

54 A 1670 French ordinance listed the criminal punishment options in descending order of severity as “death, torture, life in the galleys, perpetual banishment, limited term in the galleys, and banishment for a limited time” (Greenshields, *An Economy of Violence*, 199-204). In Venice there was more forgiveness for homicide when it was a “senseless” crime of passion or committed in self-defense; the range of punishments for convicted murderers in Venice included, in descending order of use, “execution, mutilation, corporal discipline, jail, banishment, and fines” (Ruggiero, *Renaissance Venice*, 48-49, 180).

55 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 28 November 1729, f. 217v.

suggest that the best means of preventing future difficulties would be to engage the ambassadors of the Republic to staff their households only with known and wise persons.⁵⁶

Another postscript to the murder occurred in February when Bartolini and Stanyan sentenced the two Venetians who had attacked Jean Rimbaud to row in the galleys.⁵⁷ Also, to the great satisfaction of all the ministers, Bartolini dismissed six domestics of dubious reputation.⁵⁸ Although it is unlikely that Bartolini was encouraged to do this by either his Doge or through any suggestion from France—not enough time had elapsed for the necessary communications to take place—his actions lent the appearance of an agreeable resolution to the whole business.⁵⁹ However, it was no more than an appearance; not only did the Venetian embassy have a past history of disreputable servants, but it would continue to accommodate similarly quarrelsome roughnecks for decades to come, with few repercussions.⁶⁰ By the eighteenth century Venice had ceased to be the economic superpower it once had been in the eastern Mediterranean, and the *bailo*'s increasing inability to choose and control his staff reflected this decline.

In conclusion, I would like to highlight several issues this case raises about identity-related behavior among western Europeans resident in early eighteenth-century Galata. These men clearly were not Ottomans, even though as the other essays published here demonstrate, historians are discovering that “Ottoman” is

56 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 25 January 1730, CP, Turquie, Vol. 82, ff. 46v-47r, AAE.

57 Conviction to the galleys was often a death sentence in itself, although it was considered a lesser punishment suitable for convicts “accused of attempted murder” when the victim survived, precisely as was the case for Jean Rimbaud and his attackers. See Andre Zysberg, “Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 84-86.

58 Villeneuve to Chauvelin, 8 February 1730, CP, Turquie, Vol. 82, f. 54v.

59 Charles Carrière, *Négociants marseillais au XVIII^e siècle* (Marseille, France: Institut historique de Provence, 1973), 779-789.

60 See, for example, Hatt-ı Hümayun collection 185/8669, 185/8703, 240/13446, and 264/15329, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Turkey, in which is recorded the sentencing of six Venetian Croats who, in 1789, assaulted several Turkish sailors in front of the Venetian embassy in Galata. The six offenders were sentenced to the galleys, and all other Venetian Croats in Istanbul were ordered to return to their homeland. Five years later, three had died and the Venetian *bailo* requested forgiveness for the remaining three. I thank Will Smiley for sharing these documents with me.

turning out to be a far more flexible and open identity than was previously understood.⁶¹ The individuals at the heart of this narrative—Jean Rimbaud, Jacque Avenins, Angelo Gradenigo, and their friends and supporters—were ordinary, excitable young men all similarly removed from their homelands: a mix of servants and artisans, two groups rarely heard from in histories of early modern Europeans abroad. Along with using violence to assert their national identities, the protagonists and their friends appeared well able to unify in the name of their respective nations and to petition their respective superiors to have their needs met, when it suited them. The servants' and artisans' daily lives seamlessly incorporated cosmopolitan realities with nationalist preferences. While employment could bring them together (the French chef Jean Rimbaud ran the kitchen for the English embassy, and was rescued from likely death at the wedding party by his co-workers, a mixed party of English domestics and Ottoman janissary soldiers), in their off-duty socializing and violence, their loyalties followed nation-based divisions (the wedding party consisted exclusively of Venetians; and those seeking to defend Rimbaud's honor were entirely French, even though he belonged to the English ambassador's household). These preferences form an interesting contrast to the quasi-cosmopolitan aims of the ambassadors, who attempted to preserve a collective European dignity, including all levels of society, within the confines of the Ottoman Empire. However, even the ambassadors' shared cosmopolitanism was stymied by their individual nationalist sympathies over which legal system to use when punishing wrongdoers whose crimes crossed national-identity boundaries. As legal theorist Sam Adelman observes, "Sovereignty has been the rock on which cosmopolitanism has always been in danger of foundering."⁶² Each nation relied on the bulwark of its own legal system as one element of identification within the pluralistic society that was eighteenth-century Galata.

The events that preceded and culminated in Jacque Avenins' death were predicated on national identity and national difference in the most literal fashion possible. Venetians were attacking French nationals, and the French were retaliating in kind. Villeneuve, by championing his wounded and his dead, initially appeared intent on defining his community through national distinctions, as did Bartolini in his defense of the barber Gradenigo. But to punish the wrongdoers and prevent future attacks between the domestics of different nations, Villeneuve also worked with Bartolini and the other diplomatic representatives to build a more expansive concept of community rooted in a sense of commonality among Europeans living within the alien world of the Ottoman Empire. National identity, perhaps

61 See especially Van den Boogert, "Resurrecting *home ottomanicus*," in this volume.

62 Adelman, "Cosmopolitan Sovereignty," 12.

surprisingly, in certain respects meant more to the lowest social orders than it did to the highest in the early eighteenth century. For the staff and servants of the European embassies in Galata and Pera, national origins defined both who they were and how they should relate to one another. For the ministers, national allegiance defined their official positions, yet they worked together—the Venetian *bailo* Bartolini no less conscientiously than the others—to restore harmony to the district of Galata as a whole, thus overlooking national distinctions in favor of promoting a general peace.

Venetian Vagabonds and Furious Frenchmen: Nationalist and Cosmopolitan Impulses among Europeans in Galata

Abstract ■ In eighteenth-century Galata, foreign diplomats sought to build a cosmopolitan community based on being Europeans within the Ottoman Empire. But among the lower orders national differences could ignite violent conflicts. In 1729 two French chefs provoked Venetian anger: one was injured by Venetians at a wedding; the second retaliated by attacking a Venetian barber, who then killed him. These events were predicated on national identity in the most literal fashion. Venetians were attacking French nationals simply for being French, and vice-versa. National identity, perhaps surprisingly, in certain respects meant more to the lowest social orders than it did to the highest among early-eighteenth-century western Europeans stationed in the Islamic Ottoman Empire. For the servants, national origins defined who they were and how they related to one another. For the diplomats, nation defined their official positions, yet they worked together to restore harmony.

Keywords: Galata, Homicide, Diplomacy, National Identity, Cosmopolitanism

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“After being so long Prisoners, they will not return to Slavery in Russia”: An Aegean Network of Violence between Empires and Identities

Will Smiley*

“O kadar esaretten sonra köle olmak için Rusya’ya dönecek halleri yok”: İmparatorluklar ve Kimlikler Arasında Ege’de Bir Şiddet Ağı

Öz ■ Bu makalede, 1787-1792 Osmanlı-Rus Harbi’nde iki devlet arasında kalan Rum menşeyli bir grup korsanın hikâyesi, kestirme bir cevap vermenin oldukça güç olduğu “Osmanlı kimdir?” sorusu çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmada birbiriyle örtüşen Osmanlı, Rus ve İngiliz arşiv kaynaklarından hareketle, bahsedilen vaka birkaç farklı yönden ele alınmaktadır. Öncelikle hikâyenin kahramanları olan Rum korsanların zuhur etmelerinin başlıca nedeni olan Ege Denizi’deki şiddet sarmalının tarihsel arkaplanı çizilmektedir. Daha sonra Rum denizcilerin Rus hizmetine girmeleri ve Osmanlı güçleri tarafından ele geçirilişleri anlatılmaktadır. Tutsak edilen sıradan denizcilerin, yeni “işverenleri” olan Ruslar ve hükümlerini olan Osmanlılar arasında kaldıkları zaman, kendi çıkarlarını korumak için hangi stratejilerle hareket ettikleri açıklanmaktadır. Tutsaklar ve devletler, canla başla tutsakların hukuki kimliklerini ve tabiiyetlerini tanımlamaya çalışırken, harbin bitmesiyle birlikte denizcilerin salıverilmesine sıra geldiğinde hikâye en ilgi çekici safhasına ulaşacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Şiddet Ağı, Rusya, Rumlar, Kimlik, Savaş Esirleri, Kölelik, Hukuk

In the spring of 1792, the Ottoman and Russian empires made peace, after a war that had been very bloody for both sides, but especially disastrous for the Ottomans. They had lost a number of fortress cities, along with any hope of retaking

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the Crimea. As part of the peace, both sides set about returning prisoners taken during the war—this had become traditional following previous Russo-Ottoman conflicts.¹ But as the Sublime Porte released the captives held in the prison of the Istanbul shipyards, a curious incident ensued: a number of captives, mostly Greek-speaking Ottoman Christians captured in Russian service, would not accept release. In what a British diplomat called a “scandalous and unexpected business,” they in fact refused to leave the prison, in effect going on strike against the demands of both the Ottoman and Russian states. How did these events come about, and what do they say about what it meant to be “Ottoman” in the eighteenth century?²

A fortuitous congruence in Ottoman, Russian, and British archival sources has preserved all three imperial views of this incident, and in each case, the views of the captives themselves sometimes filter through in the official narrative.³ In telling this story, I hope to explore the complicated nature of “who was an Ottoman” with reference to one particular group of captives whose membership in the Ottoman community was complex, changing—but ultimately decisive in determining their lives and fates.

Greek-speaking, Orthodox Christian Ottoman subjects, as several scholars have recently shown, occupied an unusual position in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mediterranean: they owed political allegiance to the Muslim Ottoman sultan, and yet they had strong religious ties to Christian states.⁴ Ottoman Greeks had especially strong ties to the only major Orthodox power in Europe, namely, Russia.

1 See Will Smiley, “The Rules of War on the Ottoman Frontiers: an Overview of Military Captivity, 1699-1829,” in Plamen Mitev, Ivan Parvev, Maria Baramova, and Vania Racheva, eds., *Empires and Peninsulas: Southeastern Europe between Karlowitz and the Peace of Adrianople*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010): 63-72

2 The (British) National Archives, Kew (TNA), Foreign Office collection (FO) 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS.

3 In particular, I draw on the Ottoman Başbakanlık Arşivi (BOA) in Istanbul (the Hatt-ı Hümayun, HAT, Cevdet Bahriye, CBH, and Cevdet Hariciye, CHR collections); the Russian Arkhiv Vneshnei Politikii Rossiiskoi Imperii (AVPRI) in Moscow (particularly the Konstantinopol'skaya Missiya collection, KM); and TNA in Kew, London (particularly the FO, and State Papers, SP, collections). Dates in the footnotes retain the form given in the archival documents, whether Julian/Old Style (OS), Gregorian/New Style (NS), or Islamic/*hicrî* (*h*). Asterisks indicate estimated dates; Islamic dates, in keeping with Ottoman practice, begin with the year and use alphabetical abbreviations for months.

4 See Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010); Mathieu Grenet, “Entangled Allegiances: Ottoman Greeks in Marseille and the Shifting Ethos of Greekness (c. 1790 - c. 1820),” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36, no. 1 (2012): 56–71; Christine Philliou, “Communities on the

Links between Imperial Russia and Ottoman Christians are fairly well-known, particularly through the lens of Russia's eventual support for Greek independence in the 1820s.⁵ In the eighteenth century, many Greeks enlisted in the Russian navy, especially after the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca—which opened the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to Russian shipping, while simultaneously allowing Greek settlements in Russia's new Black Sea coastal domains.⁶ These settlements, along with recruitment in the Aegean islands, soon provided large numbers of Greek-speaking sailors for the Russian merchant and military fleets, worrying Ottoman officials—who believed the Russians so ignorant of navigation that their Black Sea commerce could not prosper without foreign help.⁷ Indeed, in mid-1787, on the eve of war, the Ottomans complained to British envoy Sir Robert Ainslie that “Subjects of this [the Ottoman] Empire who are induced to emigrate...already compose the major Part of the Mariners employed in the Russian Navy.”⁸ This service, in light of the later Greek War of Independence, is often put in the context of pan-Orthodox solidarity, and of nationalist struggles against the Porte.⁹ But this probably did not motivate all Greek sailors; the international market in military labor was at its height in the eighteenth century, and few anywhere in Europe expressed moral qualms about mercenarism.¹⁰

Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 151–181.

- 5 See for example Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991).
- 6 See Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia, 1762-1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1979); Vasiles A. Kardases, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2001); Nicholas C. J. Pappas, *Greeks in Russian Military Service in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991).
- 7 TNA, SP 97/51 #5, 4 March 1775 NS.
- 8 TNA, FO 78/8 #15, 25 July 1787 NS. The Russian recruitment of Ottoman subjects continued into the early nineteenth century, to the Porte's displeasure (Kahraman Şakul, “An Ottoman Global Moment: War of Second Coalition in the Levant” (PhD diss., Georgetown, 2009), 428).
- 9 For example, Pappas, *Greeks*.
- 10 See Janice Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1994); Deborah Avant, “From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of War,” *International Organization* 54, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 41-72; Daniel Krebs, “Approaching the Enemy: German Captives in the American War of Independence, 1776-1783” (PhD diss., Emory, 2007), 191; for a rare contemporary criticism, see Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (London: Routledge, 1987), 9.

Ottoman subjects' service in the military of their state's greatest rival inevitably led to some of them being captured by the Porte's forces. In the early eighteenth century, the Ottoman fleet—whose galleys were driven by slave labor—seems to have been eager to absorb captives of any origin, including Ottoman subjects.¹¹ By 1787, the Ottoman fleet had largely abandoned galleys in favor of sail-powered vessels, but prisoners in state hands were still kept in the prison (*zindan*) of the imperial shipyards in Istanbul (*Tersane-i Amire*), known to contemporary English-speakers as the “Bagnio”—and this included Ottoman subjects taken in enemy service. In September 1787, when the Russian ship-of-the-line *Maria Magdalena* surrendered in the Bosphorus, there were Ottoman Greeks on board. According to Ainslie, they promptly claimed to have been forced into Russian service, and “engaged with the Turks.”¹²

But Ottoman subjects were most prominent not in the regular Russian fleet, but in its privateer forces. In the 1787 War, unlike the previous Russo-Ottoman conflict, Empress Catherine II's Baltic Sea fleet did not deploy into the eastern Mediterranean. But she filled the gap by commissioning privateers to raid Ottoman shipping; they sailed from Adriatic ports under the Russian flag and under the supervision of a Russian officer based at Trieste.¹³ Many of the crewmen were Greek speakers, from either Ottoman or Venetian territories; British Ambassador to Istanbul Robert Ainslie called them “a compound of Ruffians and Pirates collected from Morea and the Venetian Islands. Among the most famous commanders was Lambro Katsonis, an experienced corsair.¹⁴ Katsonis switched back and forth between “legitimate” and “illegitimate” raiding, continuing to fight, as an outright pirate, after the Russian state disavowed him in June 1792.¹⁵ Lambro and his followers resembled the “networks of violence” which Tolga Esmer has explored elsewhere in this volume.¹⁶ Where Esmer's networks were sometime intertwined

11 Smiley, “Peace,” 169–170.

12 TNA, FO 78/8 #22, October 10 1787 NS. For the story of the *Maria Magdalena* and her crew, see Smiley, “Peace,” Chapters 4 and 5.

13 BOA, HAT 210/11316, estimated 1205 *h*; HAT, 1400/56389, est. 1205 *h*; Baycar, *Müntehabât*, 644.

14 BOA, CHR 9101, 10 Safer 1203 *h*; TNA, FO 78/8 #11, 25 March 1788 NS; FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS; FO 78/13 #13, 29 May 1792 NS; John K. Vasdravellis, *Klephths, Armatoles and Pirates in Macedonia during the Rule of the Turks* (Thessaloniki: Hetaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1975), 90; Adnan Baycar, ed., *Osmanlı Rus İlişkileri Tarihi: Ahmet Câvid Bey'in Müntehabâtı* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2004), 644; Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), 269.

15 TNA, FO 78/13 #15, 9 June 1792 NS.

16 See Tolga Uğur Esmer, “A Culture of Rebellion: Networks of Violence and Competing Discourses of Justice in the Ottoman Empire, 1790–1808” (PhD diss., Chicago, 2009),

with the Ottoman state, Katsonis's corsairs were tied to Russia—but, as will be seen, they were willing to use, and to repudiate, links with both empires.

The regular Ottoman fleet was largely occupied in the Black Sea, so to protect the Aegean, the Porte turned to its own naval irregulars: the North African regencies, well-known to Americans as the “Barbary pirates.” The captured corsairs (*korsan*) who were consigned to the Bagnio were a mixed group, according to Ottoman archival records, including Maltese, Corsicans, Venetian Greeks, and Ottoman Greeks from around the Aegean.¹⁷ This was traditional; the Ottoman fleet had long imprisoned captured corsairs, and employed them as galley rowers.¹⁸ This changed after Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1807) ascended to the throne in 1789. In November 1790, a North African squadron commanded by the Algerian Saidi ‘Ali returned to Istanbul with seven or eight captured corsair vessels—and perhaps 600 captives, including, according to Ainslie, Albanians, Dalmatians, Sicilians, Maltese, Venetian and Ottoman Greeks, and subjects of “other Nations of Europe.”¹⁹ Ainslie expected that these captives would be consigned to row in the galleys, while Saidi ‘Ali’s men had already claimed some as their private property²⁰—but Selim had other ideas. He inspected the Algerian and Tunisian ships anchored in the Bosphorus and Golden Horn, and dashed off an order which survives in the Ottoman archives: “All the *reaya* [Ottoman Christian] captives who are collected in the Algerian ships are to be killed in suitable places in the Bosphorus and in Istanbul and Galata and in other places. Let none remain. There are reportedly more than 40. All are to be killed.”²¹ Over the next three days, Greek captives were hanged from ships’ yardarms, and in front of Greek churches in Istanbul.²² But there was doubt about some captives, who apparently claimed to be Russian or Venetian subjects. In response to a question from the Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*), Selim made a life-and-death decision based on such lines of subjecthood: “The ones who are *reaya* are to be killed,” he commanded. “Let the others remain.”²³

and “The Confessions of an Ottoman ‘Irregular:’ Self-Representation and Ottoman Interpretive Communities in the Nineteenth Century,” in the current volume.

17 BOA, CBH 6275, 10 Recep 1204 *h*; HAT 211/11478, 18 Şevval 1205 *h*; HAT 1389/55311, est. 1204 *h*; HAT 1397/56083, est. 1204 *h*; HAT 1402/56639 4 Cemaziyelahir 1206 *h*.

18 See Smiley, “Peace,” 25.

19 TNA, FO 78/11 #33 8 November 1790 NS; Adnan Baycar, *Hadika-i Vekâyî* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), 152–153.

20 Baycar, *Hadika*, 155–156.

21 BOA, HAT 1387/55144, est. 1203 *h*.

22 Baycar, *Hadika*, 154–156.

23 The following is from BOA, HAT 209/11182, est. 1204 *h*.

This came as a surprise to Selim's own Imperial Council, as well as to captured corsairs. Selim's new policy made it advantageous for captured Ottoman subjects to assert Venetian or Russian subjecthood in order to survive—and the debates around Greek-speaking captives' identities over the next two years suggest that they may have done so.²⁴ By the end of the war, according to Russian records, there were 169 captured privateers in the Arsenal²⁵—and Ottoman archival documents show that the Porte believed at least 58 of these to be Ottoman subjects.²⁶

The Ottomans investigated this matter because, as the war ended, captives' subjecthoods once again became important. The Treaty of Jassy, signed in January 1792, followed Russo-Ottoman tradition in mandating that all captives on both sides would be released, without ransom.²⁷ The Council soon realized that this would include any captured Ottoman subjects who had survived execution by claiming Russian or Venetian subjecthood. Upon investigation, the Council prepared a list showing that there were 58 such captives in the Bagnio, hailing from Ottoman lands around the Aegean, who had been captured at various times between November 1787 and 1791.²⁸ The Council probably feared that if these captives were returned to the Russians, their nautical skills would aid Catherine II's efforts to build up her Black Sea fleet. But there was still time to act, as the Russian Chargé d'Affaires would not arrive in Istanbul and retrieve the prisoners until spring. So, in mid-January, the Council recommended to Selim that these 58 captives should be set free and allowed to return to their homes, which “would necessarily please all of the *reaya*.”²⁹

Selim recognized that all 58 of these men were alive in spite of his orders—the Council believed they were Ottoman subjects, and yet they had not been executed after their capture. After reading the list, he reproved the Council for its negligence, or perhaps for its mercy, in dealing with the captives: “Look, when these infidels were taken as corsairs, I said ‘let them be executed.’”³⁰

Selim's anger deepened when he received a recommendation from the Fleet Dragoman (*Donanma Tercümanı*), who was himself an Ottoman Greek.³¹ The Dragoman

24 See Smiley, “Peace,” 176–180.

25 AVPRI, KM *f*90 *oi*, *di*055 *h*31, 7 April 1792 OS.

26 BOA, HAT 1402/56639, 4 Cemaziyelahir 1206 *h*.

27 See Smiley, “The Rules of War,” 63–72.

28 BOA, HAT 1402/56639, 4 Cemaziyelahir 1206 *h*.

29 BOA, HAT 1387/55087, est. 1203 *h*.

30 The next two paragraphs are based on BOA, HAT 1386/55004, est. 1205 *h*.

31 For the Fleet Dragoman's importance, see Philliou, “Communities,” 155–156.

noted that the Sicilian Ambassador, acting as a liaison for the Russian diplomats who had not yet arrived in Istanbul, would soon reimburse the Porte for the Russian captives' subsistence costs. He suggested that the Ottomans delay releasing the Greeks until this money had been paid—if they were not present when the reimbursement was paid, the Russians might reduce their payment accordingly. Selim was less concerned about saving money, than about saving face: replying to the Dragoman, he declared that the captives could not be both Russians and Ottomans. They could either be released, or they could receive subsistence funds from the Russian government, but not both.

The outcome of the subsistence reimbursement issue is unclear, but Selim agreed to the Greeks' release in early February. Perhaps in an effort to make clear to the captives that they were solely and unambiguously *Ottoman*, and no longer Russian or Venetian, Selim and the Council demanded that several high-ranking officials formally notify the Greek prisoners of their impending release. The Fleet Dragoman was to go to the Bagnio, along with his superior, the Kapudan Pasha (Ottoman grand admiral), and Christian community leaders (*kocabaşıs*). With the exception of the Kapudan Pasha, Küçük Hüseyin, all of these state officials were Greek-speaking Christians, in a sense welcoming their co-religionists back into the ranks of loyal Ottoman *reaya*—but at the same time, they warned the captives against future infractions. The Porte commanded that the prisoners be told their release was contingent upon the surety of guarantors, and that any further corsairing would be punished with death.³²

One might think that the captives, after months or years of captivity and labor, would welcome a chance to return to their homes, and would disavow, honestly or not, any intention of further violence against the Porte. But they did not. Instead, Küçük Hüseyin reported to Selim, they refused to leave the Bagnio. In his view, the prisoners had been seduced (*iğfal*) by the Russian officers, who argued that captives taken under the Russian flag, could only be *released* under that flag—into Russian custody. But the Greeks were not mere puppets of their Russian officers—they also told Küçük Hüseyin that they feared if they returned home, the Ottoman state would track them down individually, and punish them, in spite of the guarantees it had offered. They declared, therefore, that they would leave only by the word of the Russian ambassador to Istanbul. Küçük Hüseyin—or more likely, the Fleet Dragoman—tried in vain to convince the Greek captives that if they were released into Russian custody, they would be sent to Russian territory, rather than being allowed to return to their homes.³³

32 BOA, HAT 1402/56578, est. 1206 *b*; HAT 1402/56614, est. 1206 *b*; HAT 1402/56641, 19 Cemaziyelahir 1206 *b*.

33 BOA, HAT 1402/56614, est. 1206 *b*.

This bizarre scene of Ottoman officials bargaining with their own disloyal subjects to persuade them to declare themselves Ottoman, and to accept release from the sultan's own prisoner-of-war detention facility in order to return home, was not the end of the story. The captives had already turned down one imperial deal, but a few months later, they would turn down another. As the war ended, Lambro's Katsonis continued to raid Ottoman and neutral shipping in the Aegean, creating an odd paradox: Ottoman-Russian peace ensured the release of Lambro captured crewmen, but the Russians refused to disavow Lambro's own continued hostilities until June 1792.³⁴ In the meantime, in April 1792, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Aleksandr Khvostov, arrived in Istanbul, and put into motion a plan to send all of the Russian captives in the Bagnio—including the Greeks—across the Black Sea to New Russia.³⁵ Three ships were readied to carry them, at Ottoman expense. Just as the Ottoman state had warned the captives, release into Russian custody would mean separating them from their families, from their homes, and from Lambro's forces in the Aegean. Both the Greeks and their native Russian-subject colleagues also had financial concerns: many enlisted men had worked for the Ottomans during their captivity, and they now believed they were owed back wages.³⁶ Many of the privateer officers, meanwhile, had taken out loans to support themselves while in captivity, and they hoped to be reimbursed 200 piasters each by the Russian state.³⁷

The captives, realizing this, now put forward a proposal of their own. By now, as higher-ranking officers had removed to the European quarter of Beyoğlu, the ranking Russian leader in the Bagnio was *Michman* Spyridon DeGalleto—an officer in the regular Russian fleet, but most likely a Venetian Greek from the Ionian islands. He reported to Khvostov in late April that several of the corsair officers had approached him with a letter asking to return to the Aegean to serve with Lambro.³⁸ A few days later, on 7 May, eight other officers and 98 enlisted men signed a similar letter. Addressing the letter to Catherine II, they lamented that they had been reduced to a slavery worse “than death itself,” failing in their struggles in the

34 TNA, FO 78/13 #15, 9 June 1792 NS.

35 BOA, CBH 10802, 7 Şevval 1206 h; CHR 611, 18 Ramazan 1206 h; CHR 7582, 7 Ramazan 1206 h; BOA, Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-i Enebiye Kalemi Dosyaları collection 65/36, 16 Ramazan 1206 h; TNA, FO 78/13 #10, 25 April 1792 NS; BOA, Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-i Enebiye Kalemi Defterleri collection (DVED) 86/4 #389 p. 45-46, Ramazan 1206 h. The Russians had also done this after the 1768 War; see Smiley, “Peace,” 72–74.

36 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 l24r-24v, 23 April 1792 OS; TNA, FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS. For captives' work in the Arsenal, see Smiley, “Peace,” 137–138.

37 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 f14r, 14 April 1792 OS.

38 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 l4r, 14 April 1792 OS. DeGalleto wrote his reports in Russian. I thank Evangelos Katafylis for his insights on De Galleto's possible origin.

name of Orthodoxy, the empress, and freedom from Turkish oppression. They proclaimed the advantages of being sent to the Aegean to rejoin Lambro, though they also claimed they would go to New Russia if Catherine demanded it.³⁹ Here, unlike in their negotiations with the Ottoman state, the Greek captives did not communicate in Greek—though the signatories had Greek names, and DeGalleto most likely also spoke Greek, they wrote the letter in French.

This letter's survival in the Russian Foreign Ministry archives shows that it was, at some point, sent to St. Petersburg, but there is no indication that Khvostov or his superiors ever seriously considered the Greeks' proposal. Even before the letter was written, at least a few captives had become so frustrated that they completely reversed their appeals to Orthodox solidarity. Aside from questions of subjecthood, they recognized, there was another definition of identity which might determine their fate—religion. Previous Russo-Ottoman treaty and customary law had established that captives who converted to Islam would not be returned,⁴⁰ and the Greeks may have known about this. Ainslie, the British Ambassador, reported to London on April 25 that "a great number" of Greek captives "changed their Religion in order to remain here ... [and their] example would have been followed by many others had it not been prevented by secret orders from the Porte."⁴¹ In spite of these "secret orders," Ottoman documents suggest that at least a few were approved.⁴² One is tempted to speculate that these few, once they returned to the Aegean, might have simply returned to their families, and to practicing Orthodox Christianity, with none the wiser about their clever trick.

For most, however, conversion to Islam was not a viable option, whether because of the Porte's policy or because of their own views of conversion. Some simply fled from the Arsenal, likely being absorbed into Istanbul Greek communities.⁴³ For others, the answer was simpler, and more recognizable to modern observers: they went on strike.

39 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 48r-49v, 26 April 1792 OS.

40 See Will Smiley, "The Meanings of Conversion: Treaty Law, State Knowledge, and Religious Identity among Russian Captives in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The International History Review* 34:3 (2012): 559-580.

41 TNA, FO 78/13 #10, 25 April 1792 NS.

42 BOA, Cevdet Maliye collection 720, 20 Şevval 1206 b; BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver collection 10418 p. 29, 20 Şevval 1206 b. These documents, for the traditional purchase of Muslim clothing for the converts, date to early June, but the conversions likely happened earlier. Some of the converts are explicitly listed as prisoners in the Arsenal; and one, as a sailor.

43 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 451r-52r, 27 April 1792 OS.

On 8 May, DeGalleto reported, “all the captives together” came to him, and declared that they had heard, “both from the Turks and from those of other nations” that the Porte was to pay them 25 piasters each when they left. If this were not provided, they told him, they would “make great resistance” to being sent out of the Bagnio.⁴⁴ This strike involved, according to Ainslie, 120 Greeks—probably including the 58 Ottoman subjects identified by the Porte earlier (aside from those who had escaped or converted to Islam), along with others whom the Council had believed were truly Russian or Venetian subjects. The strikers seem to have recognized that it was in *both* states’ interests for them to leave the Bagnio—so now, just as they had turned down the Porte’s offer three months earlier, they turned down the Russians’. They emphasized different grievances to each state: Ainslie reported that, “[t]o the Turks they declared that after being so long Prisoners they will not return to Slavery in Russia, and to M. de Guastoff [Khvostov] they pretended that a large Sum is due to them by the Turks for arrears of Work in the Arsenal[.]”⁴⁵

Just as the Ottoman officials had a few months earlier, DeGalleto tried to convince the captives that, if they were released into his state’s custody, they would be better off—in particular, he promised the Russians would pursue the prisoners’ financial claims against the Porte. But, again as they had been in February, the captives remained unconvinced. In Ainslie’s words, they felt “a bird in hand is worth two in the bush.”⁴⁶ Indeed, they went further than this, accusing Khvostov and their officers of having received their money from the Porte, but withholding it. Native-born Russian subjects, just as much as Greek corsairs, believed they were owed arrears for their work, and by mid-May they joined the strike.⁴⁷

Thus, Selim and the Council found themselves in the same dilemma as in February: they wanted the Greek corsairs to leave the Bagnio, but the captives refused. The Porte had probably refrained from using force in February because this would have pushed the Greeks into the Russians’ arms, and because that state might have retaliated against Ottoman prisoners. But now, Khvostov—perhaps stung by the prisoners’ accusations of personal corruption—deliberately removed that bar. He “disclaimed whatever interference in behalf of the Greeks,” and this,

44 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 l53r-54v, 23 April 1792 OS.

45 TNA, FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS.

46 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 l54r-54v, 23 April 1792 OS; TNA, FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS. This paragraph is based on the latter source; the AVPRI file contains no reports between 4 and 12 May NS, suggesting that communications at the height of the dispute were conducted verbally.

47 TNA, FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS.

according to Ainslie, frightened them enough that, “sensible of their danger, [they] then embarked” for New Russia.⁴⁸

And yet, this was still not the end of the matter. The “native Russians” (as Ainslie called them) who had joined the strike were less fearful, perhaps trusting that their closer ties to the Russian state would keep them safe from Ottoman retaliation—so they “persevered” in the strike.⁴⁹ This, finally, convinced Selim to meet at least some of the strikers’ demands. He agreed to give the enlisted prisoners nine piasters each; the privateer officers had already agreed to accept a collective payment of 2,500 piasters. Thus, the Ottomans eventually found themselves paying their captured subjects to agree to go and strengthen the Russian fleet, an outcome neither the captives nor the Porte had desired. And still, even as the ships departed on 28 May, several more Greeks fled.⁵⁰

Although I have referred to these men, for simplicity, as “Greeks,” that was of course the one term which they never used to describe themselves, and which had no legal meaning, in any of their dealings with either state.⁵¹ At various times, some of the captives had proclaimed themselves Christians, Muslims, Venetians, Russians, and (indirectly, through conversion and claims of treatment) Ottomans. Selim and the Council, too, had asserted the captives’ Ottoman subjecthood (using the word *reaya*) in seeking to execute them, and then again as a reason for releasing them. Russian diplomats had first claimed the captives as Russians, and therefore eligible for release only into their custody; and then they had disclaimed protection over them, in effect putting them once again under Ottoman jurisdiction—but only to encourage the captives to accept release and transportation as Russians.

This incident revealed that for captives and states alike, the question of “who was an Ottoman” was complex and contested, but was also a matter of life and death, and of freedom and captivity.⁵² In the decades leading up to the Greeks’

48 TNA, FO 78/13 #12, 25 May 1792 NS.

49 Ibid.

50 AVPRI, KM f90 01 d1055 l65r-65v, 15 May 1792 OS; KM f90 01 d1055 l67r-67v, 16 May 1792 OS; KM f90 01 d1055 l70r-75r, 17 May 1792 OS; TNA, FO 78/13 #13, 29 May 1792 NS.

51 Molly Greene has noted this ambiguity in the seventeenth century: “Though they were everywhere, the Greeks were also nowhere. They moved throughout the eastern Mediterranean as Venetian or Ottoman subjects” (*Pirates*, 51).

52 In this sense, bonds of subjecthood resembled the importance which Lauren Benton has seen in Atlantic World for corsairs’ “ties to particular sovereigns,” which were “both vitally important and a matter of interpretation” (“Legal Spaces of Empire: Piracy and

captivity, Russo-Ottoman treaty and customary law had placed an increasing emphasis both on subjecthood and on legalized, politicized definitions of religious identity, demanding that certain captives, based on their identity, be released when peace was made.⁵³ This was, arguably, a period of transition, between fluid early modern identities and more rigid modern identities, in which both the legal and the symbolic meaning of identity were open to a variety of definitions. Being “an Ottoman” could be a matter of birth, of religion, or of language; it could be a matter of law, strictly governing life and death or freedom and captivity; or it could be a matter of symbolism, making or breaking bonds of loyalty between subjects and their sovereign. These Greek captives, caught in the middle, proved quite adept at shifting their claimed identities as the situation demanded, but both the Ottoman and Russian states were equally capable of using their own claims, as well as coercion, to pursue their interests.

“After being so long Prisoners, they will not return to Slavery in Russia”: An Aegean Network of Violence between Empires and Identities

Abstract ■ This article tells the story of one group of Greek-speaking privateers caught between the Ottoman and Russian empires during a protracted war between those two states in the late eighteenth century (1787-1792). The work uses the incident to explore the complex question of “who was an Ottoman,” and the vital effects the answer could have on the lives and livelihoods of those who negotiated their way between these two Black Sea imperial rivals. Drawing on a convenient overlap in Ottoman, Russian, and British archival sources, the article approaches this story from multiple viewpoints, first explaining the context of Aegean maritime violence from which this particular group of corsairs emerged. It then discusses their enlistment in Russian service, their capture by Ottoman forces, and the subsequent attempts of rank-and-file sailors to maneuver between the demands of their Russian employers and their Ottoman captors and rulers, all the while trying to assert their own interests. As captives and governments alike wrestled with the complex question of defining legal identity and imperial loyalty, the story became most interesting when it came time to release the captives at the close of the war in 1792.

Keywords: Network of Violence, Russia, Ottoman Greeks, Identity, Prisoners of War, Slavery, Law

the Origins of Ocean Regionalism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 4 (2005), 713).

53 See Smiley, “Meanings of Conversion”; Will Smiley, “Let *Whose* People Go? Subjecthood, Sovereignty, Liberation, and Legalism in Eighteenth-Century Russo-Ottoman Relations,” *Turkish Historical Review* 3 (2012): 196-228.

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Was there Room in Rum for Corsairs?: Who Was an Ottoman in the Naval Forces of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries?

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Diyar-ı Rum'da Korsanlara da Yer Var mıydı?: 15. ve 16. Yüzyıl Donanma-yı Hümayunu'ndaki Denizcilerin "Osmanlılığı" Meselesi

Öz ■ Bu makale, değişik tarihlerde Osmanlı sultanlarına hizmet etmiş beş mühim denizcinin "Osmanlılığı", çağdaş ve bazıları otobiyografi niteliğinde olan anlatıların ışığında incelemektedir. Kemal Reis ve yeğeni Piri Reis, II. Bayezid'in hizmetine girmeden önce Akdeniz'de korsanlık yapmışlardı. Osmanlı hizmetinde sivriilen Piri Reis, 1547'de "Mısır Kapudanlığına" getirildi. Ancak Piri Reis'in Portekizliler'den Hürmüz kalesini alamaması ve akabindeki idamından sonra, Seydi Ali Reis Mısır Kapudanı olarak tayin edildi. Osmanlı korsan-denizcilerinin en başarılı olan Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa, I. Süleyman'ın saltanatı sırasında Akdeniz'deki Osmanlı donanmasına "kapudan" oldu. Turgud Reis, sahip olduğu yetenek ve deneyime rağmen, Barbaros Hayreddin Paşadan sonra kaptan-ı derya olmayı başaramadı. Buna sebep olan kişi aynı mevkiye kendi kardeşi Sinan Paşa'yı geçirmek isteyen Başvezir Rüstem Paşa'ydı. Bu denizcilerin dışarıdaki düşmanlar ve içerideki rakiplere karşı gösterdikleri çabalar onların Rum, yani Osmanlı sultanının meşru birer hizmetkarı olmak için verdikleri mücadeleyi gösterir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kimlik, Rum, Korsanlar, Kaptan-ı Derya

"A ruler will come from the land of Rum and will completely conquer all of the Maghrib. Then he will conquer Ceuta and make my dervish lodge flourish, and so many years will pass in justice."¹

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1 Diyar-ı Rum'dan bir padişah bütün Maghrib vilayetini tamam zapt ide. Andan sonra, işbu Septe'yi feth idüb benüm zâviyem ma'mûr ide. Dahî nice yıllar âdillik üzerine rûzigâr geçce. Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul Research Center, 4 volumes, 1988), 3:1298-99; Ayasofya 2612, fol. 309b.

Introduction

Piri Reis included this prophecy while describing lands by the Straits of Gibraltar, stating that the Arab inhabitants of North Africa claimed that a holy man, Ebu'l Abbas Septi (1146-1205), set up an inscription in the citadel of Ceuta in Morocco recording this prediction. The Portuguese conquered Ceuta in 1415 and retained control of the city until 1580 when Philip II of Spain claimed all Portuguese lands.² When Piri Reis presented his *Kitab-ı Bahriye* to Süleyman in 1526 he used the term *Diyar-ı Rum* to indicate the land possessed by the ruler he intended to praise; his audience in the 16th century understood that a ruler from “the land of Rum” signified the Ottoman sultan. In contrast, historians in the 20th and 21st centuries continue to debate the meaning of the term Rum.³ The geographic aspect of the term refers to the territories that the Ottomans conquered that had formerly been ruled by the Byzantines who continued Roman imperial traditions at Constantinople and its surrounding districts. The term also had a cultural meaning because it referred to the regional culture in those lands, which after the 11th century had large Turkish populations and eventually Turcophone rulers and authors. However, many seafarers from Rum, such as Piri Reis, spent significant periods of their careers in the ports and waters of North Africa where they helped expand Ottoman power.

This article argues that Ottoman seafarers during the 16th century articulated their sense of belonging, or their identity, through expressing their attachment to a particular place, a region known as Rum. They also stressed their loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, but usually they referred to him as the ruler of Rum; very rarely did they use the term Ottoman dynasty, *Al-i Osman*.⁴ It appears that their attachment was less to the dynasty and more to the territory that the dynasty ruled, for the connection between Turks and Rum predated the Ottomans. The cadet branch of the Seljuk dynasty was known as the Seljuks of Rum. After the Seljuk state fragmented and their shared rule with the Byzantines of the region was replaced by many small states led by Turkish *bey*s (princes), the connection between Turks and Rum continued. This Rum component of Ottoman identity remained salient for some individuals within the empire, including two Ottoman seafarers who are

2 Ceuta remains a Spanish autonomous city on the coast of Morocco to the present.

3 Salih Özbaran, “In Search of Another Identity: The ‘Rumi’ Perception in the Ottoman Realm,” *Eurasian Studies* 1 (2002): 115-27. Özbaran provides a summary of the debate in this article.

4 Seydi Ali Reis usually referred to Ottoman lands as *Diyar-ı Rum* but in one instance he used *Memalik-i Osmaniye* in the same passage indicating that they were equivalent, Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir’at al-mamalik* (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1895), 28.

remembered today because of their literary achievements, not naval ones. Piri Reis and Seydi Ali Reis, expressed attachment to Rum as their home. In conjunction with exploring the Rum component of their identity, I analyze the ethnic term Turk used by Piri Reis as well as Hayreddin Pasha, the most renowned Ottoman seafarer of Süleyman's reign. Writings by and about these men and their most prominent associates, reveal multiple aspects of their identity in relation to other powerful groups within Ottoman society.⁵ As seafarers competed for places among the evolving ruling Ottoman elite, palace educated administrators attempted to prevent their attaining positions at the center of power.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when Ottoman conquests expanded the boundaries of the empire to its greatest extent, myriads of diverse peoples came under the nominal jurisdiction of the sultan. Bayezid II (1481-1512) and his grandson, Süleyman (1520-1566) built a fleet that could rival any naval forces in the Mediterranean. Ottoman naval forces were most successful when commanded by admirals who possessed fighting skills honed through experience as privateers or corsairs, but such individuals who learned their craft at sea were resented and their positions challenged by the *devşirme* (levy of boys), recruited palace administrative and military elites who dominated Süleyman's reign. Although the composition of the ruling elite of the empire was not static and had continually evolved to meet the needs of the new Ottoman masters, the increasing prominence of the most successful Ottoman seafarers at court generated internal conflicts. Exploring how seafarers viewed their relations with the ruler and his court, how they developed a sense of loyalty to the dynasty, and how they articulated their perspective on inclusion and exclusion within Ottoman institutions allows us to understand one facet of what being Ottoman and loyalty to the ruler meant during this period.

While the land based Ottoman military forces evolved in conjunction with the empire from its beginnings, the establishment of an effective Ottoman navy did not occur until almost two hundred years after the rise of the Ottoman dynasty; thus institutionally it remained less integrated into the acculturation of the ruling elite. During the reign of Bayezid II, Ottoman naval power improved substantially chiefly through the recruitment of corsairs who were deemed outsiders by the administrative elite. Widely differing views were held on to what extent corsairs should be promoted in the naval hierarchy of official Ottoman forces. The post of *Kapudan Pasha* (admiral of Ottoman naval forces)⁶ in the Mediterranean was

5 These include *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Pasha, Kitab-ı Bahriye* by Piri Reis, *Mir'at al-ma-malik* by Seydi Ali Reis and *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi esfari'l-bihar* by Kâtib Çelebi.

6 See footnote 21 concerning when the title *Kapudan Pasha* began to be used.

more often bestowed on palace favorites than on former corsairs. Thus naval leadership in the Ottoman Empire during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries presented a site of contestation between generally lower-ranking naval experts and court admirals with limited naval expertise. When the sultan, for reasons of naval policy, appointed a corsair as the supreme head of Ottoman naval forces, his *değişirme* recruited favorites criticized these admirals as outsiders. By examining this opposition between insiders and outsiders, focusing on forms of inclusion and exclusion, it is possible to find evidence of a concept of an “Ottoman identity”.

In the context of naval expansion, the other site of contestation that contributed to seafarers’ sense of self was between men attached to some degree to the Ottoman sultan and their counterparts who served the rulers of Portugal and especially those who served the rulers of Spain. In the lands and waters of both the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, the struggle for maritime supremacy produced encounters which led to the articulation of an “Ottoman identity”. Both the internal and external rivalries created conditions fostering the expression by individuals of their views of their own and others’ relationships to the rulers, the dynasty, and the lands of the Ottoman Empire.

Ethnic, religious, dynastic, and geographic terms all have their limitations when used as adjectives to describe the peoples who resided within the boundaries of the Ottoman polity. This is compounded when how those terms have been used in the recent past obscures rather than reveals their meaning during a previous period. Ottoman seafarers have been described in modern scholarship using a variety of ethnic or national terms, for example “Greek[s],” that seem to challenge an understanding of them as Ottoman. Applying an anachronistic ethnic or national identity to these individuals prevents understanding their sense of belonging to the empire. Also, while modern scholars find the term “Ottoman” useful, this word was rarely used by the individuals who wrote the sources examined in this article.

Some individuals were tightly bound to the ruler and expected sultanic favor to be demonstrated by their assignment to the highest offices. This sense of belonging or entitlement can be understood as an Ottoman political identity in this period. Individuals who were part of the *askeri* were in some sense Ottomans, but the “true” Ottomans were the sultan’s highest officials, who were mainly drawn from the *değişirme* and were educated in the palace.⁷ These favorites often received great rewards, but if they lost the sultan’s regard they lost their power and positions.

7 This was articulated long ago by Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 59–61. Itzkowitz explained that recruitment and education were essential aspects of attaining Ottoman status, which was cultural not merely dynastic.

Consequently, in this article I argue that the identification of naval leaders recruited from corsairs/privateers as “Ottoman” must be understood in the context of who was considered suitable to be included among the sultan’s highest ranking state servants. Achieving inclusion was difficult if an individual had not been educated in the palace and formed connections with other *devşirme* recruits and especially with the sultan himself.⁸ The most successful men with palace educations became the sultan’s favorites, and winning and holding his favor was essential to their long-term prosperity and often their very survival.

The favorites of Süleyman who monopolized state offices considered naval experts who had learned seafaring as corsairs to be outsiders even if they achieved the highest levels of leadership of the naval forces.⁹ Two highly talented corsairs whose inclusion as Ottomans was contested were Kemal Reis and his nephew, the cartographer Piri Reis. Thus I begin with biographical information about Kemal and Piri, before analyzing Piri’s writings for self-identification.¹⁰ Next I examine the writings of Piri’s successor as admiral of the Ottoman fleet in the Indian Ocean, Seydi Ali Reis, also known as Kâtib-i Rumi. I then analyze writings praising the exploits of Hayreddin Pasha, the most famous Ottoman admiral of the sixteenth century. Finally, I briefly consider Hayreddin’s successors as admiral, especially the incompetent but well connected Sinan, who obtained the post rather than Hayreddin’s associate, Turgud Reis. By assessing both the temporal and geographic context of the texts together with some analysis of their possible meaning, I demonstrate that self-identification and categorization by others varied according to their historical moment. The external factors that were crucial at the end of the fifteenth century were less important than internal factors at the end of the sixteenth.

8 Dror Ze’evi, “*Kul* and Getting Cooler: The Dissolution of Elite Collective Identity and the Formation of Official Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 11 (1996): 177-95. Ze’evi explained the phenomena that led to the creation of a *kul* group identity that viewed itself as an elite separated from the masses.

9 See Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britainnia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) for an analysis of similar issues in England.

10 For my analysis of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* by Piri Reis, I have relied on the edition published by the Historical Research Foundation. This edition has many advantages: it includes a facsimile of the Ayasofya 2612 manuscript of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* that I examined at the Süleymaniye Library. It also includes a transliteration of the Ottoman text, a modern Turkish “translation” as well as an English translation. The reader may compare all the versions of the text to analyze how the terms found in the manuscript have been rendered in the other versions.

Kemal Reis and Piri Reis

Kemal Reis, a corsair whose family originated from Karaman in Anatolia was one of the founders of Ottoman sea power during the reign of Bayezid II. Although Ottoman forces since the time of Bayezid I in 1390 had defeated the *beylik* (principality) of Karaman's lords repeatedly, it was not until 1474 that final resistance in Karaman was virtually eliminated and its lands and inhabitants became definitively part of the possessions of the Ottoman sultan. Therefore a young Kemal (c. 1450-1511) might have grown up with Karamanid sympathies and his eventual employment by an Ottoman ruler could not have been predicted at his birth. However, Kemal appears to have entered Ottoman service by 1470, since he sailed with the Ottoman fleet as a junior officer during the Negroponte campaign of Mehmed II in 1470.¹¹ Piri, who was born between 1465 and 1470, probably at Gallipoli, went to sea with his uncle in about 1481, and for the next fourteen years they sailed the Mediterranean as corsairs. Piri learned navigation from Kemal as they sailed throughout the Aegean and then to the western Mediterranean as far as the modern Algerian coast. In 1495 Bayezid II recruited both Kemal and Piri into his service as part of official Ottoman naval forces.¹²

Kemal Reis's significant contribution to Ottoman naval power included battling the Venetians in the Mediterranean and challenging the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal's maritime expansion. His most crucial service occurred during the Ottoman war with Venice from 1499 through 1503. Kemal helped capture several ports in southern Greece: Lepanto in 1499, Coron and Modon in 1500, and Navarino in 1501. Kemal continued to sail to western Mediterranean waters to aid Muslims, who after the Spanish conquest of Granada in 1492, faced persecution in Spain and conquest in North Africa.¹³ In 1507 Bayezid sent Kemal with materials to assist the Mamluks of Egypt in constructing a fleet to halt Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean. The uncle and his nephew divided their time between sailing the Mediterranean and shore based activities in Gallipoli, which was the chief Ottoman naval arsenal until 1518.¹⁴

11 Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 37.

12 Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, 1: 54-55. The family background of Kemal and Piri is disputed but the evidence in Piri's works points to origins in Karaman with the family migrating to Gallipoli. See Cevat Ülkekel, *Büyük Türk Denizcisi Kemal Reis* (İstanbul: Piri Reis Araştırma Merkezi, 2007); and Cevat Ülkekel and Ayşe Hande Can, *Piri Reis'in Yaşamı, Yapıtları ve Bahriyesinden Seçmeler* (İstanbul: Piri Reis Araştırma Merkezi, 2007).

13 See Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: a History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 36-42.

14 Marino Sanuto's *Diarii* is a rich source on Kemal Reis. He is the first "Turk" mentioned

Gallipoli attracted young men whose ambition was to pursue a career at sea. These possibilities included sailing with official Ottoman naval forces, engaging in maritime trade, or becoming a privateer. These activities were not mutually exclusive, and the most successful Ottoman seafarers engaged in multiple options. Privateers or corsairs or, as Piri identified himself and his uncle, sea *gazis*, were warriors for the faith who acquired wealth and fame as well as religious merit. Sea *gazis* had not originated with the Ottomans, but these *gazis* of the sixteenth century were carrying on a tradition begun in the fourteenth century in the Turkish principalities of Aydın and Menteşe.¹⁵

The Ottoman administrative elite viewed these freelance corsairs with both misgiving and disdain. Corsairs had more independence than most officials who were solely dependent on the sultan's favor and they viewed them as rivals. Faik Ağa criticized Bayezid's reliance on Kemal during the war with Venice and he called Kemal a robber and decried his independence.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Bayezid publicly rewarded the achievements of Kemal and Piri after the victory at Navarino in 1501; he invited them to a meeting of the imperial divan where Kemal kissed Bayezid's hand and received 3000 *akçes* (silver coins) and a sable robe of honor.¹⁷ Piri also noted that previously Bayezid had followed Kemal's advice regarding the most important goals for a sea campaign against the Venetians.¹⁸

As an advisor and as a successful naval commander Kemal won the sultan's favor, thereby arousing the jealousy of officials who desired to monopolize positions of power in the empire. Venetian authors record this rivalry. While Bayezid de-

in the *Diarii* and there are many reports about him in this source. Sanuto's first reports concern Bayezid's recruitment of Kemal Reis in 1496. He refers to him as "Camali turcho corsaro". Since Sanuto refers to Bayezid as "Signor turcho" it is not surprising that he refers to Kemal as a Turk. Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii* (Venice: F. Visentini, 1879-1903), 1: 10, 83, 136, 387, 441, 462-63, 1070-71. See also Peter Mario Luciano Sebastian, "Turkish Prosopography in the *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto 1496-1517/902-923," PhD dissertation, University of London, 1988; Ibn Iyas, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, trans. and ed. Gaston Wiet (Paris?: Librairie Armand Colin, [1955?]), 1:115. I thank Jane Hathaway for locating this reference; Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994), 69, 114.

15 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia per tutti i paesi del mondo, 1983).

16 Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 2: 2152-53, report number 1128, August 1499, "solum Camalli governa..."

17 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 2:660.

18 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 2:709.

liberated over whether he should promote Kemal to the office of vizier, Bayezid's administrators endeavored to block this by any means, which may even have reached the point of plotting to kill Kemal. One Venetian report claimed that Admiral Iskender had caused Kemal's death by sending him to sail in an unsound ship, which sank in a storm in 1511.¹⁹ Thus Piri lost his uncle, mentor, and influence at court, for although Piri had commanded a ship during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1499-1502, he had served as a subordinate of his uncle.²⁰ After 1511, Piri's activities on shore at Gallipoli were at least as important as those at sea. He continued to sail in western Mediterranean waters under the leadership of Hayreddin, later *Kapudan* (grand admiral) during the reign of Süleyman (1520-1566).²¹ In contrast to Hayreddin, Piri's fame in the twentieth century developed not because of his *gaza* activities at sea but because of his cartography. In 1513, Piri produced a map that included the Americas. Piri learned navigation from his uncle, but he produced maps by consulting Ottoman or Muslim sources together with maps being drawn in western Europe during this period of exploration. Piri explained that he created his map by combining information from approximately thirty maps including one made by Columbus. He obtained this map from a Spanish slave captured by Kemal who claimed to have sailed with Columbus to the Americas three times. The nature of the information that Piri included about Columbus on his own map indicates that Piri empathized with Columbus's desire to have his successful voyages suitably rewarded. Piri stated on the map that the Spanish rulers promised Columbus that if he discovered lands with riches, he would be made governor of them.²² Piri emphasized his own accomplishments by stating that his map was reliable and "worthy of recognition" and by mentioning it in his next masterpiece, a portolan, the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* or Book of Seafaring. Piri presented his map to Selim I (1512-20) at Cairo in the summer of 1517 after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt.²³ Apparently Piri had created his map at Gallipoli in

19 Sanuto, *Diarii*, VI: 519, 554; VII: 52.

20 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, I: 66-67.

21 Hayreddin commanded all the naval forces in the Ottoman Empire from 1534-1546. The most important among these from the perspective of Istanbul was the Mediterranean fleet. Later grand admirals were referred to as *Kapudan Pasha* but that title was not used by Hayreddin Pasha who was referred to in official correspondence from the sultan as the Governor of the Islands (of the Aegean, not Algiers) or *Cezayir beglerbegisi*. See Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: IB Tauris, 2011), 186. S. Ozbaran, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Kapudan Pasha."

22 Soucek, *Piri Reis*, 49-79.

23 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, I:42.

1513, then sailed to North Africa, because Hayreddin sent him to Selim from the western Mediterranean in 1515.²⁴ Subsequently he accompanied Ottoman naval forces to Cairo in 1517. Thus Piri continued to sail the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, participated in the most important naval conflicts of the period, while also studying maps and creating his own masterpieces. Piri presented his 1513 map to Selim as a means to achieve recognition. The sultan accepted the map and presumably brought it with him when he returned to Istanbul because it would be preserved in the library at Topkapı palace afterwards.

Although details concerning Piri's life are sketchy and personal anecdotes mainly record experiences with his uncle, the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* recounts that Piri was selected to act as pilot for the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha due to his skill as a navigator. Süleyman sent Ibrahim to Egypt in 1524 to organize its administration. Piri's record of his encounter with Ibrahim indicates how greatly he sought recognition of his accomplishments.

Whenever I fell into distress at sea, I always consulted a book. The [sailing] directions that I had written down in [this] book of mine amply demonstrated the excellence of my expertise. His excellency the great Pasha... thus grasped its gist, perfect knowledge [of the mariner's craft]; he knew there was accuracy, mastery in the art of navigation [contained in my book]. When his mind reached perception of it[s merits], he showed esteem for this slave of his as a result. He wished to bestow patronage upon this dust (i.e. me), so that I might be elevated, like the sun, by it. ... He said, 'You are a very able man, and there is much excellence in your character. The entire configuration of the sea has become known [to you]: none of its spots are hidden from you. I wish that you make all of it manifest, that you be remembered by it until doomsday. You should polish up this book well ... so that we may present it to the sovereign of the world.'²⁵

This meeting inspired Piri to revise his rough version of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, and he produced a more elegant work that he gave to the sultan in 1526. Piri's final cartographic achievement that has survived is a world map that was completed in 1528.

Piri Reis disappears from Ottoman records between the time he completed his second map in 1528 and the time when he was appointed *Mısır Kapudanı* (admiral of the fleet at Suez) that sailed the Indian Ocean in 1547. While Piri had an unrivaled knowledge of the Mediterranean as evidenced by his *Kitab-ı Bahriye*,

²⁴ Svat Soucek, "Tunisia in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* by Piri Reis," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 5 (1973):129-131.

²⁵ Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 4: 1781-87; this translation is by Soucek, *Piri Reis*, 89.

he did not have extensive knowledge of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean so his cartographic knowledge alone does not explain why he received this appointment. In contrast to the position of admiral over the Mediterranean naval forces, the administrative elite did not view the Suez command as a prestigious position.²⁶

Piri's first assignment was to reconquer Aden, former Ottoman territory in Portuguese and then local Arab hands from 1538. By February 1549 this important port was again subject to the Ottoman sultan. Piri was rewarded with a *zeamet* (fief) worth 100,000 silver coins. In 1552 Piri sailed from Suez with a small fleet of 30 ships to attack Hormuz, another strategic port held by the Portuguese. This attack was unsuccessful and Piri sailed for Basra in the summer of 1553 and then returned to Suez, leaving most of the fleet at Basra. From Suez he proceeded to Cairo, where he soon received a death sentence from Istanbul. The governor of Egypt executed him in 1554.²⁷

Piri Reis' execution either for failure to achieve his objectives or, as the seventeenth-century naval historian Kâtib Çelebi hints, for some financial indiscretion, is chiefly understandable as the fate of an individual who lacked meaningful connections with the palace elite.²⁸ In contrast, Rüstem Pasha's brother, Sinan Pasha, failed to conquer Malta in 1551, but he retained the position of grand admiral and died of natural causes three years later. From the days when Piri sailed with his uncle Kemal, they were outsiders among the sultan's administrators who viewed them with suspicion and envy. While Ibrahim Pasha recognized the value of Piri's cartographic endeavors, Süleyman executed Ibrahim in 1536 and thus his support as a patron was eliminated. After the rise of Rüstem Pasha, grand vizier 1544-1553,

²⁶ Soucek, *Piri Reis*, 102.

²⁷ Soucek, *Piri Reis*, 102-103; Kâtib Celebi, *The Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns*, ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: Prime Ministry Undersecretariat for Maritime Affairs, 2008), 93-94.

²⁸ Kâtib Çelebi, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, trans. James Mitchell (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1831), 72. For a different view of Piri Reis' relations with Rüstem Pasha see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 84-116. Casale believes that Rüstem Pasha was Piri Reis' patron based on a Portuguese intelligence report. Spies who were separated by a long distance from the events they were describing frequently reported hearsay, which could be very inaccurate. For an example of this see my "An Ottoman Report about Martin Luther and the Emperor: New Evidence of the Ottoman Interest in the Protestant Challenge to the Power of Charles V," *Turcica* 28 (1996): 299-318. Casale also claims that Hayreddin was Piri's patron, but evidence for this is lacking in comparison to evidence regarding Hayreddin's patronage of Turgud Reis who Hayreddin rescued from Genoese captivity in 1544, see Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies*, 239.

1555-61, and his brother Sinan, admiral 1548-54, relations with former corsair seafarers became increasingly strained.

Piri Reis' works are among the richest sources for analyzing an "Ottoman" sixteenth century view of both the Ottoman Empire and the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. During Piri's lifetime, 1470?-1554, the Ottoman Empire expanded greatly. New groups of Muslims and non-Muslims became subjects of the Ottoman sultans, most dramatically exemplified by the conquest of the Mamluk territories with their Arabic speaking inhabitants.

Piri Reis' works, especially the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, offer a snapshot of the status of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea in the 1520s.²⁹ Ottoman expansion had a significant political impact on these lands; so did Iberian expansion occurring at the western end of the Mediterranean Sea where Portuguese and Spanish monarchs extended their rule to new possessions. Piri himself witnessed the transition in these lands or heard it described by those personally affected. In the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Piri offered information on the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Sea beyond that needed for navigation: the name or names of a place; who ruled it and how that had changed; and the religion and language of the inhabitants. He also narrated his own personal experiences, usually in the company of his uncle, Kemal Reis. His stories provide evidence of how he identified himself in relation to the fluctuations in power occurring in this period of transition in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean.

Such personal evidence for Piri's notion of self found in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* is supplemented by that found on his two maps, large portions of which have been lost. Fortunately, on both maps the signature of Piri Reis is found on the surviving sections. The 1513 map's colophon states, "Composed by poor Pir, son of Haci Mehmed, known as the paternal nephew of Kemal Reis, may God pardon them both, in the city of Gallipoli, in the month of Muharram the sacred, year nine hundred and nineteen."³⁰ The statement on the 1528 map is similar: "Drawn by the lowly Piri Reis, son of el-Hacc Mehmed, known as the paternal nephew of the

29 We do not have an autograph copy of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, but the many manuscript copies from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century did not update the information regarding the political status of the territories described in the 1520s.

30 Svat Soucek, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Piri Reis," Topkapı Palace Library, Revan 1633. Svat Soucek's other translation varies slightly: "The person who drew it is poor Piri, son of Haci Mehmed and paternal nephew of Kemal Reis – May God pardon them both! – in the city of Gallipoli, in the month of Muharrem the sacred of the year 919 (9 March-7 April 1513)." *Piri Reis*, 49.

late Reis Gazi Kemal, from the city of Gallipoli, in the year of 935.”³¹ The only significant difference for Piri’s identification of himself and his uncle is that on the second map he refers to Kemal as a “Gazi,” which he also did in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*: “This weakest of God’s servants without power, the child of the brother of the late Gazi Kemal Reis, Piri Reis the son of the Hacı Muhammad.”³² In the poetic conclusion to the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Piri gave his name again, “Captain of the Sea, Piri son of Muhammad.”³³ From these references, we learn little beyond his father’s name, that his father had performed the Hajj, and that he was nephew of the more famous Kemal Reis.³⁴

The anecdotes in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* about his adventures with his uncle indicate the groups that Piri felt that he belonged to, as well as his views of their contributions to “Ottoman” society and power.³⁵ In the introduction, Piri praises Kemal and explains:

Together we visited the lands of the Franks and we crushed many enemies of the Faith.

One day a *firman* graciously sent by Sultan Bayezid Han came to us.

And it commanded, “Let Kemal Reis come before me and serve in maritime matters at my court.”

Good reader, in 900, the year of this order, we returned home.

And after that, by order of the sultan we set out on voyages and won many victories at sea.³⁶

Piri identified Kemal as a *gazi* explicitly in both the 1528 map and in the introduction of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. However, here he emphasized that they were

31 Soucek, *Piri Reis*, p. 79.

32 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 1: 39.

33 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 4:1776.

34 Two Ottoman reference works provide some variations regarding Piri Reis’ name and possibly some additional information regarding the origins of the family. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir gives his name as Ahmed b. Ali al-Hacc Muhammed al-Karamani Larandavi in *Osmanlı müellifleri* (Istanbul: Meral Yayınevi, [1971]-1975), 3: 315, note 5. Mehmed Süreyya gives it in the form Piri Muhyiddin Reis in *Sicill-i Osmani*, 4 vols. (Westmead, Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), 2: 44. See Fuad Ezgu, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Piri Reis.”

35 He refers to himself as “bu fakir”, a typical way for an individual to address the sultan revealing his humility before the ruler, Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 1: 43.

36 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 1: 53-55, translation by Robert Bragner. Compare Svat Soucek’s translation in *Piri Reis*, p. 40.

summoned from *gaza*/corsair activities in distant waters to serve the sultan in an official capacity as part of Ottoman naval forces, not merely as free lance corsairs. In addition to official recognition, they returned to the region that they considered their “home”, the lands and waters near the sultan’s court at Istanbul.

Another incident that deserves special attention is found only in the first version of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. This description is significant because Piri identified Kemal and himself as *gazis*, Turks, and their homeland as Rum.

Once Kemal and I came to Bijayah [Bougie in Algeria], ... As we approached Bijayah, boats manned by inhabitants of the city came ten miles out towards us. They asked who we were and came right up to us and climbed on our ship. The late Kemal Reis asked them, ‘Why were you not wary of us? After all, no Turk has come here as yet.’ They answered, ‘Three days ago Sidi Muhammad Tuwati informed us that a *gazi* was coming from Rum and told us to go and meet him. When we saw you today, we went and told the Shaykh. ... No sooner had we said this than the Shaykh exclaimed, “Go forth, it is the *Gazi*!” So we have come to you.’ ... first of all we went with several of our companions to the Zaviye of Sidi Muhammad Tuwati. ... He placed his hand on Kemal Reis’s head, ... and said, ‘God willing, the Rum Padişah will bestow his favor on you.’ ... Out of love for this saint, we spent two winters at Bijayah, sailing out each summer on our raids.³⁷

This incident probably took place around 1490-92. Since Kemal and Piri made Bijayah their base of operations for over a year, they were not acting in an official capacity as part of the sultan’s naval forces but sailing as corsairs. This story indicates that Muslims in North Africa considered Turks to be *gazis* fighting against the Spanish threat to their cities. At this time, “Turks” in the western Mediterranean were still a novelty, as opposed to after 1513 when Oruç and his brother Hızır, later known as Hayreddin Pasha, took refuge in North Africa and subsequently made Algiers their base of operations. In 1533 Suleyman invited Hayreddin to return to the Eastern Mediterranean and lead Ottoman naval forces.

In 1521 Piri was describing an encounter with the indigenous population of North Africa that had probably occurred thirty years earlier. Describing himself as

³⁷ Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Yeni Cami 790, Süleymaniye Library, folios 138b-139a; Soucek, *Piri Reis*, pp. 48-49. Soucek’s translation of this passage is from the first version of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* in the Topkapı Palace Library, MS. Bagdad 357. I have modified his excellent translation to reflect the terms used in the original manuscript, replacing “Turkey” with “Rum” and “Ottoman sovereign” with “Rum Padişah” reflecting the original terms.

a Turk reflected the novelty of Turkish speaking corsairs on the shores of western North Africa, where the local population previously had never met a Turk. But their recognition suggests that *gazis*/corsairs whose homeland was Rum or Anatolia were renowned as far away as the Algerian coast. Significantly, the ruler of Rum's favor was the ultimate reward for great deeds performed by corsairs. From his description of this interaction with the Muslims of Bougie, Piri indicated that in contrast to them he was a Turk from Rum, hoping to enter the service of the ruler of Rum.

Piri used the terms "Rum" and "Turk" frequently throughout the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Turk is most often found in the phrase "Türk taifesi" when Piri indicated the names Turkish seamen used for places. Rum appears most often in *Bahr-i Rum*, which Piri used more frequently than *Akdeniz* to refer to the Mediterranean Sea.³⁸ But Piri is not consistent in his use of Rum, and its meaning depends on the context. When Piri indicated that some names were of Rum or Greek - origin then Rum means the Greek language.³⁹ Sometimes Rum means Anatolia, and it also might mean the Ottoman Empire more generally, perhaps even islands off the Anatolian coast.⁴⁰ According to Piri, Hayreddin was from Rum, but his detailed description of Midilli (Lesbos), Hayreddin's birthplace, does not mention Hayreddin.⁴¹

Another example of Piri's use of the term "Rum" was in his description of Tripoli, which he claimed was one of the most beautiful fortresses in the Maghrib, until its conquest by Spain led to its ruin. Piri claimed that when he and Kemal halted at Tripoli while cruising the Mediterranean on the sultan's orders, the inhabitants asked Kemal to convey a petition to the sultan, asking for a governor [*sancak beyi*], but "While we were going to Rum, the infidel king of Spain sent a

38 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 1: 83. On this page he uses both terms.

39 For example, an island that Piri calls Sira was subject to Venice. He stated that Franks called it Suda, while the "Rum taifesi" called it Kapris, Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 2: 574-75. It is Siros one of the Cyclades southeast of Athens.

40 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 4: 1428-29. Cemal Kafadar provides a fascinating analysis of the evolution of the meaning of the terms Rum and Rumi over a long period in "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7-25. I wish to thank Linda Darling for bringing this article to my attention. See p. 16 where Kafadar states that "educated urban Turcophone subjects" preferred to call themselves Osmanlı or Rumi. This volume of *Muqarnas* includes other articles on the topic of Rum, for example, see Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses," 1-6, and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," 141-83

41 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 1: 290-309.

force of sixty ships against Tripoli and conquered the citadel.”⁴² Due to Spanish expansion to the North African coast, threatened cities sought Ottoman protection. In this context, the sultan’s domains were known as Rum, and the seamen from Rum who were active along the coast of North Africa were Turcophone. Thus, Turks are identified as distinct from other groups linguistically. Rum designates a geographic location, but along with the location, Rum designates the area where the culture of Turkish speakers flourished.

Piri claimed that he was a Turkish speaking corsair/sea *gazi* from Rum. In the 1520s when the conflict with Habsburg Spain grew more important due to the rivalry between Süleyman and Charles V, this external encounter in the Mediterranean encouraged identification as belonging to Rum and its ruler. However, internal encounters between Süleyman’s *kuls* and Turkish speaking corsairs threatened the seafarers’ sense of belonging. Increasingly Süleyman’s favorites claimed that only men who were the sultan’s *kul[s]*, that is, slaves who had received a palace education, could be accepted into the privileged status of the sultan’s official high ranking state servants. Some individuals might nearly succeed in attaining an insider status if they were properly educated, fortunate, and sufficiently obsequious in their dealings with the sultan and his favorites. Piri Reis’s successor as *Mısır Kapudanı* (admiral in the Indian Ocean), Seydi Ali Reis, possessed these qualifications.

Seydi Ali Reis, also known as Kâtib-i Rumi

Seydi Ali Reis, who was born about 1500 in Istanbul and died there in 1562/3, combined seafaring and composing works of poetry, as well as translating works from Persian and Arabic. The most notable events of his life occurred when in 1553 Süleyman commanded Seydi Ali Reis to retrieve the fifteen galleys that Piri Reis had abandoned at Basra. While fulfilling this command, due to a battle with the Portuguese and a severe storm at sea, Seydi Ali Reis was forced to land at Surat on the coast of India. There the Portuguese ambassador threatened that he would never leave India due to Portuguese naval power. Therefore Seydi Ali Reis journeyed overland to return to Ottoman territories, leaving in November 1554 and arriving in Baghdad February 1557.⁴³

In his book *Mir’at al-mamalik*, Seydi Ali Reis described many encounters with Muslims and non-Muslims during his journey. He continually praised Rum,

42 “Biz Rum’a gelürken mezkur Tarabulus’un üzerine asker ile İspanya kafiri altmış barça gönderüb mezkur kal’ayı aldılar.” Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 4: 1426-1429.

43 Svat Soucek, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Sidi Ali Re’is.”

often referred to as *Diyar-ı Rum*, showing his attachment to a geographic region, and expressed loyalty to its ruler, *Padişah-ı Rum*. Thus while recounting these external encounters he emphasized the feelings that impelled him to return to Ottoman lands, providing evidence of his self-identification. Turning to internal encounters, Seydi Ali Reis explained his qualifications for the position of admiral by describing his status in Ottoman society. He stated he was Seydi Ali son of Hüseyin, and that his pen name was *Kâtib-i Rumi*. Previously, he had fought at Rhodes, served under both Hayreddin Pasha and Sinan Pasha, sailed to North Africa, and had written books on navigation. Besides these personal qualifications, his father and grandfather had been in charge of the arsenal at Galata since the conquest of Istanbul.⁴⁴

By stating that he had served under both Hayreddin Pasha and Sinan Pasha, Seydi Ali Reis reveals an awareness of the various factions in Ottoman naval leadership. Since his father and grandfather had held leadership positions at the arsenal, he would have observed closely the rivalry between corsairs and *devşirme* officials for the position of admiral. Seydi Ali Reis was neither a corsair nor a *kul*, but he must have had many experiences interacting with men from each group, both during naval campaigns and in Istanbul at the arsenal. He, his father, and his grandfather were naval professionals. Although men from this category rarely were appointed grand admiral, nevertheless they were an essential if under recognized component of Ottoman naval forces.⁴⁵

When describing his adventures, Seydi Ali Reis constantly emphasized that his determination to return to the Ottoman Empire was tested to the utmost as he was forced to travel through India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Iran, and Iraq and endure being entangled in the endemic warfare in these lands. Most of his original companions remained in India rather than attempt the journey. Seydi Ali recorded that he was imprisoned, wounded, and robbed and that local rulers also often importuned him to remain in their lands and enter their service. He refused all such solicitations, as he was determined to return to *Diyar-ı Rum*. But his frequently expressed devotion to Rum and the sultan could reflect fear that his failure in the Indian Ocean might lead to his execution.⁴⁶

44 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 14. For an English translation see *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, trans. A. Vambéry (London: Luzac, 1899), 5.

45 In general we learn about naval professionals from financial documents such as Başbakanlık Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver Defters 175, 187, 199 rather than narrative sources.

46 Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), 183-85.

Seydi Ali usually mentioned rulers by name, such as the Mogul emperor, Humayun.⁴⁷ However, he only referred to the Ottoman sultan using titles of respect, such as the *saadetlu* [prosperous] *padişah* [emperor] often described as *hazretleri* [exalted] or as the ruler of Rum.⁴⁸ Seydi Ali Reis never used the term Turk in any context whatsoever, either when referring to inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire or in referring to any of the Turkic groups he encountered in India or in Central Asia. He used the terms Chagatay, Özbek, Kipchak, Turkistan and Turan but never Turk.⁴⁹ He referred to Arabs and other ethnic groups such as Kurds, Afghans, Circassians and Russians.⁵⁰ Seydi Ali Reis did designate various components of the Ottoman sultan's military forces, such as *misir kuls*, Arab oarsmen, and Janissaries whom he called *Rumi* troops. He used the term *Osmaniye* only once to refer to the lands of the empire, while he used the terms Rum or Rumi repeatedly.⁵¹ He deserved the nickname *Kâtib-i Rumi*, because of his frequently expressed loyalty to Rum and its ruler. However he wrote in various Turkish dialects; his poetic works, including those in Chagatay, were instrumental in obtaining his release more than once.

A few passages indicate the meaning of Rum in Seydi Ali Reis' writings. The Mogul ruler Humayun inquired if Rum or Hindustan was larger. Seydi Ali Reis responded by asking if by Rum, Humayun meant the province of Sivas or all the lands ruled by the *Padişah-i Rum*? He boasted, somewhat inaccurately, that these territories included Yemen, Mecca, Egypt, Aleppo, Istanbul, Kaffa, Buda [Hungary] and Bech [Vienna]. He compared the sultan's empire to that of Alexander, claiming it included territories in the seven climes.⁵² However, when the Shah of Iran questioned him regarding the income of Ottoman officials, "*vilayet-i Rum beylerbeys*," Seydi Ali Reis explained that the officials all belonged to the ruler of Rum and that the *beylerbeys* of Rumeli, Anatolia, Egypt, Budun, Diyarbekir, Baghdad, Yemen, and Algiers were each paid as much as another ruler would spend for his entire army. He also indicated that there were additional *beylerbeys*.⁵³ Seydi Ali Reis explained that the highest officials of the empire were *kuls* of the sultan, although other officials who were not *kuls*, such as himself, were loyal to the ruler.

47 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 40, 41 for example.

48 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 41, 43, 51 for example.

49 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 49 for Chagatay, 63 for Turan, 65 for Turkistan.

50 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 60 for Afghan.

51 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 28.

52 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 51-52.

53 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 90-91.

When Seydi Ali Reis finally reached Ottoman territory, he did not consider the cities of Baghdad, Diyarbekir, Mardin or Malatya as being in Rum. Only when he reached Sivas did he consider that he was in Rum, but Istanbul really was the true goal of his journey. Unfortunately, Süleyman was at Edirne, so Seydi Ali Reis traveled there to present his report in person. Süleyman and the viziers, including Rüstem Pasha, were very gracious to him after his return and Seydi Ali Reis enjoyed their favor in the following years.⁵⁴

Seydi Ali Reis's interests, combined with his self-identification contribute to a more precise assessment of where he belonged in Ottoman society. He was a Sufi devoted to visiting tombs and shrines.⁵⁵ In contrast to Piri, he emphasized Islamic scholarship rather than that of Europe as the basis of his scholarly works. Most of his literary works on mathematics, astronomy and navigation were translations from Arabic and Persian. However, he was familiar with Portuguese explorations, being more interested in the Indian Ocean than Piri Reis had been.⁵⁶

Seydi Ali Reis's pen name, *Kâtib-i Rumi*, distinguished him in the context of the Indian Ocean and the lands east of the Ottoman Empire. A variety of Turkic individuals inhabited these areas and to distinguish a Turkish speaking individual from the Ottoman Empire, Rumi was an appropriate term. We know nothing about his family before the conquest of Constantinople, so it is impossible to speculate about his ethnicity.⁵⁷ Seydi Ali Reis, as he presented himself in the *Mir'at al-mamalik*, reflected familiarity with Turkish culture, such as when he referred to Nasreddin Hoca's response to his questioners when he was trying to escape interrogation by the Kızılbaş in Iran.⁵⁸ There are no references to anything Christian or Greek that would indicate that Rumi reflected a Greek background. Seydi Ali's use of the terms Rum and Rumi is more consistent than that of Piri Reis, reflecting a change in usage from thirty years earlier and/or the Indian Ocean context as opposed to that of the Mediterranean.

Seydi Ali's pen name, *Kâtib-i Rumi*, also indicates the literary component of the terms Rum and Rumi. Cemal Kafadar states that biographical dictionaries of

54 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 97.

55 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 15.

56 Soucek, "Sidi."

57 The arsenal at Galata was under Genoese control before the conquest. Unfortunately we do not know his grandfather's name or we might be able to find more clues relating to the family background. See Metin Kunt's analysis of the importance of ethnicity in some instances for creating alliances among the elite. "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *IJMES* 5 (1974):233-39.

58 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'at*, 77.

literary types such as poets “spoke about the poets of the lands of Rum, not the Ottoman Empire, and distinguished them from the ‘Acem and Arab poets. Rum was a cultural space inhabited by a community that shared a literary language, Turkish.”⁵⁹ Seydi Ali boasted of his success as a poet in Turkish as well as in Chagatay. In Seydi Ali’s memoirs, Rum was a place defined culturally as well as in terms of physical geography.

Seydi Ali and Piri Reis are remembered today mainly for their writings rather than their relatively modest seafaring careers. Their renowned contemporary, famous in Europe and the Ottoman Empire for his victories in the Mediterranean, the corsair Hayreddin Pasha, became admiral of the Mediterranean fleet and thus supreme head of Ottoman naval forces. His abilities provoked fear in Christian Europe and envy among the Ottoman elite. European rulers offered to hire him, while some European authors claimed him as one of their own, but the Ottoman elite considered him an outsider. Süleyman relied on him, undeterred by his lack of *kul* status.⁶⁰

Hayreddin Pasha

Hayreddin Pasha, known to Europeans as Barbarossa, achieved such renown during his lifetime that he was the subject of wild speculation concerning his origins.⁶¹ The family background and early years of Hayreddin are obscured by tales concerning him that originated in the 16th century, and were sensationalized by Europeans in the 17th. Fortunately, more reliable information from Hayreddin and his early associates corrects these inaccuracies that misrepresent his background and early activities. Hayreddin’s father, Yakub, the son of a *sipahi* (cavalryman) from the Balkans in the vicinity of Vardar Yenice (present day Giannitsa in Greece) volunteered to participate in the conquest of Lesbos in 1462. Vardar Yenice had been the center of “*gazi*” expansion in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But Yakub must have found greater opportunities on Lesbos, because he remained on the island and married a local woman, the daughter of a Christian. Yakub and his wife had four sons, Ishak, Oruç, Hızır and İlyas, two of whom, Oruç and Hızır (Hayreddin) became famous seafarers.⁶² Oruç was

59 Kafadar, “Rome,” 15, 17.

60 Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies*, 72-74, 114-40, 186-89.

61 Christine Isom-Verhaaren, “Shifting Identities: Foreign State Servants in France and the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 109-34; Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies*, 72-74.

62 Hayreddin with the help of Muradi produced a *gazavat-name* which recorded his activities as a participant in *gaza*. This account exists in two versions. The first was completed

authorized to engage in privateering against Rhodes by Bayezid II's son Korkud. Unfortunately for Oruç, Korkud lost the succession battle with Selim I and in 1513 Oruç and Hızır fled to the vicinity of Tunis where they established a base. Oruç was killed in 1518 and thereafter Hızır worked alone to establish himself at Algiers.⁶³ In 1520 he began to be known by western Christians as Barbarossa, and by that year he had adopted the honorific Hayreddin as well.

The best source for understanding Hayreddin Pasha is Seyyid Muradi's *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*. Seyyid Muradi's association with Hayreddin from 1534, as well as his consultation with informants who had sailed with Hayreddin in his early days long before he became Süleyman's admiral, provided the material for the *Gazavat*. Rhoads Murphey claims that Muradi's account of the younger Hızır in his freebooting days is – both in terms of its language and content – clearly taken without much rhetorical embellishment direct from the mouths of informants who served Hızır before he joined active Ottoman service. Because the *Gazavat* remains so faithful to its oral sources, it provides a privileged glimpse into the attitudes and values that prevailed among the sea rovers and exiles from the Aegean who gravitated to the shores of North Africa in the early decades of the sixteenth century....⁶⁴

This view of corsair “attitudes and values” assists in an assessment of how these free-lance seafarers viewed their place in Ottoman society in relation to the *devşirme* recruited elite, as well as in their encounter with the naval forces of the king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Two Ottoman accounts of the naval expedition to France in 1543 that Hayreddin commanded, one the *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa* by Muradi and the other *Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ve İstunibelgrad* by Matrakçı Nasuh, highlight different choices by these authors of which individuals among the Ottoman forces merited mention by name. Muradi named prominent corsair associates of Hayreddin since his

in about 1541 and exists in multiple manuscripts, including *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*, Topkapı Revan 1291. The second was completed shortly after Hayreddin's death in 1546 and exists in a unique autograph manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale Supplement Turc 1186. Kâtib Çelebi summarized *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa* in his *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi esfari'l-bihar*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Library, Revan No. 1192, for example see folio 23a. This has been edited by İdris Bostan and published in facsimile with an English translation.

63 *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi 2639, f. 5a; Isom-Verhaaren, “Shifting Identities,” 109-34.

64 Rhoads Murphey, “Seyyid Muradi's prose biography of Hızır ibn Yakub, Alias Hayreddin Barbarossa: Ottoman Folk Narrative as an under-exploited Source for Historical Reconstruction,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54 (2001): 519-32.

sources were seafarers, whereas Matrakçı, who had attended the palace school and was a favorite of Süleyman, named the *sancak beys* who accompanied the expedition.⁶⁵

In addition to narratives recounting Hayreddin's exploits, one source reveals Hayreddin's self identification, an inscription found in the mosque he built in Algiers. In this inscription dating to April 1520, he stated he was: "al-sultan al-mudjahid mawlana Khayr Din ibn al-amir al-shahir al-mudjahid Abi Yusuf Ya'kub al-Turki."⁶⁶ By placing this inscription on the mosque, he proclaimed to the inhabitants of Algiers that he was a ruler, a fighter for Islam, and that his father was a "Turk". This inscription was dated one year before Piri produced the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Since both Piri and Hayreddin used the term Turk in the context of Ottoman seafarers' operations in the western Mediterranean, it is likely that Hayreddin's meaning of "Turk" resembled that of Piri Reis. The historical context of this inscription is suggestive, for in 1520 Hayreddin's control of Algiers was tenuous. A few months earlier in November 1519, Hayreddin had dispatched an embassy to Selim I requesting assistance. The sultan responded by providing 2000 Janissaries along with artillery that arrived in September 1520. After this assistance arrived, Hayreddin placed the name of the Ottoman sultan on coins that he minted and had the *khutba* read in the sultan's name. Yet before his official recognition by Selim as an Ottoman governor, Hayreddin proclaimed publicly that his father was a "Turk", in the context of the lands of the western Mediterranean.

Hayreddin probably referred to his father's ancestors when he claimed he was a Turk. As the son of a *sipahi* in the Balkans, his father might have been a descendent of either the earlier Turkish raiders who were centered on Vardar Yenice under Gazi Evrenos or of the local inhabitants who lived there. What is most likely for the later fifteenth century was that Yakub had ancestry from both groups and was a Turcophone Muslim. That Hayreddin emphasized on the mosque that he built in Algiers that his father was a "Turk" made sense in the context of the spread of Turkish speaking seafarers into the waters of the western Mediterranean that had begun under Kemal and Piri Reis. In light of the developing conflict in the western Mediterranean where seafarers from the eastern Ottoman lands were beginning to lead resistance to Habsburg expansion in North Africa, this aspect

65 *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc 1186, 10b, 18a, 22b, 33b, 37b; Nasuh Matrakçı, "Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ve İstunibeigrad." Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS Hazine 1608, 13a-13b. This has been published as Sinan Çavuş, *Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ye Istol[n]i-Belgrad or Süleyman-name*. (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1987); Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies*, 150-151.

66 Aldo Galotta, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Khayr al-Din (Khidir) Pasha."

of his identity would have merited emphasis. It echoes the concept of *gazi* that Piri stressed in his works.

In 1533 Süleyman summoned Hayreddin to Istanbul to become admiral after the Ottoman navy had suffered serious defeats at the hands of the Habsburg Charles V's admiral, the Genoese Andrea Doria. When Hayreddin reached the heartlands of the Ottoman Empire in late 1533, he anchored his ships at Galata, the main arsenal. Then he was received at the imperial divan with eighteen of his captains and allowed to kiss the sultan's hand. Hayreddin and his captains were given robes of honor and salaries from the sultan; in other words, they became official servants of the state. Hayreddin received the former admiral's residence in Istanbul, signifying that Hayreddin had been promoted from the governor of a remote Ottoman outpost engaged in privateering to the head of Ottoman naval forces, with responsibilities that included all aspects of naval leadership. For the next twelve years, until his death in 1546, Hayreddin led the Ottoman naval forces to victory after victory.⁶⁷

Süleyman's correspondence with Hayreddin during the campaign to assist France in 1543-44 indicates his absolute trust and reliance on this great admiral. Whereas the majority of Süleyman's most trusted officials had risen through the palace system where he had developed close ties to them, Hayreddin's background was exceptional. He did hail from a family that was part of the military forces of the empire, but at a non-elite status. Ties to the dynasty before he and Oruç left for North Africa were not those of a close personal nature. Nevertheless, once Hayreddin obeyed the sultan's summons and returned to the center of Ottoman power he proved his loyalty and capability to the sultan. Orders from Süleyman to Hayreddin repeat the sultan's assurance of his confidence in Hayreddin's abilities as an admiral and as an individual who had knowledge of distant lands and the conditions there. "You are my useful and trusted servant. I rely on your piety and sound judgment in all matters. In the past you attacked those areas in the course of holy war. You know everything about the infidels and their lands. Because I rely on you completely, I placed you in command over all aspects of the imperial fleet."⁶⁸ Süleyman's words in this imperial order express his inclusion of Hayreddin among his elite group of favorites, but the sultan's praise was questioned by envious men who had lost the sultan's favor. Former Grand Vizier Lutfi Pasha described Hayreddin's ambition which led to his defeat at Tunis in 1535 as follows: "he became puffed up to the bursting point with self-regard, prematurely

⁶⁷ One defeat he suffered was at Tunis in 1535 against the forces of Charles V.

⁶⁸ For the entire *hüküm* (order) sent in 1543 while Hayreddin was in France, see *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc 1186, 7b-11a; for an English translation see Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies*, 186-89.

priding himself with self-appointed status as ‘Emperor of the Maghrib’. But God punished him for his unseemly vanity....”⁶⁹ The men who were solely dependent on the sultan’s favor resented corsairs whose expertise allowed them considerable independence of action.

When Hayreddin died in 1546, the question of whom to appoint as his successor presented two main alternatives: either return to the previous pattern of appointing palace educated individuals without significant naval experience but who possessed the education and network connections that a palace education in Istanbul provided, or appoint one of Hayreddin’s associates from his days as a corsair in the provinces of North Africa who had proven naval ability. Twelve years of leadership by a former corsair admiral was not enough to break an established pattern of recruitment, and the man appointed to replace Hayreddin was Sokullu Mehmed, who had just emerged from palace training although with recognized merit. As admiral, Sokullu was in charge of administrative matters, while naval operations were assigned to Turgud Reis. After a few years Sokullu Mehmed was promoted to be *beylerbey* of Rumeli. His replacement as admiral was the ultimate insider, the brother-in-law of Süleyman’s only daughter Mihrimah.

Sinan the Insider versus Turgud the Outsider

In 1548, Sinan Pasha, who previously had been the *sancak bey* of Herzegovina, became grand admiral with the rank of *beylerbey* of the islands. Although Sokullu Mehmed, his predecessor, and Piyale Pasha, his successor as admiral, were at first only made governor of the *sancak* of Gallipoli, Sinan’s more rapid promotion was due to his powerful connections.⁷⁰ Sinan owed his elevation to admiral to the direct influence of Rüstem Pasha, who was married to Mihrimah, and to the indirect influence of her mother, Hurrem. His appointment not only advanced his career, it was vital to Mihrimah and Hurrem’s plans to prevent Mustafa, Süleyman’s eldest son by an earlier concubine, from inheriting the throne. That Sinan’s abilities were not the reason for his appointment is clear from both Ottoman and Venetian sources, for Mustafa Ali claimed that Sinan had been “viciously contentious, impetuous with words, dreadful, and tyrannical!” Bernardo Navagero described the situation in more detail in 1553.

69 Lutfi Pasha, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, (Istanbul: Matba’a-i Amire, 1341/1922-23), 356; translation by Rhodes Murphey, “Seyyid Muradi’s”, 520.

70 İdris Bostan, “The Establishment of the Province of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid,” in *The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and His Domain* (Rethymnon: Crete University Press: 2002), 250.

The Grand Signore's present Captain of the Sea has little experience with maritime affairs, since he has not had any duty or practice related to the army: he is obeyed and esteemed more than any other captain on account of his brother. There is nothing he commands that is not carried out and he wants to be recognized by all as a leader. He has little courtesy and speaks with no reservation. He is irascible, or better said furious ... His brother, the Pasha, loves him extremely and favours him excessively, and cannot support any talk against him. He therefore does all that enters his head without any fear whatsoever, and everyone stays quiet even if greatly abused ... There is no securer way to prevent Mustafa's succession than to prohibit with the armada his passage [to the capital].⁷¹

Thus, the influence of Süleyman's grand vizier on the appointment of Sinan as admiral was not solely based on the desire of the administrative elite with palace educations to exclude outsiders from positions of power. In this case, imperial succession politics were an essential factor as well.⁷²

Kâtib Çelebi's history of the Ottoman navy, written in the seventeenth century, often depicts examples of conflicts between the *devşirme* elite insiders and the corsair outsiders. From the perspective of the mid-seventeenth century, internal rivalries remained important, but external encounters had faded in importance, as sea battles against Habsburg naval forces ended in 1571 at Lepanto. Kâtib Çelebi's account of the discussions that preceded Sinan's appointment depict Rüstem casting doubt on Turgud's loyalty because he had not received a palace education. Kâtib Çelebi claimed that Süleyman had considered appointing Turgud to be admiral, but Rüstem dissuaded him, saying that Turgud had received his training "outside," presumably outside palace circles, and therefore was suspect.⁷³ Although Turgud was originally from the Aegean coast of Anatolia, he had sailed with Hayreddin both in the Aegean and in the western Mediterranean. After Hayreddin's death Turgud's base of operations was at Djerba, Tunisia.⁷⁴ Turgud was unacceptable to Rüstem both because Turgud was not a *kul* and because Rüstem needed to ensure the succession of one of Mihrimah's brothers.

71 Bernardo Navagero in Alberi I, 70-71, 78-79. E. Alberi, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, Series 3, 3 vols., (Florence: Societa editrice fiorentina, 1840-55). Navagero remarked on relations between Sinan and Dragut (Turgud) in his report. This translation is from Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 418.

72 Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Süleyman and Mihrimah: The Favorite's Daughter," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4 (2011): 64-85.

73 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibar*, 57a

74 *Gazavat*, 42a; Soucek, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Torghud Re'is."

The seventeenth-century historian Peçevi recounted the event somewhat differently: Turgud was offered the position of admiral but refused for fear that Rüstem Pasha would harm him, since Rüstem wanted it for his brother Sinan.⁷⁵ Either way, Rüstem emerges as the factor preventing Turgud becoming grand admiral in 1548. For Rüstem, the conflict at sea with the naval forces of Charles V was of far less importance than the internal rivalry between Süleyman's sons for the succession.

Although Turgud was denied the position of admiral, he was expected to ensure that Sinan functioned successfully despite Sinan's lack of naval qualifications. This did not occur, due to Sinan's arrogance based on his ties to powerful members of the dynasty. When Sinan died in 1554 he was replaced by another palace educated official, Piyale Pasha. Süleyman informed Piyale that he must follow Turgud's advice and Piyale complied, resulting in a successful partnership that achieved several naval victories, such as a crushing defeat of the Spanish naval forces at Djerba in Tunisia in 1560. Ottoman naval power in the Mediterranean continued to be formidable during Turgud's lifetime.⁷⁶ But what might have seemed an ideal solution, a *devşirme* favorite as admiral with a lower-ranking naval expert as advisor to ensure that the inexperienced favorite did not make any disastrous mistakes, could go terribly wrong. This occurred at the battle of Lepanto in 1571 when the admiral refused to follow sound advice, which led to the destruction of the Ottoman fleet and the loss of perhaps 30,000 men.⁷⁷

Sinan did not excel as an admiral despite Turgud's assistance, but he was unquestionably an insider. After Admiral Sinan's death, Mihrimah commissioned Mimar Sinan to build a mosque for him at Beşiktaş, which was completed in 1555-56. This mosque was built near the tomb of Hayreddin Pasha, and its form reflected earlier Ottoman mosques built in the period of the "*gazis*." It was designed to allow huge numbers of men to perform prayers there prior to the departure of the fleet from Beşiktaş, where Hayreddin had become the "patron saint" of all subsequent admirals. It became the model for other mosques that Mimar Sinan built for grand admirals.⁷⁸ Thus through the proximity of Sinan's mosque to

75 İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866-67), 1: 347; Solakzade, *Tarih-i Solakzade* (Istanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1298), 540 has a similar account; Colin Imber, "The Navy of Süleyman the Magnificent," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 226.

76 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibar*, 55b-64a.

77 Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-kibar*, 57a-58a.

78 Necipoğlu, *Age*, 416-21.

Hayreddin's tomb, the identities of Hayreddin and Sinan were fused into the ideal Ottoman admiral, a leader of *gazis* who sailed forth to victory in the name of the Ottoman sultan. Thus Hayreddin's inclusion as an Ottoman insider became more established after his death than during his tenure as admiral. In addition, Piri's identification of Ottoman seafarers as *gazis* was proclaimed through the design of the mosque.⁷⁹

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is valuable to contrast the experiences of Piri Reis and Hayreddin Pasha, two seafarers who contributed to the foundations of Ottoman naval power in the western waters of the Mediterranean. The contrast between Piri's fate and that of Hayreddin Pasha is stark. Hayreddin overcame all elite opposition and due to outstanding success as a naval leader in battle he came to be regarded as the model Ottoman seafarer; his tomb became the launching site for all future naval endeavors because later grand admirals visited it before sailing on expeditions.⁸⁰ Piri found a grave in Cairo, far from the location of his greatest triumphs as a cartographer at Gallipoli. While Hayreddin was venerated from the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire and Europe as a great admiral, Piri had to wait until the twentieth century to achieve posthumous recognition and widespread fame. Piri's renown did not come during the era of the Ottoman Empire, but later he was venerated by the leader of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk, as a man in whom Turks could take pride.⁸¹ While his Ottomanness was contested during his lifetime, his Turkishness was valued long after his death.

Anyone exploring the complexities of Ottoman identifying terms in the sixteenth century must be wary of translations which change specific terms into their supposed modern equivalent. The 1899 translation of the *Mir'at* almost always replaced Rum with Ottoman or Turkey, terms Seydi Ali Reis used rarely, or in the case of Turkey, never. But more recent translations continue this practice. I began this article with my translation of a quotation from Piri Reis. The 1988 edition of the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. translates *Diyar-ı Rum* as Anadolu or Anatolia in the modern Turkish translation of this passage, but as Europe in the footnote to

79 This mosque, which has recently been renovated, is not considered one of Mimar Sinan's finer edifices. However, Mimar Sinan designed it to reinforce the connection between Ottoman naval expeditions and gaza.

80 Necipoğlu, *Age*, 416.

81 Soucek, *Piri Reis*, 105.

the English translation. Neither precisely reflects the original meaning of Rum as Piri understood it, a region with a distinct culture inhabited by Turkish speakers, who were also governed by a Turkish speaking ruler. Piri Reis included this prophecy because it glorified the ruler of Rum, in this case Süleyman, whose favor he desired greatly.⁸² Piri revised the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* to present to the sultan, and both he and Süleyman would have identified the ruler of the *Diyar-ı Rum* as the sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Süleyman ruled the *Diyar-ı Rum* and his seamen ruled the *Bahr-i Rum* as well.

The process of identification does not occur in a vacuum. Thus Ottoman naval professionals, including corsairs in state service, expressed themselves in reaction to the individuals they encountered. They differed from palace elites who refused to accept them as legitimate state officials within Ottoman society. In addition, Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean region and also to a lesser degree in the Indian Ocean led to violent interactions with the other great maritime expanding societies of the time, those of Iberia. But as seafarers who came from Rum they also found that they differed in language and culture from many of the Muslims that they encountered, including the Muslims they proposed to protect from Iberian expansion. Piri Reis and Hayreddin Pasha expressed their awareness of their difference from the Muslims of North Africa as well as from the Iberian enemy. But when they returned to Rum, they also realized that acceptance by the *devşirme kuls* was unlikely due to differences of education and connections. Hayreddin gained recognition by Süleyman, but Piri did not. Seydi Ali Reis inhabited a middle ground; although he was not a *kul*, he had received a similar education and resided in Istanbul. He could devote his energies to emulating the elite from the palace by sharing their culture.

Sultans desired to make use of the expertise of the corsairs, but they could not favor corsairs to the point of alienating their *kuls*, as they depended on them to administer the empire. As the external conflicts at sea diminished, the internal rivalries increased in intensity. At times of crisis, such as immediately after the disaster at Lepanto, there was a place in Rum for corsairs as leaders of the Ottoman fleet, but generally the Ottoman grand admiral gained his position through his palace connections, not through his seafaring expertise.

82 Piri Reis, *Kitab*, 3: 1298-99.

Was there Room in Rum for Corsairs?: Who Was an Ottoman in the Naval Forces of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries?

Abstract ■ This paper analyzes the “Ottomanness” of five prominent seafarers, mainly relying on contemporary narrative sources, some of which are autobiographical in nature. First, Kemal Reis and his nephew Piri Reis sailed the Mediterranean as corsairs before entering Ottoman service during the reign of Bayezid II. Piri Reis eventually became *Mısır Kapudanı* with responsibilities in the Indian Ocean in 1547. Seydi Ali Reis was appointed *Mısır Kapudanı* after Piri Reis’ failure to conquer Hormuz and subsequent execution. Hayreddin Pasha, the most successful Ottoman corsair seafarer, became *Kapudan* (grand admiral) of the Ottoman Mediterranean fleet during the reign of Süleyman. Finally, Turgud Reis failed to succeed Hayreddin as *Kapudan* (grand admiral) despite his expertise, because of the opposition of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha who obtained the position for his own brother, Sinan Pasha. The seafarers’ experiences countering enemies without and rivals within, illustrate their battle to become acknowledged as legitimate servants of the ruler of Rum, the Ottoman sultan.

Keywords: Identity, Rum, Corsairs, Kapudan Pasha

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BOA Maliyeden Müdevver Defters 175, 187, 199.

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The First “Little Mehmeds”: Conscripts for the Ottoman Army, 1826-53

Veysel Şimşek*

İlk Mehmetçikler Kimlerdi?: Osmanlı Ordusunun Neferleri, 1826-1853

Öz ■ 1826 yılında Yeniçeri Ocağı'nı ortadan kaldıran ve yıllardan beri içerden ve dışardan siyasi ve askerî olarak otoritesi sürekli tehdit edilen Osmanlı merkezî hükümeti, çareyi uzun yıllar boyunca silah altında tutulmak üzere toplanmış “başıbağlı” neferlerden oluşan Avrupa tipi bir ordu kurmakta bulmuştu. Osmanlı devleti, yeni kurduğu alayların artan asker ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere Müslüman köylüleri ve alt tabakadan gelen şehirliileri zorla askere aldı. Bu makale tarih araştırmaları bağlamında yeterince çalışılmamış bu askerlerin hikayelerine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmada halkın ve askere alınanların zorunlu askerliğe karşı verdikleri tepkiler ve askere alınanların toplumsal arkaplanları incelenmektedir. Makalede aynı zamanda dinin, etno-kültürel kimliklerin, sosyal statünün ve askerlik tecrübesinin Osmanlı devletinin askere alma siyasetini ve halkın askerliğe dair düşüncelerini nasıl etkilediği, milliyetçilik hislerinin Müslüman Osmanlı tebaası arasında yayılmasından önceye tekabül eden bu dönemde tahlil edilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Askere Alma, Zorunlu Askerlik, II. Mahmud, Tanzimat, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Reform

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From the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826 to the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853–56), the Ottoman state inducted and dispatched tens of thousands of soldiers to battlegrounds in Anatolia, Kurdistan, Syria, and in the Balkans. Despite the catastrophic losses it suffered, especially between 1828 and 1839, the reformed Ottoman army enlarged continuously and drafted new conscripts to maintain its size. In 1834, a new military organization called *Redif Asakir-i Mansure* (Victorious Reserve Soldiers) was founded to provide a pool of trained recruits for the regular army during wartime. Its muster rolls indicate that *Redif* quickly expanded to a 50,000-men strong force by 1838.¹ Eleven years after the demise of the Janissary Corps, Mahmud II's new *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad) had drawn some 161,000 conscripts into its ranks, while its effective force was 47,000 men strong.² Excluding the *Redif*, the Ottoman standing army grew to a force of 80,000 men, up from a few thousand raw recruits in the imperial capital in 1826.³ At the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Ottoman military establishment mobilized between 145,000 and 178,000 troops in Rumelia, and at least 87,000 in Anatolia.⁴ By the mid-1840s, perhaps a total of as many as 300,000 men had been inducted into the Ottoman military, with the drilling, marching, and parading uniformed soldiers a common sight in Istanbul and in many of the provinces. According to the 1829–32 censuses, this figure represented more than one-tenth of all Muslim males registered and one-fourth of all men considered eligible for military service by the Ottoman authorities.⁵ Three decades earlier, about 1.5 million Frenchmen had been conscripted during the Consulate period (1796–99) and following the imperial era (1804–14), which corresponded to 7 percent of the population in the pre-revolutionary borders of

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- 1 A series of muster rolls covering the time between 1835 and 1838 (H. 1251–53) give the information that the total number of *Redif* soldiers increased from 48,497 to 53,851 in 1838. See BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, Istanbul]) D. ASM (Asakir-i Mansure Defterleri) 38883 for a detailed track of each regiment's number of men, including the salary paid to the reserve army for the years mentioned.
- 2 BOA, KK (Kamil Kepeci) 6799. Also see Appendix A.
- 3 BOA, İ.MVL (İrade Meclis-i Valâ) 42/ 782 (1257/ 1841).
- 4 Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 103, 145–146.
- 5 Numerical data is compiled from Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831* (Ankara: T.C Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), D.ASM 37912, BOA, TS.MA.d (Topkapı Sarayı Müze Arşivi Defterleri) 4895 (H. 29 Receb 1247/ 30 May 1832), accessed from BOA. Istanbul's population is drawn from BOA, NFS.d (Nüfus Defterleri) 567 (dated by the archive as H. 1260/ 1844–1845, but apparently the figures shown were taken in Istanbul's previous census in the late 1820s).

France.⁶ Thus we can compare the unprecedented level of Ottoman mobilization from the 1820s to the 1840s to that of France during the Napoleonic Wars.

This essay will focus on the Ottoman conscripts, who together with their families formed a distinct and sizable social group within the larger Ottoman society in the decades following the elimination of the Janissary Corps. Most Ottomanists have largely ignored this demographic as a subject of scholarly investigation in a bid not to trespass into the “forbidden” realm of military history—a field associated with Turkish nationalists and militarists.⁷ This approach has meant disregarding the story, historical significance, and impact of a large group on the history of the later Ottoman Empire. Building on existing scholarship, and utilizing primary and secondary sources, this article will consider the following questions: Who were the soldiers of the Ottoman army in the second quarter of the 19th century? Why did they serve in or desert the army? Is it possible to trace Ottoman soldiers’ own voices concerning their lives as conscripts? If it is, what did these “Little Mehmeds” (*Mehmetçiks*) have to say?⁸ What was the interplay between military recruitment policies and ethno-cultural identities in the Ottoman Empire? And finally, how did conscription affect the emergence of the novel identity of the “Ottoman soldier,” and how might it have contributed to transforming ethno-cultural identities in the later Ottoman Empire?

The era in question was marked by the drastic changes wrought by the transformation and reconsolidation of the Ottoman state and its new governance. After

6 H. D. Blanton, “Conscription in France during the era of Napoleon,” in *Conscription in the Napoleonic Era*, eds. Donald Stoker et al (London: Routledge, 2009), 19–20.

7 Only very recently have several analytical works come out on late Ottoman military-political transformation. See for instance, Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [henceforth UP], 1997); Erik Zürcher, ed., *Arming the State Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775–1925* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999); Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (London: Pearson-Longman, 2007); Tobias Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlülüğü 1826–1856*, trans. Türkis Noyan (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008); Gültekin Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok, Zorunlu Askerliğe Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Devleti’nde Siyaset, Ordu ve Toplum: 1826–1839* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2009); Fatih Yeşil, “Nizam-ı Cedid’den Yeniçeriliğin Kaldırılışına Osmanlı Ordusu” (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2009). For reviews of the existing scholarship of Ottoman military matters, see Kahraman Şakul, “Osmanlı Askeri Tarihi Üzerine Bir Literatür Değerlendirmesi,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 1 (2003), 529–571 and “Yeni Askeri Tarihçilik,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 198 (2010), 31–36.

8 The Turkish word “*Mehmetçik*” came to affectionately denote the ordinary Ottoman-Turkish conscript, not dissimilar to the British “Tommy” and the French “Poilu.”

the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826, Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) initiated wide-ranging military, fiscal, and bureaucratic reforms aimed at strengthening the central authority in the face of internal and external challenges. His new European-style army, *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*, was one of the prime instruments for achieving these changes, alongside a growing and diversifying bureaucracy, the imposition of new taxes, and active diplomacy with the Great Powers. The Tanzimat Decree of 1839 and ensuing legislation in the 1840s and 1850s were meant to manifest the new kind of Ottoman governance, but in many ways the Tanzimat era in fact marked the continuation and culmination of earlier policies rather than a rupture.

Military conscription, one of the “innovations” of Mahmud II’s later rule, has remained one of the formative experiences of thousands of men and their families in the Middle East and the Balkans until today. After Mahmud II’s death, the Tanzimat Decree promised a fair, codified system of military recruitment that also stressed the necessity and therefore obligatory nature of military service for the imperial forces. What was promulgated in the decree soon culminated in the military reforms of 1843 and the conscription code of 1846. The reforms set the active army’s strength at 150,000, and every year, 30,000 new recruits were to replace the discharged. The recruitment quotas were to be adjusted according to each district’s population.⁹ In 1844, the male Muslim population from which the recruits would be drawn was about 4 million. The authorities derived that figure from about 2.9 million men actually counted, and another 1.16 million estimated to reside in Albania and the Arab provinces.¹⁰ In 1843, five regional standing armies with their specific recruitment districts were established as the armies of Rumelia, Istanbul, Anatolia, Arabia and the Guards. In 1848, a sixth army was established in Iraq. All these armies had their own *Redif* units attached to them.¹¹ Thus were set the fundamental legal, discursive, and administrative structures for conscription that survive, with imperfections and some differences, until the end of the empire.

9 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Istanbul H. 1262 [1846], Article 3, pp. 4-5 and BOA, İ.MSM (İrade, Mesail-i Mühimme) 10/ 206 (1843).

10 İ.MSM 10/ 206 (1843). For a detailed breakdown of population figures in the document, see Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 275-279.

11 Erik Zürcher, “The Ottoman Conscription System in Theory and Practice, 1844-1918,” in *Arming the State Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775- 1925*, ed. Erik J. Zürcher (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 82.

The Ottoman Quest for the Ideal Soldier, 1789-1839

When Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and his reformers attempted to create an armed formation outside the Janissary Corps and irregular units as a part of his *Nizam-ı Cedid* reforms in the late 18th century, the ideal recruits they sought much resembled the ideal Janissary levy of two centuries earlier.¹² Recommended for recruitment were young, rootless boys (preferably orphans) from the lower classes (both urban and rural) who could be easily indoctrinated in the barracks isolated from the common populace and the Janissaries.¹³ After the “Auspicious Event” and the creation of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*, the image of the model soldier proved identical to that of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* recruit, and again, rather ironically, had a lot in common with the ideal Janissary whose corps Mahmud II wanted to destroy. Absolute loyalty, obedience, discipline, and an almost religious devotion to military duty were once more the key traits expected of a *Mansure* soldier.

As Virginia H. Aksan and Gültekin Yıldız have underlined, Ottoman military reforms between the 1770s and 1830s were not limited to hiring European military instructors, importing Western military weaponry, or to translating French military treatises or Prussian drill manuals. Especially after 1826, they should rather be seen as a wide-scale and radical political and social transformation project.¹⁴

The post-1826 military reform program meant the creation of novel military formations and the reconfiguration of existing ones. These policies resulted in the redefinition of who was an Ottoman soldier and in the emergence of new military identities in the minds both of the state bureaucracy and of ordinary subjects. The eradication of the “Janissary identity” was thus as important as the physical extermination of the corps itself. Adolphus Slade, a shrewd observer of the Mahmudian state, noted that

12 For the descriptions of ideal Janissary recruits, see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 135-141; Erdal Küçükyağcı, *Turna'nın Kalbi: Yeniçeri Yoldaşlığı ve Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2009), 32-39.

13 Enver Ziya Karal, “Nizam-ı Cedid’e Dair Layihalar,” *Tarih Vesikaları* 1, no. 6 (1941), 414-425; 2, no. 8 (1942), 104-111; 2, no. 11 (1943), 342-351; 2, no. 12 (1943), 424-432; Ergin Çağman, ed., *III. Selim’e Sunulan Islahat Lâyhaları* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2010). Especially, Reşid Efendi’s report in Karal, “Layihalar,” 2, no. 8, 105; Abdullah Berri Efendi’s report in Karal, “Layihalar,” 1, no. 6, 424; Çağman, ed., *III. Selim’e Sunulan Islahat Lâyhaları*, 63.

14 For a detailed analysis of the Ottomans’ “New Absolutism,” see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700-1870*, 180-342; Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 17-130.

the Porte expected probably that the inconvenience of juvenile levies would remedy itself, and be amply repaid, should they grow up untinctured by Janissariism [*sic*]; by which time also it hoped that the anti-reform feeling would be worn out, when the people would no longer object to the new order of things.¹⁵

To aid the creation of its ideal army, the Ottoman state produced an unprecedented number of founding ordinances and printed drilling manuals, army regulations, penal codes, and religious books. At least on paper, these texts outlined how Ottoman officers should train, instill discipline, motivate, and manage soldiers' lives. In addition, the military and civilian bureaucracy expanded and diversified to handle new, larger tasks. For instance, unlike the Janissaries, *Mansure* soldiers did not receive personal pay slips. Instead, the central government managed their salaries by muster rolls with their names on them. The Ottoman bureaucracy compiled detailed periodical reports about the size, cost, and provisioning of the reformed army, many of which were enthusiastically examined by Mahmud II himself.¹⁶

After 1826, the Mahmudian state gradually located existing holders of *timars* and members of *evlad-ı fatihan* and other ancient military organizations (such as *derbendcis*) through empire-wide surveys. It then attempted to organize those still fit to fight into new model regiments.¹⁷ But various irregular troops of different names (*delis*, *levends*, *segbans*, *nefir-i âm* soldiery, etc.), who had joined the colors either by contractual agreements or by coercion, also continued to exist after 1826, for both practical purposes and immediate military necessities. These troops included ethnic and regional warrior bands who performed soldiering for the state as their customary “business” as well as individuals who offered their services as professional fighters.¹⁸

Nevertheless, the Mahmudian regime strove to replace the seasonal irregular troops with relatively cheaper, better disciplined, and better trained long-term

15 Adolphus Slade, *Turkey Greece and Malta*, vol.1 (London: Saunders and Oetley, 1837), 489.

16 For a detailed report of this sort on the artillery and sapper regiments that Mahmud II reviewed, see TS.MA.d 10740 (H. M 1254/ March-April 1838).

17 Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 358; Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 345-346; Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 51, 57, 56, 62, 66, 157-159.

18 This essay mainly focuses on the soldiers that served in the regular/active (*Asakir-i Mansure*, *Nizamiye*) and reserve (*Redif*) units. For valuable overviews on the irregulars (*başbozüks*) during Mahmud II's reign, see Tolga Esmer's article in this volume, as well as Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 212-248.

conscripts fed and equipped by the central state as the empire's main fighting force. And Mahmud II proved successful in changing the balance toward the regular and reserve formations by the end of his reign, at least in terms of numbers. The irregulars had indeed constituted a numerically and qualitatively important part of the Ottoman armed forces during the Greek Revolt, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828–29, and the first war against Egypt in 1831–33.¹⁹ At the battle of Nizib in 1839, however, there were 25,000 regular and reserve infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the 34,000-men-strong field army.²⁰ In the early 1840s, some 80,000 *Nizamiye* and 50,000 *Redif* soldiers appeared on the muster rolls, outnumbering the irregular troops.²¹ The center also wanted to know and limit the number of hired warriors employed by provincial power magnates and state officials. It made conscious efforts to transfer and incorporate the mercenaries from the personal entourages into the regular formations under the authority of the central military command.²² The military penal code of 1829 designated all servants, irregulars, regulars, and officers of any Ottoman army as a “member of the military” (*askeri*) and put them in the same legal category.²³ The language and concepts utilized in Ottoman institutional ordinances, penal codes and other regulations from the late 1820s to the mid-1840s attest, I believe, to the emergence of two distinguishable social as well as legal statuses in the modern sense: “civilian” (non-members of any military formation) and “military” (formed by regulars, reservists and even irregulars). Within the redefined Ottoman “military class”, regulations, at least on paper, aimed to establish a distinction between officers and the rank and file

19 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 161-162, 173-174, 236-237; Avigdor Levy, “The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1968), 406-407; Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 63, 65; H. Muhammed Kutluoğlu, *The Egyptian Question (1831-1841)* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 75, 81.

20 Quoted from William Francis Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, vol. 1 (London, 1842), 316. Helmuth von Moltke also provided a similar figure; 25,000–28,000 regular infantry and 5,000 cavalry. Helmuth von Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, trans. Hayrullah Örs (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1969), 256.

21 İ. MVL 42/ 782 (H. 1257/ 1841), İ. DH (İrade Dahiliye) 68/ 3357 (H. 1258/ 1842), İ. MSM 11/ 224 (H. 1260/ 1844).

22 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 162-172; for the registration and classification of the men in the retinues of several provincial notables and administrators, see Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 29, 55.

23 *Kanunname-i Ceza-i Askeriye*, H. Evahir Z 1245 [June 1830] Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), Esad Efendi no. 2844, Article 1, Sub-Article 14, p. 5.

by describing each individual’s responsibilities and duties in great detail and by reconfiguring hierarchy for the members of the military.²⁴

The official Ottoman documents used elevated language to describe the moment of conscription: By joining the colors, the recruit “received the honor of becoming one of the Victorious Soldiers [of Muhammad]” (*Asakir-i Mansure neferatına iltihakla müteşerref olanlar*) or “obtained the rank of a soldier of the sultan” (*asker-i padişahî rütbesini ahz [edenler]*).²⁵ In the early stages of Mahmudian military reform, the administrators in Syria referred to Turcophone *Mansure* recruits from Anatolia as “Ottoman soldiers,” distinguishing them from the other, probably local, troops they had.²⁶ Along with the term “*Asakir-i Mansure*,” the Ottoman bureaucracy used the phrases “*Asakir-i Muntazama*” and “*Asakir-i Nizamiye*” between 1826 and 1839, delineating the image of the new army. The term “*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*” gradually vanished after 1839; the regular regiments were more often called “*Nizamiye*” or sometimes the “*Nizam*,” which could refer both to the units and to the individual soldiers in them.²⁷ Mahmud II further diversified the composition of his army by creating new military formations, such as the Guards (*Hassa*) and the reserve (*Redif*) regiments. The reformed Ottoman army retained its infantry, artillery, and cavalry arms, while specialized units were added to the line and reserve battalions, such as light infantry, sharpshooting riflemen, grenadiers, sappers, horse artillery, and even mounted cuirassiers. The state also designed and issued European-inspired uniforms and novel military insignia and paraphernalia, inaugurating a new era in Ottoman military tradition and symbolism.²⁸

²⁴ See, for instance, the description of the ideal Ottoman “officer and gentleman” in *Müzekkere-i Zabitan* H. 1251 [1835-36], Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa no. 822.

²⁵ Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 112; Varna Court Records no. 2, case 292 (H. 7 R 1253/ 11 July 1837) transcribed in Erhan Alpaslan, “1247-1254 H./ M. 1830-1838 Tarihli 2 No’lu Varna Şer’iye Sicil Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi” (MA thesis, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, 1996), 444-45.

²⁶ Hakan Erdem, “Recruitment for the “Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad” in the Arab Provinces, 1826-1828,” in *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, eds. Israel Gershoni, Hakan Erdem and Ursula Woköck (London: Lynne Rienner, 2002), 203.

²⁷ Frederick Walpole, *The Ansayrii or the Assassins, with Travels in the further East in 1850-51, including a visit to Ninaveh*, vol. 3 (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), 186.

²⁸ For some visual samples, see Ethem Eldem, *İfihar ve İmtiyaz: Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2004) and Mahmut Şevket Paşa, *Osmanlı Teşkilat ve Kıyafet-i Askeriyesi* (Ankara: TTK, 2010) [reprint].

It is hard to fully determine how the Ottoman soldiers associated with their units, but some scattered evidence suggests how units and individual soldiers were linked. The Guard units seemed to have a higher status than the line units, and more was expected of them. Mahmud II joined the drills of his Cavalry Guard in person, wearing the uniform of a major of the Guards.²⁹ In his memoirs, Zarif Paşa described his regimental commander, Şerif Bey, acting as an extremely proud and stern officer during the march against the Albanian rebels in 1832, because his unit was a Guard regiment and no Guard unit had been dispatched to the provinces until that time.³⁰ Other examples, however, give *Hassa* soldiers a more mixed record. Between 1829 and 1831, at a time when only a few Guard units existed, 168 men from the Guard regiments took furlough and never returned.³¹ At the battle of Nizib, Moltke wrote about how quickly some of the Guard cavalrymen scattered and dispersed under a light cannonade, while Ainsworth described how the Ottoman Guard infantry bravely fought against the whole Egyptian army without support.³²

Redif soldiers, who had to train for a limited time every year and were expected to be mobilized only in times of war, likely made neither eager nor proficient warriors. They did not want to leave their provinces and were dragged to distant battlefields against their will just as were the regulars, where their fate was uncertain.³³ It was thus unsurprising that the Ottoman authorities had serious concerns when they decided to convert a large number of *Redif* to *Nizamiye* soldiers in 1843 and 1844 to replenish their active regiments. Again, unsurprisingly, the population and reservists responded with evasion, desertion, and even armed resistance, testifying to the unwillingness of the *Redif* to serve on active duty.³⁴

29 Gültekin Yıldız, “Üniformalı Padişah II. Mahmud,” in *II. Mahmud: Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecinde İstanbul*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, (İstanbul, 2010), 108-109; Şerafettin Turan, “II. Mahmud’un Reformlarında İtalyan Etki ve Katkısı” in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri, 1989* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1990), 118-119.

30 Enver Ziya Karal, “Zarif Paşa Hatıratı, 1816-1862,” *Belleten* 4, no. 16 (1942), 450.

31 D. ASM 37592 (H. Ca 1245 to R 1247/ October 1829 to October 1831).

32 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 270; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, vol. 1, 347.

33 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 262; HAT 453/ 22433-B (H. 19 Ca 1252/ 1 September 1836); Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 84-86; Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War* (London, 1867), 275.

34 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 114-131.

The Selection and Social Background of Ottoman Conscripts

Some of the first *Asakir-i Mansure* recruits came from the personal retinues of state dignitaries, from religious schools, and from lower-ranking *ulema*. The guards of Bosphorus fortresses, sappers, bombardiers, cannon, and cannon-wagon corps who remained loyal to Mahmud during the "Auspicious Event" were soon incorporated into the new army.³⁵ Subsequent purges showed that some ex-Janissaries also ended up as *Mansure* soldiers. Some ex-Janissary officers, who proved to be loyal during the showdown in the capital, were commissioned to lead the new military formations. The most famous of these was perhaps Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, a former commander of the Corps who closely collaborated in its destruction and was appointed by the sultan as the *serasker* (commander in chief) of the new *Mansure* army. According to Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, enlistment began almost immediately, and a regiment was formed three days after the "Auspicious Event." By July 20, the first regiment-size unit (*tertib*) had been formed, with two more completed by the end of the month. The founding ordinance of the new army, based principally on earlier *Nizam-ı Cedid* regulations, was hastily drafted.³⁶ The ordinance ruled that only men aged fifteen to thirty could sign up, though anyone up to forty could enroll if he was considered "courageous." The recruits were supposed to sign up voluntarily to serve for twelve years. They also were supposed to have a clear past, good standing in society, and should not be converts to Islam. A *Mansure* soldier would be subjected to periodical military training and needed to be ready for duty at his barracks or wherever he was stationed. Men who became too old to serve or incapacitated would receive pensions based on the level of their disabilities.³⁷

Before the comprehensive military reforms and the drafting of military codes in the 1840s, the duties and powers of the recruiters and the recruiting process were not defined in detail. In general, however, the task of finding recruits during the reign of Mahmud II fell to local notables and various community and tribal leaders. Military officers, administrators, scribes, and members of *ulema*

35 Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütüfi*, transcribed by Ahmet Hezarfen, Yücel Demirel and Tamer Erdoğan (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 117; Levy, "Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II," 179, 360-361. There were 358 and 322 discharged *Mansure* veterans from Istanbul in August-September 1837 (H. Ca 1253) and January-February 1838 (H. Za 1253), respectively, who were receiving pensions. D. BŞM (Başmuhasabe Kalemi ve Bağlı Birimlere Ait Defterler) 10455; D. BŞM 10479.

36 HAT 294/ 17481 (H. 1241/ 1826); Levy, "The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II," 177-79, 182-184.

37 Veli Şirin, *Asakir-i Mansure Ordusu ve Seraskerlik* (Istanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları, 2002), 101.

(especially *kadıs*) could be appointed by the center to oversee recruitment at the local level.³⁸ In practice, the procedures of conscription were not uniform throughout the empire, despite attempts at reform and improvement, as will be discussed below. In one place, recruitment parties could round up men arbitrarily, while in another, draft boards would use census records and draw lots to conduct a fairer selection process.

There is documentary evidence of draft lotteries before the Tanzimat era and the more comprehensive military reforms of 1843 and 1846. The wording of these levy orders suggests that the authorities considered the method “just,” because able-bodied men from both “the rich and the poor” had an equal chance to be selected.³⁹ But it would be the conscription code of 1846 that fully defined the composition and duties of the draft boards, the methods of recruitment, and those eligible for draft lotteries. Every year, on *Rûz-ı Hızır* (May 5), all male inhabitants aged twenty to twenty-five were required to assemble in the administrative center of each *kaza*. The local judge, notables, and religious dignitaries constituted the mixed draft board (*kur’a meclisi*). The state provided military officers, doctors, clerks, and other personnel to the board to execute required medical examinations and to oversee other bureaucratic procedures. The boards were to choose eligible young men by lottery who would serve for five years in the *Nizamiye* army. Discharged soldiers and those civilians who were not conscripted for five consecutive years during the drawing of lots would serve in the *Redif* regiments for seven years.⁴⁰

The state granted a wide range of exemptions to members of the scribal, clerical, and administrative classes. Members of the scribal and administrative bureaucracy were not required to serve.⁴¹ Members of the religious and judicial elite were also spared, a policy that traces back to the early 1830s.⁴² The list

38 For the sample draft orders and the role of local notables, see BOA, C. ZB (Cevdet Zabtiye) 3780 (H. Evasıt C 1245/ December 1829) and C. ZB 2074 (H. 3 Za 1247/ 4 April 1832), Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 643.

39 For the levy order to Tirnova, see BOA, C. As (Cevdet Askeriye) 46712 (H. 13 R 1253/ 17 July 1837). For another example in 1837, see Alpaslan, “Varna Şer’iye Sicil Defterinin,” 444-445. It is noteworthy that the recommended selection procedure in the latter document was almost identical to the procedure described by the conscription code of 1846.

40 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Articles 4, 7, 8, 14, 15, 25, pp. 5-7, 10-11, 15.

41 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Articles 14, 15, pp. 10-11.

42 During the empire-wide census in the early 1830s, the census-takers did not put the religious students (*talebe-i ulüm*) under the category of militarily eligible men in Amasya, Tirnova, Bursa, and Eskişehir. Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 44-45, 94-95, 110, 148.

of exempted persons also included *imams* (prayer leaders), *müezzins* (prayer callers), *hüteba* (preachers), and *kayyiman* (caretakers of the mosques). *Medrese* (religious school) students had to pass an examination to obtain an exemption from the lottery, exams carried out by *alay imamları* (regimental chaplains) or *mümeyyizler* (examiners) from religious schools. The law, at least on paper, prevented the conscription of those whose enlistment would bring calamity to their families. For instance, an eligible man who was the sole breadwinner of his household, had elderly parents, or was the son of a widow was exempt from conscription.⁴³

Istanbul’s population, and more specifically the lower orders of the capital, was considered a readily accessible source for the new army. One of the first things the authorities did after the “Auspicious Event” was to carry out a census in Istanbul from June to October 1826; it found some 45,000 Muslim males residing in the city. Those between fifteen and forty-five—17,000—were flagged.⁴⁴ Another census was taken in the capital toward the end of the Russian War of 1828–29, and the authorities specifically registered about 18,000 bachelors (*bikârs*), in addition to 54,000 adult (*kübar*) Muslim males.⁴⁵ A variety of documents indicate that the state clearly considered bachelors, vagrants (*serseris*), non-registered or “excess” shopkeepers, vegetable sellers, and other migrant day workers an easily accessible group for induction into the regular army.

One particular incident in 1838 reveals the Ottoman state’s consistent policy of rounding up bachelors, vagrants, and unauthorized shopkeepers for the army. That year, a new levy demanding 8,021 men was imposed on Istanbul and North-western Anatolia.⁴⁶ During this levy, a recruiter named Ahmed Ağa, along with other officials, reportedly pressed men into service by using force and sheer terror, and collected more recruits than he had been authorized to in the streets and vineyards around Üsküdar. He allegedly grabbed anyone he encountered, bachelor or married/settled (*müteehhil*), and tied the conscripts’ hands, a scene that caused widespread terror among other subjects. In response, a decree was issued stating that levy orders were to be carried out without such abuses, and Ahmed Ağa was eventually dismissed. The documents disclose, however, that the authorities were frustrated only by the method of recruitment, which should have been carried

43 For details on exemptions, see *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Articles, 7, 14, 15, 18–23, pp. 6, 10–14.

44 Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 206.

45 NFS.d 567 (1828–1829).

46 HAT 305/ 18001, B (1254/ 1838); BOA, ASK.MHM.d (Mühimme-i Asakir Defterleri) no. 31, p. 6. (H. Evahir Za, 1254/ 4–14 February, 1839).

out “wisely” instead of terrorizing the population, especially disturbing the lives of the settled men.⁴⁷

On September 6, 1843, about four years after the declaration of the Tanzimat, a large military ceremony was staged in Istanbul to discharge those who had been under arms for a long time. The authorities wanted to keep the *Nizamiye* in strength, but they lacked the fresh recruits to do so. As a result, in addition to the unsuspecting *Redif* soldiers who had come to Istanbul from the provinces for the ceremony, they forcibly enrolled all bachelors and unauthorized shopkeepers from the provinces residing in the capital, as well as the city’s unemployed. The official chronicler Ahmed Lütfi Efendi himself was among the recruiters and described the process in detail. According to his account, the recruitment parties hunted down said shopkeepers and concentrated their efforts in the neighbourhoods where bachelors were known to live.⁴⁸

The “substitutes”⁴⁹ were another source of conscripts, sent by those who did not want to serve themselves and who could afford to arrange for a replacement. The practice began during the reign of Mahmud II,⁵⁰ and it was formally abolished only in 1886.⁵¹ The temporary 1844 conscription code and the 1846 conscription code recognized and further regulated the rules and the procedures of substitute selection.⁵² The 1846 conscription code stipulated that the eligible substitute be a healthy man between twenty-five and thirty (thus outside the designated manpower pool for the *Nizamiye* army), had not served in *Nizamiye*, and hail from the same army district as the applicant. It permitted the sending of substitutes for those occupied with “a trade, commerce or another important occupation/business” that might be ruined if left for five years. It was forbidden to sell a house, farmland, or farm equipment to cover the expense of finding a substitute. Therefore only affluent subjects appeared to have had this option;⁵³

47 HAT 486/ 23822 (H. 21 Ca 1254/ 12 August 1838).

48 Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 1147-48.

49 “*Bedel*” in the conscription code of 1846 and “*bedel-i şahsi*” in the conscription code of 1870. Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 156.

50 *Kanunname-i Ceza-i Askeriye*, Article 37, pp. 119-120.

51 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 158.

52 C.As 6095 (H. 23 S 1258/ 5 April 1842); *Nizamat-ı Cedide-i Askeriye Kanunnamesi* (Includes the temporary Conscription Regulations), H. Evahir M 1260 [February 1844] Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa no. 815 M1, Article 54, p. 65; *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 28, pp. 16-17.

53 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 28, pp. 16-17.

as one Turkish folk song says: "Our rich are exempted for money, our soldiers are of the needy."⁵⁴

The founding ordinance of the *Asakir-i Mansure* and the following regulations on military recruitment⁵⁵ specifically wanted the recruits to be without criminal records. In a number of cases, however, Ottoman authorities inducted those they considered criminals, rebels, vagabonds and idlers into the regular army. Following a common practice of the time, the Ottoman state thus sometimes used military service as a kind of "punishment," a tool for social control and an instrument that could turn the useless into someone useful for the state. During the Crimean War, some two hundred able-bodied subjects from Kurdistan, who were accused of collaborating with brigands, were captured and delivered to the capital as conscripts for the Army of Rumelia.⁵⁶ In 1857, a local Ottoman administrator sent four captured brigands to the army to be considered for military service.⁵⁷ After the insurgencies of Halep and Nablus in 1856, the authorities did not hesitate to impress into the army those accused of rebellion, to be deployed in the Balkans.⁵⁸

During the centralization efforts from the 1820s to the 1850s, the Ottoman state subjected "reconquered" populations to military service as quickly as pos-

54 "Zenginimiz bedel verir, askerimiz fakirdendir." The song is probably from a later era; the word "bedel" here likely denotes the exemption money rather than the substitute sent. In contemporary France, the search for substitutes created a large "market": Every year, about 20,000 "victims" of draft lotteries paid for substitutes, and after the 1820s, "insurance companies" emerged even in the countryside to provide a steady guarantee for those who continuously "invested" large sums of money into the system. In the 1850s, the substitutes, who were mostly the "poor lads seeking a way to raise some money, or veterans who meant to re-enlist in any case and who, this way, made a profit on their decision," constituted one-fourth of the yearly recruit intake. (Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1976), 292-293) It would be interesting to see what sort of interaction and bargaining happened over finding substitutes at the societal and bureaucratic levels in the 19th century Ottoman context.

55 See, for instance, İ. MVL (İrade Meclis-i Vâlâ) 10290, *i'lam* (H. 19 Ra(?) 1267/ 21 Jan(?) 1851).

56 İ. DH 20795 (H. 13 N 1271, 30 May 1855). It was also mentioned that this was an exceptional situation and that new soldiers were desperately needed at that time

57 A. MKT. NZD (Mektubi Kalemî, Nezaret ve Devair) Dosya no. 230, Vesika no. 87. (H. 7 Z 1273/ 29 July 1857).

58 Ufuk Gülsoy, "1856 Halep ve Nablus Olayları," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 9 (1994), 279-288.

sible. Here, the imperial army served as an immediate instrument of military recruitment. Some 20,000 Albanians and Bosnians, whose recent revolts had been crushed, were pressed into service in Reşid Mehmed Pasha's army that countered the invading Egyptian forces in 1832–33. To “persuade” them to fight, the army took hostages from the population and kept them in the Ottoman fortresses in the Balkans.⁵⁹ Reşid Pasha, the governor of Sivas, recruited “a lot of regular soldiers” from the tribesmen and nomads in the Kurdish areas in Southeastern Anatolia in the summer of 1835 after pacifying them.⁶⁰ Moltke wrote in detail that the Ottoman Army forcibly recruited Kurds after their resistance was broken during the punitive campaigns of the late 1830s in Eastern Anatolia. In Siirt, for instance, the army immediately imposed a levy of 400 men on the population soon after the town's capture.⁶¹ After the forceful occupation of Tal Afar in Northern Iraq by six infantry and cavalry battalions, the Ottoman central forces captured 3,000 men; 500 among them were distributed to the regiments.⁶² Ömer Pasha, who would eventually become the Ottoman commander in chief in the Crimean War, told a European traveler that he had collected a levy of 2,000 men after crushing the revolt in Albania in the early 1840s.⁶³ During 1842–45, the Ottoman center managed to forcibly conscript some 20,000 Albanians into the central army, causing widespread discontent in the region.⁶⁴ The situation was similar in the Arab provinces after the Tanzimat, as the army regiments aided the authorities in carrying out population censuses and military recruitment.⁶⁵ The recruitment parties were accompanied by soldiers, and the practice became increasingly common from the 1830s onward. Ottoman officials recommended that recruitment officers should

59 Frederick Anscombe, “Islam and the Age of Ottoman Reform,” *Past and Present* 208 (2010), 181.

60 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 244–245.

61 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 197.

62 HAT 448/ 22332 (H. 13 Ra 1253/ 17 June 1837) in Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 249, n. 275.

63 Hubert vol. Boehn, *Zustand der Türkei im Jahre der Propheziung* (Berlin, 1853), 29 in Gisela Haberer, “Die Aufstellung von Redif-Truppen in der Frühen Tanzimatzeit” (MA thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1999), 36–37.

64 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 171–177; Tobias Heinzelmann, “Changing Recruiting Strategies in the Ottoman Army, 1839–1856,” in *The Crimean War 1853–1856*, ed. Jerzy W. Borejsza (Warsaw: Neriton, 2011), 23.

65 See for instance, İ. DH 12223 (H. 24 R 1266/ 9 March 1850) for the dispatch of two battalions and of some irregulars to help census-taking in the population. It was implied that the system of drawing lots would follow the expedition. See also, Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840–1861* (London: Oxford UP, 1968), 81–82; Karal, “Zarif Paşa'nın Haturatı,” 466–471.

call for armed support should the nomads of Western and Central Anatolia resist conscription.⁶⁶ The practice continued as punitive expeditions against the nomads of Southern Anatolia in the mid-1860s, as the armed forces were used to exert central control and secure taxation and conscription.⁶⁷

Another reality of the era was the continual appearance of underage boys and sick men in army ranks. The levy orders sent to the districts forbade the conscription of children, the physically weak, and of those who lacked limbs⁶⁸ or were suffering from disease, thus likely attesting to a widespread practice.⁶⁹ In the mid-1830s, for instance, of the 22,272 men drafted from the provinces to replenish the Guards and the line regiments, 3,794 men, nearly one-sixth of the total number, were rejected for being unfit for military service.⁷⁰ One reason this occurred was that the Ottoman state could not provide adequate bureaucratic and medical support for the necessary physical examinations of all recruits on-site.⁷¹ Consequently, the recruiters in the provinces did not hesitate to fill their quotas by sending the very young (most likely the orphans) and physically unfit, an easily "conscriptable" social group. Some recruits, anticipating their eventual rejection, might have even agreed to be dispatched as substitutes following a local arrangement.

66 C. As 2103 (Not dated, but must have been penned after 1843).

67 See, Paul Dumont, "1865 Tarihinde Güney-Doğu Anadolu'nun Islahı," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10-11 (1979-80), 369-94.

68 Varna Court Records no. 2, case 32 (H. 13 Ş 1247/ 17 January 1832) in Alpaslan, "Varna Şer'iyе Sicil Defterinin," 168-69.

69 Ibid, 197-98. See also Isparta Court Records no. 183 (H. Evail Za 1250/ March 1835) in Halil Erdemir "1246-1254 (1831-1838) Tarihli 183 Numaralı Isparta Şer'iyе Sicili Üzerine Bir İnceleme" (MA thesis, Konya Selçuk Üniversitesi, 1995), 10-11.

70 ASK.MHM.d no. 30 (H. 1250-54/ 1834-39), pp. 232-235. It was inscribed in the register that these numbers show the entirety of recruits who came to the capital until December 11, 1835 (H. 20 Ş 1251). In contemporary Russia, landlords and village communities tried to send the troublesome, the disabled, and the old men to the army to meet their required quotas. Consequently, the annual intake of the Russian recruits was nearly equal to the number of those rejected for health reasons, physical disabilities, age, and height in the 1840s. Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *From Serf to Russian Soldier* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 3-25; and John H. L. Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar Army and Society in Russia 1492-1874* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 143-75.

71 Isparta Court Records no. 183 (not dated, but likely to be issued just after *Tanzimat*) in Erdemir "183 Numaralı Isparta Şer'iyе Sicili," 12-13.

Soon after the creation of the *Mansure* army, Ottoman officials noticed that there were more than one hundred boys under the age of 15 enrolled despite the existing regulations. According to a proposal by İbrahim Saib Efendi, a high-ranking *Mansure* official, these recruits could not yet be used as active soldiers. However, they could be trained in religion, reading and writing, military drills (with wooden muskets), and various trades as apprentices. After having trained and become accustomed to the military life, some of them could be enrolled as officers, engineers, and scribes in the military, while others could serve as apprentices in the armaments industries.⁷² Thus, about a month after the “Auspicious Event,” an ordinance was drafted for a “Training Center” for these youngsters.⁷³ The Ottoman “child soldiers,” however, continued to show up in the ranks of the active army. The British traveler Adolphus Slade dubbed Mahmud’s new army sent against the Russians in 1828–29 “an army of conscript boys, the most part under eighteen.”⁷⁴ In the mid-1830s, Slade encountered Ottoman soldiers in the Balkans, “few of [whom] appeared above fifteen years old, while the looks of each of these victims of a harsh, ill-leveled conscription, seemed to say ‘I shall never see my home again.’”⁷⁵ The muster rolls of the *Mansure* army support Slade’s observations, as the names of under-aged boys appear on them.⁷⁶ In the winter of 1833, there were sixty boys in *Mansure* units stationed in the city of Edirne.⁷⁷ A few months later, a number of boys were dispatched from different *kazas* of Anatolia and handed over to various Istanbul artisans as apprentices.⁷⁸

72 For the report, see HAT 292/ 17435 (H. 1241/ 1826). The project was also mentioned in Ahmed Lütü Efendi’s chronicle, which was depicted as a preliminary experiment that eventually became the Ottoman military academy established in 1834. Ahmed Lütü Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütü*, 147-48.

73 For the ordinance, namely “Nizam-ı Talimğâh-ı Sıbyan-ı Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye”, see Ahmet Yaramış, “Osmanlı Ordusunda Çocuk Askerler Meselesi (Talimhane-i Sıbyan),” *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (2006), 53-62.

74 Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &c. and of a Cruise with the Capitan Pasha, in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831*, vol.1 (London: Saunders and Oetley, 1832), 302.

75 Slade, *Turkey Greece and Malta*, vol. 2, 411-412.

76 For instance, four soldiers were registered as “*neferat-ı sıbyan*,” with a *derkenar* (postscript) saying “*Bu çocukların mahiyesi onbeş yaşlarına girinceye değin beş kuruşdur.*” D. ASM 37849 (H. 27 S 1247/ 7 August 1831)

77 HAT 311/ 18387 B, C, D (H. 28 B 1249/ 11 December 1833).

78 C. As 33918 (H. 12 Za 1249/ 23 March 1834).

Voluntarism vs. Compulsion: Why Did the Men Serve (or Not Want to Serve) in the Ottoman Army?

It is hard to quantify the appetite of ordinary soldiers to join and fight in the armies of Mahmud II and the Tanzimat reformers, but as happened in France, Prussia, and Austria during the late 18th and early to mid-19th centuries,⁷⁹ the popular response to conscription were indifference, evasion, and in some cases, armed resistance.

The founding ordinance of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* had in fact indicated that the soldiers were supposed to enlist voluntarily. And volunteers from the lower classes continued to step forward after 1826,⁸⁰ to receive a small monthly salary, free food, shelter, clothing and some hope of rising up through the ranks. Yet the number of volunteers simply did not suffice to meet the military's continuous and mounting manpower requirements, so that recruitment became increasingly coercive and obligatory. Accordingly, Ottoman documents and treatises about military reform from the early 1830s reveal that contemporary Ottoman military policies, which used Islam as justification and aimed at large-scale military mobilization, depended on a strategic understanding that required compulsory military service of the empire's Muslim population.⁸¹

The Ottoman military and civilian population quickly realized that conscription meant forceful indictment, prolonged years of service without discharge, and exposure to the various dangers of military life. Consequently, thousands of potential recruits and active soldiers responded with resentment, evasion, and hostility. They ran away from the recruitment parties or, once conscripted, deserted their units.⁸² The Ottoman authorities never had any illusions about ordinary subjects'

79 Harold D. Blanton, “Conscription in France during the era of Napoleon,” 12-13, Dierk Walter, “Meeting the French Challenge: Conscription in Prussia, 1807-1815,” 72-74; Frederick C. Schneid, “Napoleonic conscription and the militarization of Europe?” in *Conscription in the Napoleonic Era*, eds. Donald Stoker et al., 197.

80 In a document showing the names of the Ottoman conscripts dispatched from the *kaza* of Privešte in the Balkans, just two out of ninety-one recruits were indicated as volunteers. C. As 1984. The document is not dated, but it was likely written between the 1820s and 1840s.

81 See, for instance, *Devlet-i Aliye'nin Ahval-i Haziresine Dair Risale* (H. 1253/ 1837-1838), Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa no. 851 and *Askerlik Kanunname-i Hümayunu* (probably written sometime between 1834 and 1839), Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa no. 875, Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 12.

82 For instance, about 20,000 *Mansure* soldiers deserted between 1826 and 1837, while another 21,000 went “missing in battle.” See Appendix A.

enthusiasm. In the early 1830s, the imperial orders about the new census that were read to the public reasoned that the surveys were carried out primarily to justly distribute taxes. Internal bureaucratic communiqués and the sultan's own remarks revealed, however, that the "main motive" (*meram-ı asli*, as some imperial orders put it), cataloging eligible men for military service, should be kept secret.⁸³

In 1836, a memorandum on military recruitment underlined the "obvious, well-known fact" of the fright and reluctance of the population of Anatolia concerning enlistment. The report's author argues that the populace was more inclined to enlist for *Redif* regiments. His recommendation was not to extract more recruits from Anatolia that year in order to remove the existing feelings of fright and hesitation toward the *Asakir-i Mansure*, advising instead to concentrate on the training of the *Redif* force. To replenish the dwindling ranks, deserters hiding in the countryside should be caught, instead of imposing new recruit levies.⁸⁴ In February 1835, a district governor from the Kurdish provinces wrote to the Sublime Porte that local notables were spreading the word among the nomads that "all their sons were to be conscripted."⁸⁵ In his *Netayicü'l-Vukuat*, Mustafa Nuri Paşa wrote that when Ottoman subjects saw their sons conscripted into the army, they considered them dead, since they did not know when they would be discharged.⁸⁶ According to Moltke, although the soldiers were provided with adequate food and were treated and paid well, desertion continued in Southeastern Anatolia in the 1830s. Despite the bastinado and the occasional use of firing squads, captured deserters did not generally show remorse or fear; they immediately began looking for new opportunities to run away.⁸⁷ Moltke attributed the widespread desertions to soldiers longing for their families.⁸⁸

It is doubtful that the Tanzimat Decree and the early Tanzimat reforms drastically changed public perception about conscription. The emphasis on the "secrecy" of counting militarily eligible men was repeated in the population censuses of the 1840s.⁸⁹ Frederick Walpole, a traveler visiting Ottoman lands in the early

83 See for instance HAT 19217 (undated), HAT 19725 (H. 16 Ca 1247/ 23 October 1831); Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 12.

84 HAT 453/ 22433-B (H. 19 Ca 1252/ 1 September 1836).

85 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 251.

86 Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicü'l-Vukuat*, ed. Neşet Çağatay (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 298.

87 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 232-33, 241. For more details on desertion and various state countermeasures, see Şimşek, "Ottoman Military Recruitment and the Recruit: 1826-1853," 74-79.

88 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 197.

89 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 196.

1850s, in the Northern Levant wrote "the sheik had returned ... with orders to send the men to draw lots for the conscription. So there was not a gay voice to be heard, and one man was punished for saying he hoped the Sultan would die. They cursed us [he probably referred to Europeans], as the cause of all." He observed that in another town, "in the morning they had cried from the mosques for all to come to draw, and the road I had passed was thronged with villagers, women, and children. They generally cursed me dreadfully, saying, 'the Franks were the cause of it.'"⁹⁰ Slade also claimed that the Ottoman soldiers, especially the older reservists, sent to the Crimea in 1854 were "more or less painfully affected with nostalgia; a veritable, often fatal, disease in connection with fatalism. The Turkish soldier on service has rarely any means of communicating with his family. He broods over the forlorn condition in imagination of his wife and children in case of his death."⁹¹ The households, farms, and crafts that the soldiers left behind became vulnerable as they lost an able-bodied man to the army. In one case, a soldier sent a complaint to his local court stating that his wife had been kidnapped by four individuals from his village. Some of the culprits were punished, but the soldier's wife had died.⁹² An Ottoman veteran of several imperial campaigns reportedly complained in an Istanbul coffeehouse that

the troops from Anatolia and Rumelia were ordered to assemble in Istanbul. I have been serving for six years and could spend only two months in my homeland. [While waiting to receive my unpaid wages in the capital], the troops from [my?] district would begin to arrive. [We would likely to be deployed somewhere soon, so] it would be impossible to visit my home again. There is no one to take care of my children; I am in grief because of that.⁹³

Like their European contemporaries, Ottoman standing army suffered more from various contagious diseases and inadequate medical care than from actual battle deaths. In comparative perspective, however, an Ottoman *Mansure* soldier was more likely to lose his life during his military service than his British, French,

⁹⁰ Walpole, *The Ansayrii or the Assassins*, vol. 3, 169, 188.

⁹¹ Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War*, 275.

⁹² Karahisar-ı Sahib Court Records no. 568, cases 63 (H. 15 Ş 1261/ 19 August 1845), 64 (H. 11 L 1261/ 13 October 1845) in Naci Şahin, "568 Numaralı Karahisar-ı Sahib Şer'îye Siciline göre Afyon (H. 1260/ 1265-M. 1844/ 1849)" (MA thesis, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 1998), 197-98.

⁹³ İ. DH 1776 (H. 21 S 1257/ 14 April 1841) in Cengiz Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri"* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 219-220.

and Prussian counterparts. The yearly death rate for the *Mansure* army was around 90–100 men for every 1,000 in 1826–37, excluding battlefield deaths,⁹⁴ whereas Western European standing armies lost between 10 and 20 men in every 1,000 during the same time period.⁹⁵ The Russian army's rate of loss is probably the closest to the Ottomans': 37 Russian soldiers out of every 1,000 died annually before the Crimean War, while this ratio increased to 67 and even 95 in conflict zones like the Caucasus.⁹⁶ The Ottoman military medical school had been founded in 1827, but it did not provide the desperately needed trained personnel in sufficient numbers and quality.⁹⁷ In the late 1830s, Moltke rated the surgeons accompanying the Ottoman army in Eastern Anatolia as utterly useless.⁹⁸ He wrote that in one year alone, diseases killed almost one-third of the Ottoman soldiers, who never actually fought against an enemy.⁹⁹ Indeed, according to Ottoman records, between 200 and 400 soldiers died in the hospitals around Istanbul every month in the 1830s and early 1840s.¹⁰⁰ According to a spy report from March 1844 in Istanbul, a grocer situated close to the Selimiye barracks said: "We do our business mostly with the soldiers [here]... they are carrying away 8–10 sick [soldiers] every day."¹⁰¹ In another spy report, a mercenary (*seğban*) captain, whose service experience in his detachment must have been comparable to those of the regular soldiers, complained that

they sent us to İzmid. For ten days, the soldiers stayed in the open countryside. After that an epidemic struck, 200–300 died in İzmid. Now they brought us here [Istanbul], but 2–3 men are dying every day. The regulars saw a dead man's foot eaten by the dogs at the dock. ... Instead of keeping us here in misery for nothing,

94 Compiled from Appendix A. The average size of the regular army was estimated as 45,000 between 1826 and 1837.

95 *Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, & Invaliding in the United Kingdom, Mediterranean and British America* (London, 1839).

96 John Shelton Curtiss, *The Russian Army Under Nicholas I, 1825-1855* (Durham: Duke UP, 1965), 250-251.

97 Stanford J. Shaw and Ayşe Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 29; Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 210; Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 305-306.

98 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, vol. 1, 344; Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 187.

99 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 241.

100 See Appendix B for the number of deaths from disease in the military hospitals around Istanbul.

101 İ. DH 3661 (H. 4 Ra 1259/ 4 April 1841) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 388.

they should just as well let us go back to our homelands, [otherwise] we will all perish here without food and water.¹⁰²

Serving soldiers and potential recruits would have been aware of the possible dangers, prolonged terms of service, and uncertainties of life in the military described above.¹⁰³ Ahmed Lütfi Efendi condoned the Albanians’ reluctance to sign up in 1828. After all, they “could end up in any place between Belgrade and Baghdad” without any pay, while their families would be left behind unprotected.¹⁰⁴ In an Istanbul coffeehouse in 1841, a grocer thus reasoned, “they are recruiting *segbans* now. We, together with some others, better go and enlist. But one is afraid [about where and how] one would end up (*amma insan sonundan korkuyor*).”¹⁰⁵

To what extent were soldiers’ salaries an incentive to serve? Foreign observers, such as Moltke and Henry Skene, argued that the Ottoman regular soldiers’ salaries were satisfactory, at least on paper. Skene stated, “The pay of a private varies ... from 20 to 30 Turkish piasters [*kuruş*] per month—that is from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. sterling, which is exclusive of food, medicines, and clothing ... [T]he expense to the government of each ration is 60 piasters per month, which, with his clothing, for which no stoppage is made, raises the pay of a Turkish soldier above that of a British one.”¹⁰⁶ But other evidence suggests that Ottoman irregulars might have had more access to material incentives for service than did soldiers in *Mansure* or *Redif* units, and the salaries offered to the central army proved insufficient to persuade many recruits to leave their families and risk their limbs and lives as conscripts.

According to Skene’s calculation, the wages of regulars/active reservists and irregulars (if they covered their own clothing, food, and equipment expenses) were actually comparable. For instance, the mercenaries in the Eastern and the Arabian provinces in the 1840s usually received 60 *kuruş* if they were infantry and 80 *kuruş* if they were cavalry.¹⁰⁷ However, it was not unusual for the state to

102 İ. DH 1106 (H. 20 Ş 1256/ 17 October 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 167.

103 Charles MacFarlane, *Kismet; or, the Doom of Turkey* (London, 1853), 58. It should be noted that according to their founding ordinance, *Mansure* soldiers were granted furloughs for six to eight months every five years depending on the distance of their homelands. In 1837, about 10 percent of the active army were on furlough (KK 6799).

104 Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 191-92.

105 İ. DH 1802 (H. 29 S 1257/ 22 April 1841) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 265.

106 James Henry Skene, *The Three Eras of Ottoman History; A Political Essay on the Late Reforms of Turkey* (London, 1851), 65-66; Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 232-233, 262-263.

107 C. ZB 4068 (H. Ş 1259/ 4 September 1843), C. ZB 1262 (H. 9 Ra 1265/ 2 February 1849), C. As 46872 (R. Haziran 1265/ June-July 1849); C. DH (Cevdet Dahiliye) 12159 (August 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 128.

provide irregulars' food, equipment, and weapons during the campaigns, so their pay remained intact. In some cases, the irregulars' monthly salaries could reach handsome sums, such as 110, 250, or 300 *kuruş* per month even in the 1820s.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the irregular warriors were probably more likely to bring home war booty than the *Nizamiye* or *Redif* soldiers. Kabudlı Vasfi's personal account indicates that as a low-ranking Ottoman mercenary in the early 1820s, his monthly pay changed from 25 to 35 *kuruş*, which was similar to that of a *Mansure* corporal or sergeant. But on many occasions, the state provided his food and equipment during the campaigns, and he benefited directly from plunder and received extra bounty for his actions on the battlefield.¹⁰⁹

The monthly wage for a *Mansure* private was set at 15 *kuruş* at the army's establishment, and it was increased to 20 *kuruş* on August 25, 1826.¹¹⁰ This amount remained the standard monthly pay for privates in the following decades,¹¹¹ when the Ottoman lands experienced rampant inflation and the debasement of coinage because of the expenses of war and costly military-bureaucratic reforms. From 1822 to 1839, the silver content of the *kuruş* decreased more than half.¹¹² Şevket Pamuk notes that the daily wage of an unskilled worker in the capital was 6 *kuruş*, while a loaf of bread (1 *okka* = 1.28 kg) cost 1 *kuruş* and 1 *okka* of meat cost 4–4.5 *kuruş* in the 1840s.¹¹³ The important point is that the pay of both Ottoman regular and irregular soldiers was often in arrears or nonexistent. The commanding officers and scribes often falsified the figures on muster rolls.¹¹⁴ Kabudlı Vasfi, an irregular, also recorded a number of incidents between the troops and the commanders over unpaid wages.¹¹⁵ Like Kabudlı Vasfi, a mercenary captain from Gümülcine

108 Erdem, "Recruitment," 198; Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 161–162.

109 See also Tolga Esmer's article in this volume. Jan Schmidt, "The adventures of an Ottoman horseman: The autobiography of Kabudlı Vasfi Efendi, 1800–1825," in *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500–1923)*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2002), 195, 198, 229–230, 234.

110 Levy, "The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II," 186–87.

111 See, C. As 44920 (H. R 1256/ June 1840); KK 7025 (R. Nisan-Mayıs 1265/ May–June 1849). The wage of the Ottoman privates remained at 20 *kuruş* between 1826 and 1849.

112 Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 188–200.

113 Pamuk, *A Monetary History*, 208, n. 9; İ. DH 3363 (H. 11 B 1260/ 27 July 1844) in Kırılı, Sultan ve *Kamuoyu*, 470.

114 For various incidences to this effect, see Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War: 1853–1856*, 168, 174, 191, 228, 233–234.

115 Schmidt, "The adventures of an Ottoman horseman," 207, 224.

mentioned earlier, he complained that they did not receive anything more after the first two months of pay in 1840.¹¹⁶

Utilizing local court records and commodity prices, a study on *Mansure* veterans in Ankara argues that the 10 *kuruş* monthly pension for discharged unwounded soldiers was insufficient to live on. In 1839, one could buy only 20 *okka* of bread (about 25 kg) or about 1 *okka* of butter for that money, which would hardly suffice for one person to survive for a month, let alone his family.¹¹⁷ A discharged corporal named Mehmed Ağa, on his way from Istanbul to his home district of Teke in 1845, died due to poor health in Bolvadin in Western Anatolia. According to local court records, the deceased soldier's possessions (mostly everyday clothing) was worth 217 *kuruş*, and he had 268 *kuruş* as cash, from which the funeral cost of 51.5 *kuruş* had to be deducted. The records give no further information about him, but if he had served for the full five years, the money he accumulated equaled nine months of his salary.¹¹⁸ With his “military savings,” he could buy one cow for 250–300 *kuruş* in the central Anatolian countryside, but would not be able to afford a second cow.¹¹⁹ One official report indicated that fourteen of the sixteen discharged wounded or disabled *Mansure* pensioners living in Uşak were working on local farms even though some of them had serious injuries, likely out of necessity.¹²⁰ Finally, and importantly, not every veteran discharged for health reasons received a pension.¹²¹ There were instances of authorities discharging “useless” soldiers, who lost their health during their service, on the condition that they did not demand any pensions.¹²² Between 1826 and 1837, 17,131 veterans were discharged after having served in the *Mansure* army, but only 1,834 of these were entitled to pensions.¹²³

116 İ. DH 1106 (H. 20 Ş 1256/ 17 October 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 167.

117 Mustafa Öztürk, “Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Ordusundan Emeklilik ve İhraç” in *Birinci Askeri Tarih Semineri, Bildiriler II* (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Basımevi, 1983), I-II.

118 Karahisar-ı Sahib Court Records no. 569, case 105 (H. 16 Ca 1261/ 23 May 1845) in Mehmet Biçici, “569 Numaralı Karahisar-ı Sahib Şer’iye Sicili” (MA thesis, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 1998), 93-94. For the wages of the corporals, see KK 6979 (H. 1256/ 1840-41) and KK 7023 (H. 1264/ 1847-48).

119 For the price of a cow in the environs of Niğde, see C. ZB 1833 (June 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 109.

120 D. ASM 38998 (H. S-Ra 1252/ July 1836).

121 İ. DH 4022 (H. 12 B 1259/ 10 August 1843) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 422-423.

122 C. As 38816 (H. 18 B 1256/ 15 September 1840), and especially C. As 38815 (H. 26 M 1257/ 20 March 1841).

123 Appendix A and ASK.MHM.d no. 30 (H. 1250-54/ 1834-39), pp. 232-235.

Conscription and the Peoples of the Empire

Further empirical research is needed to establish a definitive map of the geographical and ethnic origins of the conscripts during the era in question. Yet the archival sources consulted for this essay suggest that a significant portion of the regular and reserve troops were drawn, especially between the mid-1820s and the late 1830s, from the predominantly Turkophone population living south of the Danube in Europe and west and north of the Euphrates in Anatolia, the areas Ottomanists often refer to as the “core provinces.”¹²⁴ For instance, the center demanded about 27,000 new recruits for the *Mansure* army mainly from these regions in a mid-1830s levy. The levy produced some 22,000 actual conscripts, which amounted to about half of the active *Mansure* soldiers at the time.¹²⁵ Between 1826 and 1838, the sultan ordered ten subsequent recruit levies in the district of Çirmen (which covers Eastern and Western Thrace), which amounted to 15,365 conscripts by 1838, enough to furnish more than ten full-size *Mansure* regiments.¹²⁶ If this number was fully extracted, levies from Çirmen alone must have constituted one-tenth of the total recruits taken into the *Mansure* army between 1826 and 1837.¹²⁷ Another levy in 1838–39 targeted Northwestern Anatolia and Thrace and ordered the collection of 8,021 recruits to replenish the ranks of the regular army.¹²⁸

Why did the majority of the conscripts come from the Turkish-speaking “core provinces”? First, Mahmud II’s centralizing policies proved to be more successful in these areas.¹²⁹ The sultan exterminated the notables who had wielded considerable power and proved disloyal, while he subordinated many others through coercion, bargaining, power and revenue sharing.¹³⁰ The Ottoman center therefore often ensured the help of provincial notables while conducting its military levies in these areas, and accordingly, Mahmud II felt

124 For the places where the new *Mansure* regiments were raised, see KK 6799.

125 ASK.MHM.d no. 30 (H. 1250-54/ 1834-39), pp. 232-235.

126 Mehmet Esat Sarıcalıoğlu, “II. Mahmut Döneminde Edirne’nin Sosyo- Ekonomik Durumu (Şer’iye Sicillerine göre)” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1997), 154, table 19.

127 See Appendix A.

128 HAT 18001 B (Spring-Summer?, 1838); ASK.MHM.d no. 31, p. 6. (H. Evahir Za, 1254/ 4-14 February, 1839).

129 Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, 14-16.

130 Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 768-769.

secure enough to permit the local dignitaries and their sons to command *Redif* detachments from 1834 onward.¹³¹

In the 19th century, small family farms dominated the rural landscape of Central and Western Anatolia.¹³² When recruitment parties arrived in such villages, the menfolk there proved easy prey, in contrast to the more mobile and often more aggressive nomadic or settled warrior communities who lived in distant and rugged Albanian, Bosnian, and Kurdish territories. In addition, the proximity of the “core provinces” to the capital and their geographical accessibility enabled the central authority to impose tighter control and conduct larger levies. A third reason why the Turkish speakers populated the Mahmudian army, as Hakan Erdem and İlber Ortaylı have pointed out, could be the result of a “preference” on the part of the Ottoman political-military establishment.¹³³ Based on their past experiences with unreliable irregulars of other ethnic origins, Ottoman commanders had already “urged the center to provide troops of the *Türk uşağı* [Turkish lads].”¹³⁴ According to the official chronicler Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, Albanian contingents were unruly and unthankful mobs, who “could well be dispatched to hell if someone pays them a salary.”¹³⁵ To garrison the fortresses in Morea, one local commander insisted on having *Türk uşağıs* instead of Albanian troops.¹³⁶ During 1827–28, the Ottoman authorities specifically wanted to bring “Turkish lads” from the Anatolian provinces to get rid of the undisciplined and inefficient local troops in Damascus and Aleppo Provinces and to substitute them with new *Asakir-i Mansure* units. In the initial stages of the project, an official from Damascus claimed that the local troops were on “very friendly” terms with the Bedouins, while the settled Arabs “valued their lives [too] much” to become conscripts. The same official correspondence also indicated that Kurds and nomads were not wanted among the recruits drawn from Anatolia.¹³⁷

131 However, the *Redif*'s founding ordinance also stipulated that *Redif* officers, who were also provincial notables, should not interfere in “local affairs” “as if they were *voivodas*.” For said ordinance, see Cahide Bolat, “Redif Askeri Teşkilatı (1834-1876)” (PhD diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 2000), 17-24.

132 Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1988), 62-63.

133 İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 137-38, Erdem, “Recruitment,” 192, 204-205, Hakan Erdem, “Türkistan: Nerede, Ne Zaman?,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 58 (1998), 38-44.

134 Erdem, “Recruitment,” 193.

135 Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 192-193.

136 C. AS 46942 (not dated by probably from the late 18th or early 19th century).

137 Erdem, “Recruitment,” 196-202.

Further practical problems emerged in Aleppo where Arabs were recruited as cavalymen: The foreign drill instructors spoke “Frankish,” and their directions had to be translated into first Turkish and then Arabic for the ordinary soldiers.¹³⁸ Moltke also wrote about the hastily inducted and maltreated Kurdish conscripts who could not understand their officers’ language prior to the battle of Nizib.¹³⁹ Menemencioğlu Ahmed Bey, a power magnate in the Adana region who allied himself with the invading Egyptian army against the Ottoman center, recounted the difficulties in communication between the Arab soldiers, Turkish-speaking irregulars, and the conquered population of the Adana region.¹⁴⁰ In the Crimean War, the Ottoman irregulars “spoke so many different languages that, even within small units, translators and criers had to be employed to shout out the orders of the officers.”¹⁴¹ These incidents all point to the one of the many daunting tasks the Ottoman state faced in raising, training, and maintaining cohesion in a conscript army drawn from a diverse population, a challenge contemporary Austrian and Russian armies also faced.¹⁴² Recruiting the bulk of soldiers from among Turkish speakers would help overcome this problem.

The conscription code of 1846 stipulated that regiments could not be constituted entirely by conscripts from the same city/district (*hemşehri*) or the same ethnicity/nationality (*cinsiyet*). To ensure ethnic and territorial heterogeneity in the ranks, the code allocated separate recruitment districts to each army, and its 13th article stipulated the continuous rotation of the regiments between the provinces.¹⁴³ In practice, however, Ottoman decision-makers did not mind if the “Turkish lads” constituted the majority of the imperial army, and a number of units were made up entirely of Turkish recruits, which was another manifestation of the described “preference” and the Turks’ perceived reliability. The authorities were often more concerned about the increasing numbers of non-Turks (Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, and sometimes non-Muslims) in a particular unit and their location of service, thus the regulations about “ethnicity” were mostly applied to non-Turks.¹⁴⁴

138 Erdem, “Recruitment,” 201-202.

139 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 262.

140 Yılmaz Kurt, ed., *Menemencioğulları Tarihi* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1997), 106-109.

141 Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), 120.

142 Compare, for instance, Robert Baumann, “Universal Service Reform and Russia’s Imperial Dilemma,” *War and Society* 4, no. 2 (1986), 31-49; Istvan Deak, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990).

143 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 13, pp. 9-10.

144 It is possible that the Ottoman authorities put some effort into preventing entire units being raised from the same (Turkish or non-Turkish) town or region (*hemşehris*).

Two detailed reports from the early 1850s, for instance, warned the Ottoman authorities that the number of Arabs was increasing in the Army of Arabia (*Arabistan Ordusu*) and requested the dispatch of Turkish recruits (*Türk uşağı*) destined for other armies from a list of Anatolian districts.¹⁴⁵ Otherwise the Army of Arabia was "going to be entirely composed of the sons of Arabs,"¹⁴⁶ which would lead to "an inconvenience related to ethnicity."¹⁴⁷ It is important to remember that during this era, Syria and Lebanon showed resistance to Ottoman centralization efforts. The Ottoman authorities might thus have mistrusted the Arab recruits and wanted to bring more ethnic Turkish soldiers to the regiments in the region. In February-March 1848, a debate among high-ranking state officials on the recruitment of non-Muslims and Muslims from different ethnicities reveals the complexity of the issue, as well as Ottoman pragmatism. *Serasker* Mehmed Said Pasha called attention to the risks of forming units from non-Muslims that were homogenous in their ethno-religious composition. Mustafa Reşid Pasha disagreed with the *serasker* regarding the recruitment of non-Muslims and also favored the conscription of non-Turks and non-Muslims, arguing that the British, Austrians, and French already had units entirely made up of Scots, Sepoys, Italians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Algerian Arabs. Yet he cautioned that these "ethnic units" should not be forced to fight against their own "nations" (*hencins*). For instance, Albanians should be sent to the Arab provinces, while Arabs and Kurds should be sent to Albania. The Ottoman Greeks and Armenians should not be used in any armed incidents at the Greek border or in Eastern Anatolia, respectively.¹⁴⁸

All this said, it would be a mistake to think of the Ottoman center's practical preference as an ideological choice. The Ottoman state in the 1820s–1850s was certainly not a nation-state based on Turkish ethnicity and identity. Besides, the Ottoman state did not categorically exclude its non-Turkish Muslims from armed military service and inducted large numbers of Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, and Bosnians into the active and reserve army units whenever the opportunity arose.¹⁴⁹

145 İ. DH 14404 (H. 21 Şevval 1267/ 19 August 1851) and İ. DH 16001 (H. 20 Ca 1268/ 22 March 1852), also cited in Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 137.

146 "...ordu-yı hümayun-ı mezkurun kuvve-i askeriyesi bütün bütün evlad-ı arabdan kalarak..." İ. DH 14404.

147 "...sair ordular neferat-ı cedidesinden münasib mikdar Türk uşağı gönderilerek hencinslik mahzurunun def'i, icab-ı maslahatdan olacağına..." İ. DH 14404.

148 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 224–226.

149 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 197, 256, 261–263, 268, 271, 276; Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War*, 81. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, vol. 1, 316, 318–319; BOA, İ MTZ (05) (İrade Memalik-i Mümtaze) 05/ 128 (H. 10 L 1256/ 5 December 1840); Ebubekir

The era's Ottoman army was in fact not only multiethnic but also multiracial: documentary evidence suggests the existence of black Muslim soldiers. Many of the troops in question were possibly composed of slaves sent to the army as substitutes by their masters. The court records of Kayseri from 1831 indicate that five out of twelve recruits from the city and one out of sixty-seven recruits from the surrounding villages were black (*zenci*). The records also mention black soldiers among the conscripts taken in the following levies.¹⁵⁰ Based on the number of recruits and local demography, it is likely that the richer and better-connected white townfolk managed to find and deliver more slaves than those in the rural areas to complete their recruitment quotas. The conscription codes that the Ottoman state created in 1844 and 1846 referred to the existing practice of sending slaves to the army as substitutes.¹⁵¹ Interestingly, the 1846 code stipulated that slave substitutes had to be white.¹⁵² Unfortunately for historians, the law does not explain the Ottoman state's racial preference.¹⁵³ Finally, the population surveys of the early 1830s indicate that Ottoman officials did not consider Muslim Roma (*kıbtî*) as "soldier material." On more than one occasion, military-age Muslim Roma were excluded from conscription, even though they were registered in the survey.¹⁵⁴

What did being an "Arab," "Turk," "Kurd," and "Albanian" mean to the Ottoman officials, ordinary subjects and soldiers? The evidence suggests that neither the Ottoman state nor Muslim ethno-cultural communities in this period adhered to any ideologically articulated nationalist sentiment in the modern sense. Yet often ordinary subjects and state officials manifested their association with a

Ceylan, *The Ottoman Origins of Modern Iraq* (I. B. Tauris, 2010), 58-67; Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 171-205; Heinzelmann, "Changing Recruiting Strategies in the Ottoman Army, 1839-1856," 23, 37-38.

150 Mustafa Kılıç, "[Kayseri] 197/ 1 Numaralı Şer'îye Sicili (H. 1246-1248/ M.1831-1832) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme" (MA thesis, Kayseri Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2002), 71-74, 154-57, 172-74. For a black soldier from Kayseri who served, was discharged, and was entitled to a monthly pension of 15 *куруş*, see *ibid.*, 330.

151 *Nizamât-ı Cedide-i Askeriye Kanunnamesi*, Article 54, p. 65; *Kur'a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 28, pp. 16-17.

152 In 1852, a certain conscript named Ali, who drew a bad number, was obliged to give a white slave if he wanted to send a substitute instead of serving himself. BOA, A. MKT. MHM (Mektubi Kalemi, Mühimme) Dosya no. 112, Vesika no. 100. (H. 21 Ra 1268/ 14 January 1852).

153 *Kur'a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 28, pp. 16-17.

154 These Roma were living in Thrace, Western, and Northeastern Anatolia. Karal, *İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, 33, 34, 36, 135-136, 158, 179.

certain collective ethnic and/or religious identity and were conscious of which ethnic or/and religious group lived where and how. They might also speculate about other groups' collective characters, histories, and loyalties. The term "*Türk uşağı*" (Turkish lads), for instance, repeatedly appeared in the official documents, referring to the Turkish-speaking population of the Balkans and the Middle East. Ottoman state documents often denoted Mehmed Ali Pasha's forces as "*Havain-i Mısıriye*" (Egyptian traitors), "*Mısır Askeri*" (Egyptian soldiery), or sometimes simply as "*Mısırlu*" (Egyptians), calling the enemy by a term of origin. The spy reports from the 1840s that recorded unsuspecting ordinary subjects on the streets of Istanbul provide more interesting and direct information on the subject. While watching the parade of "prisoners from Egypt," a hazelnut seller named "Şakir the Arab" and a chestnut seller called Abdullah spoke to each other in Arabic, saying that "most of these are the Egyptian *Redif* soldiers, some of them are our brothers and some of them are our relatives. May God curse Mehmed Ali! ... [The Imperial forces] took Greater Syria already, hopefully, they will occupy the interior too, so that the [locals of Syria] would be content."¹⁵⁵ A *tatar* (courier) named İsmail Ağa, while discussing the military strength of Mehmed Ali Pasha in what seem to be exaggerated figures, used the terms "trained Arab soldiers," "Turkish lads," and "Albanians" to describe not only different types of military assets but also their ethnicity.¹⁵⁶ An Istanbulite captain from the Ottoman navy commented on the defection of the Ottoman fleet to Egypt; after distinguishing "Turkish" and "Arab soldiers," he emphasized that "none of our [Turkish] soldiers went over [to Egyptian side] voluntarily, they all in fact went crying."¹⁵⁷ A neighborhood headman (*muhtar*) named Mustafa Ağa and a colonel named Ahmed Bey freshly arrived from Trablus both commented on how "treacherous," "strange," and "cowardly" the "Arabs" were.¹⁵⁸ A certain İzzet Ağa mentioned and distinguished the "Turkish soldiers" (*Türk askeri*), who probably came to Alexandria with the defected Ottoman fleet, from the "Arab soldiers" (*Arab askeri*), who almost fought each other because of the alleged conspiracies of a particular captain, possibly a convert called "Frenk Mehmed."¹⁵⁹ Another Istanbulite "*hoca efendi*" asked, "How are the Kurds in Kurdistan doing now? Previously Reşid Paşa put everything in order and he used not to show any mercy to the Kurds. The

155 İ. DH 1210 (H. 18 N 1256/ 13 November 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 184.

156 İ. DH 1038 (H. 1 Ş 1256/ 28 September 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 145.

157 İ. DH 1155 (H. 1 N 1256/ 27 October 1840) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 172-173.

158 İ. DH 1210 (H. 18 N 1256/ 13 November 1840) and İ. DH 1802 (H. 29 S 1257/ 22 April 1841) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 190-191, 260-261.

159 İ. DH 1802 (H. 29 S 1257/ 22 April 1841) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 263.

Sublime Porte will benefit a lot if these Kurds will be put in line, because beneath the mountains where they dwell are a lot of *maden* (underground minerals), no other place has any *maden* like that.”¹⁶⁰

Soon after the creation of the *Mansure* and *Redif* armies and the ensuing recruit levies, Ottoman statesmen, foreign travelers, and even the Tanzimat Decree mentioned the drain on the Muslim population. Eventually, despite Mahmud II's initial reluctance, the Ottoman state attempted to recruit non-Muslims, particularly Armenians and Greeks, to unarmed labor battalions and the imperial navy between 1826 and 1853.¹⁶¹ But these attempts had limited scope and success because of mutual suspicion and distrust between almost every involved party, such as Ottoman decision-makers, non-Muslim, and Muslim communities.¹⁶² In a series of official discussions in 1847–48, Mustafa Reşid Pasha strongly recommended the recruitment of non-Muslims to the land army, under the pretext that they shared a fatherland with the Muslims.¹⁶³ Yet Mustafa Reşid Pasha was not really interested in promoting equality between the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects; rather, he wanted to decrease the burden of conscription on the former. If the state did not expand the manpower base beyond the Muslim population, he argued, the Muslims would soon cease to be the “ruling nation” (*millet-i hakime*) of the empire.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, Charles Blunt, the British consul in Ottoman İzmir in the mid-19th century, reported that the Turkish population was gradually declining and facing impoverishment because of military conscription. After their discharge, the Turkish soldiers returned to their villages and towns only to find their fields empty and their families destitute. Desperate to support their families and rebuild their previous lives, many became heavily indebted to Christian creditors who often took over their fields. Those who could not become farmers again sold

160 İ. DH 4207 (H. 28 M 1260/ 18 February 1844) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 447.

161 Official memoranda on the conscription of non-Muslim subjects indicated that the Ottoman leadership treated its Jewish subjects like the Muslim Roma by not considering them “soldier material” because they were a small population, were allegedly cowardly, and would not get along with other (non-Muslim) *millets*. HAT 311/ 18381 (c. 1838) and HAT 1251/ 48355-A (c. 1838) in Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 217, n. 56.

162 For two recent overviews of this subject, see Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 206-261; Ufuk Gülsoy, *Cizyeden Vatandaşlığa Osmanlı'nın Gayrimüslim Askerleri* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2010), 15-80.

163 “*mademki şu memleket anların dahi vatan-ı müşterekleridir*”. İ.MSM 161/ 365 (H. 8 Za 1263/ 18 October 1847) cited in Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 224.

164 Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına*, 222-226.

their possessions, which usually ended up in the hands of Greeks or Armenians.¹⁶⁵ Other British observers during the 1840s and 1850s such as William Nassau and Charles MacFarlane also underlined the demographic and economic losses of the Muslim population created by continuous military conscription.¹⁶⁶ As discussed above, the households who sent away their young men were not only deprived of a breadwinner but also became more vulnerable to harassment, extortion, violence, and other kinds of abuse. Non-Muslim communities, the observers claimed, were enriching themselves and becoming more populous thanks to their exemption from military service.

Indeed, in the turbulence of political crises, pressing manpower needs, and rising nationalist sentiments between 1856 and 1909, Ottoman statesmen intermittently debated whether non-Muslims should serve in the armed forces, and if so, how. In the end, non-Muslims were recruited in negligible numbers to serve predominantly in supporting branches.¹⁶⁷ Only in 1909 did the Young Turks impose obligatory military service on non-Muslims, and for the first time during the Great War, hundreds of thousands of Ottoman Armenians, Greeks, and Jews served in the unarmed "labor battalions."

What effect could the disproportionate representation of Muslims in the armed forces have had on the identities of the Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects in the long run? Khaled Fahmy and Eugen Weber argued for 19th-century France and Khedivial Egypt that since military service homogenized the experience of thousands of conscripts for several generations, it would contribute to the development of their respective national consciousness and national identities.¹⁶⁸ For Ottoman lands after 1826, Hakan Erdem and Virginia Aksan argue that Ottoman conscription, which mainly targeted Muslims, may have contributed to the demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire by enforcing ethno-religious and ethno-cultural boundaries.¹⁶⁹ According to Erdem, this may well have created a "rift"

165 Bilal Şimşir, ed., *British Documents on Ottoman Armenians 1856-1880*, vol. 1 (Ankara: TTK, 1982), 16.

166 Nassau William Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858* (London, 1859), 139, 163-164; MacFarlane, *Kismet*, 58-60.

167 Gülsoy, *Cizyeden Vatandaşlığa*, 81-205.

168 Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 268; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 292-302.

169 Virginia H. Aksan, "Locating the Ottomans Among Early Modern Empires," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999), 132-133; Virginia H. Aksan, "The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World," *CSSAAME* 27, no. 2 (2007), 264-267, 269, 270; Erdem, "Recruitment," 192, 204-205.

between the army as a whole and the non-Turkish provinces of the empire, whether they were inhabited by Muslims or non-Muslims.... A regular Ottoman army that did not or could not incorporate non-Turkish Muslims into its ranks would be increasingly perceived as a foreign army of occupation and would strengthen the anti-Ottoman/Turkish sentiments of non-Turkish provincials when it was used to pacify such provinces. Similarly, the “Turks” who bore the greatest burden of the defense of the empire would have come to view the internal and external others very much in the same light, and as one could claim, they would tend to create their own reactive nationalist sentiment against the enemy from within or without.¹⁷⁰

Their experiences during military service directly affected not only the conscripts but also their families and communities at home. Both the servicemen and their communities suffered from any death or absence. As the conversations intercepted at the coffeehouses, taverns, and streets of Istanbul indicate, many serving or discharged Muslim Ottoman soldiers must have recounted their adventures, observations, and judgments to their friends, relatives, neighbors and strangers. No matter the emotional tenor of the soldiers’ recollections, they will have inevitably created or reinforced ethno-religious or ethno-cultural “typing,” leading to an “us” (soldiers and those who identified with them) versus “them” (the enemy or those who did not serve) dichotomy.

Islam and the Ottoman Soldiers

What role did Islam play in convincing recruits to join and serve the Ottoman armies during the period in question? Could it have been the opium for the masses of Ottoman infantry and cavalry, as some contemporary and modern historical sources suggest?

Ottoman decision-makers and ideologues presented the era’s armed conflicts as ones waged between the rightful Islamic state and “foreign infidels,” “enemies of Islam,” “heretics,” or, in cases such as the war against Mehmed Ali Pasha, as against rebels who had taken up arms against their legitimate Islamic ruler.¹⁷¹ Mahmud II, whom his critics ironically nicknamed the “infidel sultan,” actively presented himself and the new regime as the rightful promoters and protectors of Sunni Islam after 1826. The sultan was also careful to obtain the approval of the *ulema*

¹⁷⁰ Erdem, “Recruitment,” 192.

¹⁷¹ For Mahmud II’s and several Ottoman officials’ statements, see Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 21-23, 44-46, 101.

elite for every major policy decision or for various reform projects.¹⁷² He also used Islamic symbols and propaganda to legitimize his actions and policies. The imperial decrees and state-sponsored chronicles and booklets targeted various segments of Ottoman society, maligning the Janissaries not only as useless, undisciplined, and self-interested soldiers but also as faithless, heretical traitors. Accordingly, the new regime persecuted the Bektashi faith, which was closely associated with the Janissary Corps and with blasphemy. In this regard, the name of the new army, *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (Victorious Soldiers of the [Prophet] Muhammad [Himself]), was not chosen arbitrarily. Orta Camii, the mosque attached to the former Janissary barracks, was renamed Ahmediye (it still bears the same name) in a clear reference to the Prophet Muhammad.

Mansure soldiers were ordered to read verses from the Qur’an, pray five times a day, and attend Friday prayers as a group. According to the *Mansure* army’s founding regulations, the soldiers were to gain some knowledge about Islam, “as much as a commoner needs”. Salaried *imams* were appointed to each battalion to lead prayers and preach to the soldiers on matters of Islam and their duties as soldiers of the sultan and the faith. The authorities supervised the printing of religious treatises that outlined the basic tenets of Sunni Islam, such as *Dürr-i Yekta* and *Birgivi Risalesi*, and sent them to the regiments as well as administrative districts. According to Yıldız, the periodical prayers and religious services together with continuous physical drilling aimed to accustom the recruits to and convince them of the demands of their new, regimented military life.¹⁷³ The system’s pragmatic goal was to mobilize as many as possible behind its policies and turn the subjects into “active militants” of the regime.¹⁷⁴

In a time of national emergencies, the Mahmudian state used a discourse that related the obligatory nature of military service to being Muslim. In a public dec-

172 İllhami Yurdakul, *Osmanlı İlmiye Merkez Teşkilatı’nda Reform (1826-1876)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2008), 234-237, 274-282.

173 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 352-353, 368-369, n. 271; also, for similar “expectations” from the soldiers and officers, see the later *Müzekkere-i Zabitan*, 6. In a different world but for similar goals, British colonial authorities together with local religious agents in 19th-century India crafted what Nile Green has called a “sepoy religion” or “barracks Islam” for the Muslim rank and file. This “barracks Islam” was aimed at creating a more effective military force for the British by instilling discipline, devotion, and loyalty. Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 136-149.

174 Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok*, 371.

laration that clearly sought to mobilize Muslim subjects in 1828 for a likely war with Russia, it was declared that

the Muslims too would unite and rise to their feet to fight for the sake of their religion and state. The great statesmen and religious scholars and perhaps all the Muslims were unanimous on this point. This coming war had nothing to do with the previous wars that were pursued by the state and that were about land and boundaries. As explained, the goal of the infidels was to eradicate the Islamic millet from the face of the earth. This war was a war of religion and of the millet [din ve millet gavgası]. Muslims should spend their own money for that purpose and not ask for salaries or wages, as the gaza and cihad were obligatory for all, great and small [gaza ve cihad farz-ı ayn olmuş].¹⁷⁵

The Ottoman state maintained this overarching, mobilizational discourse during the 1830s. A treatise dated 1837–38, from Hüsrev Pasha’s library, considered every able-bodied Muslim male between eighteen and sixty, regardless of his wealth, “obligated” to be a part of the Ottoman military by virtue of “customary and Islamic law.” But since it was impossible to mobilize everyone in wartime, the state had to select those who were to become soldiers.¹⁷⁶ In the early Tanzimat era, the first article of the 1846 conscription code had a strikingly similar wording: any Muslim selected as a conscript was bound to serve, a duty sanctioned by “customary and Islamic law.”¹⁷⁷

The Islamic flavor and justification were apparent in the induction process, which ceremonially and legally initiated the conscript to his new life as a member of the Ottoman “military class”.¹⁷⁸ The 1846 conscription code stipulated that the draft lottery should be initiated after a proper prayer¹⁷⁹ and that a member of the *ulema* should be employed in the drawing of lots.¹⁸⁰ The selected

175 Hakan Erdem, “Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers’: Ottoman responses to the Greek War of Independence,” in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birttek and Thalia Dragonas (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 77.

176 *Devlet-i Aliye’nin Ahval Haziresine Dair Risale* (H. 1253/ 1837-1838), 2a-b.

177 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 1, pp. 3-4.

178 A number of Ottoman military codes and ordinances used the ancient term “*askeri*” to denote the conscripted subject’s new status. See, for instance, *Kanunname-i Ceza-i Askeriye*, Article 2, p. 5.

179 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 42, pp. 26-28.

180 *Kur’a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 46, pp. 29-31.

conscripts were to be told that they were going to serve for five years in the active army for the "state and religion" (*din-ü devlet*). Then they were to take an oath in front of the *ulema* present that they would come back to join the Ottoman army after their initial twenty-day leave, avoiding dishonor and shame in their new lives in the regiments.¹⁸¹ The induction process and ceremonies marked the end of the conscripts' previous lives and initiation into a new legal and social status.

The evidence consulted for this study concerning the impact of such religious propaganda is rather mixed. Slade attributed the steadfastness of the unpaid Ottoman soldiers during the Crimean War (1853–56), to "their Prophet's promises. Mohammed said, 'The sword is the key of heaven: a drop of bloodshed in action, or a night passed under arms, is more meritorious than two months of fasting and prayer. Who dies in battle his sins are pardoned....' When men are inspired by a sentiment such considerations are of little account."¹⁸² Religious differences between the foes, he hinted, could motivate the Ottoman soldiers more and result in the escalation of violence on the battlefield. In Moltke's account, Ottoman soldiers charged the rebellious Yezidi villages not only with fixed bayonets but also with the conventional Muslim Turkish battle cry of "Allah Allah!" According to Moltke, the soldiers' fighting zeal would increase when they attacked enemies who were not only affluent but also "devil-worshippers."¹⁸³ Kabudlı Vasi's firsthand account expressed the demarcation between "us" (Muslim Ottoman forces) and the "infidel" in the battlefields of Greece as two opposing sides.¹⁸⁴

Other contemporary observers had no illusions that religious convictions sufficed to keep the Ottoman rank and file in the army camps and barracks and argued that a steady flow of cash, provisions, and equipment were necessary. An earlier treatise by Koca Sekbanbaşı during the reign of Selim III asserted that the days when Muslims fought wars just to please God had long passed; everyone now expected material benefits if he was to risk his life.¹⁸⁵ In September 1841, a

181 *Kur'a Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, Article 49, pp. 33-34.

182 Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War*, 175-176.

183 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 191-193.

184 The Ottoman soldiers prayed for their fallen comrades and attacked their enemies with the battle cries of "Allah Allah!" or "Allahu Ekber!" with unfurled war banners. The Greek rebels recited their Gospels, screaming "Oh Cross, Oh Jesus!" (*Ya Haç, Ya Put!*) under the overseeing priests while attacking the Ottomans forces. Schmidt, "The adventures of an Ottoman horseman," 223, 230, 235, 248, 251, 253, 270.

185 Abdullah Uçman, ed., *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesi* (Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser), 166.

certain *mirahur* named Deli Ahmed in his Istanbul coffeehouse was overheard saying that soldiers who did not receive their due wages would not be useful on the battlefield.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, forcing men who did not have a personal stake in the fighting might further hamper ordinary soldiers' morale. An eyewitness to the battle of Nizib reflected on the Ottoman soldiers who had also to fight against Mehmed Ali's Muslim Egyptians. His words are worth quoting in full:

What was it to the soldiers, if the Sultan had one great province more or less, in his vast dominions! The enemy was also of the same faith as themselves, and few that were on the field had ever met them before, or bore rancour or hatred, or even ill-feeling towards an Egyptian. There had not even been any of the usual little incentives put into play to excite their feelings, and there existed nothing but the sense of duty, and a decent regard for honour, to keep the men to their posts. The Egyptians, it might be said, had not greater incentives to the struggle; this is true,—but they were perpetually talked up to a contempt of the disgraced of Homs and Koniye.¹⁸⁷

In their seminal works on Ottoman warfare between 1500 and 1800, Gábor Ágoston and Rhoads Murphey challenged the argument of “Islamic fanaticism,” which has been used to explain the Ottoman armies' military prowess and early victories. The concept of “Holy War” and the prospects of material gain (e.g., plunder, cash bonuses, other material or in-kind awards) certainly formed an integral part of Ottoman military culture and warrior ethos, and they must have attracted volunteers and increased common soldiers' courage. But Ágoston and Murphey provided nuanced explanations backed by archival research, attributing the Ottomans' military successes mainly to abundant manpower and financial resources, a competent administrative-military bureaucracy, a remarkable military-industrial complex, and an impressive logistical structure by contemporary standards.¹⁸⁸ The effect of religion on the Ottoman rank and file in the 19th century has yet to be studied in more detail, but similar parameters probably shaped the morale and motivation of a 16th-century and a 19th-century Ottoman trooper. The period between the 1820s and the 1850s nevertheless proved to be extremely tumultuous, and during it, a new, ambitious regime made unprecedented demands on its populace to execute its policies without offering much

186 İ. DH 2221 (H. 6 Ş 1257/ 23 September 1841) in Kırılı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyu*, 298.

187 Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, vol. 1, 340–341.

188 Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan, Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005); Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (London: UCL Press, 1999).

in return. The state policies, religious propaganda, and personal religious convictions failed to turn conscription, mass mobilization, and war into a popular affair in the eyes of the Ottoman subjects. An official report recorded that about one-eighth of the 161,000 *Mansure* soldiers deserted between 1826 and 1837, while an equal number went "missing in battle," sometimes no doubt due to desertion.¹⁸⁹ In the following years, thousands of soldiers and potential recruits continued to desert from their regiments and to evade conscription.

Conclusion

Witnessing the low morale and widespread desertion in the late 1830s, Moltke could not conceal his surprise. The new conscripts, according to him, did not possess "their forefathers' warrior spirit," he wrote, probably referencing the Janissary Corps and the timariot cavalry of the Ottoman "Classical Age."¹⁹⁰ Indeed, the *Asakir-i Mansure Muhammediye* was primarily manned by ordinary Muslim villagers and the urban poor, who wore distinct uniforms, billeted in isolated barracks, and trained and organized with European-style discipline, command, and tactics. These soldiers did not form a privileged administrative-military elite like the ones in the earlier centuries. Instead, they constituted the Ottoman state's first mass-conscript army, with which the Ottoman authorities thought to replace the Janissaries, *nefir-i âm* levies, irregular mercenary companies, and tribal forces that had made up the bulk of the Ottoman army by the late 18th century.

The archival evidence indicates that most conscripts were forcibly recruited, received very little, or no, salaries, were kept under arms for years without seeing their families, and suffered heavily from diseases and other hazards of soldiering in the 19th-century Middle East. The Ottoman state resorted to coercion, military discipline, and religious rhetoric to persuade these conscripts, a great number of whom were Turkish-speaking subjects, to serve the "state and religion." In the and the Tanzimat Decree and subsequent legislation did not really guarantee a truly "just" conscription for the Ottoman subjects, and the actual procedures of selection indicate that an individual's social and economic status basically determined his chances of becoming a draftee.

Far from being established and accepted traditions by the turn of the 19th century, conscription and obligatory military service remained among the unpopular

189 KK 6799.

190 Moltke, *Türkiye Mektupları*, 232.

innovations of Ottoman reformers. From its beginning, the state was perfectly aware that its subjects would not prove willing soldiers, while tens of thousands of potential recruits and those already conscripted desperately tried to evade military service. Thus the currently popular belief in Turkey (shared by some Westerners) that “Turks” form a “military nation,” the perception that every Turk has the essential skills and zeal to be a “born soldier,” is proved a nationalist myth through historical evidence available for the first Ottoman wide-scale conscription effort in the second quarter of the 19th century.¹⁹¹

Generations of compulsory military service must have had a great impact on the formation of ethnic or religious identities and national consciousness. In this regard, further micro-studies on conscription in the selected communities and regions would yield crucial information about changes and continuities in the economic, demographic, political, and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire between 1826 and 1918. Furthermore, they would contribute to our knowledge of what made an “Ottoman soldier,” as well as to a better understanding of changing inter-communal relations, identity formation, and the meanings of subjecthood, loyalty to the state, and territoriality of individuals in the later Ottoman Empire.

The First “Little Mehmeds”: Conscripts for the Ottoman Army, 1826–53

Abstract ■ In 1826, the Ottoman central authority, which had destroyed the Janissary Corps and had been facing an array of political and military challenges from both inside and outside for years, decided to create a European-style army manned by long-term conscripts. To meet the mounting manpower needs, the Ottoman state forcibly drafted Muslim peasants and the urban poor for its newly formed regiments. This essay focuses on these men, the rank and file of the Ottoman army in the second quarter of the 19th century, a social group that scholars often disregard as a topic of historical investigation. The article examines the conscripts’ social background, as well as the responses of both the general public and the serving soldiers to military service. The essay will also analyze how religion, ethno-cultural identity, social status, and the actual experience of military service shaped the state’s recruitment policies and the subjects’ attitudes toward conscription in an era before modern sentiments of nationhood took root among the Muslim peoples of the empire.

Keywords: Conscription, Obligatory Military Service, Mahmud II, Tanzimat, Reform in the Ottoman Empire

¹⁹¹ For a critical study of the topic for the republican era, see Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of The Military Nation, Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: The balance sheet for the Mansure Army
between 1826 and 1837¹⁹²

Active Army in February 1837		%
Number of soldiers ready for duty in their regiments	47,639	29.58
Those granted furloughs	5,478	3.4
In hospitals	1,553	0.96
Subtotal	54,670	33.94
Discharged since June 1826		
Discharged without pensions	15,297	9.49
Discharged with pensions ¹⁹³	1,834	1.13
Subtotal	17,131	10.63
Losses since June 1826		
Deaths ¹⁹⁴	45,496	28.25
Deserters	20,117	12.49
Missing in combat ¹⁹⁵	21,298	13.22
Killed in combat	1,269	0.78
Taken Prisoner	1,055	0.65
Subtotal	89,235	55.41
Grand Total	161,036	100

¹⁹² Compiled from Kamil Kepeci 6799. This *defter* was probably first used by Avigdor Levy in his PhD dissertation. (See Levy, “The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II,” 597-599) The *defter* was re-consulted, and the figures for the hospitalized and granted furloughs were added.

¹⁹³ About one-sixth of these pensioners hailed from Istanbul. D. BŞM 10455 (H. Ca 1253/ August-September 1837); D. BŞM 10479 (H. Za 1253/ January-February 1838).

¹⁹⁴ The reasons of death were not specifically mentioned.

¹⁹⁵ “*Hîn-i muharebede ğaib...*” It is not clear how these men went missing. They might have deserted, run to the opposing side, fallen prisoner, or simply been killed in battle with the authorities losing track of them.

APPENDIX B: Deaths in Military Hospitals in and near Istanbul

Source	Start Date	End Date	Number of Deceased	Number of Months	Name of the Military Hospital(s)
D. BŞM 42154	13 Feb. 1831	12 May 1831	388	3	Maltepe
D. BŞM 10000	21 Apr. 1833	18 Jul. 1833	451	3	Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others (<i>ve mahal-i saire</i>)
D. ASM 38363	12 Jan. 1834	10 Feb. 1834	219	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. ASM 38364	11 Feb. 1834	11 Mar. 1834	188	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. ASM 38375	12 Mar. 1834	10 Apr. 1834	266	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. BŞM 10077	11 Apr. 1834	09 May 1834	264	1	Maltepe
D. ASM 38476	08 Jul. 1834	06 Aug. 1834	139	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. ASM 38476	05 Sept. 1834	04 Oct. 1834	227	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. BŞM 10148	03 Nov. 1834	02 Dec. 1834	299	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. ASM 38573	01 Jan. 1835	30 Jan. 1835	303	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. ASM 38587	31 Jan. 1835	28 Feb. 1835	270	1	Maltepe, Mühimmat-ı Harbiye and others
D. BŞM 10262	22 Nov. 1835	20 Dec. 1835	230	1	Maltepe, Kavakağacı
D. ASM 38922	19 Mar. 1836	17 Apr. 1836	168	1	Maltepe, Sakızağacı and others
D. BŞM 10453	3 Aug. 1837	1 Sept. 1837	78	1	Maltepe, also including those who died in their regiments
C. As 42211	14 Sept. 1843	14 Oct. 1843	240	1	Maltepe, Bab-ı Müşiri
Average Number of Deaths in Military Hospitals in and near Istanbul, based on the samples above (1831–43): 196 (monthly), 2,352 (yearly), 23,520 (10-year estimate)					

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D. ASM (Asakir-i Mansure Defterleri) 37592, D. ASM 37849, D. ASM 37912, D. ASM 38363, D. ASM 38364, D. ASM 38375, D. ASM 38476, D. ASM 38573, D. ASM 38587, D. ASM 38883, D. ASM 38922, D. ASM 38998,

D. BŞM (Başmuhasabe Kalemi ve Bağlı Birimlere Ait Defterler) 10000, D. BŞM 10077, D. BŞM 10148, D. BŞM 10262, D. BŞM 10453, D. BŞM 10455, D. BŞM 10479, D. BŞM 42154

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İ. MSM (İrade Mesail-i Mühimme) 11/ 224, İ. MSM 10/ 206

İ. MTZ (05) (İrade Memalik-i Mümtaze) 05/128

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The Confessions of an Ottoman ‘Irregular’: Self-Representation and Ottoman Interpretive Communities in the Nineteenth Century

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Bir Osmanlı Başıbozuğunun İtirafı: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kişinin Kendini Temsili ve Yorumlayıcı Çevreler

Öz ■ Bu makale pek alışılmadık bir Osmanlı tarafından yazılan otobiyografik bir eseri incelemektedir: Çok az tanınan Anadolu’lu bir başıbozuk, Deli Mustafa (d. 1791/2), ya da kendisini el yazması metninde tanıttığı isimle Kabudlı el-Haccî Mustafa Vasfî Efendi. Eser paramiliter birliklere katılan sayısız Müslüman köylünün karşı karşıya kaldığı çalkantılı günlük hayat ve manevi ikilemlere dair nadir bir bakış sunmaktadır. Deli Mustafa’nın anlatısı ve öz-biçim verme stratejileri paramiliter gruplara hizmet eden sıradan Müslümanların Osmanlı tarihinin bu fırtınalı dönemi boyunca geçimlerini sağlamak için ne yapmak zorunda kaldıklarını, ve daha da önemlisi şaibeli ve çekişmeli hayat biçimlerini nasıl açıkladıkları ve meşrulaştırdıklarını anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Mustafa’nın anlatısının doğruluğunu tartışmaktan daha önemli olan onun – veya metni derleyen – yazınsal seçimleri, hedeflediği okuyucu kitlesi, ve imparatorluğun doğu sınırlarından batı sınırlarına doğru hareket ettikçe şiddeti betimleme tonunun zaman ve mekanda nasıl değiştiğidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ben-anlatıları (ego-document), Yunan İsyanı, Dinî gruplar arası şiddet, Eşkıyalık, Düzensiz Askerler (Başıbozuklar), Osmanlı Serhadleri, Kabudlı Vasfî Efendi, Rumeli

This paper will analyze an autobiographical account attributed to a very unlikely Ottoman author: an obscure Anatolian cavalryman (*deli*) Deli Mustafa (b. 1791/2), or Kabudlı el-Haccî Mustafa Vasfî Efendi, as he is fashioned on the title

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page of the only surviving manuscript of his narrative.¹ In it, Deli Mustafa sets out to tell about the military campaigns he took part in between 1801/2 (AH 1216) and 1832/3 (AH 1248) although the story cuts off some time in 1825. His narrative provides rare glimpses into the tumultuous everyday life and moral dilemmas faced by countless Ottoman irregular soldiery, or “military laborers,” most of whom hailed from Muslim peasantry and joined paramilitary bands either because of the opportunities such pursuits provided or because in this way they could protect their kin and communities from similar bands that roamed the Empire.² Deli Mustafa’s narrative and self-fashioning strategies help us understand what common Muslim men serving in irregular military forces had to do to make a living during this tumultuous period of Ottoman history, and most importantly, how they explained and legitimated their precarious and contentious way of life.

This paper will therefore examine how the author inscribes his place in Ottoman society as he describes his long journey and adventures from the eastern Anatolian frontier west to the Rumeli frontier as an itinerant Ottoman soldier. Deli Mustafa’s ego-document is rare in the sense that it points to how someone from “below” coped with and responded to the fickle patronage of his superiors, how he explained the moral compromises and violence that marked his way of life, as well as how he fashioned himself (both materially and symbolically) as a lower-order Ottoman warrior with an apparent knack for telling a good story. His account captures the options available to those who suffered the consequences of intra-elite intrigues plaguing the Ottoman war machine. That being said, however, men like him were not passive spectators who accepted their situation as *fait accompli*. Deli

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- 1 Leiden University Library, Ms.Or. 1551. The manuscript is dated 22 *zi'l-kâde* 1249 (April 2, 1834). It was translated into English and commented upon by J. Schmidt, “The Adventures of an Ottoman Horseman: The Autobiography of Kabudlı Vasfî Efendi, 1800-1825,” in his, *The Joys of Philology. Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500-1923)* (İstanbul: İsis Press, 2002), 166-286. In this paper I will be referring both to Schmidt’s translation and to the actual manuscript, especially when it comes to the wording in Ottoman Turkish that might reveal important nuances of meaning. I have chosen to refer to the narrator as “Deli Mustafa” (which can also mean “Crazy Mustafa”) since he refers to himself as such in the narrative as opposed to using the his embellished name (El-Haccî) signed at the beginning of the text. As I will discuss below, the authorship of this account is in question.
 - 2 In terms of nomenclature for different types of military forces in Ottoman history, there were many types of “irregular,” mercenary-like forces such as *delis*, *sarıca*, *levend*, *sekbân*, etc. that the Ottomans used in warfare. For more on these types of forces, dubbed most recently as “military laborers” by Virginia Aksan because of the blurry boundaries among these different categories, see *idem.*, *Ottoman Wars, 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow, 2007).

Mustafa's account provides rare insight into how violence during this period of Ottoman history and economies related to it mediated social relations. In this context, it opens vistas onto the nature of power that trans-regional, itinerant military support networks wielded against both their superiors as well as local communities throughout the Ottoman realm. In order to highlight this correlation between endemic violence and the multivalent exchange of material goods, commodities, and professional status as well as symbolic goods such as loyalty, honor, and moral capital that Deli Mustafa refers to, in this paper I will use the notion of "economies of violence," a concept that I have developed in the context of my work on banditry and endemic violence in turn-of-the-19th-century Rumeli.³

Can one derive a sense of what "Ottoman" or "Ottomanness" meant to a low-ranking irregular from reading Deli Mustafa's account? Would such a definition pivot upon loyalty to the state, and if so, can we discern what loyalty meant to him? Is there a distinct Muslim, itinerant warrior community one can decipher from the audience to which he speaks? How does the narrator see himself and his social status vis-à-vis imperial and local elites, other Muslim groups, and Christian communities in Anatolia and Rumeli? What kind of sensibilities and textual repertoires do the text's recurrent tropes of violence draw upon? And finally, how does the narrator use religiously-charged discourse against Christians to bolster his position and claims among his own co-religionists?⁴

These are some of the questions that I hope to address in this paper. It is important to preface the discussion, however, with the caveat that this essay will address the sometimes gruesome aspects of ritualistic violence described by the narrator that marked the lives of Ottoman soldiery and subjects during the Greek Revolution (1821-1832). It will examine how Deli Mustafa frames the stories about violence he inflicted upon non-Muslims and Muslims alike, and how he juxtaposed them to the descriptions of the exact same type of violence Greek insurgents tried to visit upon him, his comrades, and Muslim communities in Rumeli.

3 See T.U. Esmer, "Economies of Violence, Governance, and the Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Banditry in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1800," *Past & Present*, Vol. 224 (August, 2014), *forthcoming*.

4 I refrain from using the term "identity" as a category of analysis in this essay and give preference to less congested terms such as self-fashioning, self-representation, social/spatial location, and commonality and inter-connectedness. The term identity bears a multivalent, even contradictory theoretical burden given that identity cannot capture the multiple, fluid, fragmented, and negotiated ways the narrator talks about self and his connections with other groups in his ego-document. For more on moving beyond identity as a social science register, see R. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: 2004).

Rather than debating the veracity of Mustafa's jumbled historical account full of inaccuracies and contradictions, this essay focuses on his—or the compiler of the text's—editorial choices, his target audiences, as well as how the tone of his description of violence changes over time and space as he travelled from the eastern to western frontiers of the Empire in order to determine what was at stake for such an obscure author and his intended audiences to tell his story.

I. The Narrator, His Text, and His Interpretative Community

Nothing is known about Deli Mustafa aside from what he—or a scribe to whom he most likely dictated his account—writes in the manuscript. From the account, one learns that he and his father were professional, itinerant cavalymen (*deli*) who traveled together first from their native village of Kabud (near Tokat in Anatolia's mid-Black Sea region) to the eastern Anatolian frontier to engage in skirmishes with unruly *paşas*, “schismatics” on the Georgian frontier, “rebellious” Kurds, and Russian forces across the border. From there, they travelled west to Rumeli first to participate in an imperial campaign that hunted down the rebellious governor Tepedelenli Ali Paşa (d. 1822) in Yanya (Ioannina in Greece) and then on to the Morea to fight insurgents during the Greek Revolution.

Deli Mustafa's narrative is conceptualized as a chronicle in the traditional style: on the title page, the author states that by telling the stories about the countries and provinces he travelled and the war and death he witnessed (“...*il ü vilâyeti, cengi ü fâli birbir nakl idüp bir tevârîh itdüm...*”),⁵ he wrote a chronicle (*tevârîh*) covering the years 1216 (1801-2) to 1248 (1832-3), but the text misses its final pages and ends abruptly sometime around 1825. In terms of its value as a source of information on contemporary events, his vast descriptions of unsuccessful Ottoman campaigns against Greek insurgents (*e.g.*, the infamous Battle of the Moral Pass, today Dervenakia) provide not only facts but an extraordinary perspective on crucial details that the imperial chronicler Ahmed Cevdet, one of our main Ottoman sources on this and other battles of the Greek Revolution, simply glosses over as embarrassing details of late Ottoman history.⁶ Nevertheless, as Jan Schmidt points out, it is in his often emotional autobiographical passages that Deli Mustafa was at his best as a story-teller who brings us closer to the life of common peasants who filled the lower order of the Ottoman war machine, and one can easily imagine how he captivated his audiences with these or similar tales around a campfire, in a coffee-house, or in the confines of acquaintances' homes.⁷

5 Ms. Or. 1551,1a.

6 Schmidt, “The Adventures...,” 172.

7 *Ibid.*, 178-179.

In her work regarding the rising number of common men who took up the pen to write histories in the Ottoman Levant during the eighteenth century, Dana Sajdi argues that this phenomenon can be understood as the “trespass of commoners and marginals” (both Muslim as well as Christian) into the elite space of historiography, a space traditionally reserved for scholars and statesmen.⁸ Deli Mustafa’s ego-document, though expressed in the context of a traditional chronicle, must also be considered representative of larger institutional and social change concomitant to shifts in inter-imperial power constellations that were characteristic of the turn of the nineteenth century. The fact that someone of such humble origins would feel the need to have his stories recorded reflects not only a growing self-awareness among the Ottoman population at the time but also the desire of these new authors to negotiate for (or in) new social positions. Thus, Deli Mustafa’s account along with those of his contemporaries can be taken as a reflection of both a “new social order” and a new “sociability.”⁹

Sajdi also argues that new *littérateurs* from the period appropriated formal chronicle-writing by imposing old literary habits (popular genres such as epic story-telling with its particular linguistic constructions and rhyme patterns foreign to the scholarly chronicle) combined with their new cultural wealth onto a genre that used to be out of their reach, thus creating a new cultural product.¹⁰ One can also see a mixing of genres in Deli Mustafa’s narrative because the author sometimes addresses his audience directly, which suggests that he actually did not write this book himself but dictated a series of oral accounts to a scribe of limited literacy.¹¹ Although a large part of the narrative has the feel of a late-medieval Ottoman chronicle or a *gâzî* epic such as the *Saltuk-nâme*, replete with accounts of plundering and slaughtering “menacing infidels” (in this case, Ottoman Greek subjects) and priests, this paper will discuss

8 D. Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Middle East* (Berkeley: Stanford University, 2013). I thank Dana Sajdi for sharing drafts of chapters of her forthcoming book at the “Eighteenth-Century Crossroads in Ottoman Studies” workshop at Central European University in Budapest, May 2011. See also Sajdi’s contribution in this volume.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Clues like these as well as the way in which he addresses his audience directly (e.g., “dear friends,” 4b, 25b or “now listen,” in one instance followed by “he [i.e., Deli Mustafa] said...” 57a) suggest that his stories were dictated or narrated, which would also account for the lack of a flowing structure of the text as a whole. As Schmidt points out, the text is written in lapidary, colloquial Turkish in a phonetic style with inconsistent spelling and limited knowledge of Arabic and Persian. The vocabulary used by the author is also limited. Schmidt, “The Adventures...,” 177-179.

how the narrator uses these established tropes from older genres to bolster his status and make new claims to his Muslim audience.

Deli Mustafa's narrative presents an interesting snapshot of a broader Muslim, military laborer community –and by extension, Muslim peasantry– around the turn of the nineteenth century. The concept of interpretative communities, that is micro-societies organized around a common understanding of “texts,” is central to understanding the tropes and narrative strategies that the narrator employs.¹² A “text” did not necessarily have to be a literary artifact; it could also be a group experience (such as that of Ottoman military laborers coping with unemployment and fickle patrons or their crucial role in imperial campaigns), an individual life story (such as the life of Deli Mustafa who draws on older stories of warriors and saints to couch his own experiences and claims), or simply a term or concept. The participants in such a community, many of whom were listeners rather than readers, shared views and experiences that allowed them to coalesce around particular stories and texts and determine their meaning, claims, and practical implications.¹³ Despite the appearance of the printing press in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was a cultural milieu with restricted literacy, and society traditionally placed a special importance on the public performance of texts as a means of disseminating information to those who could not read.¹⁴ Therefore, Mustafa's narrative can be approached as a repository of cultural values, concerns, contentions, claims, and honor codes shared within a large group of Ottoman society (itinerant military networks) that are often described by others in predictable ways (for imperial chroniclers irregular bands were almost synonymous to bandits) rather than on their own terms.¹⁵ By keeping in mind that the narrative was designed for oral delivery, one can begin to imagine how a like-minded audience around Deli Mustafa dictated how he portrayed and fashioned himself and the larger profile of itinerant soldiers.

12 On the notion of interpretative communities in the early modern Ottoman context see T. Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Palo Alto: Stanford University, 2011), 26-27.

13 *Ibid.*, 27.

14 *Ibid.*, 27-28.

15 For newer interpretations of irregular warriors (e.g., *sekbân*) that places their ascendancy in Ottoman military campaigns and politics starting around the turn of the seventeenth century into broader financial and environmental transformations, see Baki Tezcan *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York, 2010) as well as Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2011).

The narrative strategies of the author suggest that his world was bound by an intricate set of beliefs and values – an ethos or unwritten code that revolved around notions of religious duty, honor, as well as vengeance. The religiosity and honor codes apparent in Deli Mustafa’s narrative had a special flavor to it reminiscent of other borderlands of the Ottoman world in previous centuries. This preoccupation with honor was not unique to Ottoman soldiery but was typical of interpretative communities inhabiting contested borderlands and frontiers that also served as a way of justifying their less-than-holy ways in the eyes of their own coreligionists.¹⁶ However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this borderland ethos became a fact of life *within* Ottoman hinterlands as Rumeli was gradually transformed from a “core” Ottoman province into a borderland contested not only by imperial rivals, but now, also by Ottoman subjects.¹⁷

II. Ottoman Irregulars and Their Superiors: The Trope of Unemployment and Victimhood

Among countless hardships that Deli Mustafa and his companions were subjected to on account of their military superiors, unemployment was the most common one featured in his account. The narrator’s discussion of this ubiquitous problem hints at how irregular soldiers may have understood their position as both contested commodities in inter-elite imperial intrigues and victims of the same. It is in the context of discussing unemployment that Deli Mustafa also reflects on what he and others like him consider was the “legitimate” as opposed to “illegitimate” plundering of local communities and boundaries between banditry and the necessity of survival.

¹⁶ For instance, Wendy Bracewell provides a cogent analysis of the codes of religious duty, honor, and vengeance that informed the behavior of the Uskoks of Senj, Slavic, Christian pirate/bandits on the Triplex Confinium (i.e., borders among the Venetian, Habsburg, and Ottoman Empire) who fashioned their contentious pirate activities against Muslims as well as Christians as a crusading war of faith against infidel Ottoman Muslim and Ottoman Christian “schismatics” (i.e., Orthodox Serbs, Vlachs, and Martolos). See W. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University, 1992), 159-164.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the overall significance of the transformation of Rumeli into a contested, inter-imperial borderland starting in the eighteenth century, see T.U. Esmer, “Economies of Violence...” See also, *idem.*, ‘A Culture of Rebellion: Networks of Violence and Competing Discourses of Justice in the Ottoman Empire, 1790-1808’ (University of Chicago, Chicago, Ph.D. Thesis, 2009).

Deli Mustafa begins his manuscript by describing his journey from north-central Anatolia eastwards towards Erzurum in search of employment. It was in Erzurum sometime in 1816 that he and his companions came into the employment of a certain Baba Paşa who sent them to the Georgian borderland in the retinues of a Yegan Paşa and *bölükbaşı* Mahmud Kiran to lay siege to the fortress of Ahıska occupied by a *paşa* who was declared an outlaw by İstanbul.¹⁸ He notes that they were ultimately successful in their overall objective of killing the outlaw, duly sending his head to İstanbul, and retaking fortresses occupied by rebels in the region. However, things went awry when the local Ahıskans (Turkic groups now living in Georgia and Ukraine) rebelled and captured their commanders and then lay siege to the Ardanuç castle where the narrator claims he and other irregulars tried to resist assailants for over 40 days.¹⁹

Deli Mustafa's description of events is generally jumbled and contradictory, and one cannot use his account to construe facts about these encounters per se, but his narration of recurring dynamics and intrigues as well as his responses to them tell us quite a lot about how such men understood and responded to the adversity stemming from the fickle treatment by their superiors. For instance, the narrator reports that while they were awaiting further orders from their commander Baba Paşa, they had obtained news from informants that the inhabitants of the region had lodged complaints against Baba Paşa and his men (presumably Deli Mustafa and his comrades included) to the sultan because his forces in the region had allegedly deflowered no less than 500 local girls and decapitated heads of several thousand Ahıskans while subduing the rebels. As a consequence, the author informs his audience that Baba Paşa was dismissed and ordered to assume a new post in Diyarbakır, which prompted Deli Mustafa and his companions to return back to Erzurum to their employer, presumably to collect their pay and seek new contracts. What is interesting is that the narrator alludes to how he and his men cut off the heads of 270 of their routed opponents prior to Baba Paşa's dismissal,²⁰ but when it came to complaints lodged against the latter, the author carefully distances himself from the excessive carnage and sexual violence—perhaps because he understood it as illegitimate in nature. Likewise, he goes on to state that Baba Paşa's former servant (the narrator's previous division leader) Mahmud Kiran then led "mischievous soldiers" in an assault on Baba Paşa's possessions and *harem* in Erzurum—most likely because the *paşa* withheld pay from these men. While Deli

18 Schmidt, "The Adventures..." 189–191. According to Schmidt, Cevdet calls this *bölükbaşı* [division leader] Mahmud Tiran. See Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. X, 249.

19 Schmidt, "The Adventures..." 191.

20 *Ibid.*, 193.

Mustafa distances himself from the violence visited upon Baba Paşa, he betrays the fact that he and his companions later joined forces with Mahmud Kiran.²¹

What is clear in the text and indicative of a recurring trope throughout his travels in Anatolia is that Deli Mustafa blames his superiors like Baba Paşa for his misfortunes and accuses the *paşa* of tricking him and his companions into believing that they would be paid their monthly salaries for their services, while in reality, the *paşa* had no intention of paying them and simply abandoned them along with 15,000 other irregular soldiers.²² It was after this episode that the narrator explains that as he and other irregulars were left unemployed (“*kapusuz*,” i.e., without a patron), they were *forced* to roam eastern and central Anatolia “from this village and that” to make a living, though Deli Mustafa does not provide specifics regarding how he and his companions extracted a living from the local population.²³ Noteworthy in this context is that Deli Mustafa often distinguishes between elite officials who were labeled “outlaws” (i.e., *fermânli*, those whose recalcitrance elicited an imperial edict against them) by İstanbul and local “robbers” (i.e., *harâmî*, those engaged in unlawful activity) whom they encountered in skirmishes and battles throughout Anatolia. However, when it came to him and his companions’ having to resort to “roaming” Anatolia for sustenance, he is completely mum as to what practices they engaged in. This distinction suggests that the itinerant soldiers’ “roaming” became sort of an “accepted” practice tacitly condoned by their superiors and understood as necessity by society at large. For Deli Mustafa, “unlawful” violence and plundering seems to be something pertinent only to other groups as opposed to his own plundering on account of being unemployed (i.e., a condition imposed upon him because of the deceit of his superiors).

Whilst describing how he and thousands of irregulars were the victims of their superiors’ intrigue and abuse, however, the narrator boasts that the contingents to which he belonged were very savvy networks capable of dealing with the adversity brought on by the whims of their superiors and taking advantage of their position as contested commodities. Put simply, their strategy consisted of entertaining, soliciting, and accepting more advantageous propositions of rival factions, be they elite *paşas* or infamous “robbers.”²⁴ For instance, while he and his companions

21 Ibid, 193-194.

22 Ibid., 194

23 “...ve mezkûr paşaların ma’iyyet olan delî atlasuna icâzet verdiler kapusuz atlu dahî bu köyde şu köyde gezer iken bizim ile beraber iki yüz kadar deli atlasu olup bizler şimdi kapusuz bu köyde şu köyde gezmeğe başladık...” Ms. Or. 1551, 13a.

24 Ottomanists working on the Balkans around this period have also noticed similar types of negotiation strategies among itinerant warriors in the Balkans, groups often labeled

lay under siege in Ardanuç castle prior to their patron Baba Paşa's fall, the narrator relates that one of their assailants, a local warrior named Kara Kadı (*i.e.*, the "Black" judge), actually offered them clemency (*bizlere re'y verüb*), which the author and his companions accepted. According to the narrator, Kara Kadı was allegedly "pleased" with him and his companions, and therefore provided them with food and shelter prior to their return to Erzurum back to their patron.²⁵ The fact that Mustafa and his companions entertained and accepted the overtures of their assailant in Ardanuç points to the fact that these types of soldiery clearly understood their position as men whose skills were very valuable in Ottoman society that put them in a position to negotiate better deals, salaries, and access to plunder for themselves, thus prompting one to take the narrator's recurring trope of victimhood and unemployment with a grain of salt.

Moreover, the dynamics Deli Mustafa relates calls to mind similar situations I discovered in my work on bandit networks in other regions a couple of decades earlier. For example, across the Empire on the Danubian frontier in October 1795, the Protector of Belgrade (*Belgrad muhâfızı*) El-Hac Mustafa Paşa reported to İstanbul that the retinue of a notorious Rumeli bandit Kara Feyzi was pillaging communities on his path to retake Belgrade in conjunction with the retinues of Belgrade Janissaries who were exiled from the city because of their abuse of the local population.²⁶ But what stands out in the *paşa's* correspondence is the fluid nature of the boundaries between his own military forces and Kara Feyzi's network, betraying the perpetual dilemma officials faced in terms of recruitment. Namely, the sources consistently demonstrate that officials claimed that they struggled to find trustworthy and capable men who could be relied upon to make a stand against bandit/paramilitary networks. In this case, El-Hac Mustafa Paşa voices his concern that his *sekbân* (irregulars) defending Belgrade were unreliable because Kara Feyzi's agents were among their ranks persuading them into joining their network. However, the *paşa's* correspondence concomitantly betrays that he withheld the pay of his men and refused to allow them to return to their places of origin in order to prevent them from joining the bandits. As was the case with Mustafa Paşa, such policies would only back-fire time and time again and encourage his various types of soldiery to join Kara Feyzi's bands.²⁷ Similar to the Kara Kadı option that Deli Mustafa alludes

collectively as "Albanian." See F. Anscombe, "Albanians and 'Mountain Bandits,'" in F. Anscombe (ed.), *The Ottoman Balkans*, 95-102.

25 Schmidt, "The Adventures..." 192.

26 B.O.A. HH 2402C.

27 Ibid. See also Esmer, "Economies of Violence..." (University of Chicago, Chicago, Ph.D. Thesis, 2009).

to, Mustafa Paşa's comments underline Kara Feyzi's recurrent contact and negotiation with the low-ranking warriors who were supposed to protect local communities from but rather elected to join him because of their superiors' ill-treatment.

Deli Mustafa's tales also hint at how itinerant military networks that roamed Anatolia in search of employment decades later were constitutive of vast support networks that shared information and resources. At some point after his eastern Anatolian adventures, for instance, Mustafa relates that he and his companions were in the central Anatolian town of Kayseri and had secured the patronage of a certain Memiş Paşa and were then dispatched to Sivas to punish the local population for rebelling against and incarcerating their local commander Çarhacı (*i.e.*, Skirmisher) Ali Paşa.²⁸ However, the narrator indicates that he and 200 of his companions became unemployed and were forced to forage and roam "from this village and to that village." Apparently, their "roaming" was significant enough to draw the attention of "the *paşa*" stationed in Sivas (it is not clear if he is referring to Memiş or Ali Paşa) who sent another *delibaşı* and contingent of irregulars to go after them. However, Deli Mustafa notes that a *deli* among these men informed them in advance that they would try to launch a surprise attack and capture them, thus prompting the author and his men to flee in the nick of time.²⁹

Deli Mustafa's account points to how the author and the vast number of paramilitary forces in Ottoman society were far from helpless souls who suffered as the collateral damage of elite intrigue. In recounting his adventures in the mountains of Kurdistan against rebellious Kurdish tribes, he likewise informs the reader about a quarrel that broke out again over the *delis'* salaries in Patnos (an "infidel" village near Erzincan). Mustafa indicates that he and his companions were promised a monthly salary, but their commander, Hafız Ali Paşa, refused to pay them. The *delis* therefore reportedly organized and went after the *paşa* who was forced to flee and seek refuge with a local *bey*.³⁰ In this case, the narrator even boasts that they were successful in extracting their pay through outright aggression against their patron. Ultimately, Hafız Ali Paşa and other *paşas* thwarted the troops' rebellion, cut their pay again, and dismissed them to roam about the region once more. But it seems that the narrator and his companions' bad standing with the *paşas* did not last long, because he states that they again hired him and his men for a mission against yet another rebellious *paşa* in Eastern Anatolia.³¹ What one therefore sees

28 Schmidt, "The Adventures...", 195.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 198.

31 Ibid., 198-199. In another instance, Mustafa notes that he had another quarrel (*nizâ' edüb*) with a *paşa* on the Persian frontier in skirmishes with Persian troops. Once the

in Mustafa's narrative in conjunction with similar patterns from other types of Ottoman sources is that these itinerant military orders were not simply "masterless men" roaming the Empire to their hearts delight. Rather, they were men who had their own system of honor that bound them to one another as well as to their employers and local communities in ways that have escaped the radars of historians working on this era. What Deli Mustafa's narrative reveals is that these men's sense of honor was their primary weapon, a sort of social contract, they held with their superiors, and when the latter broke these unwritten agreements, itinerant soldiers had the means and wherewithal to organize themselves against them.

III. Ottoman Irregulars and "Infidels:" Tropes of Violence and Masculinity

One of the key strategies employed in Deli Mustafa's narrative is the difference between mere allusion to his and his companions' pilfering of local communities in Anatolia to get by and his detailed descriptions of the plundering and often ritualistic violence they visited upon (and endured from) Greek rebels and communities in the Morea during the Greek Revolution. Interestingly these narrative shifts have a discernible spatial dimension: the narrative turns more graphic in its descriptions of the narrator's plundering and violence as he relays his travels west into provinces steeped in civil war and national rebellion. It is only in this context that Deli Mustafa elaborates more fully on the repertoire of violence exhibited by different military groups and local communities throughout Ottoman society. Recent research has highlighted the extent to which the ritualistic violence described in Mustafa's narrative was common in other parts of the Empire under "normal" circumstances, but it is interesting to see how the author takes care only to describe it in the context of the Greek Revolution.³²

Keeping in mind Deli Mustafa's primary audience of like-minded irregular soldiers, it is clear that his animated discussion of his prowess in pillaging Greek homes and shops, capturing and enslaving Greek maidens, as well as mutilating the body parts of Greek insurgents while personally avoiding a similar fate was expected to bolster his standing among his peers. These tropes were the building-blocks of male honor culture and the basic ingredients of bonding among those

paşa cut of their monthly allowance, they abandoned him at Kars and left for Sivas. Ibid., 207.

32 In the case of Anatolia in the eighteenth century, see B. Tuğ, 'Politics of Honor: The Institutional and Social Frontiers of 'Illicit' Sex in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia,' Ph.D. Dissertation (New York University, 2009).

who participated in or whose lives were affected by the militarization of Ottoman society due to the state's constant need for cheap laborers to man its policing and war machine. At the same time, these tropes place Deli Mustafa's manuscript in a larger textual continuum reaching back to the *gâzî menâkib-nâmes* (accounts of heroic exploits) and *velayet-nâmes* (hagiographies) of the fifteenth century.³³ What follows in this section is a discussion on the language of violence, both literal and literary, and its meaning for inter-communal relations during this period of Ottoman history.

To begin with, from Deli Mustafa's text one gathers that targeting Greek women was as an important a preoccupation of the Muslim warriors as stomping out the Greek insurgency, since booty was his primary means of sustenance. For instance, the narrator casually mentions that in Kabraniş he captured a Christian girl. He writes that he grabbed her, looked and saw that she was a virgin, and took her to the castle.³⁴ What is clear is that the sexual status of his prey certainly played an important role in determining her value on Ottoman slave markets that men like Deli Mustafa helped fuel. What is not clear is precisely how he determined she was a virgin: it may have been custom for different communities to wear certain types of clothes that denoted virginity, or he may have simply used another vile method of determining her sexual status.

Perhaps reflective of Deli Mustafa's understanding of what constituted legitimate violence, he recounts the full glory of his plundering adventures but without making specific references to the sexual violence he himself may have inflicted. His insistence on recounting his accumulation³⁵ of female slaves in Greece contrasts starkly with only vague references to problems he and his comrades encountered because of Anatolian "sweethearts" in Tokat³⁶ and Rumeli "beauties" in Malkara or Çırpan,³⁷ or passing reference to *other* men's deflowering local girls on the Georgian frontier. Deli Mustafa even seems to narrate his accumulation of other types of goods and plunder with more restraint than he exhibits in describing his pursuit of female booty. What strikes the reader on the subject of sexual economy in the narrative is Deli Mustafa's almost comical self-awareness of his

33 T. Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam*.

34 Schmidt, "The Adventures..." 222.

35 At one point, Deli Mustafa even relays a conversation with his father in which he states that they had acquired many female slaves and should therefore leave Greece while his father insists that they stay there until there is reconciliation with the Greeks. See *Ibid.*, 261.

36 *Ibid.*, 185.

37 *Ibid.*, 212-213.

and his companions' excessive pining after non-Muslim female slaves, a lust he acknowledges that the Greek insurgents were also very much aware of and used against Ottoman soldiers on a number of occasions. For instance, upon him and his companions' entering Kabraniş, the narrator claims that the Christians had taken the town and the castle, decapitated its Muslim inhabitants, and entrenched themselves there, but when Deli Mustafa and his men entered, the insurgents fled up the mountain while their women and girls fled in the direction of fields adjacent to the town.³⁸ Deli Mustafa states that he and five of his friends naturally chose to pursue the women. However, this turned out to be a near-fatal ruse, because upon their approaching the women, Greek insurgents came out of hiding and ambushed them. His friends having escaped, Deli Mustafa recounts that he was left alone and surrounded by Greek men who mocked him saying: "Oh my God who veils the shortcomings of men" (*yâ settârü'l-'ayyûb*).³⁹ The narrator recounts that he barely made it out of this precarious predicament alive.⁴⁰

Deli Mustafa's text is full of all the requisite ingredients for a Muslim man of low stature to bolster his standing as a warrior of faith in the Balkans among like-minded men by providing them with exciting – and sometimes even self-effacing – tales about his pursuit of Christian beauties. The Greek Revolution provided low-ranking paramilitary soldiers like Deli Mustafa the chance to live up to the tales they might have heard about Ottoman *gâzîs* of ancient times who displayed their masculinity on the bodies of their enemies and pillaged newly conquered territories to their hearts' content. Pillaging Christians as well as enslaving and seducing/sexually using/marrying their womenfolk were part of a larger Muslim male ethos that resonated with the author's primarily male audience. In this sense, we see how his text invokes a larger and older corpus of Ottoman narratives.⁴¹ But now that that Empire of yesteryear was gone, the Greek Revolution was one of the few opportunities that could prompt men like Deli Mustafa to record these facets of Ottoman military life with such gusto, since Ottoman armies no longer conquered new territories that provided their soldiery opportunities for free rein on "legitimate" booty from an "infidel" enemy.

38 Schmidt, "The Adventures...", 221.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 For more on the role of Christian women in Muslim warrior epics, see Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 64-68. See also B. Flemming, "Âşıkpaşazâdes Blick auf Frauen" [A Glimpse of Women in *Aşıkpaşa-zâde*], in S. Prätör and C. Neumann (eds.), *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture – Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul, 2002), 69-97.

What Deli Mustafa's uninhibited bravado points to is a sexual economy that played an important role in mediating social relations throughout the Ottoman period but that attains new dimensions in nineteenth-century Ottoman society when Christians were beginning to clamor for new rights.⁴² In boasting about hunting down Christian women the narrator is asserting himself as a powerful Muslim male whose supremacy in the social hierarchy of the time was beginning to be threatened by non-Muslims in novel ways. The obverse of this assertion of sexual supremacy over non-Muslims and their women was the emphasis on his role as a protector of religious boundaries when it came to the Muslim community. For instance, when he describes the Greek attempt to take Ağrıboz castle, Deli Mustafa portrays himself and his companions as the protectors of Muslim women and children who would have been deflowered and enslaved by Greek men had it not been for their heroic defense.⁴³

When it comes to violence against Greek men, what strikes the reader is the amount of space the narrator dedicates to describing particular punishments that Deli Mustafa and other soldiers inflicted onto insurgents. These vivid descriptions usually end with decapitation and other forms of bodily mutilation that are generally absent in the sections of the text devoted to Deli Mustafa's Anatolian travels. The next section of the paper will look more closely at the symbolic dimensions of this violence and its importance for Muslim intra-communal relations. However, here it is important to emphasize that according to Deli Mustafa's account, Muslims and Christians shared this culture of violence and language of mutilation.⁴⁴

42 For a discussion of the stereotypical portrayal of the lustful "Turkish" warrior pining after Greek women in Greek and European period sources during national Revolutions in the Balkans, see İ. C. Schick. "Christian Maidens, Turkish Ravishers: The Sexualization of National Conflict in the Late Ottoman Period," in A. Buturović and İ.C. Schick (eds.), *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture, and History* (New York, 2007), 273-305. The insistence on the image of the "lustful Turk" is also prominent in Orthodox Christian neo-martyrologies of women in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. See N.M. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860* (Crestwood, NY, 2000).

43 Schmidt, "The Adventures...", *Ibid.*, 252.

44 Plenty of work has been done on the role of Christian violence against Muslims in Greece and the Balkans during and after this period of Ottoman history as a similar Christian warrior-ethos against Muslim soldiers, their communities, and their womenfolk emerges. For discussions of this ethos and its attendant, ritualistic violence, see G. Koliopoulos, *Brigands with a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece, 1821-1912* (Oxford, 1987), P. Sant Cassia, "Better Occasional Murderers than Frequent Adulteries: Discourses on Banditry, Violence, and Sacrifice in the Mediterranean," in J. Skurski and F. Coronil (eds.), *States of Violence* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 219-229, and most

For instance, on a number of occasions Deli Mustafa and his companions stumbled upon Muslim communities whose male population had been decapitated by Greek insurgents. In describing a vicious battle they encountered in Ağrıboz, for example, the narrator relates that the Ottoman troops were routed, and in flight, he fell off a wall in a garden and stumbled into the hands of a Greek soldier who grabbed him by the throat and almost decapitated him. After an intense struggle, Mustafa claims that he managed not only to stab his adversary but that he also inflicted the ultimate act of revenge and humiliation upon him, for at the moment when his soul had only half left him (*cânı yarı çıkmış yarı çıkmamış*), Deli Mustafa ritualistically cut off his ears and left him there to die in agony.⁴⁵

IV. Narrating Inter-Confessional Violence, Bolstering Intra-Confessional Claims

At first glance, Deli Mustafa's descriptions of his role in the Greek Revolution may strike the modern reader as very "primitive," "fanatical," or even outright "barbaric" in the ways in which he ascribes religious significance to the violence he and his companions visited upon Greek warriors and their communities. However, just as in older Muslim legends, the narrator's latter-day *gâzî*-warrior ethos alongside the anti-syncretic tropes of ritualistic violence against Christians speak as much about the claims that men like Mustafa were making among their own coreligionists as they do about inter-confessional violence and enmity. It is not a coincidence that it is within the context of his recalling his pillaging and slaughtering Greek insurgents and their communities that most of the religious facets of the text surface.⁴⁶ In this sense, Mustafa's narrative betrays how much of his self-fashioning

recently, H. Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and R. Pichler (eds.), *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire, and Nation-Building* (London, 2011).

- 45 Ibid. 270. His being on the verge of being decapitated is a recurrent trope throughout his description of his adventures in the Greek Revolution. For instance, in describing another brush with death, the narrator indicates that he was shot in the leg, and upon falling to the ground, a tall, "black-faced infidel" came and tried to cut off his head, but a comrade picked him up and whisked him away on his horse. Ibid., 227.
- 46 Throughout the text, Deli Mustafa makes reference to his and his companions' frequent observance of religious duties like prayers, but they are often in reference to violence against or revenge taken upon Greek soldiers and communities. For instance, at one point the author discusses how they came across a Muslim village whose inhabitants were slaughtered by Greek insurgents. There he mentions that after re-reading the Muhammedan call to prayers (*ezân-ı muhammedî*), implying that they reclaimed the place by doing so (in conjunction with unfurling their banners there), they also proceeded to slaughter "infidels" and plunder their homes near the fortress. Ibid., 259. In recanting

as an honorable warrior of faith ever vigilant and brutal against rebellious Greek communities was largely about the status he was inscribing for himself among Muslims, especially other branches of the Ottoman military who competed for the same resources and status-recognition. It is this bitter struggle among his own co-religionists that surfaces frequently throughout the text that best underlines how the Christian booty, slaves, and macabre trophies like decapitated Christian heads were used as currencies to negotiate status and material rewards among various ranks of Ottoman soldiery and their superiors. Deli Mustafa's passages on violence against Christians undeniably testify to a nadir, a veritable turning point, in inter-confessional relations in the Ottoman world. However, a closer reading of the text reveals that the narration of violence is at least as much influenced by intra-Muslim socio-economic relations, including professional competition among the narrator's co-religionists. Understanding the moral and symbolic dimension of economies of violence and their currencies (mutilated body parts being just one of them) is essential for comprehending how social relations and material exchanges were structured during times of political instability and civil war.

Before going more deeply into the question of symbolic and material exchanges that marked this economy it is important to consider how the narrator "read" and referred to distinctions among various groups comprising Ottoman society, especially among Muslims. Whereas he generally refers to non-Muslims collectively as Christians, Jews, *kâfir*, *re'âyâ kâfresi*, or *'âsî* (i.e., rebel in the Greek case), he saves more specific ethnic descriptions primarily for the Muslim population. Deli Mustafa occasionally uses the word "Turk", usually in reference to himself, but this is only when he paraphrases the Greeks' labeling him as such.⁴⁷ For instance, he relays that he found himself in a precarious situation in which Greek infidels who surrounded him yelled in unison "You Turk (*ya Turko*), surrender yourself, be not afraid," but they opened fire on him, a predicament in which he claims only his horse miraculously managed to take a bullet.⁴⁸

the number of his companions that were slain in one battle, Vasfî offers a *fâtîha* (prayer) for all of the souls of Muslim martyrs; however, the author also goes on to explain how the Christians similarly did their utmost to fight with holy zeal, often citing the Gospels in the midst of combat. The author also notes that as a response to the Muslims crying "*Allâh Allâh*" in battle, the Christians would cry "*Lolololo*." Ibid., 247-248.

47 This was a frequent practice in early modern Ottoman chronicles as well and these ventriloquist references to the "Turk" are interesting because they demonstrate that the Ottomans were aware of how others referred to them while they refrained from using the same term themselves. See Kafadar, "Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2009), 7-25.

48 Schmidt, "The Adventures...", 221. .

In contrast, Deli Mustafa does talk quite a lot about frequent clashes with the “rebellious” Kurds he and his companions encountered in the “mountains of Kurdistan.”⁴⁹ For instance he and 8000 other *delis* found themselves in a clash with 10,000 warriors whom the author identifies as Kurdish.⁵⁰ What is interesting is how the narrator compares his group of warriors to the Kurds based on important material markers of profession and place. He ridicules the Kurds for arming themselves with mere swords, shields and lances (though they did have thoroughbred Arabian horses), whereas, he and his men were equipped with rifles and pistols.⁵¹ Likewise, in his travels through Rumeli on his way to participate in the imperial siege against Tepedelenli Ali Paşa in 1821, Deli Mustafa singles out Albanian communities as particularly insular and rebellious. For instance, the narrator describes Albanians in towns near Manastır (Bitola in modern-day Macedonia) as people who are rebellious and do not take in guests. On the contrary, when Albanian bands from these villages find strangers on the road, they rob them, but if there are soldiers among the travelers, then they refrain from doing so.⁵²

But in describing encounters with Rumeli Albanians, Mustafa also identifies another important marker of identity that seems important to him: language. Though he only vaguely refers to “Turks,” mostly because he is identified as such by Christians in Rumeli, it seems that to the narrator one’s ability to speak Turkish was something that could potentially mean the difference between being labeled rebellious, disloyal, and/or a proper Muslim versus an unbeliever.⁵³ For instance, the first thing the narrator mentions upon describing “perfidious” Albanians is that they collectively did not know any Turkish, which seems to underlie his negative opinion of them.⁵⁴ In another instance in which he describes his pillaging a mansion near Bülbülce in the Morea, Deli Mustafa notes that he and his

49 Ibid., 198.

50 Ibid., 200.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., 215. Deli Mustafa and his men were probably not ideal targets for Albanian highwaymen, since they travelled in large numbers and were heavily armed. For more on the term “Albanian” as a pejorative social category, R. Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (New York, 2009), 31-33.

53 Likewise, in his travels throughout Bosnia and Serbia in 1839-1840, the Croatian traveler Matija Mažuranić commented that Muslims from Anatolia and other parts of the Empire often had a marked disdain for Bosnian Muslims who spoke neither Turkish nor Arabic and could not converse with them beyond the greeting “*As-salāmu ‘alaykum.*” M. Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia, or A Short Journey into that Land by a Native in 1839-1840*, translated by Brank Magač (London, 2007).

54 Schmidt, “The Adventures...,” 215.

companions were delighted to find women whom they wanted to capture and sell as slaves. However, the narrator reports that after asking them whether or not they were “infidels,” they were unable to answer him in Turkish but successfully uttered the *shahaddah* in a last-ditch effort to save themselves.⁵⁵ Unconvinced, Deli Mustafa and his men took them into town to find a translator whereupon it was confirmed that the women were Muslim and that they were attacked by Greek insurgents who killed their husbands but left the womenfolk to burn in their mansion. Still not completely convinced, the narrator retorts that he and his men left the women in town, but they returned to the mansion and pilfered its belongings regardless.⁵⁶ Thus, though he does not refer to his own Ottoman identity, Deli Mustafa does seem to link political loyalty and Muslimness to knowing Turkish. Both non-Muslims as well as certain ethnic groups among Muslims such as Albanians and Kurds were consequently targets of his censure as well as his violence that used Turkish as a yardstick of loyalty to the faith and state.

Further insights into how Deli Mustafa “read” Ottoman Muslim society actually emerge from taking a closer look at the booty he and men like him pursued while fighting non-Muslims in insurgent Greece, which explains how the narrator’s dwelling on particularly gruesome items such as mutilated Christian body parts was tied to his position among his own brethren. The narrator’s obsession with these macabre trophies is artistically reinforced in the manuscript, for the scribe who wrote the text depicted decapitated heads on a number of folios. This is the only illustrative item featured in the manuscript that does not relate to the landscape represented by staple renditions of mountains, mosques, churches, and fortresses.⁵⁷ Towards the end of his account Deli Mustafa describes how he took enslaved bonded Greek insurgent and then beheaded him saying concomitantly “it is God’s will (*niyet-i kazâ diyüb*)” after which he adds: “his blood flowed and his soul went away to dwell in hell (*kanı revân olub cânı cihenneme munzel ileğde (sic. ileđi)*).” Proudly, he took this trophy to his father, who responded: “My son, may your fate be blessed, God willing the infidels’ eyes are hereby blinded; let us cut of many more infidel heads,” after which his father offered his prayers.⁵⁸ The narrator also claims that he took this head to his commander Çarhacı Ali Paşa, who in turn, praised him and gave him to gold, “Mahmudiye” coins.⁵⁹

55 Ibid., 259.

56 Ibid.

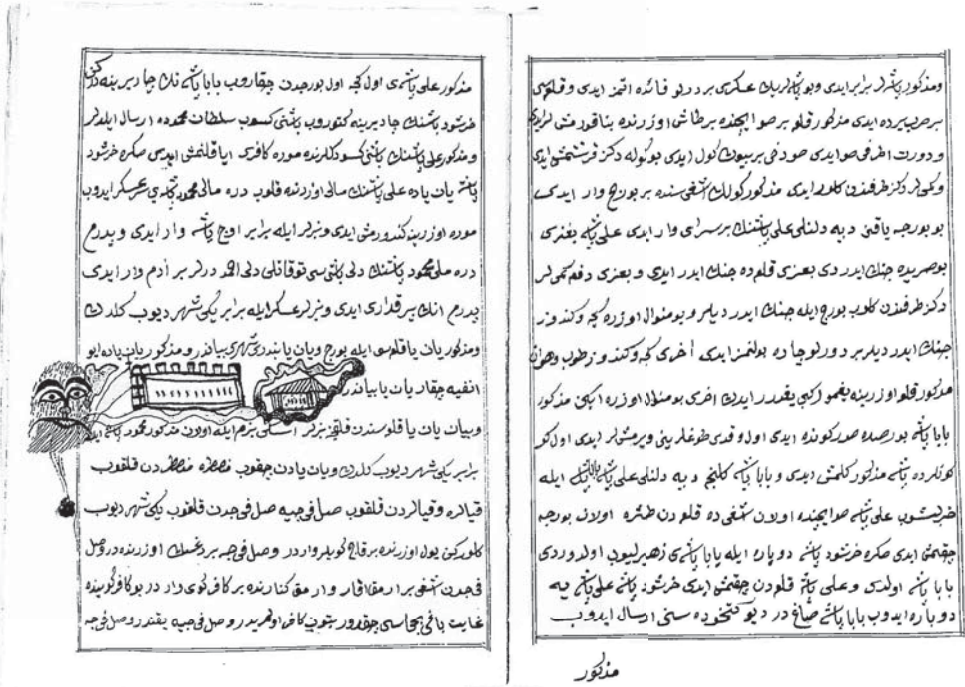
57 Interestingly, though he mentions decapitation in his Anatolian travels, it is primarily in his descriptions of Rumeli that depictions of these trophies are illustrated.

58 Ms. Or. 1551, 79a..

59 Schmidt, “The Adventures...,” 258.

What is fascinating about this particular encounter is that it reads like a sacrificial offering in which Mustafa proudly boasts that this was the first infidel that he had slain. But the fact that the author describes this episode very late in the text, after including many other references to similar types of violence he visited upon Greek insurgents and their communities earlier suggests that this description was more of a narrative strategy than a reference to a concrete event. Its function in the account seems to be a sort of “a rite of passage into manhood” story that would win him the respect of his comrades, family, and commanders. The link between violence against Christians, especially religious figures, and religious duty is also underscored elsewhere as well in Mustafa’s narrative. On one of a number of occasions, Mustafa records that after decapitating 600 infidels “as if they were pigs” and then proceeded to impale 70 priests to be displayed in front of Christian vilages.⁶⁰ In this respect, the language of the narrative again echoes, down to specific expressions and images, that of the old *gâzî* epics like the *Saltuk-nâme*.

PLATE ONE: Folios 33b-34a illustrates and describes the narrator’s participation in the imperial siege of Yanya and Tepedelenli Ali Paşa’s decapitated head.



60 Ibid., 256. For the interplay between violence and the sacred, see R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. P. Gregory (London, 1988).

PLATE TWO: The images on folios 78b-79a immediately precede the narrator's aforementioned discussion of his "first" decapitation of an "infidel." The image depicts Greek trenches as well as decapitated Greek heads.

شور ستون مذکور کویست اوکنده قنراقادی و اور منور و اور او نوردی
 و اتلو و یایه عسکری قدیل دخی دینده اولان کویله کدوب هرکس کیمی
 چاریه و کونوله و کونمال و کونکله کدوب هر عسکر بر طرفه کدوب یغمه
 پشمه دیله اولکون ستم الله بر کافر کلاهی کچمتی ایدی و بر چو چینی وار
 ایدی پدیرمک الله بر شاهی کچمتی ایدی بو قن ایله قاری پدیرمک الله
 قیوب کنه کیکو چدی عسکری ایله یایه اولوب کفتی ایدم بو ندر ایله برابر
 کدوب اولکون اضاغه قدر کدوب المنه بر شاهی کچمتی پدیرمک الله
 کدوب ایدی و غایت اجلین وار ایدی بریمز بر اتمک یوقی ایدی
 بو کویله غایت مصر بغدادی وار ایدی کویله اتمک یوقی و کویله
 بغدادی دوشمه کله کتشی ایدم عسکر بو کویله اولر ایچنده کافر وار
 یعنی برده بزم اوزریمه قنناق ایتوب قیلخ لریقی یور دیله بزم لریقی
 اولون اتمک یوقی بر غنوب یایه اولون قنناق لریقی ایتوب بو کافر لره اتمک
 و کافر لره اتمک ایدی فر ایدوب هر بری بر دغه جهنم اولوب کدوب لره
 و بر قاق کافر کویله طریقه کسیدر و ستم الله بر کافر کچمتی ایدی



شور ستون

All of the religious references and bravado aside, however, Deli Mustafa's portrayal of this rite of passage to seek the approbation of his community and family based on his accumulation of macabre Christian trophies also underlines very concrete exchanges marked by a fierce competition among the Muslim soldiery for material resources as well as status. At one point after a battle, the narrator alludes to the fact that various groups of soldiery would bring all of their mutilated trophies, booty, as well as bound Christian slaves to line up before their superior officers. In Mandüdköy, for example, the author mentions that he presented his newly acquired properties to the aforementioned Çarhacı Ali Paşa from Anatolia who then gave him yet another "bonus."⁶¹

Though Mustafa does not expand upon this in too much detail, what can be discerned is that the imperial commanders ran vast trading networks of booty, slaves, and even body parts that they accumulated from the different ranks of

61 Schmidt, "The Adventures...", 261.

soldiery to sell to other system-wide networks in order to line their own pockets and extract favors from their superiors and even the sultan himself. Men like Deli Mustafa could not possibly deal with the logistics of such a vast enterprise and were thus the “wholesalers” that fed this much larger, lucrative economy.

In this sense, in Deli Mustafa’s text one begins to see the larger economy of violence and multiple functions beyond the symbolic and material: it is also entangled in Ottoman governance itself. In the case of Greek insurgents and their communities, the narrator’s behavior can be seen as condoned by the state (hence his license to describe his violence in the Morea as opposed to his silences in describing his adventures in Anatolia) and an extension of Ottoman governance in this region. In his work on the “law of rebellion” during inter-imperial wars (e.g., the 1787-1792 Ottoman-Habsburg-Russian War) as well as national uprisings during this period (e.g., the Serbian uprising 1804-1815 as well as the Greek Revolution), Will Smiley argues that the Porte encouraged irregular military forces to capture and enslave its own *zimmî* subjects (i.e., tax-paying, non-Muslim subjects of the sultan) since these communities were labeled collectively as rebellious. When Ottoman forces confronted domestic, Christian bands during inter-imperial wars and insurgencies in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Porte exhorted their irregular forces to police Ottoman borderlands by killing Christian insurgents, pillaging their communities, and capturing their kinswomen and children for the slave trade since the latter’s collective betrayal abrogated their status as protected subjects. But this violence and plundering also served as a legitimate and primary source of income and motivation for Ottoman soldiery like Deli Mustafa at a time in which the government could not compensate the large networks of men it relied upon to wage its massive campaigns.⁶² One can therefore see how the nexus of the symbolic and material exchanges that mark the larger economies of violence outlined in this essay is also tied to imperial governance.

But being on the ground as a “wholesaler” in this larger nexus was marked by brutal competition among the different ranks of Ottoman soldiery, and it is in this context that one must consider the overall meaning of Deli Mustafa’s narration of his heroics. Despite his inflammatory language vis-à-vis Christians, the narrator’s account reveals that the relationship with Christian rebels he and his comrades encountered is also much more complex than it appears at first sight. Namely, Deli Mustafa describes how at the mountain pass of Kandil Dağı (Kandillio Oros)

62 W. Smiley, “‘When Peace is Made, You will Again be Free’: Islamic and Treaty Law, Black Sea Conflict, and the Emergence of ‘Prisoners of War’ in the Ottoman Empire, 1739-1830,” PhD. Dissertation (Queens’ College, Cambridge University, 2012), 113-118. See also Smiley’s contribution to this edition.

he and his comrades engaged in conversations with Greek rebels in a trench before them. According to the narrator, his opponents allegedly addressed him and his comrades: “*Delis*, the Persians (*‘acem*) have come and have taken your country (*vilâyet*). The Persians defeated your *paşas* and took your land and fortresses. Tomorrow you should go to the province of Anatolia. [Why] are you fighting with us here? Go to your [own] country. Sultan Mahmud outlawed us (*sultan mahmûd bizi fermânlı idüüb*) and sent Janissary troops against us. We will fight them; let us be friends [*isdifil* (sic. *istifal*) *oluruz*].”⁶³

What is interesting about this vignette is that Mustafa ventriloquizes Greek voices to demarcate differences among men in his own Muslim community, namely between Ottoman Janissaries and itinerant, military laborers and volunteers like himself. It is not exactly clear how the narrator and his men reacted to these overtures by the Greeks, but he adds that while they were speaking with them, a regiment of Janissaries came upon them both. The author relays that the Janissaries proceeded to insult the Muslim irregulars, mocking them for engaging in dialogue with the infidels and reproaching them by saying that they were not worthy of the “sultan’s bread.”⁶⁴ He notes that one of the volunteer officers among his ranks swelled with anger as a result, yelling “you Janissaries, I have fought with infidels in this country for three years and nobody has ever said such a thing [to me]. Now that you have said this, let us see who will flee from the infidels,” whereupon he charged toward the Greek trench but was immediately shot dead off his horse.⁶⁵

The narrator more clearly conveys this competition and enmity among the different ranks of Muslim soldiery, especially among irregular and Janissary forces, in the very last passage of his manuscript before it abruptly ends. Namely, he describes how he and his companions (along with dozens of female Greek captives) came upon a big church near Kûmiye full of “infidels” hiding inside. After taking

63 Ms. Or. 1551, 71b.

64 “...*bizim gönüller ağası ile birbirlerine fenâ kelâm söyleşüb kâfirlerden korkaruz dimişler idi ve padişah etmeği* (sic. *ekmeği*) *sizlere harâmdır dimişler idi...*” Ibid., 72^a-72^b. Noteworthy here is also that the title page of this text indicates that this text was compiled in 1249 (1834) and deals with Deli Mustafa’s experiences from 1216 (1801) to 1248 (1833). One could argue that this text reflects post *Vaka-yı Hayrîye* (The Auspicious Event) biases, the fateful event in 1826 that marked the imperial government’s brutal destruction of the Janissary corps. Nevertheless, as this essay focuses on how Mustafa fashions himself vis-à-vis other Muslim groups over a long period, one should not dismiss his understandings of the Janissaries and his encounters with them as a *post* 1826 bias.

65 Ibid.

care to decapitate the Greek men outside of the sanctuary, Mustafa and his men took these trophies, slaves, as well as what he claims were five thousand of their sheep back to their camp but came across Janissaries on the road. Things went awry according to the narrator when one of the Janissary *ağas* who had his eyes on their loot complained that irregulars were moving in on places ahead of the Janissaries (*i.e.*, claiming first dibs to booty) taking all of the Greeks' possessions, women, and girls before the Janissaries could do so. Deli Mustafa adds that the *ağa* even accused the irregulars of allowing "infidels" to flee. On account of this, the *ağa* moved to confiscate the irregulars' booty, and he ordered his men to raise their rifles and march upon Deli Mustafa and his comrades. The narrator notes that his *deli* horsemen fled leaving him there once again on his own with two female captives, decapitated heads, and a couple of animals. Having no opportunity to flee, the Janissaries robbed him of all his possessions and horse, rendering him, he complains, into a "simple foot soldier (...*hemân piyâde kaldım*)."⁶⁶

But this anecdote does not end here. Further reflecting intense, inter-regional rivalries among the Ottoman soldiery, Mustafa claims that he then came upon another Janissary from the same division as his aforementioned assailants, this time a Kurdish Janissary, and after exchanging greetings and talking about where they were from in Anatolia, Deli Mustafa complained to him about what his companions had done to him. The narrator claims that he said to the Kurdish Janissary: "My friend (*karındaşım*), I am also a Janissary. Does it befit your corps (*ocak*) to take the possessions and the severed infidel heads belonging to a man like me? Indeed, it does not." His fellow Anatolian agreed and took him back to the culprits to scold them for tarnishing the reputation of the Janissaries by treating their "compatriot" in such a fashion and demanded that they return Deli Mustafa's horse, women slaves, and severed Greek heads in full.⁶⁷

The narrator's overall strategy for telling this story is not clear. Surely, his audience of itinerant warriors could identify with the tensions among different

⁶⁶ Ibid., 113a. Being relegated to a simple foot soldier (*piyâde*) was a common theme in Mustafa's narrative when he describes horses being stolen or shot beneath him. It seems that the author took pride in being a *deli* as opposed to a foot soldier or volunteer (*gönüllü*).

⁶⁷ Ibid., 113^a-113^b. Note: Deli Mustafa also convinces the Kurdish Janissary that he himself was a Janissary by pulling out a certain badge that apparently proved his membership in the corps. It is not clear whether a *Pejvend* was some material Janissary marker. It could also mean, "pazu-bend" or "bazu-bend" (*i.e.* simply any cloth or leather wrapped across one's bicep (*bazu*); however, it seems clear in the text that Deli Mustafa uses it to brag that he tricked the Kurdish Janissary he mentions.

types of Ottoman soldiery and abuses more elite corps delved out to lower orders. Certainly, they would appreciate Deli Mustafa's resourcefulness in pulling out a Janissary badge and tricking the Janissaries into believing that he was one of them. In this sense, one can appreciate how the author's portraying himself as a sort of trickster who wore a number of different hats would endear himself to his audience.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, regardless of the veracity of this anecdote, the author goes on to explain what really was at stake in such an encounter. Namely, after bragging about how he tricked the Janissaries and re-acquired his possessions, he says that he immediately sought audience with his commander, a certain Osman Paşa, and told him his discomfiting story about the Janissaries. Then he presented Osman Paşa with the contested "infidel" heads for which he was awarded, again, two golden *mahmudiye* coins. The narrator claims that he was not only rewarded for the trophies that the Janissaries stole from him but that the commander also kept him at his side as a sort of protector against menacing Janissaries – indeed one of Deli Mustafa's most menacing assailants in his narrative.⁶⁹

V. Conclusion

At some point toward the end of his manuscript, Deli Mustafa recounts a story about his telling a story. Somewhere near Ağrıboz, he survived a vicious battle with Greek rebels in which the bulk of the Muslim forces were martyred and he and his comrades were hopelessly surrounded. Mustafa explains that they were forced to charge their opponents in desperation in a battlefield that resembled "a butcher's shop" with bodies strewn about the field.⁷⁰ He even describes a Christian warrior and priest who took aim at the his chest and fired, but the bullet allegedly ricocheted off his rifle and killed a Muslim comrade next to him, whereupon his assailants forgot about him and immediately mutilated and despoiled the body of his comrade instead.⁷¹ Deli Mustafa miraculously escaped the "butcher's block" and was reunited with his grateful father, whence they were both summoned by their *delibaşı* (irregular cavalry commander).⁷² Exhausted and immobile with swollen legs, Mustafa adds that the *delibaşı*'s men carried him to

68 Deli Mustafa does point out that he joined the Janissaries as an infantryman on a number of occasions, which suggests that the lines among the regular and irregulars were much more blurry than the narrator conveys in other points of the text.

69 Ibid.

70 Schmidt, "The Adventures..," 278.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., 279-280.

the latter's mansion and asked him to retell his miraculous story in front of the commander's guests, whereupon the *delibaşı* blessed him for returning from the field of death more or less safe and sound (*sizler şimdi bir eyüce 'ecel sabrâsından geldiniz*).⁷³ Deli Mustafa brags that the audience at his commander's mansion was so impressed with his story that the *delibaşı* gave him a superior horse as well as a superior sword for crafting such a great narrative—and presumably for persevering in such adversity. Moreover, in addition to allowing him to remain in the comfort of his mansion for fifteen days to recover, Deli Mustafa claims that the *delibaşı* even saw to it that every day his legs were rubbed with tar and olive oil and suspended over a hot fire to ensure his speedy recovery.⁷⁴

The point of retelling this final anecdote from Deli Mustafa's fascinating manuscript is that it reminds the reader how much was at stake in telling a good story that reflected the sentiments and views of one's audience. Rather than analyzing this rare source in terms of its veracity and usefulness I have concentrated more on analyzing how the narrator explained and legitimated his precarious way of life to select audiences. In doing so, we see how important political geography was in determining what men like Deli Mustafa and the vast numbers of itinerant warrior forces in Ottoman society understood and explained as the legitimate versus the illegitimate plundering of local communities that marked this period of Ottoman history. For Anatolian, Muslim peasants like Deli Mustafa, this westward journey across the Empire provided him the means and wherewithal to fashion himself and his contentious way of life in new ways. Mustafa's particular style of violence he inflicted upon (and avoided from) Greek insurgents must be placed into the larger context of Muslim male epics that long-predated the nineteenth century, in order to argue that much of the anti-syncretic tropes prevalent in the text had more to do with his own standing among Muslims than with inter-confessional violence and enmity. At the same time, this essay has underlined the nexus inherent in such story-telling between endemic violence and the exchanges and negotiations around material goods as well as symbolic goods such as loyalty, honor, moral capital, and professional status that together determined how social relations were regulated in times of political instability. Deli Mustafa's narrative points to how much of this economy of violence was predicated upon crafting a convincing story—a point that is also reinforced by a careful reading of archival sources on bandits.

73 Ibid., 280.

74 Ibid.

The Confessions of an Ottoman ‘Irregular’: Self-Representation and Ottoman Interpretive Communities in the Nineteenth Century

Abstract ■ This paper will analyze an autobiographical account attributed to a very unlikely Ottoman author: an obscure Anatolian irregular cavalryman Deli Mustafa (b. 1791/2)—or Kabudlı el-Haccı Mustafa Vasfi Efendi as he fashioned himself in his manuscript. His narrative provides rare glimpses into the tumultuous everyday life and moral dilemmas faced by the countless Muslim peasants who joined itinerant military orders in the Ottoman Empire. Deli Mustafa’s narrative and self-fashioning strategies help us understand what common Muslim men serving in paramilitary forces had to do to make a living during this tumultuous period of Ottoman history, and most importantly, how they explained and legitimated their precarious and contentious way of life. Rather than debating the veracity of Mustafa’s jumbled historical account full of inaccuracies and contradictions, this essay focuses on his—or the compiler of the text’s—editorial choices, his target audiences, as well as how the tone of his description of violence changes over time and space as he travelled from the eastern to western frontiers of the Empire in order to determine what was at stake for such an obscure author and his interpretative community to tell his story.

Keywords: Ego-Document, Inter-Confessional Violence, Greek Revolution, Banditry, Irregular Soldiers, Ottoman Frontiers, Kabudlı Vasfi Efendi, Rumeli

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S E C T I O N 5

Living Empire in the Provinces

The Universal and the Particular: A View from Ottoman Homs ca. 1700

James A. Reilly*

Hem Evrensel Hem Mahalli: 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı Humus'undan Muhammed el-Mekki'nin İzlenimleri

Öz ■ Suriye taşrasında bulunan Humus kasabası sakinlerinden biri, 1688 ve 1722 yılları arasında yaşadığı kente ve kentin çevresindeki hayata dair izlenimlerini kayda geçirdi. Muhammed el-Mekki'nin anlatısı, imparatorluğun siyaseten baskın olan dinine (İslam'a) mensup olmakla birlikte kendi mahalli çevresine de sıkı sıkıya bağlı olan, Osmanlı tebaasından birinin dünya görüşüne dair kesitler sunmaktadır. Suriye'nin küçük kasabalarından birinde kaleme alınmış olan bu nadir belge, modern dönem öncesi Osmanlı iktidarının ikonografisinde köklü bir yer tutan cihanşümul İslam telakkisi ile sınırlı ve son derece hususiyetçi olan mahalli mensubiyetler arasındaki gerilimi gözler önüne serer. Bu makale, el-Mekki'nin kendisini ve içinde yaşadığı dünyayı nasıl kavradığını, mahalli seçkinlerle olan ilişkisini, söz konusu seçkinlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda mevcut olan daha geniş ilişkiler ağıyla olan bağlantılarını, el-Mekki'nin kimlik algısını, adalet ve zulüm kavramlarını anlayış biçimini tartışmaya açmaktadır. El-Mekki'nin anlatısını okuyanlar bu anlatıda yerel başıbozuk askerlerle, şehirli seçkinlerle, kabile topluluklarıyla, Hristiyanlarla ve Osmanlı'nın taşradaki idarecileriyle karşılaşır. El-Mekki'nin tarihçesi, acımasız çevre ve doğa şartları karşısında modern öncesi insanın yaşadığı tehlikeli hayatı da resmetmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı, Suriye, Muhammed el-Mekki, Humus, Araplar, Adalet, Zulüm

Between 1688 and 1722 a resident of the unheralded Syrian provincial town of Homs recorded his impressions of life in the town and its surroundings. Muhammad al-Makki's account offers glimpses of the worldview of an Ottoman subject

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who shared the Ottoman Empire's politically dominant religion (Islam) yet who was firmly grounded in his provincial environment. This rare document from one of Syria's smaller towns illustrates tension between a pre-modern Muslim universalism rooted in the symbolism of the Ottoman Sultanate, and local affiliations that were parochial and highly particularistic.

Homs is a venerable town located near the Orontes River. In Ottoman times as well as today, Homs has been at the crossroads of major trade and communication routes that link Syria's interior to the Mediterranean coast, and that join the country's north to its south. Typical of Syria, Homs has a continuous history dating from ancient times when it was known as Emesa and produced two Roman Emperors. The city's Christian roots go back to late antiquity, and a relic (the Sash of the Virgin Mary) was preserved until recently in one of [a change to reflect the effects of 2013-2014 fighting in Homs and the gutting of the church in question] Homs's Old City churches, a site of documented Christian worship going back to Roman and Byzantine times. Homs also has a significant place in Islamic history: Syria's Arab conqueror, Khalid ibn al-Walid, is buried nearby; and within and around the (now vanished) walls of its old city Homs hosts many tomb-shrines of Companions of the Prophet. (Up to 500 Companions are said to have settled in Homs.) A venerated Qur'an, believed by tradition to be one of the original copies compiled at the time of Caliph 'Uthman, was housed in Homs's citadel till the First World War when the retreating Ottomans took it with them to Istanbul.¹

Homs owes its longevity as a settled urban site to its location in the Orontes River valley. The Orontes irrigates the city's extensive gardens, and Homs also benefits from its setting in the midst of a grain-producing region watered by winter rains that reach the interior plain from the Mediterranean through a gap in the coastal mountain range. Though not a major cultural and administrative center on par with Damascus, Homs was very much a part of Ottoman Syria's urban network and hosted the typical Ottoman panoply of judicial and military officials and institutions. These included a resident district governor (called *mutasallim* in the secondary literature, but typically *hakim* in local contemporary sources) who was appointed by the Pasha (Governor) of Tripoli (and later, Damascus); a *naqib al-ashraf* appointed by Istanbul from among prominent local families; a qadi sent or appointed from Istanbul, who was assisted by local deputies; and a principal (Hanafi) mufti drawn from the same local families that provided the *naqib al-ashraf*. Further underscoring its role as a typical Ottoman Syrian city,

¹ N. Elisséef, "Hims," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), p. 397; Na'im Salim al-Zahrawi, *Usur Hims wa-amakin al-'ibada* (Homs: Tanwir, 1995), pp. 2:69, 167–172.

Homs had a guild and market structure comparable to those found elsewhere, and (as aforementioned) it was communally mixed (Muslim and Christian) similar to other Ottoman Syrian cities.

Literary sources that describe Homs ca. 1700 variously emphasize its greenery, its construction and its crafts, and its religious life and institutions. Writing of a journey he made through Homs in 1689, French traveler Jean De La Roque noted the comfortable circumstances and prominence of the city's Christians. He went on to praise the city's well-built fortifications, its public commercial buildings and caravanserai, and its textiles woven of silk and gold thread. Most striking to him was the town's green setting: "Enfin, les jardins qui environnent cette ville sont enchantés; ils sont principalement plantés de mûriers en alignement et parfaitement arrosés." Just a few years later the greatest Syrian *'alim* of his day, the Damascene Sufi 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, wrote a differently inflected but no less positive account of his 1693 visit to the city emphasizing Homs's abundance of Sufis and scholars, and its tombs and religious sites associated with Companions of the Prophet and prominent *ashraf*. Although the Citadel showed signs of disrepair, its 'Uthmanic Qur'an distinguished it. But a John Green, a British writer who published his travel account in 1736, offered a more grudging depiction: "... [Homs is] a considerable city of Syria, indifferently large, though not as famous as it was formerly under the name of Emissa [sic].... The walls are of black and white stone." He noted Homs's towers, gates and churches, whilst observing that the town was "exposed to depredations of Arabs." Both Green and al-Nabulsi remarked on the roughness of the path that led up to the citadel.²

During this same era, specifically from 1688–1722, Homs resident Muhammad al-Makki kept a diary of events that offers insights into his world-view and into the lives of people around him. Al-Makki owned some property, and seems to have worked as a *waqf* administrator or as a professional witness in Homs's sharia court, or both. Thus he had regular access to the local judiciary (i.e., the sharia court). His family roots lay in the village of Burayj (ca. 50 km south of Homs). Al-Makki's grandfather had owned a shop in Homs, meaning that the family had ties to the town extending back for at least two generations.³ His rustic ancestry notwithstanding, al-Makki strongly identified with the Homs urban milieu.

2 Jean De La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban* (Beirut: Dar Lahad Khater, 1981), p. 74; 'Abd al-Ghani b. Isma'il al-Nabulsi, *al-Haqiqa wa-al-Majaz fi al-Ribla ila Bilad al-Sham wa-Misr wa-al-Hijaz* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'Amma li-al-Kitab, 1986), pp. 32–42; [John Green], *Journey from Aleppo to Damascus* (London: W. Mears, 1736), pp. 32–34.

3 'Umar Najib al-'Umar, "Introduction," in Muhammad al-Makki, *Tarikh Hims* (Damascus: Institut Français d'Etudes Arabes de Damas, 1987), pp. xi–xii.

Al-Makki was acquainted with elites and notables of the city, and he had social and marital ties to them through his extended relations.⁴ He was a client or follower of Homs's elites and notables rather than being himself among the top ranks. Hierarchy dominated al-Makki's experience and understanding of society. He felt deference to legitimate authority, at the apex of which was the Sultan, and he expressed his admiration for distant authorities including the Sultan and Grand Vizier.⁵ Al-Makki's loyalty was to the idea of the sultanate as a symbol, more than attachment to sultans as individuals. Thus he recorded telegraphically and without emotive language the death of Sultan Süleyman II in 1691, the abortive reign of a strangled would-be successor Mehmet, and the accession to the throne of Ahmet II.⁶ In contrast, al-Makki sounded worried when he learned of Grand Vizier Mustafa Köprülü's death two months later, and he prayed that the news would turn out to be untrue.⁷ The importance of the sultanate as a public symbol was underscored when, in the following year (November 1692), Homs took on a celebratory atmosphere to mark the birth of twin boys to Sultan Ahmet II.⁸ Celebrations were reprised six years later when the next Sultan, Mustafa II, sired a baby boy.⁹ And once more the city was decorated in honor of Sultan Ahmet III in 1716, on which occasion al-Makki prayed that God would guide the Sultan toward truth and justice for his subjects (*ra'aya*).¹⁰

In addition to distant figures like the Grand Vizier and the Sultan, al-Makki was deferential to the more proximate figure of the qadis who rotated in and out of office in Homs. His text says nothing unkind about any of them. He is respectful as well of the local *ashraf* notables (principally from the Atasi and Siba'i families) who served as muftis, as deputy judges, and also as judges when an outsider from elsewhere did not occupy the position. As for military elites al-Makki was particularly attached to the Suwaydan family, *aghas* whose base was at Hisya (36 km south of the city, on the main road to Damascus that also led through al-Makki's ancestral Burayj). When a Suwaydan was *hakim* of Homs, al-Makki

4 E.g., the daughter of al-Makki's brother in Burayj was married to an *agha* (al-Makki, *Tarikh Hims*, p. 76); a maternal cousin was married to daughter of the *naqib* 'Umar al-Jawish (p. 82); his daughter associated with women from the household of a later *naqib al-ashraf* (p. 151).

5 Ibid., pp. 15, 19, 26, 97

6 Ibid., p. 30.

7 Ibid., p. 30.

8 Ibid., p. 34.

9 Ibid., p. 74.

10 Ibid., p. 210.

expressed satisfaction and prayed for his success.¹¹ Al-Makki's greatest local hero was Ibrahim Agha Suwaydan (d. 1709). During periods when Ibrahim Agha was out of office, al-Makki reported on his movements and expressed hope that he would be appointed or reappointed to the post of *hakim*.¹² After Ibrahim's death his son, Sulayman Agha, was among those who rotated in and out of the office of *hakim*.¹³

The Suwaydans were a Homs version of "local Ottomans," people whose rank and duties placed them firmly in the Ottoman military and administrative structure, but who also were an integral part of local society. Al-Makki was predisposed to think well of this group, as when he invoked God's blessing for the soldiers of a local commander (*bey*) on the birth of a son in Homs whilst the commander was away on campaign. The boy's mother was the daughter of another military man.¹⁴ "Local Ottomans" were one nexus between Istanbul and provincial centers like Homs. As an example of the Ottoman connection, Ibrahim Agha's retainers were known to spend time in Istanbul, and Ibrahim himself also journeyed there.¹⁵ Locally, marital ties linked Ibrahim Agha and his sons to Homs's religious families. The Suwaydans' web of marital connections to the Atasis was particularly pronounced.¹⁶ This proximity between the Suwaydans and Atasis extended to at least one inheritance dispute between Ibrahim Agha's son and successor, and the Atasi mufti who married a widow of Ibrahim Agha.¹⁷

Unsurprisingly in view of his respect for hierarchy, al-Makki was shocked and disgusted by villains or scoundrels (*ashqiya*) who disregarded rank and status. One group of *ashqiya* is said to have slandered ulama, *ashraf* and judges/rulers (*hukkam*) while meeting under cover of night. Al-Makki called on God to abandon or desert (*yakhdhul*) them, and anyone else as well who insults "the people of knowledge and people of the Prophet's House" (*ahl al-ilm wa-ahl al-bayt*).¹⁸

Al-Makki's deference to hierarchy was tempered by his commitment to "justice" (*adl*) and his condemnation of "oppression" (*zulm*). The arrival of a sultan order in 1689 caused al-Makki to pray that the Sultan would "destroy (*yublik*) all who

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 40.

¹² E.g., ibid., pp. 54, 56, 59, 61.

¹³ Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 40–41.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 71, 73.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 73, 84, 103, 146.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

want to bring misfortune to the Muslims.”¹⁹ An imperial rescript of 1718 promised relief from arbitrary taxation, and al-Makki prayed that this sultanic edict would prove effective.²⁰ Al-Makki understood that the *hakim*’s main job was to combat injustice and oppression, entreating God to “answer him [i.e., the *hakim* Ibrahim Agha] and strengthen him among the Muslims, and give him victory over the evildoers (*mufsidin*) and lead him toward justice for the poor, the weak and the unfortunate.”²¹ Al-Makki also invoked the idea of justice upon the appointment of a new qadi in 1690: “We ask that God heals (*yuslih*) us, that He heals the evil in our hearts, that He gives victory to our Sultan, that He lowers our prices and that He accomplishes (*yakhtim*) [these things] for us, for our brethren, for our loved ones, for our shaikhs, and for all Muslims.”²² In a subsequent, typical evocation al-Makki prays for the Sultan’s victory against unbelievers and for the dispensation of justice “in all of the Muslim lands.”²³ Al-Makki mistrusted successive Pashas of Tripoli,²⁴ so when in 1705 a new *hakim* arrived from Tripoli, al-Makki prayed that God would orient the *hakim* toward virtue (*khayr*), and would diminish oppression and injustice (*al-zulm wa-al-jawr*).²⁵ In what must have been a triumph of hope over experience, al-Makki prayed that God would put goodness in the heart of a new Pasha of Tripoli who arrived in 1714.²⁶ But within a few months al-Makki was penning curses against him. Describing injustice, he decried oppression of the poor, the weak and the unfortunate when fiscal agents confiscated barley, cracked wheat and durra by breaking down doors, shops, and markets and entering peoples’ houses.²⁷ Al-Makki was reluctant to acknowledge that his own favorite local officials, especially the aforementioned Ibrahim Agha, might be capable of injustice themselves. On one occasion in 1709 when the Pasha of Tripoli summoned the aging Ibrahim Agha to answer complaints lodged against him by “people of the Mountain,” al-Makki prayed for and then welcomed a resolution

19 Ibid., p. 11.

20 Ibid., p. 232.

21 Ibid., p. 10; see also p. 17.

22 Ibid., p. 13.

23 Ibid., p. 67.

24 E.g., regarding governor Mustafa Pasha in 1706: “May God destroy him and all oppressors,” *ibid.*, p. 116. In 1711 a group of ruffians associated with Qabalan Pasha killed and robbed in Hirmil, then arrived in Homs where their disruptions caused people to flee their houses. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

25 Ibid., p. 106.

26 Ibid., p. 191.

27 Ibid., pp. 193–194.

of the situation in terms that spared Ibrahim Agha from any criticism.²⁸ Late in al-Makki's life he had kind words for an increasingly prominent local Ottoman named Isma'il Bey al-'Azm, a progenitor of the storied family of Syrian provincial governors who began their rise to power in the districts of Homs and Hama. In 1715, at a moment of insecurity and hardship, Isma'il Bey (called Ibn al-'Adm in al-Makki) provisioned Homs with wheat and food oil.²⁹ Two years later, al-Makki praised Isma'il Bey again: "He performed a great beneficence for the people of Homs, supporting the poor and the unfortunate by sending wheat and barley."³⁰ Isma'il Bey did this regularly.³¹ Officials who supported the poor and the unfortunate, and who defeated obstreperous tribes thus offering security for townspeople and cultivators, attained al-Makki's gold standard of justice. Isma'il Bey was appointed *hakim* of Homs, Hama and Ma'arra in 1718, and al-Makki expressed hope that he would rebuild villages, provide security and administer justice.³² Al-Makki wished Isma'il Bey success in a 1721 campaign against tribal Arabs.³³

As for the antithesis of justice — oppression — al-Makki most frequently characterized *zulm* as coming from outside of Homs: from Bedouin Arabs, from Mountain Arabs, from Turcomans, and from greedy Pashas of Tripoli along with many of these Pashas' appointees including non-Suwaydan *hakims*. The mere mention of one particularly loathsome governor of Tripoli, Aslan Pasha, caused al-Makki to call on God to destroy Aslan and "all others who harm God's worshippers."³⁴ On another occasion — and quite typically for him — al-Makki called on God to destroy evildoer Bedouin Arabs "for our sakes, and for the sake our brethren, our loved ones, our shaikhs, our Muslim neighbors and all the Muslim lands."³⁵ Later al-Makki approvingly reported that Ibrahim Agha (at that point no longer the *hakim*) had seized and impaled three Mountain Arabs (*'arab al-jabal*) who deserved their fate.³⁶ He reported in a nonchalant manner that Nasuh Pasha of Damascus had killed men, women, boys and girls belonging to the Kulayb Arabs, and had sold the survivors and their seized wealth and treasures. Acknowledging that some of the surviving Kulayb had escaped and taken refuge with a notorious

28 Ibid., pp. 140–141.

29 Ibid., p. 203.

30 Ibid., p. 218.

31 Ibid., pp. 223, 225.

32 Ibid., p. 236.

33 Ibid., p. 251.

34 Ibid., p. 51.

35 Ibid., p. 17.

36 Ibid., p. 123.

Arab brigand/rebel who was among al-Makki's recurring bêtes-noirs, al-Makki called down curses on "each one who commits outrages and who is an enemy of his brethren the Muslims."³⁷ From the context this hail of curses was almost surely directed against the disreputable Arab tribal leader, not against the Pasha who had variously killed the Kulayb and ransomed or "sold" survivors (into slavery?). In 1721 al-Makki cheered another expedition against the Kulayb, indicating that they had it coming because they had disobeyed the Sultan.³⁸ On hearing news from the Hijaz in 1694 that the renegade Sharif of Mecca was besieging Medina and had mustered "many Arabs," al-Makki called down curses on him too.³⁹ When Turcomans came to Homs in November 1711 claiming to be pilgrims, al-Makki suspected they were up to no good. In fact their presence unleashed a wave of violence.⁴⁰ Expressions of fear, disgust and loathing regarding tribal depredations are leitmotifs of al-Makki's writing across the decades.⁴¹ He regularly depicted Arabs and Turcomans as endemic sources of violence, trouble and worry for honest townspeople and travelers.⁴² When in 1717 the *bakim* of the day returned to Homs from a successful punitive expedition against nearby Arabs, he was greeted as a conquering hero: "The poor and the unfortunate — men, women and children — opened the gates and went out to meet him. Some cried, and some blessed him, and they honored him with a great procession."⁴³

Miscreant officeholders were little better. In the winter of 1710, when an official identified as the *agha* of the Grand Vizier visited Homs, al-Makki hoped that he would act to lift oppression and injustice tied to the misappropriation of water resources by the Pasha of Tripoli and his underlings. Al-Makki denounced the actions of these wrongdoers in some of his strongest language, viz., "What they did to people in terms of oppression, violations, tyranny and corruption, and seizing people reducing their wealth to nothing."⁴⁴ In 1712 al-Makki was aghast when the Mufti and other local worthies were treated cruelly and put in chains, an injustice attributed to the Tripoli Pasha's *ketkhuda*. (In the Ottoman version of plausible deniability, the Pasha claimed he knew nothing about the incident.)⁴⁵ Some years

37 Ibid., p. 143.

38 Ibid., p. 256.

39 Ibid., p. 44.

40 Ibid., p. 167.

41 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 185, 189 for later examples.

42 Ibid., pp. 16, 153, 159–60, 203, 226, 235.

43 Ibid., pp. 224–225.

44 Ibid., p. 147.

45 Ibid., p. 171.

before (1703), al-Makki's *schadenfreude* was close to the surface when he wrote of Aslan Pasha's humbling dismissal from Tripoli and subsequent visit to Homs.⁴⁶ Our chronicler's complaints about oppression and injustice reflected wider social concerns and public opinion. In 1714 Homsis were so upset with their *hakim* that they in effect called a general strike:

"The mufti, the qadi, the leadership [*niqabat*] of the *ashraf* and the Christians, and the craftspeople (*ahl al-hiraf*) all left and went to the [banks of the] Orontes.... The market and the mosques were closed, there were no adhans and prayers. After two days, [the *hakim*] Husayn Agha Ibn Dandash and his associates left the city".⁴⁷

A few years later al-Makki passed along news of a similar protest action in Damascus.⁴⁸

Al-Makki also cited a case of injustice and oppression on a personal level, when he referred to an offender who had usurped his grandfather's shop in Homs, and in a formulaic way invoked God's intervention against evildoers.⁴⁹

Al-Makki expressed his hope that revenues collected in the name of the Sultan would be used to further the cause of justice. Only thus, he implied, could these onerous burdens be considered a legitimate exercise of authority. His prayer for the provenance of justice upon the accession of Sultan Mustafa in 1695⁵⁰ underscores the cardinal importance of justice as a component (or condition) of al-Makki's deference to hierarchy. He also expressed high hopes when delegations from Homs went to Istanbul to plead for assistance and succor. Thus, for instance, a delegation departed for Istanbul in December 1689 to petition the Grand Vizier Mustafa Köprülü about local conditions (*fi jihat hims wa-ahwaliha*). Among others the delegation included the head of the butchers' guild (*qassab bashi*), the head of the canal-workers' and water-carriers' guild (*saqa bashi*), and the local treasurer (*amin al-sirr*).⁵¹ Another delegation went from Homs to Istanbul the following year (1690), to complain about Arab tribes.⁵² The Ottoman-ness of a locale like Homs was underscored by special events such as a gathering of *sipahis* at the Khalid ibn al-Walid mosque in May 1703 where they unfurled their banner or standard

46 Ibid., p. 95.

47 Ibid., p. 197.

48 Ibid., p. 234.

49 Ibid., p. 143.

50 Ibid., pp. 46–47.

51 Ibid., p. 17.

52 Ibid., p. 22.

(*bayraq*), inspiring al-Makki to invoke the blessings of Khalid for the Muslims.⁵³ For al-Makki, the symbols of Ottoman authority represented both justice and the wider Muslim community, notwithstanding the rapacity, injustice, and moral failings of individual officeholders like loathsome Pashas of Tripoli. If Tripoli failed to meet the standard of justice for Homs and its residents, then Istanbul should step in and correct the situation.⁵⁴

Recurring annual moments defined the cycle of the seasons and the passage of time. Major cyclical events included the dispatch and return of Mecca pilgrimage caravans (determined by the lunar calendar), the opening of the principal irrigation canal at the end of winter, and the harvest in May. The principal irrigation canal, the Mujahidiyya, was a mainstay of Homs's water supply and its irrigation networks, and when reporting its opening al-Makki often gave thanks to God. Popular rituals associated with religion and Sufism were pegged to the seasons. One that al-Makki mentions was called Shaikhs' Thursday (*khamis al-mashayikh*). This occurred on the Thursday before Easter, when Sufi shaikhs paraded with their banners and exhibited their powers through displays such as the Dawsa, where a shaikh rode on horseback over the backs of his devotees.⁵⁵ The 'Uthmanic Qur'an was brought down from the citadel on special occasions, including Sufi processions.⁵⁶

The author's sense of those whom we would label the Other included tribal peoples (Bedouins and Turcomans) and Christians. He was hostile to and fearful of tribal peoples, and reports of their depredations fill many pages of his account over the years. When in 1707 al-Makki's local hero, the sometime *hakim* Ibrahim Agha, seized and impaled three "Mountain Arabs" while on an expedition, our author expressed hope that God would destroy all such evildoers.⁵⁷ On another occasion al-Makki reported with satisfaction the violent deaths of Turcoman grandees, characterizing them as among those who do harm to, sow corruption among, the Muslims.⁵⁸ Even when tribal grandees were not leading raids but rather were being feted in Homs by military officials either to conduct negotiations or to mark

53 Ibid., p. 93.

54 Ibid., p. 59.

55 Ibid., pp. 150–151. On rituals that took place on successive Thursdays in spring, culminating in Shaikhs' Thursday, see Jean-Yves Gillon, *Les anciennes fêtes de printemps à Homs* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1993). Note also the annual procession in May to Maqam Khidr, outside the walls in the shadow of the citadel, as another of Homsis' rites of spring. Al-Zahrawi, *Usur Hims*, p. 2:69.

56 al-Makki, *Tarikh Hims*, p. 228.

57 Ibid., p. 123.

58 Ibid., p. 83.

reconciliations, al-Makki's tone was guarded and wary.⁵⁹ When reporting news of sanguinary fighting having broken out at a (tribal) Arab wedding, al-Makki caustically noted that "fighting this way is their habit; every time there is a wedding they behave thusly."⁶⁰ Al-Makki never portrayed the actions of Bedouin and Mountain Arabs positively, but Turcomans sometimes appeared as allies of the local authorities such as when they participated in the *hakim's* raids against Arabs who had trespassed on Turcomans' territory and stolen their livestock.⁶¹ At other times Turcomans' status as outsiders became less salient, such as the time when as part of his administrative duties al-Makki witnessed or participated the lease of an endowed mill to Turcomans.⁶² Early in his account al-Makki expressed hope that attempts to settle the Turcomans would have a positive effect,⁶³ but these sporadic efforts to integrate Turcomans did not diminish his fundamental mistrust and fear of them.

As for Christians (*Nasayir* or *Nasara* — "Nazarenes"), al-Makki uses this category in two ways. On the one hand, *Nasayir* refers to the collective identity of hostile foreigners.⁶⁴ At other times hostile foreigners are referred to more specifically as "Franks" (al-Faranj). In 1716 he happily reported news of North Africans sinking and capturing "Frankish" galleons.⁶⁵ But Christians were not only distant foreigners, they also were part of the local fabric. As *ahl al-dhimma* these local Christians were the Other to the writer and to his sense of himself as a pious Muslim in a community of Muslims. Yet they were not Other when his frame of reference was Homs as an urban community. Thus al-Makki occasionally mentions individual *dhimmi*s or, collectively, *Nasara* in his accounts of people from Homs or nearby who got married, died or who traveled as part of a town delegation.⁶⁶ Moreover, al-Makki cites Christian feasts as a way of marking the passage of the seasons.⁶⁷ (He usually curses the feasts when he cites them, however.) From time to time a Homs Christian abandoned his natal religion and became Muslim,⁶⁸ though on

59 E.g., *ibid.*, p. 222.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–124.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 214.

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 109, 113, 124, 210, 229.

67 E.g., the beginning of Lent, the Easter celebration, and the Feast of the Cross. *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55, 121, 132

68 *Ibid.*, p. 77. The convert is described/named as "the *dhimmi* Ibn al-Qatit."

one of these occasions al-Makki identified the convert as a thief and doubted the sincerity of his conversion.⁶⁹

The author's world was male focused, reflecting what today would be called a patriarchal society. Except for a public incident in 1694 when a group of angry women blackened their faces to protest Turcoman depredations (including abductions and rapes), and to goad or shame the authorities into taking action,⁷⁰ women appear in al-Makki's narrative principally in relationship with the men to whom they were connected. Not all women in his account were mentioned by name as opposed to being referred to as the daughter or wife of so-and-so. Al-Makki typically recorded women's deaths by noting that the deceased was the mother or daughter of a particular man.⁷¹ Al-Makki would also mention women when they became part of a marital union that the author deemed noteworthy,⁷² or when one was party to a public morals scandal.⁷³ Al-Makki valued boys more highly than girls; when in 1702 he got word that Ibrahim Agha's wife (daughter of the Atasi mufti) had given birth, al-Makki wrote: "Some say it is a boy, others say that it is a girl, and we pray to God that the first report is true."⁷⁴ Al-Makki does not mention living sons of his own, or his wife, but he does reference two adult daughters, Saliha and Khadija.⁷⁵ For the most part, though, his account is silent about his own domestic or family life.

The author's sense of place begins with Homs and extends to the hinterland and administrative centers to which Homs was immediately bound. Administratively these were Tripoli and Hama. Al-Makki's account contains frequent references to visitors traveling to or from Tripoli and Hama, and to decisions and appointments made in Tripoli and Hama that have a direct impact on Homs. The district of Baalbak also was not far from the author's consciousness, and recurrent mentions are made of personalities from, or travellers to, or events affecting Baalbak.⁷⁶ Culturally and intellectually, however, Damascus was al-Makki's lodestone. His account includes occasional news of ulama of Damascus,⁷⁷ as well as to the

69 Ibid., p. 131.

70 Ibid., p. 43.

71 E.g., "The mother of 'Abd al-Baqi, the daughter of Taqi al-Hisnawi, died on Friday, God rest her soul." Ibid., p. 62.

72 E.g., *ibid.*, p. 75.

73 E.g., the daughter of 'Isa Dallal in *ibid.*, p. 62.

74 Ibid., p. 89.

75 Ibid., pp. 151, 219.

76 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 38, 43, 162

77 E.g., *ibid.*, p. 41, 116.

most celebrated *'alim* of his time, the aforementioned Damascene Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi. This prominent Sufi's visit to Homs in 1693 generated interest and excitement that al-Makki shared. Nearly 20 years later, in 1722, one of al-Nabulsi's protégés came to Homs, stayed with the Mufti, and was assigned to a congregational mosque associated with a tomb of one of the Companions.⁷⁸

In broader geopolitical terms, Homs was on a major transit route of the Ottoman East Mediterranean world. Personnel visiting or passing through included luminaries from Jidda,⁷⁹ Jerusalem,⁸⁰ Nablus,⁸¹ Saïda,⁸² Damascus⁸³ and Egypt.⁸⁴ Traffic between Homs and its near neighbors Tripoli, Hama and Damascus was frequent. (Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi's travel account notes that one of Homs's ulama was a frequent visitor to al-Nabulsi's Damascene home.) There was also a steady stream of travelers and delegations between Homs and Istanbul (typically a 20-day journey)⁸⁵, and travelers regularly brought news of Homsis in Egypt or returned after spending time there.⁸⁶ The pilgrimage caravans (to and from) were recurring annual events, and at those times of the year al-Makki would note the names of Homsis on pilgrimage. He refers to two tranches of pilgrims: the Aleppo pilgrimage caravan (al-hajj al-Halabi) and the "Persian" caravan (al-hajj al-'Ajami). They typically arrived in quick succession.⁸⁷ The Halabi caravan appears to have gathered land-route pilgrims from various Ottoman regions, including Abkhazia on the Black Sea.⁸⁸ While both tranches of pilgrims arrived in Homs from the direction of Aleppo, the Ajami ("Persian") caravan likely had its origins at or beyond the eastern frontiers of the Ottoman state. Payments from the treasuries of Egypt⁸⁹ and Damascus⁹⁰ also passed through Homs regularly, further linking the town psychologically and materially to a wider Syrian and Ottoman world.

78 Ibid., p. 259.

79 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 43, 75, 135.

80 Ibid., p. 89, 227.

81 Ibid., p. 136.

82 Ibid., p. 228

83 Ibid., p. 193

84 Ibid., p. 103.

85 E.g., *ibid.*, p. 16.

86 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 55, 67, 76, 164

87 Ibid., pp. 47, 91, 136, 231.

88 Ibid., p. 146.

89 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 15, 50, 73, 136, 202, 210, 257.

90 E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 88, 122, 126, 185, 205, 218.

So Homs was connected to regional networks. In al-Makki's writing the city itself was *baladna* ("our home town"); its immediate environs constituted *bilad Hims*.⁹¹ As for what constituted Homs itself, al-Makki expressed the breadth of Homs's population when he described the turnout for a prominent shaikh's funeral in 1711: "The people of the town —big and small, free and enslaved — stood on the walls and hills, on the houses and the villas," in order to watch the proceedings.⁹² Beyond the town and its immediate environs, al-Makki's Homs was proximate to Bilad al-Sham ("the lands of Damascus") in the South⁹³ and Bilad Ba'alabakk ("the lands of Baalbak") in the southwest,⁹⁴ whilst in the opposite direction lay Bilad Halab ("the lands of Aleppo").⁹⁵ Beyond Aleppo was Rum ("Rome") or the *diyar Rumiyya* ("the Roman lands") meaning Turcophone Anatolia.⁹⁶ Al-Makki's widest most all-encompassing characterization sees Homs as but one piece of Bilad al-Muslimin "the lands of the Muslims." External to Bilad al-Muslimin are Bilad al-Kuffar, "the lands of the Unbelievers."⁹⁷ But the limits of Bilad al-Muslimin are not defined or demarcated; al-Makki often refers to the Sultan, but never to the Empire (or *dawla 'aliyya*) as a bounded territory outside of which the Sultan's writ did not run. Greeting the new *hijri* year of 1121 (corresponding to 1709), al-Makki asked for God's kindness "for us and for the rest of the Muslim Sultans, against the whole of the Unbelievers."⁹⁸ On another occasion he prayed for the safety of pilgrims traveling by sea and by land "from among the community of Muhammad as a whole" (*min ummat Muhammad ajma'in*).⁹⁹

So, what did it mean to be "Ottoman" in Homs during the decades when al-Makki wrote his account? The adjective Ottoman does not appear in his text. In al-Makki the default person was a Muslim; those who were not were marked as Nazarenes; individuals or groups of people were also associated with their hometowns; people were differentiated by rank and/or occupation; and tribal people and people from farther away were identified with ethnic markers (Arabs, Turcomans, Abkhazians, and perhaps 'Ajam). Networks of people, travelers and goods linked Homs to other Syrian regions, to Jerusalem, to Egypt, to the Hijaz, and to

91 Ibid., p. 159.

92 Ibid., p. 164.

93 Ibid., p. 152.

94 Ibid., p. 178.

95 Ibid., p. 152.

96 Ibid., pp. 35, 172, 224.

97 Ibid., p. 194.

98 Ibid., p. 139.

99 Ibid., p. 4.

Anatolia; and they all in turn were tied to the Sultan in Istanbul; but never did al-Makki refer to the Ottoman state as such or in the abstract. There is a sense in which the [Ottoman] sultanate was at the heart of al-Makki's world, "the lands of the Muslims," without however strictly limiting this world territorially or administratively. It would have been hard for al-Makki to imagine his world without the presence of a sultanate that gave it, and him, a symbol of loyalty and a fountainhead of normative justice and political legitimacy. Modern Arab identity is nowhere to be found in his account, and indeed it would have been an anachronism. For al-Makki, "Arab" usually meant a tribal Other, not himself and not his Ottoman-urban world.

And yet, in some instances the concept Arab resonated with al-Makki's sense of religious or cultural identity. He called the *hijri* calendar the "Arab" calendar, and he invoked the blessings of Prophet Muhammad who is "*sayyid al-'ajam wa-al-'arab*."¹⁰⁰ Toward the end of his account, offering an inclusive prayer for the entire *ummat* Muhammad, al-Makki defined them as "the living and the dead; Arabs, Turks, and peasants; from the time of Adam till the Day of Judgment."¹⁰¹ Thus when in due course the unthinkable happened and the sultanate vanished two centuries later, adoption of some form of Arab identity was a historically rooted option for Homsis in a post-Ottoman world.

The Universal And The Particular: A View From Ottoman Homs Ca. 1700

Abstract ■ Between 1688 and 1722 a resident of the unheralded Syrian provincial town of Homs recorded his impressions of life in the town and its surroundings. Muhammad al-Makki's account offers glimpses of the worldview of an Ottoman subject who shared the Ottoman Empire's politically dominant religion (Islam) yet who was firmly grounded in his provincial environment. This rare document from one of Syria's smaller towns illustrates tension between a pre-modern Muslim universalism rooted in the symbolism of the Ottoman Sultanate, and local affiliations that were parochial and highly particularistic. This article discusses al-Makki's understanding of himself and his world, his connection to local elites, his and their connections to wider networks within the Ottoman Empire, his sense of identity and his understandings of justice and oppression. The reader encounters local paramilitaries, urban notables, tribal communities, Christians, and Ottoman provincial administrators. Through al-Makki, one also senses the precariousness of pre-modern life where little margin for error existed in the face of environmental conditions and the forces of nature.

Keywords: Ottoman, Syria, Muhammad al-Makki, Homs, Arabs, Justice, Oppression

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 212.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 253.

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In Other Worlds? Mapping Out the Spatial Imaginaries of 18th-Century Chroniclers from the Ottoman Levant (Bilād al-Shām)

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Osmanlı Biladü's-Şamı'nda Yaşamış Olan 18. Yüzyıl Vakânüvislerinin Mekân Tahayyülleri Öz ■ Bu makalede 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı Levant'ı/Biladü's-Şam'ından (günümüz Suriye, Lübnan, Ürdün, İsrail ve Filistin'den) yedi vakânüvisin küresel mekân tahayyülleri incelenmektedir. Farklı sosyal, dinî ve meslekî kökenlerden gelen söz konusu vakânüvisler, Biladü's-Şam'ın Arapça konuşan ahalisinden olmaları hasebiyle ortak bir kimlik altında birleşseler de, Osmanlılıkla olan alakalarının da bilincindeydiler. Bu çalışmada, vakânüvislerin kökenlerindeki ortaklıklar ve farklılıklar göz önüne alınarak her bir yazarın mekânsal tahayyülündeki “gerilimler” incelenmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, yazarların tahayyüllerindeki dünya, grafiklere ve haritalara aktarılıp karşılaştırılarak, farklılık gösteren ve birbiriye örtüşen coğrafi kimlikler görselleştirilmiştir. Devletlerin sınır temelli kimliklerin inşasında çok az dahlinin olduğu ulus-öncesi bir çağda, Biladü's-Şam'lı Osmanlıların aynı dünyada yaşayıp yaşamadığı sorusuna cevap aranmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı Biladü's-Şam'ı, Arapça Kronikler, Ulema Olmayan Tarihçiler, Mekân Tahayyülü, Bölgesel Kimlik, Görselleştirilmiş Mekân Algıları.

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This essay is a revised and abridged version of a chapter from my dissertation, “Peripheral Visions: The Worlds and Worldviews of Commoner Chroniclers from the 18th-Century Levant” (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2002), Chapter Three, “Author and Space”. My deepest gratitude is owed to the following people at O'Neill Library, Boston College: Barbara Mento (for Map 1), Constantin Andronache (for both graphs), Benjamin Florin for various trial maps that were not used, and Bill Donovan and Lindsay Skay Whitacre for Map 5. Austin Mason of Boston College History Department came through at the last minute and created maps 2.1-2.8. It should be noted that Maps 1 and 3 have not been geocoded and as such represent approximations of places.

In our modern nationalist moment, territoriality is definitive, and is constituted by a spatial imaginary of every inch of the homeland, an imaginary visualized in maps taught in school textbooks.¹ While spatial markers were a standard feature through which pre-moderns (in our case, Arabic-speaking early-moderns) identified themselves, such as an individual's city of provenance, a consensual or hegemonic spatial regime of identity was not the order of the day. In other words, in pre-national times, politics, identity, and geography did not "triangle" off, or at least, not very precisely.

Still, geography mattered. Even in the absence of spatial visualization techniques to orient the imagination, and a modern state apparatus to condition the citizens into a collective identity that is territorially bound, pre-moderns did identify with spaces outside their immediate environment. They too employed their imagination in constructing spatial identities. However, what is intriguing is not the fact of the existence of a pre-modern spatial imaginary as such, but rather how variegated these imaginaries were.

This essay offers an experiment of sorts, an examination of how people, in a pre-national and pre-cartographic time,² recalled spaces, which they may or may not have seen, and arranged these spaces into a coherent imaginary. This is an inquiry into, literally, people's "worldviews": how they viewed the world, and hence, where they located themselves in it. In order to do this, I have consulted a group of chronicles, all of which were written in eighteenth-century Levant (Bilād al-Shām).³ These particular chronicles because they are composed by individuals whose backgrounds are markedly different from the profile of the usual authors of such works: the *ʿālim* (scholar) or high-level Ottoman bureaucrat. This motley crew of new historians are a soldier from Damascus, two Shiʿī agriculturalists from Jabal ʿĀmil (in southern Lebanon), a judicial court scribe from the town of Ḥimṣ, a barber from Damascus, a Greek Orthodox priest from Damascus, and a Samaritan scribe from Nablus. For good measure, I have also included the chronicle of a Damascene scholar into the mix. (See Map 1 for the cities/towns/regions of provenance of the authors). Given these historians' differing social, professional,

1 Clearly, this is in the vein of Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

2 Recent studies have shown that Ottoman cartography was quite developed. See for example, Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). That said, the average Ottoman subject did not seem to have been exposed to or conditioned by maps.

3 I use "Levant" as a shorthand for Bilād al-Shām (the area covering the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, and Jordan).

and communal backgrounds, the overarching question in this essay is: though all of these authors came from the Ottoman Levant, did they live in the same Syrian or Ottoman world?

In order to answer this question, I have scoured each of the chronicles under discussion for spatial references, the frequency of these references, and the reasons for their mention. I did so with the purpose of finding out what it was that impelled each author's mind to wander off outside his city or away from his hometown. In other words, I have tried to find out the "operating principles" that allowed the constitution of global horizons as imagined by regular people from the eighteenth-century Levant, and plotted those visions of the world and juxtaposed them on maps.



Map 1: The Chroniclers' Places of Origin

The Scholar, Ibn Kannān: The House of Osman and the House of Islam.

The scholar and Sufi, Muḥammad Īsā Ibn Kannān (d. 1740),⁴ was a wealthy man and a minor notable from Damascus, who spent much of his life teaching Ḥanbalī jurisprudence (though he himself had switched to the state official rite, Ḥanafism, as it was the habit of aspiring Levantine scholars).⁵ Although well connected to the elites of his city, Ibn Kannān was not beneficiary to direct imperial patronage. A thoroughly loyal Ottoman subject, Ibn Kannān’s chronicle is organized around the Ottoman “system”. He starts his entry for each year with an iteration of the same formula:

And the Sultan of the *rūmī* (Roman/Turkish) ‘*arabī* (Arab) and some of the ‘*ajamī* (Persian) lands is... the Grand Vizier (in Istanbul) is ... the Governor (of Damascus) is ... the *qāḍī* of Damascus is... the *muftī* of Istanbul is... the *muftī* of Damascus is ... the teachers (of Damascus) are... and the Hajj commander (in Damascus) is ...”⁶

This is how Ibn Kannān orders *his* world. Not only does he demarcate the geographical borders of the empire though the reiteration of the Ottoman domains, but given his vested interest in the judicial-academic system, this teacher of jurisprudence establishes a hierarchy of authorities that connects the imperial center to the provincial capital. It is a hierarchy to which he belongs in his capacity as a scholar and teacher in Damascus. In other words, even if Ibn Kannān did not have imperial patronage, he manages to discursively insert himself in a “system” that connects him directly to the Sultan.

Given his investment in the Ottoman system, it is no surprise that Ibn Kannān’s vision of the world is, at least in part, a direct effect of the territorial ebb and flow of the empire. The borders of the Ottoman world acquire names and definition in his chronicle when they are captured, lost, or recaptured by the Ottoman sovereign, or when war threatens. Thus, Temesvar appears in Ibn Kannān’s world for the first time when it is lost from the Ottoman realms, and reappears for the second and last time when he reports its recapture in 1739.⁷ Similarly, the Morea (*bilād al-mūrī*) appears only when it is recaptured by the Ottomans from the Venetians

4 Muhammad Ibn Kannān al-Ṣāliḥī, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, ed. Akram Aḥmad al-‘Ulabī (Damascus: Dār al-Tabbā’, 1994). The chronicle covers the years 1699-1740.

5 For the life and work of Ibn Kannān, see my “Ibn Kannan”, <http://www.ottomanhistorians.com>; eds. C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, C. Fleischer (January 20, 2013)

6 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 7. Variations of the same formula are in almost every annual entry.

7 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 511 Ibn Kannān was, in fact, misinformed: the Ottoman reconquest included Belgrade, but not Temesvar.

in 1127/1715;⁸ while Malta is mentioned due to reports of incursions by Maltese pirates on the eastern Mediterranean coast.⁹ As a geo-political consequence of this, the borders of Ibn Kannān's chronicle extend to Morocco as he learns that "Mawla-y Sulṭān Ismā'il of al-Maghrib is waging a war against Mālṭa" to deliver it from Christian hands.¹⁰ The "land of the Tatars" (Crimea) is mentioned when there is a rumor that the Russians are building fortresses nearby and thus threatening Ottoman sovereignty in the area,¹¹ while in the east, Isfahan enters Ibn Kannān's sphere when Ottoman armies mobilize in response to the sacking of the Safavid capital by the Afghan usurper Maḥmūd Ghilzāy in 1722.¹²

However, Ibn Kannān's spatial horizons and the mechanisms through which he conceived of far away places were not limited by the borders of Empire. Ibn Kannān's spatial vocabulary included areas that were neither part of the Ottoman Empire, nor impinging directly on the Ottoman domains, such as India (*al-hind*), and the Ozbeg-ruled Khurāsānī city of Balkh (which Ibn Kannān calls *bilād yazbik*, not to be confused with Ozbeg Transoxiana). These places hold a certain exotic value for Ibn Kannān – they are different, distant, and wondrous. India, for Ibn Kannān, is a place where people have reliably been known to live for several hundred years,¹³ and where rulers build great cities around which it takes several days to journey.¹⁴ *Bilād al-yazbik*, or Balkh, made it into Ibn Kannān's geographical vocabulary through the arrival (and eventual settlement) of a Balkhī community in Damascus. Ibn Kannān was sufficiently curious about the Balkhīs to have visited them at their lodgings shortly after their arrival.¹⁵ Of *bilād al-yazbik*, he

8 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 242-43.

9 For this and other references to Malta (all of which refer to the same piracy incident) see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 200, 211, 216, and 217, respectively.

10 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 200.

11 Ibn Kannān reports that the Ottoman had raised an army against "the Christians" as, "they had built a fortress between the (land of the) Rūmīs and (the land of) the Tatars," *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 171. Here, the author is speaking of the Pruth Campaigns (1710-1713), one of the causes of which was Russian fort building activity along the Dnieper.

12 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 356. The usurpation of Maḥmūd Ghilzāy, whom Ibn Kannān calls Uways, ended the rule of the Safavid dynasty; see David Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797* (London: Longman, 1988), 152.

13 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 303.

14 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 18. The Indian city to which Ibn Kannān is referring in probably Awrangābād, named for its builder, the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb; see "Aurangābād," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

15 He went there in the company of two friends, and reported that the Balkhīs fed him pistachios and raisins; Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 114.

says, “Between it and Damascus is (a distance of) approximately one year,” while of the newly settled Balkhī community he says, “They have customs (*ādāb*) that make no sense to the people of these lands.”¹⁶

Strikingly, Ibn Kannān’s nomenclature for regions outside the Ottoman domains exhibits a discriminating tendency that privileges Muslim rule. If the region is under Muslim rule, such as India or Balkh, or even the “heterodox”-ruled Isfahan, he accords it due respect by calling it by its proper name. Non-Muslim ruled regions fall under the undifferentiated categories of *bilād al-naṣārā* (the land of the Christians) or *bilād al-kuffār* (the land of the infidels), that is, a geographical area that contains the epitome of the Ottoman “other”: Christendom.¹⁷

Most of the places to which Ibn Kannān refers fall within the uncontested regions of the Ottoman Empire: from Crete, to Istanbul, to Erzurum, to Diyarbakir, to Baghdad, to Yemen, to Cairo and to Mecca and Medina.¹⁸ In the Levant itself, Ibn Kannān refers to numerous cities, towns, and villages. The question to be asked is: what is it that takes Ibn Kannān to all these places? More often than not, the places he mentions suggest themselves to him because they occur in the itinerary of a person about whom he speaks in his chronicle, whether recording the activities of an Ottoman official, or providing a biographical notice (*tarjama*) upon the death of a scholar.¹⁹ Ibn Kannān follows the footsteps of scholars as they travel in pursuit of knowledge, of governors on military campaigns, of government officials traveling to take up appointments, and even of merchants on business trips. In other words, it is as though places, towns, and regions exist only after one of Ibn Kannān’s personalities set foot there.

If the sheer number of references to a city in a text is an acknowledgement of the city’s importance in the author’s mind, then the staggering 107 references to Istanbul (with Jerusalem a distant second with 29 references) is testimony that Ibn Kannān knew very well where the heart of the empire was.²⁰ The imperial capital pressed itself upon the consciousness of an upwardly-mobile Damascene like Ibn Kannān: the Damascus-Istanbul traffic he recorded included imperial appointees - such as the various *qādīs*, treasurers, and other officials - arriving in Damascus to

16 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 114, and 312.

17 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 171 and 178, respectively.

18 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 162 (Crete); 379 (Erzurum); 432 (Diyarbakir); 204, 372 and 483 (Baghdad); and 216, 357 (Yemen). References to Istanbul, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, are too numerous to cite.

19 Examples are: Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 129, 483, and 96.

20 For examples of biographies that include Istanbul as a station, see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 31, 96, 100, 134, 267, 483, and 388.

take up their posts or returning to Istanbul upon the completion of their tenure,²¹ imperial messengers dispatched with notices ranging from orders of appointment, to death warrants, to pardons, to general announcements,²² and even the occasional severed head belonging to an imperially-condemned personality.²³ However, it is not only the caravans on the Damascus-Istanbul road that prompted Ibn Kannān to write the imperial capital into his chronicle, but also important events in that city, ranging from rebellions, to the assassination of *shaykh al-Islām*, to the enthronement and deposal of the Sultans. As the center of the imperial structures by which Ibn Kannān sought to orient his life, Istanbul lay at the center of Ibn Kannān's world beyond Damascus.²⁴

Jerusalem (29 references) and Cairo (26 references) are the two major cities Ibn Kannān mentions most after Istanbul. Ibn Kannān takes an active interest in events taking place in Cairo and Jerusalem, more so than he does in other frequently mentioned cities such as Sidon, Tripoli and Aleppo, which generally appear in the context of people's itineraries. Ibn Kannān is particularly concerned about civil and military strife in Cairo and Jerusalem.²⁵ On one occasion, Ibn Kannān displays a detailed knowledge of the urban geography of Cairo. In 1118/1706, he reports drought in Egypt and the subsequent prayer for the inundation of the Nile by Cairenes, and his imagination roams in sympathy through the city.²⁶ Even ubiquitous Istanbul is never treated by Ibn Kannān as intimately, which may indicate that the author may have spent some substantial amount of time in Egyptian capital.

Like many other chroniclers in our sample, Ibn Kannān's spatial horizon were also defined by "state rituals": He often announces the arrival of the Egyptian Treasury (*al-khazna al-miṣriyya*), the caravan bearing Egypt's financial dues to the imperial capital, which made a ceremonial stop in Damascus.²⁷ Another ritual that stitched the empire together was, of course, the annual pilgrimage caravan. Ibn Kannān's attention to the pilgrims' progress prompts him to mention places that are unlikely to resonate with modern readers, such as al-'Ulā (mentioned 28 times). This site happened to be one of the more important halting stations for the Hajj ca-

21 For example, see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 37-38, 142, and 378.

22 For example, see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 16, 76, 221, 224, 356, and 364.

23 For example, see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 54-55, 149, 213, and 247.

24 For example, see Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 67-68, 72-73, 75, and 324.

25 For example, Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 178 and 401, respectively.

26 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 106.

27 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmīyya*, 133, 203, 247, and 378.

ravan, from which pilgrims sent letters of reassurance back to Damascus.²⁸ Naturally, Mecca, the final destination of the pilgrimage caravan, has an indelible place on the mental map of Ibn Kannān and most of the other chroniclers in our sample.²⁹

Generally, our Levantine-Ottoman *‘ālim*’s spatial horizons were wide: he mentions a total of 110 villages, towns, cities, and regions dispersed in the geographical area between the Crimea in the north to Yemen in the south, and from Morocco in the west to India in the east. (See Map 2.1). His geography was considerably determined by his position as an *‘ālim*, and as a loyal subject of the Ottoman Sultan. For Ibn Kannān, the world is geographically divided into the undifferentiated lands of the infidel, and various differentiated Muslimdoms. As an *‘ālim*, his eyes followed fellow Muslim scholars as they traversed the *dār al-Islām*, the House of Islam, between Istanbul, Cairo, India, and Balkh. While some parts of the Muslim world held little more than exotic value for Ibn Kannān, on others, like Jerusalem, and Cairo, he kept a most empathetic eye.



Map 2.1.

28 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 41, 86, 102, 135, 160, 187, 197, 205, 277, 361, 366, 375, 388, 395, 402, and 505.

29 Ibn Kannān, *Yawmiyyāt shāmiyya*, 53, 131, 196, 357, and 366.

The Barber, Ibn Budayr: A Cultural World and an Imperial World

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Budayr (fl. 1762) was a practicing barber, who shaved and coiffed, and probably circumcised and healed in Damascus.³⁰ It is not so much the fact of the literacy of this barber that is astounding, but that he wrote his chronicle in emulation of the scholarly form. In his history, he makes thorough use of the literary form of the *tarjama* (death notices/biographies). Let us briefly explore a couple of Ibn Budayr's *tarjamas* to note a particular spatial pattern in Ibn Budayr's imagination.

In a death notice for the teacher, scholar and notable, Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī, Ibn Budayr says:

Neither in Damascus nor in any other city did anyone equal, resemble, or compare to him; he was known among people in Cairo, Damascus, and in Istanbul.³¹

Elsewhere, when eulogizing Ibrāhīm al-Jabāwī al-Sa'dī al-Shāghūrī (d. 1749), the Shaykh of the Sa'diyya Sufi order, Ibn Budayr says, "He made for himself a huge following in Istanbul, Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus".³²

Ibn Budayr thus seems to see Istanbul and Cairo as the *horizons of his cultural world*. Cultural recognition is marked not only by reference to the great cities of the Levant – Damascus and Aleppo - but also to these two great metropolises of the empire.

Like Ibn Kannān, Ibn Budayr also stitches this world together through the medium of imperial ritual: he too awaits the arrival in Damascus of the Egyptian Treasury on its journey to Istanbul, and notes any irregularity in its schedule.³³ But,

30 Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq *Hawādith Dimashq al-yawmiyya 1154-1175/1741-1762*, in the recension of Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qāsimī, ed. Aḥmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Karīm (Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Bayān al-'Arabī, 1959). This is a bowdelerized version. The paper here uses the original version of the barber as found in the unique manuscript. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Budayr al-Ḥallāq, *Hawādith Dimashq al-Shām al-yawmiyya min sanat 1154 ilā sanat 1176*, MS Chester Beatty, Arabic 3551/2, Dublin. The chronicle covers the years 1741-1762. For the life of Ibn Budayr, see my "Ibn Budayr", <http://www.ottomanhistorians.com>; (eds.) C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, C. Fleischer (January 20, 2013). Also, my *Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the 18th Century Ottoman Levant* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013).

31 Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 51b.

32 Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 81b.

33 Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 7a, 18a, 36a, 44a, 55a, 61a, 68b, 74b, and 76b. For a delay in the arrival of the treasury, see 36a.

While Cairo is an important feature in the spatial composition of Ibn Budayr's chronicle (14 references), unlike Ibn Kannān, the city does not seize Ibn Budayr's imagination. It exists for him only as one of the poles of his cultural world, and as the source of the Egyptian Treasury that proceeds annually to Istanbul. He is not interested in the events of the city itself. Also, while Istanbul is mentioned more often than any other city in Ibn Budayr's chronicle, the imperial capital is clearly not as important to Ibn Budayr as it is to Ibn Kannān. Whereas Ibn Kannān mentions Istanbul more than four times as often as the next city (Jerusalem), Ibn Budayr cites Istanbul 25 times, Tripoli 17 times, Cairo, Sidon and Tiberias 14 times, and Aleppo 13 times.³⁴ Also, Ibn Budayr's interest in Istanbul, which he also calls "Islāmbūl" and "Islānbūl", is limited to its imperial function.³⁵ That Istanbul exists for Ibn Budayr overwhelmingly in the dimension as the seat of imperial government is illustrated in Ibn Budayr's sublimation of the city to the imperial institutions of *al-bāb al-'ālī* (the High Porte) and *al-dawla al-'aliyya* (the Exalted State).³⁶

In Ibn Budayr's chronicle Istanbul is the place from which things imperial emanate. The barber notes the arrival of all sorts of manifestations of officialdom from Istanbul, ranging from the bearers of imperial *firman*s, to new members of the Janissary corps, to the *Şurra* (the annual gift sent by the Sultan to the Sharīfs of Mecca), to a construction team sent to renovate the Umayyad mosque.³⁷ Istanbul is also the imperial source to which officials, such as the Ḥanafī *qādīs* of Damascus, return after their tenures in service,³⁸ or after performing the Hajj, as did the *shaykh al-Islām* in 1160.³⁹

34 The references are too numerous to cite.

35 For "Iṣṭanbul" (which he spells with *ṣād* and *ṭā'*, unlike some of the other chroniclers who use *sin* and *tā'*), see Ibn Budayr, *Ḥawādith Dimashq*, 6a, 11b-11a, 73a, 21a, 44a, and 61b; for "Islāmbūl", see 7a, 27b, 36a, 41a, 63a, 73a, 76a, 81b, 84b, and 93b; for "Islānbūl", see 68b. For the provenance of the nomenclature "Islāmbūl," ("where Islam abounds"), see the entry "Istanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

36 Ibn Budayr, *Ḥawādith Dimashq*, 11b-12a, 80a.

37 Ibn Budayr, *Ḥawādith Dimashq*, 27b, and 32a, 44a and 73a, 7a, 93a-94b, respectively. The arrival of the renovation team is an occasion when Ibn Budayr distinguishes between the city of Istanbul and the imperial institution: "An imperial messenger, called Sabanikhzada, arrived from Istanbul on behalf of the state (*min ṭaraf al-dawla*), to inspect the Umayyad mosque" (93a-94b).

38 Ibn Budayr, *Ḥawādith Dimashq*, 63a, and 76a.

39 Ibn Budayr, *Ḥawādith Dimashq*, 36a.

The geographical space that is most articulated in Ibn Budayr's chronicle is the Levant. This regional space is marked for Ibn Budayr in different ways, one of which is the appointments of governors and district governors to the various cities and provincial capitals.⁴⁰ Ibn Budayr's relationship with the cities of the Levant is far more intimate than it is with Cairo and Istanbul, and he reports events there that are not associated with governors and dignitaries. For example, Ibn Budayr mentions bread price inflation and a flood in Tripoli, a shipwreck off the coast of Sidon, and a minor mutiny in Aleppo.⁴¹ It is doubtless their proximity to Damascus that renders these places more sympathetic to Ibn Budayr. The barber's imagination, however, does venture east of the Levant to Iraq, Persia and India, on account of the military campaigns of Nādir Shāh of Persia whom Ibn Budayr mistakenly knows as "the Khārījī called Tahmās."⁴² Nādir Shāh had initially ruled Iran in the name of the Safavid Tahmāsp II, and had taken the name Tahmāsp-qūlī (the slave of Tahmasp), but in 1148/1736 he had himself proclaimed Shāh and ceased to be known by his *nom de service*. Ibn Budayr was apparently somewhat confused by the number of Tahmāsp's floating around Persia - he noted that "Tahmās had defeated the king of the Persians and taken his country." Ibn Budayr also recounted Nādir Shāh's attacks on Baghdad, Kirkūk ("Kirkūt", in Ibn Budayr's parlance), Mosul and India.⁴³ Indeed, the activities of this "khārījī" (seceder, i.e. heretic) mark Ibn Budayr's world as one defined by Sunnism and Shī'ism.

The barber's chronicle also encompasses a passing mention of the *bilād al-ifranj* (the Land of the Franks) in the context of the rebel al-Zāhir al-'Umar's dealings with European traders.⁴⁴ Finally, as with Ibn Kannān, the Hijaz constitutes a prominent feature of Ibn Budayr's spatial landscape as he follows the progress of the Hajj caravan.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ See Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 16a (Ibrāhīm's appointment in Sidon); 35a and 76b, 63b, and 84a (Sa'd al-Dīn in Tripoli, Aleppo, and Marash, respectively); 16a, 80a, and 84a (Sa'd al-Dīn in Tripoli in Ḥamāh, Jerusalem, and Aleppo, respectively); 78b-79a, 81a, (Muṣṭafā in Sidon and Adana, respectively). Beyond the Levant, Sa'd al-Dīn was also appointed in Jeddah (82b), and Muṣṭafā in Mosul (84a).

⁴¹ Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 58a and 52b, 7a, and 84a, respectively.

⁴² Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 19a.

⁴³ Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 19a, 22a, and 42a.

⁴⁴ Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 9a.

⁴⁵ Ibn Budayr, *Hawādith Dimashq*, 86b-87b; 81a and 81b; 3a, 11b, and 68a (the al-'Ulā letters).



Map 2.2.

Thus, while for Ibn Kannān the Ottoman world overlaps with, but does not encompass the Islamic world, in Ibn Budayr’s geography, the imperial world and the Islamic world are one and the same. Ibn Budayr constitutes the Islamic world in cultural terms, and the Ottoman world in official terms, with Istanbul a landmark in both (See Map 2.2). While Ibn Kannān drew his borders primarily to exclude “infidel” Christendom, Ibn Budayr drew his primarily to exclude “heretic” Shī‘ī Persia. Aside from its Sunnī Ottoman delimitation of his world geography, Ibn Budayr’s landscape is mainly one of the Levant. Thus, there is almost nothing about Ibn Budayr’s vision of the world that is positively reflective of his position as an artisan. The sole correspondence between Ibn Budayr’s social location and the constitution of his spatial horizons lies in the barber’s anti-Shī‘ī bias.

The Priest, Burayk: Oecumene and Empire

Mikhā’il Burayk al-Dimashqī (*fl.* 1782)⁴⁶ was a Greek Orthodox priest, who started out as a deacon and climbed up the church ladder to become the archimandrite

⁴⁶ Mikhā’il Burayk al-Dimashqī, *Tārīkh al-Shām, 1720-1782*, ed. Aḥmad Ghassān Sabānū (Damascus: Dār Qutayba, 1982). His chronicle covers the years 1720-1782. For the life of Burayk, see my “Peripheral Visions”, 148-153.

and vicar of the revered Ṣidnāyā Monastery, one of the most prestigious ecclesiastical appointments in the Levant.⁴⁷ It is perhaps no surprise that the universal Christian world, including the Latin West, constitutes the geography of the Greek Orthodox priest's chronicle. Of all the chroniclers in the sample, Burayk is the only one who looks West: his chronicle takes us to France, England, Portugal, Spain, and even the Canary Islands⁴⁸ (See Map 2.3). The southernmost limit of Burayk's geographical vision is Christian Abyssinia.⁴⁹ In particular, Burayk looks to the Greek Orthodox regions to the north and northwest of the Black Sea, and above all to imperial Russia. In 1758, he mentions an attack by the Muslim Crimean Tatars (*al-Tatār*) on the city of Jassy (*Yāshī*) in Moldavia (*al-Bughdān*) - and his sentiments, naturally, lie with the Moldavians.⁵⁰ Good relations between the Levantine Orthodox community and their co-religionists in Wallachia (*al-Flākh*) are attested by Burayk's report concerning an endowment in Wallachia of a church and monastery for the financial support of the See of Antioch.⁵¹ However, the part of the Orthodox Christian community that most excites Burayk is Russia, the sole Orthodox imperial power. In 1769, Burayk celebrates a Muscovite (*al-Maskūb*) victory over the Poles (*Bilād al-Lāh*)⁵² and Tatars in 1769 - "victory and great pride was to the Muscovites."⁵³ The arrival of Muscovite ships off the coast of Beirut in 1772 gave Burayk hope that the Eastern Christian oecumene might be re-established within the boundaries of a Christian empire. However, Burayk's "hopes became void" with the signing of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca between Russia and the Ottomans.⁵⁴ Therein lies Burayk's existential problem, a point to which I shall return.

47 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 95-96. On the history and importance of the Ṣidnāyā Monastery, see Habīb al-Zayyāt, *Khabāya al-zawāya min tārikh Ṣidnāyā* (n.p.: al-Kursī al-Milkī al-Antākī, 1932), where Mikhā'il Burayk is briefly mentioned, 248.

48 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 42-43 (France), 45-46 (England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands).

49 Burayk mentions a letter from the King of Abyssinia to the Patriarch of Alexandria asking him to establish a diocese in Abyssinia, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 41.

50 See Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 72-73. Unfortunately, I have not been able to ascertain the historicity of this incident.

51 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 42-43.

52 For the etymological derivation of Bilād al-Lāh ("Lehistān" in Ottoman Turkish) for Poland, see the article, "Leh," *EP*.

53 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 102. Perhaps, Burayk is referring to Catherine II forcing the Poles to sign the Polish-Russian Treaty of 1768. It is interesting that although he mentions the takeover of the Crimea, Burayk does not mention the concurrent Muscovite takeover of Wallachia and Moldavia.

54 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 102, 109 (Muscovites at the coast of Beirut), and 111 (the Treaty).

Burayk certainly does not view the Christians of the Latin West with the same feeling that he has for the Orthodox. He informs us of his agreement with the opinion expressed by two Muscovite priests that Latin missionary activity has been “tricking and corrupting the minds (of the Christians) in the countries of the East.”⁵⁵ Significantly, Burayk mentions Rome (*Rūmya*) and its Pope in connection with the quarrels among the emerging Greek Catholic community of the Levant.⁵⁶ However, while Burayk is suspicious of the Latin West, it is extremely striking that the Christian priest is the only one of our chroniclers who does not reduce this region to the generic category of *bilād al-ifranj* (Land of the Franks) that is customary in the Arabic-Islamic historiography of the time. Unlike Ibn Kannān, for whom all of Europe beyond Muslim rule was an undifferentiated *bilād al-naṣāra* (Christendom) or *bilād al-kuffār* (land of the infidels), Burayk’s Europe - *bilād Awrūbya* - is thoroughly differentiated. In 1755, Burayk reports on the Lisbon Earthquake: “a great and terrible earthquake in Lisbon (*Lizbūnā*), a great city under the King of Portugal (*al-Būrtughāl*).” The earthquake, he tells us, resulted in the burning of the city, the deaths of 100,000 people, flooding as far away as France and England, and the submerging in the ocean of some of the Canary Islands (*juzur al-kanāryā*), which Burayk locates, with impressive accuracy, “in the *bilād al-maghāriba* (the Lands of the Maghribis), towards Africa (*Ifriqiyya*).” He adds that in the aftermath of the earthquake, the King of Portugal sought the aid of both the king of Spain (*malik Isbānya*) and the king of England (*malik al-Inkliz*).⁵⁷ Burayk also reports on what are probably the beginnings of the Seven Years War: “And in this year 1755 [*sic*] there took place a great war between the English and the French.”⁵⁸ Burayk got his news of Europe not only from visiting Muscovites, but also from Frankish merchants in the Levant, with whom he seems to have had some contact.⁵⁹

55 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 42-43.

56 Apparently, in 1762, the already ordained Patriarch, Athnāsūs (or Ibn Jawhar), is rejected by the Aleppines who wanted to ordain their own candidate. Athnāsūs takes a journey to Rome in the hope of getting reinstated, “but he got nothing but distress and returned (from Rome) disappointed with the (lack of) support he got from the Westerners.” Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 82.

57 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 45-46. It is noteworthy that Burayk’s account of the earthquake is largely sound: seismic disturbances were felt in Spain, North Africa, France, North Italy, Brittany, and Normandy, and high waves caused by the earthquake reached England and Ireland. See T.D. Kendrill, *The Lisbon Earthquake* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1956), 25.

58 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 46 The Seven Year War started not in 1755, but 1756.

59 Burayk, *Tārikh al-Shām*, 46.

Burayk's curiosity about the Frankish trading communities is best illustrated in his report on Penny Richards, the extraordinary equestrian daughter of the English consul in Acre.⁶⁰

Burayk also cites verbatim a letter dated March 20th, 1756, from the imperial Russian governor of Astrakhan (*Aṣṭrahān*) to the governor of *Dūrghūrā* (?),⁶¹ a copy of which presumably arrived in Damascus after having traveled almost the whole of the Eastern Christian world (Astrakhan, Moscow, Istanbul, Cyprus and Jerusalem).⁶² The letter tells the story of two old travelers who mysteriously appear in and later disappear from Astrakhan, leaving behind them a prophecy of the end of the world which, not surprisingly, includes a defeat of the Ottomans and a Christian takeover of Constantinople.⁶³ Mentioned in the letter are the cities of Paris (*Bārīz*), Moscow (*Muskā*), and St. Petersburg (*Bitrūbūlī*); the Caspian Sea (*Bahr Qasbyān*); Georgia (*al-Kurj*), India (*Hindustān*), and Masulipatam/Masulipatnam (*Masūlabāṭān*) in India.⁶⁴

Most cities and towns mentioned by Burayk happen to be situated in the Levant: Aleppo (11 references), Sidon (10 references), and Ṣidnāyā (9 references), Acre (9 references), Ḥimṣ (7 references), Beirut (6 references), and Ma'lūlā (6 references). Most of Burayk's references to places shared by Oecumene and Empire are in relation to the affairs of the Christian community, both laymen and clergy.⁶⁵ Taken together, these towns and cities may be said to constitute Burayk's often-

⁶⁰ Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 47-48.

⁶¹ Although Burayk says that the letter is addressed to Empress Elizabeth, the letter is, in fact addressed, to the "ruler of *Dūrghūrā*" and ends with the declaration that a similar letter had been sent to "the Empress in St. Petersburg"; see Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 65, 66, and 69, respectively. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate "*Dūrghūrā*," which is probably a Russian province whose name has been unrecognizably corrupted in transliteration from Russian to Greek, and thence to Arabic.

⁶² Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 66-69.

⁶³ Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 69.

⁶⁴ Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 66 (Paris, Moscow, Georgia, and India), 67 (St. Petersburg), and 68 (Caspian Sea). I am reading *māsūlabāṭān*, for *māsūla yātān*, Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 66. There are several other place names which seem to have been corrupted in the process of translation into Arabic which I could not reconstruct, such as "*Birghūldā* in the episcopate that is under the Great Mūghūr (*sic*) King of Hindustān," "*Inastārūn*," "*Sirda nūs*, near Paris," "the *Rāwti* river," and "*Bilād Turkbūn*" by the Caspian Sea; see Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 66 and 68.

⁶⁵ For references to Ṣidnāyā, see Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 42, 74, 79, 83, 96, 99, 102, 120, and 122. for the Christians of Beirut, 99, 42, 87, and 93; for the Christians of Aleppo, 19, 20, 22, 24, 38, 42, and 91; for the Christians of Ma'lūlā, see also 40, 42, 74, and 96;

troubled *micro-Oecumene* where a Levantine Orthodox Christian community had suffered a (Greek Catholic) schism and dwelt within a Muslim Ottoman Empire. Before exploring Burayk's idea about his *micro-Oecumene*, it is worth noting the priest does mention places that concern both the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim community at large. Burayk, for example, reports on, and is very much moved by, the 1757 Hajj disaster.⁶⁶

The Levant is not only the domain that is most marked in Burayk's spatial imagination, but also seems to be, as we shall see below, a solution to his existential problem. One peculiar spatial concept articulated by Burayk is his precise delimitation of "Arab lands" (*al-bilād al-'arabiyya*) offered in a historical geography of an earthquake in 1759:

News came that this earthquake was acute in all of the Arab lands (*al-bilād al-'arabiyya*), both the coasts and the hinterlands, from the border of Antioch to 'Arish Mişr, cities and villages alike ...⁶⁷

Thus, Burayk's "Arab lands" covers the area from Antioch to al-'Arīsh: it is, in other words, precisely the Levant. Burayk's use of the term *al-bilād al-'arabiyya* has caught the attention of modern historians, especially in view of his classification of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, Makāryūs Şadaqa, as *ibn Arab* ("son of Arabs")⁶⁸ and the al-'Aẓm governors of Damascus, as *awlād Arab* ("sons of Arabs").⁶⁹ Bruce Masters understands Burayk's use of "Arab" as expressive of "a particularistic Arab ethnic consciousness,"⁷⁰ while Hayat Bualuan notes, "When he uses the term 'Arab' ... it certainly connotes a certain ethnic identity in contrast with, or in opposition to, Ottoman and Greek."⁷¹ Neither Masters nor Bualuan, however, attempts to understand what this "ethnic" category has to do with the

for the Christians of Acre, 82, 91, and 96; for the Christians of Sidon, 26-27, 31, 42, 85, 86, and 99; for Christians of Ḥimş, 23, 38, 39, 42, and 96.

66 Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 57-59.

67 Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 78.

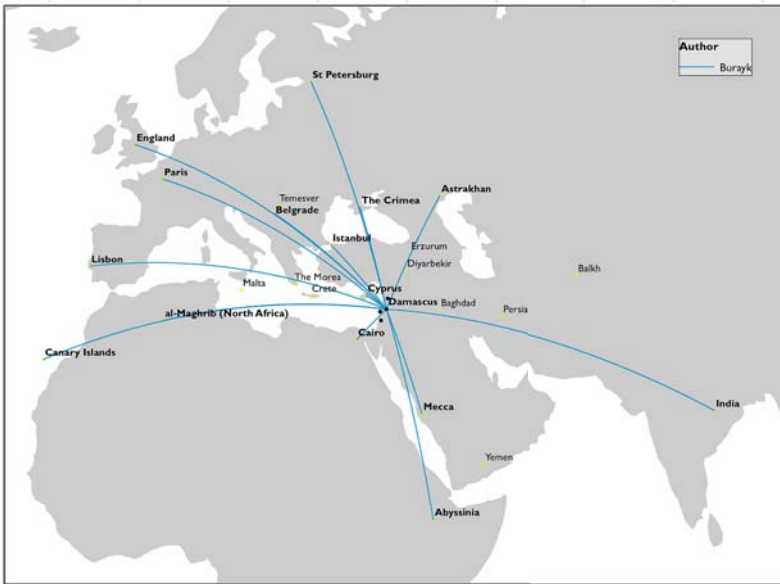
68 Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 85.

69 Burayk, *Tāriḫ al-Shām*, 49.

70 Bruce Masters, "The View from the Province: Syrian Chronicles of the 18th Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994): 359-60.

71 Hayat Bualuan, "Mikhā'il Breik: a Chronicler and a Historian in 18th Century *Bilād al-Shām*," *Parole de l'Orient* 21 (1996): 267. See also the observations of Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus* (Beirut: Khayyats, 1970), 324; and Robert Haddad, *Syrian Christians in Muslim Society: An Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 67-68.

geographical space between Antioch and ‘Arīsh. Thus, in the parochialism of a Levantine geography, Burayk seems to have found a spatial identity that transcended both Oecumene and Empire.



Map 2.3.

The Soldier, Al-‘Abd: Military Zones

Ḥasan Āghā al-‘Abd (*fl.* 1826) was a soldier,⁷² who probably started out as a minor member of the local Janissary corps (Tr. *yerli*, Ar. *yarliyya*) of Damascus and ended up no less than the sub-district governor of Şafad.⁷³ Friction, conflict, skirmishes and warfare are the stuff of this soldier’s history. Consequently, al-‘Abd’s vision of space is one-dimensional and military. The cartography of his chronicle delineates space as stations for armies, locales of mutinies and factional strife, fields for battle, and property for pillage. Overwhelmingly, the villages, cities and regions mentioned in al-‘Abd’s chronicle - such as Nablus, Jabal Akkār, Jabal al-Shūf, Kisrawān, Mu’aḍḍamiyya (Mu’azzamiyya), ‘Arṭūz, al-Jadīda, Qaṭana, al-Barza, al-Qadam, al-Ramla, Tyre, Beirut and al-Mazza – appear on the occasions

72 Hasan Āghā al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan Āghā al-‘Abd: Ḥawādith Bilād al-Shām wa al-imbaratūriyya al-‘uthmāniyya*, ed. Yūsof Nu’aysa (Damascus: Dār Dimashq li-al-Ṭibā’a wa al-Nashr, 1986). His chronicle covers the years 1771-1826.

73 For a reconstruction of al-‘Abd’s life, see my “Peripheral Visions”, 118-130.

that they are the sites of military encounters.⁷⁴ Acre, Tripoli, Ḥamāh and Sidon appear as prizes being fought over by vying Levantine governors and contenders for power.⁷⁵ The obscure town of al-‘Assālī (probably located in the district of Jubbat al-‘Assālī) receives six separate mentions simply because it serves as the camping ground of various armies.⁷⁶

Cairo and Alexandria are associated with the Napoleonic occupation, while Mecca and Medina figure primarily because of the Wahhābī occupation of the Hijaz.⁷⁷ Cairo - which for Ibn Kannān is a city whose news is noteworthy in and of itself, which is a cultural pole for Ibn Budayr, is treated by Ḥasan Āghā al-‘Abd solely in military-political term.⁷⁸ Al-‘Abd mentions Egypt in the context of a French military strategy in which Egypt is a gateway to the Levant. Al-‘Abd follows the news of the advance of the French armies into Gaza, al-Ramla, Jaffa, and Acre, and their eventual departure from Cairo and Alexandria in 1800.⁷⁹

Similarly, Mecca, Medina and the Hijaz, first appear in the chronicle as the sites of the Wahhābī rebellion, and the subsequent obstruction by the Wahhābīs of the Hajj.⁸⁰ Before the disruption to imperial security caused by the appearance of the Wahhābīs, both Mecca and the Hijaz are only mentioned once, and Medina not at all.⁸¹ Conspicuously absent from al-‘Abd’s dominantly military vision is the reportage on the arrival in Damascus of the pilgrims’ letters from al-‘Ulā that constitute a standard feature of the worlds of the other Muslim Damascene authors, Ibn Kannān and Ibn Budayr. And while al-‘Abd’s focus is limited primarily to the Levant and military events strategically related to the Levant, his spatial horizons seem to widen near the end of his chronicle

74 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 165 (Nablus); 144-45 (Jabal ‘Akkār); 167 and 178 (Jabal al-Shūf); 178 (Kisrawān); 112, 151-2, 178 (Mu‘aḍḍamiyya); 112 (‘Arṭūz); 112 (al-Jadīda); and 151(Qaṭana); 15 (al-Barza); 16 (al-Qadam); 49 (al-Ramla); 179-80 (Tyre); 179-80 (Beirut); 112-178 (al-Mazza).

75 See al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 116-8, 178-9 (Acre); 87-88, 144-6, and 148 (Tripoli); 89-90 (Ḥamāh) and 180 (Sidon).

76 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 14, 53, 60, 90, and 91.

77 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 85, 87, and 119 (Mecca); and 119 (Medina). For Cairo and Alexandria, see below.

78 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 36.

79 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 36, 49, 54, 61, 62, 66.

80 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 85, 87, 119, 131 and 148.

81 al-‘Abd, *Tārīkh Ḥasan*, 66 (Mecca), and 67 (Hijaz).

alongside his promotion in the military hierarchy as he notes the insurgencies in faraway Morea.⁸²

Al-'Abd's geography is not informed by a notion of "Islamic land" as such, but rather by the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike Ibn Kannān for whom, as we have seen, the world to the West of the Ottoman borders was an undifferentiated Christendom, al-'Abd carefully differentiates between the *naṣāra al-faransāwī*, the French Christians, who threaten Ottoman ruled lands, and the *naṣāra al-inklīz*, the English Christians, who help fight them.⁸³ His characterization of the French as *naṣāra*, and of the mutinous Christians of the Morea as *al-tāi'fa al-kafara al-rūm* ("the infidel Greek sect")⁸⁴ is thus not indicative of his hostility to all groups that threatened the Ottoman domains, not least among which are the Muslim Wahhābīs to whom al-'Abd refers, in a manner parallel to *al-naṣāra al-faransāwī*, as *al-'arab al-wahhābiyya*.⁸⁵ Al-'Abd, a good Ottoman soldier, is concerned above all with the territorial integrity of the empire that gave him the opportunity to rise in its service.



Map 2.4.

82 al-'Abd, *Tārikh Ḥasan*, 166-167.

83 al-'Abd, *Tārikh Ḥasan*, 52.

84 al-'Abd, *Tārikh Ḥasan*, 166.

85 al-'Abd, *Tārikh Ḥasan*, 149-150.

The Court Clerk, al-Makkī: All Roads Lead to Ḥimṣ

The world is certainly Ḥimṣ-centric for Muhammad al-Makkī (*fl.* 1722),⁸⁶ who worked in some capacity as clerk, scribe, and/or witness at the judicial court of Ḥimṣ.⁸⁷ His position at court – as a witness to all kinds of personal and commercial transactions – allowed al-Makkī privileged knowledge of the goings-on in his hometown. Thus, al-Makkī portrays Ḥimṣ as a place where all roads converge/bifurcate and where people arrive/depart. It is a starting point, a transit point, and a final destination. Al-Makkī’s chronicle abounds with notices such as: “the arrival of the Pasha of Damascus and his departure for the campaign,” “the arrival of al-ḥājj Ibrāhīm *qaṣṣāb bāshī* from Istanbul,” “the departure of ‘Alī Ibn al-Aqrā’ to Istanbul,” “the arrival of ‘Alī Ibn al-Aqrā’ from Istanbul,” “the arrival of Pasha of Egypt from Istanbul,” “the departure of ‘Alī Ibn al-Aqrā’ to Istanbul,” “al-Shaykh ‘Alī, the son of the *muftī*, arrived from Aleppo,” “the arrival of Ibn ‘Abduh from Ḥamāh,” “a messenger arrived from Istanbul,” “the Pasha of Damascus arrived from Istanbul,” “the arrival of the deposed governor of Damascus and his departure to Istanbul,” “Ibrāhīm al-Āghā left to Tripoli,” “Ibrāhīm Āghā, may God preserve him, went to Ba’albak,” “the arrival of the Pasha of Jeddah from Istanbul,” “the arrival of the Imperial Treasury from Cairo and al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Sibā’ī’s departure along with it to Istanbul,” “the arrival of Ibrāhīm Āghā...along with Ibn ‘Abduh Pasha and his departure to Erzerum, and the arrival of Ibn al-Bakrī from Istanbul ... ,” *ad infinitum*.⁸⁸

While, like Ibn Kannān, it is the fact of human movement that prompts al-Makkī to mark places, al-Makkī differs from Ibn Kannān in that he is not interested in peoples’ itineraries, only in the role of Ḥimṣ as *the focal point* of traffic. Other towns and cities, such as Ḥamāh (the nearby twin sister of Ḥimṣ)

86 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ: yawmiyyāt Muḥammad ibn al-Sayyid ibn al-Ḥājj Makkī ibn al-Khanqāh*, ed. ‘Umar Najīb al-‘Umar (Damascus: al-Ma’had al-‘Ilmī al-Firansī li-al-Dirasāt al-‘Arabiyya, 1987). His chronicle covers the years 1688-1722. For al-Makkī’s biography, see my “Peripheral Visions”, 82-93, and James Reilly’s contribution in this collection of essays.

87 We know nothing about the workings of the courts in Ḥimṣ, not even if there was only one court or several. Al-Makkī once refers to *al-maḥkama al-‘ulyā* (“the high court”), however, all other references are simply to *al-maḥkama* (“the court”); see al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 51, and numerous references at 72-73. The likelihood is that there was only one court. Unfortunately, in their valuable documentary study on Ḥimṣ, Muhammad ‘Umar al-Sibā’ī and Na‘īm Salīm al-Zahrāwī do even mention courts, *Ḥimṣ: dirāsa wathā’iqiyya, al-ḥiqba min 1256-1337h/1840-1918m*, (Ḥimṣ: n.p, 1992).

88 al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 9-10, 10, 11, 11, 12, 12, 15, 17, 19, 24 35, 37, 38, 44, 50, and 52, respectively.

Damascus, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Ba'albak exist in al-Makkī's chronicle, first and foremost, as staging posts on the way to or as destinations from Ḥimṣ. Even the great cities of Cairo (43 references) and Istanbul (57 references) are in Makkī's text because they constitute a leg of some journey originating or ending in Ḥimṣ. Of the 57 references to Istanbul, 53 are straightforward reports of the arrival of someone to Ḥimṣ from Istanbul or vice versa.⁸⁹ Of the 43 references to Cairo, 28 are reports of people's journeys from Ḥimṣ to Cairo or vice versa and another 10 references are reports of the arrival of the Egyptian Imperial Treasury en route to Istanbul.⁹⁰ For al-Makkī, Istanbul and Cairo are not important for any intrinsic qualities, such as imperial glory or cultural significance, or on account of any political event, military skirmish, or naturally calamity that has befallen them, but solely by virtue of the fact that Cairo and Istanbul are points of embarkation to/destinations from Ḥimṣ. In other words, these two cities exist because Ḥimṣ exists. (See Map 2.5)

Like his fellow Levantines, al-Makkī devotes quite a bit of attention to other cities in the Levant, including, Damascus.⁹¹ Alongside the major Levantine towns and cities, however, al-Makkī makes no less than 39 references to the small village of Ḥisya, south of Ḥimṣ. This puzzling idiosyncrasy (visualized in Figure 1) is dispelled when one learns that Ḥisya happens to be the home village of the person who seems to have been al-Makkī's patron: Ibrāhīm Āghā, "May God preserve Ibrāhīm Āghā, his progeny, his siblings, his relatives, his followers, and anyone associated with him, by the honor of Muḥammad, his family, and companions, Amen, Amen, Amen!"⁹² Ibrāhīm Āghā was a several-time contender for the position of *mutasallim* (district governor) of Ḥimṣ and our scribe seems to have been the *āghā's* man at court. Our author dutifully follows the movement of his patron everywhere, but especially between Ḥimṣ and Ḥisya. That Ḥisya's importance to al-Makkī derives from Ibrāhīm Āghā is underlined by the fact that there are only four references to Ḥisya after the Āghā's death in 1709.⁹³

89 For those references to Istanbul that are not associated with arrivals and departures, see, al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 79, 108, 113, and 183.

90 For those references to Egypt that are not associated with arrivals and departures, see al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 41, 67, and 162. For the Egyptian Imperial Treasury, see, 50, 83, 91, 100, 136, 194, 202, 210, 228, 242, and 257.

91 al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 31, 41, 81, 129, 168, 179, 180, 187, 214, and 215.

92 al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 71. For relationship between the scribe and his patron, see my "Peripheral Visions", 89-91.

93 See al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 149, 207, 244, and 265.

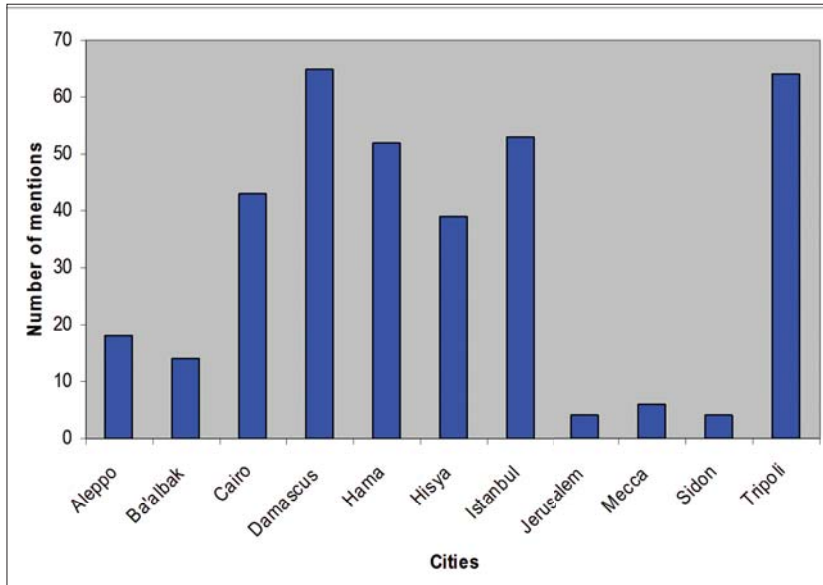


Figure 1: Cities Frequently Mentioned by al-Makkī including the Village of Ḥisya

Unlike the rest of the chroniclers in our sample, al-Makkī hardly ever reports on conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and non-Muslim powers. His geographical emphasis is overwhelmingly Ḥimş-centric, and secondarily regional. In his attempt to preserve his privileged position, al-Makkī surveys the movement of people in and out of Ḥimş like an intelligence officer on a border checkpoint, noting the identities of significant people who pass by him. And like the good court clerk, he records all salient information in his *sijill* (court record). Al-Makkī’s emphasis on Ḥimş, then, mirrors an emphasis on the self and preserving the position of the self. In al-Makkī’s chronicle other towns exist only because Ḥimş exists, and Ḥimş exists only because al-Makkī himself does.

The Shī‘ī Agriculturalists, The Rukaynīs: A Small World

Ḥaydar Riḍā al-Rukaynī (d. 1198/1783) and his unnamed son (*fl.* 1247/1832)⁹⁴ were Shī‘ī agriculturalists from an Jabal ‘Āmil (in southern Lebanon). They consecutively wrote a chronicle covering the years 1749-1832. The authors do not inform the reader when the transfer of authorship from father (henceforth, al-Rukaynī

⁹⁴ Ḥaydar Riḍā al-Rukaynī, *Jabal ‘Āmil fī qarn*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1997). For the biographies of authors, “Peripheral Visions”, 130-143.



Map 2.5.

the elder) to son (henceforth, al-Rukaynī the younger) occurred, but based on stylistic and content comparisons, I was able to detect that the al-Rukaynī the younger took over the writing of the chronicle around the year 1778.⁹⁵ As in the case of the barber, Ibn Budayr, the fact of the literacy of these agriculturalists is not surprising given that the region of Jabal ‘Āmil is historically known for a long tradition of college-building activities and Twelver Shī‘ī scholarship.⁹⁶ However,

⁹⁵ See my “Peripheral Visions”, 130-133.

⁹⁶ On the Shī‘ī scholarly tradition of Jabal ‘Āmil, see Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: the History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 144-5; and Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shī‘ī Islām: the History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi‘ism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 123. It will be remembered that when the Safavid dynasty was established in Iran at the beginning of the 16th century, the Safavid state imported scholars from Jabal ‘Āmil to assist in entrenching Twelver Shī‘ism in their domains; see Halm, *Shī‘ism*, 87; and Momen, *Shī‘ī Islām*, 111. On the *madrasa* building activity in Jabal ‘Āmil in the 18th century, see al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ‘Āmil*, 2 vols., ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn (Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Inṣāf, 1961), 1:150-153; and Muḥammad Qāsim al-Makkī, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya wa al-adabiyya fī Jabal ‘Āmil*, with an introduction by Fu‘ād Afrām al-Bustānī (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1963), 140

this chronicle by the Rukaynīs happens to be the sole (surviving?) chronicle from the community. It is noteworthy that the authors themselves called the area in which they lived “Bilād al-Matāwila” (the Lands of the Matāwila) denoting their own tribal and religious affiliation.

Let us start with how the al-Rukaynī the younger defines his region:

On Monday, the 5th of Shawwāl, there was a battle between (the forces) of al-Shaykh Nāṣif and the forces of Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār in the land of Yārūn. Shaykh Nāṣif was killed, and the all the lands of the Matāwila, to Marj ‘Uyūn, mourned over him.⁹⁷

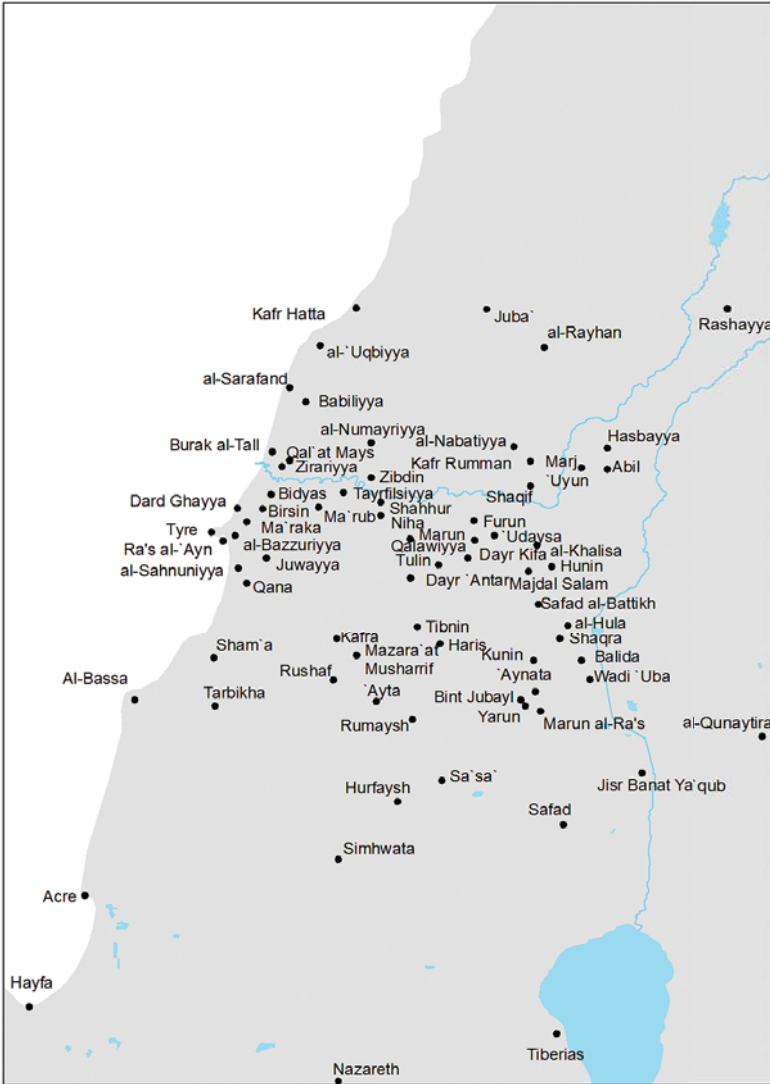
In this passage from his entry for 1780, the author proclaims the importance of Shaykh Nāṣif al-Naṣṣār, the Shaykh of the sub-district of Bilād Bishāra. Proudly, our author announces that the Shaykh was not only mourned in his own sub-district, but in “all the lands of the Matāwila, to Marj ‘Uyūn.” These are the areas of Bilād Bishāra, Iqlīm al-Shawmar, Iqlīm al-Tuffāḥ and al-Shaqīf, which lie between the Mediterranean in the West and the Druz region of Marj ‘Uyūn in the East. Al-Rukaynī the younger thus connects a specific community, the Shī‘ī Matāwila, to a defined area of land. While this is the area usually referred to by earlier and later authors as Jabal ‘Āmil, it is noteworthy that the Rukaynīs never once mention this term.

The overwhelming majority of geographical references in the chronicle are to places within this small region, which emerges as the primary world of the Rukaynīs’ chronicle. The prodigious number of towns and villages mentioned by the Rukaynīs within this small region is tellingly indicative of the concentration of the Rukaynīs’ geographical vision, which is filled with the names of places obscure to anyone save a Mitwālī: Ba‘dharān, Bidyās, Dard Ghayya, Ḥarfīsh, ‘Inqūn, Majd Salam, al-Qalawiyya, Ṣafad al-Baṭṭīkh, Ṭallūsā, Tarbikhā, Shahīm and Ṭayrfilsīyya (Map 3). It is also significant that the Rukaynīs never inform us as to which one of the multitude of villages they belong; it is thus their regional surroundings, the Bilād al-Matāwila, that emerge as their immediate world.⁹⁸

The Rukaynīs were preoccupied with documenting the military and political developments in those parts of the Levant whose affairs impinged upon the

⁹⁷ al-Rukaynī, *Jabal ‘Āmil*, 98.

⁹⁸ The fact of their living within Bilād Bishāra is something I have had to deduce (my “Peripheral Visions”, 133-134). Al-Rukaynī the elder’s references to the Bishāriyya – the people of Bilād Bishāra – may be taken as an expression of a more local identity; see, al-Rukaynī, *Jabal ‘Āmil*, 67 and 69.



Map 3. The Parochial World of the Rukaynīs

domains of the Matāwila. It will suffice here to say that, as with al-'Abd, the Rukaynīs' chronicle posits space as the commodity over which the various power players fight their battles. Within the Bilād al-Matāwila, this is the context for several of the references to Sidon and al-Shaqīf. Beyond the Bilād al-Matāwila, Damascus (37 references), Acre (26 references), Tyre (17 references), Ba'albak (13 references), Şafad (10 references), regularly appear as sites of contestation, or as places where power players are appointed and deposed, and where they halt in preparation for the next fight.⁹⁹

Beyond the Levant, the Rukyanīs mention Cairo (12 references), Istanbul (6 references), Iraq (3 references), Mecca (4 references) and Medina (1 reference). As Shī'īs, the Rukaynīs report on pilgrimages to Iraq, the burial place of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the fundamental martyr of the Shī'ī tradition.¹⁰⁰ Al-Rukaynī the younger duly reports the Wahhābī desecration of al-Ḥusayn's grave.¹⁰¹ Interestingly, while al-Rukaynī the elder reports the attacks on Mecca of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab of Egypt, he hardly ever mentions the Holy City in connection with Hajj.¹⁰² Al-Rukaynī, the son, on the other hand, mentions his own return from Mecca (after performing the Hajj), and also reports the Wahhābī obstruction of the Hajj at Medina in 1806.¹⁰³ Istanbul is mentioned a mere 6 times in a chronicle that covers the span of 83 years; 4 of the references have to do with the dispatch of defeated mutinous personalities (or of their severed heads) to the imperial capital.¹⁰⁴ (See Map 2.6)

Al-Rukaynī the younger announces his move to Damascus in his entry for the year 1803. Since he does not report any further change of address thereafter, one assumes that he continued to live there until 1831, the last year covered by the

99 For references to military skirmishes or the appointments or movements of military-political personalities, see, al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 65, 76-78, 80, 92, 120, 127, and 139 (Acre); 34, 61, 56-57, 61, 93-94, 99, and 108 (Ba'albak); 39, 41-42, 43, 45, 64-65, 72, 78-79, 83, 91, 92, 97-98, 99, 108, 117, 118, and 130 (Damascus); 43, 54, 57, 61, 76, 79, and 81 (Şafad); 38-39, 48, 53, 69, 74, and 98-99 (al-Shaqīf); 33, 37, 43, 72-73, 76, 83, 92, and 94 (Sidon); 38, 56, 77, 80, 89, 120 (Tyre).

100 al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 55, 62, 81, and 127.

101 al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 129.

102 On the attack of Muḥammad Bey Abū al-Dhahab, see al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 62. Other references to Mecca by al-Rukaynī Snr. are about the departure of al-Shaykh Muqbil, one of the Shaykhs of the Matāwila to and the arrival of a certain 'Alī Khātūn from the Holy City; see, 65, and 76, respectively.

103 al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 119 and 131, respectively.

104 al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 40-41, 79, 81, and 130.



Map 2.6.

chronicle. After the move to Damascus, al-Rukaynī's chronicling activities dwindle. Even now, however, although he occasionally reports on events in Damascus,¹⁰⁵ his eyes remain firmly fixed on the Bilād al-Matāwila from where he duly reports the deaths of the next generation of local leaders. Thus, it is not the neighborhoods of Damascus that occupy the later pages of al-Rukaynī's chronicle, but rather the villages of Şiribbīn, Mazra'at Musharrif, al-Nabaṭiyya, Juwayyā, al-Şarafand, Mays, and al-Bāzuriyya.¹⁰⁶ In sum, neither "Islamic lands," nor "Arab lands," nor "Ottoman Empire" informs the Rukaynī's geography. Even when al-Rukaynī, the son, moved to the greatest city in the Levant - which produced a barber who studied *fiqh*, and a priest who wrote of the Canary Islands - al-Rukaynī remained oriented to the land of the Matāwila.

¹⁰⁵ For references to the Janissary skirmishes, see, al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 130.

¹⁰⁶ al-Rukyanī, *Jabal Āmil*, 134-135.

The Samaritan, al-Danafī: A Nabulsi World

The vision of the world contained in the chronicle of the Samaritan¹⁰⁷ scribe, Ibrāhīm al-Danafī (*fl.* 1783), is even more parochial than that of the Rukaynīs.¹⁰⁸ (Map 2.7) Al-Danafī was one of the 200 Samaritans who lived in Nablus in the 18th century,¹⁰⁹ and worked as the secretary of Muṣṭafā Beg Ṭūqān. Like al-Makkī's patron, Muṣṭafā Beg aspired to acquire the position of the *mutasallim* of Nablus, which desire was fulfilled (and is accordingly re-entitled "Pasha" by al-Danafī). Whether a Beg or a Pasha, Muṣṭafā belonged to one of the Nablus' most venerable and illustrious families: the Ṭūqāns.

The geographical horizons of al-Danafī's chronicle *rarely* extend beyond the town of Nablus. Even Istanbul, which made it into the geographical index of the Rukaynīs, does not find its way into al-Danafī's chronicle. The furthest point mentioned by al-Danafī is Egypt, which occurs only because 'Alī Beg al-Kabīr of Egypt poses a military threat to Palestine. Al-Danafī notes the Sultan's assignment of 'Uthmān Pasha al-Miṣrillī, the commander of the Ottoman forces in the Levant, as governor of Egypt to subdue 'Alī Beg al-Kabīr (after he has completed his initial task of defeating al-Zāhir al-'Umar in Palestine).¹¹⁰ He also records the

107 The ancient Samaritan community exists today in very small numbers in Nablus, Palestine, and Holon, Israel. Samaritanism can be considered a schism from ancient Judaism. The most important difference between Samaritanism and first-century Judaism is the Samaritan reverence of Mount Gerizim in Nablus (as opposed to the Jewish reverence for Jerusalem). While Samaritans believe in the Torah as a whole, for them only the Pentateuch holds canonical force, and they reject the entirety of the oral law (the Mishna and Talmud). As such, all of their feasts are of Pentateuchal origin. Until the third century, Jews and Samaritans were not differentiated in religious terms and there is no definite point at which the schism took place. For a fuller discussion, see my *Barber of Damascus*, 86-87. General works on Samaritan history are Moses Gaster, *The Samaritans, their History, Doctrine, and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925); I. Ben Zvi's, *The Book of the Samaritans*; and Nathan Schur, *History of the Samaritans*, 2nd rev. ed. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992)

108 Ibrāhīm al-Danafī (al-Sāmīrī), *Zāhir al-'Umar wa ḥukkām Jabal Nāblus, 1185-1187/1771-1773*, ed. Mūsā Abū Diyya (Nablus: Jāmi'at al-Najāh, 1986). The chronicle covers the years 1771-1773. For his biography, see my "Peripheral Visions", 147-153.

109 This was the population estimate of the Western traveler U.J. Seetzen, who visited Nablus in 1806 (20 years after al-Danafī's death), *Reisen durch Syrien, Palestina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petrea und Unter-Aegypten*, ed., Fr. Kruse, 4 vols. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1854-9). For the reference, see Schur, *History of the Samaritans*, 152.

110 al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 35-37, see also 44, 48. For 'Uthmān Pasha's career, see, Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 126-7.



Map 2.7.

expulsion of ‘Alī Beg from Egypt by Muḥammad Beg Abū al-Dhahab, and his subsequent arrival in Gaza where he posed a military threat to the inhabitants of Jaffā.¹¹¹ Like the Rukaynīs, then, the spatial landscape in al-Danafī’s chronicle follows military conflict.

Outside of Nablus, the main town involved is Acre, the stronghold of the rebel, al-Zāhir al-‘Umar.¹¹² The fight with al-Zāhir al-‘Umar involved not only al-Danafī’s patron, but also the governor of Damascus, Muḥammad Pasha al-‘Aẓm.¹¹³ Jaffā is mentioned more than any other town because al-Danafī accompanies the army of his patron, Muṣṭafā Beg Ṭūqān, on a successful expedition there.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 38.

¹¹² al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 35-36, 40, 42, 51. The best study on Acre and al-‘Umar is Thomas Philipp, *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). See also Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century: Patterns of Government and Administration* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1973).

¹¹³ al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 37, 44-45, 47, 48.

¹¹⁴ al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 38-45.

Al-Danafī's chronicle is, however, firmly concentrated on his immediate locale, the town of Nablus. As such, he has no "horizon". Strikingly, not only does al-Danafī identify with the town in his function as the mouthpiece of its leader, Muṣṭafā Beg Ṭūqān, but he also identifies with a community defined in terms of the town. Al-Danafī's category *al-Nawābilsī* (Nābulsīs) is not a religious group like the Matāwila, but rather a community defined by virtue of their inhabiting the town of Nablus.¹¹⁵

While al-Danafī offers an intimate topography of the city of Nablus itself, missing in it is any statement on the city in personal terms, on the one hand, and in Samaritan terms, on the other.¹¹⁶ Al-Danafī speaks of Nablus in terms of Muṣṭafā Beg, and in terms of the Nawābilsī, but never in terms of the Samaritan community to which he belonged, and for whom Nablus lay at the foot of the sacred Mount Gerezim. The absence of the personal and Samaritan dimensions is well illustrated in the fact that while al-Danafī describes physical space in relative terms - the outskirts in relation to the town, the gates of the city in relation to the house of the Beg - when he mentions the Samaritan temple, he does not relate it to any other physical space: it is somewhere in Nablus, but its exact location is a mystery.¹¹⁷ Similarly, we have no answer to the question of where, exactly, al-Danafī himself lives. As long as al-Danafī is writing as the subordinate of his master, these dimensions of space remain empty.

Conclusion: In Other Worlds?

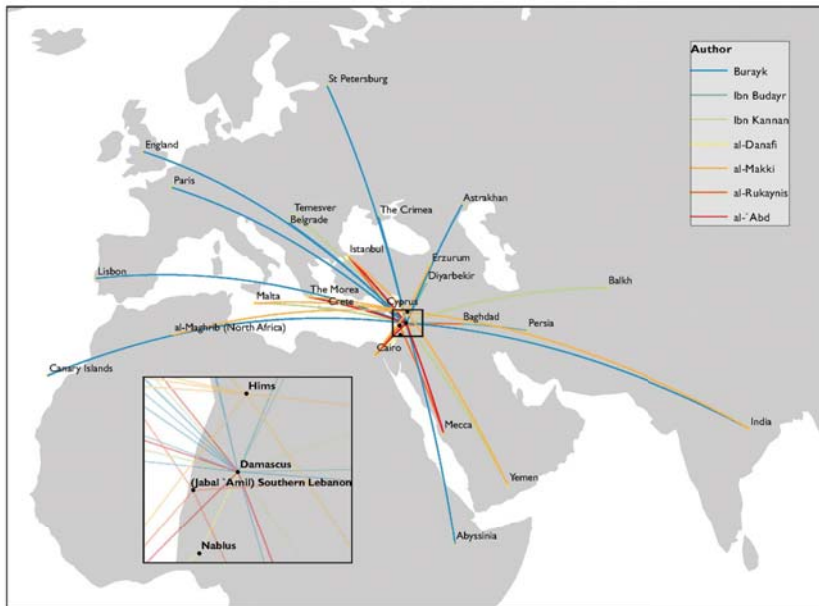
Our authors' individual visions of space are an expression of their social location, professional occupation, political alignments, religious identity, and/or personal aspirations. Their global spatial vocabularies vary significantly and are not an effect of a clearly demarcated territorial identity as illustrated in Map 2.8. The *ʿālim*, Ibn Kannān, was heavily invested in the Ottoman Empire and consequently mapped its shifting borders against an undifferentiated Christendom. While the spatial horizons of the Greek Orthodox priest are as wide as those of the *ʿālim*, their visions are diametrically opposed. Mikhāʿil Burayk is invested precisely in what is *not* the Ottoman Empire, and his imagination ventures beyond the borders of the empire to the thoroughly differentiated Christendoms of the Latin West and the Orthodox East.

¹¹⁵ al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 29.

¹¹⁶ For al-Danafī's vision of Nablus, see my "Peripheral Visions," 287-291.

¹¹⁷ al-Danafī, *Jabal Nāblus*, 32.

In comparison to the respective geographies of the Muslim *‘ālim* and the Christian cleric, the other authors in our sample display varying degrees of parochialism. The barber’s geography seems to be determined by the borders of its *Sunnī* world: unlike Ibn Kannān, whose geography excludes Christendom, Ibn Budayr maps his horizons in exclusion of Shī‘ī Persia. While possessing a notion of “Islamic lands,” al-Makkī’s interests are too local for him to venture beyond Ḥimṣ. Subsequently, his geography is markedly regional, with Ḥimṣ as the center of the world. Unlike his fellow Sunnī Muslim authors whose identification with the Ottoman imperial geography is legitimized in religious or sectarian terms, the geography of the soldier, Ḥasan Āghā al-‘Abd, does not seem to be constituted in terms of Islamic territoriality. Rather, our soldier is invested in imperial geopolitics. Subsequently, the incursion of “French Christians” on Ottoman soil is not viewed as a *Christian* incursion, but, like the “Arab Wahhābī” revolt, as an *incursion*, pure and simple. In their identification as a distinct Shī‘ī community, the Rukaynīs’ spatial horizons are no wider than their land of the Matāwila. As for the Samaritan scribe, Nablus is the beginning and end of a world ruled by the Ṭūqān family, and in which his tiny Samaritan community exists without spatial bearings. Taken together, the cartographies that emerge in this study and the motivations behind these imaginaries are as varied as the identities of the authors: our Levantine chroniclers did live in different worlds as indicated in Maps 2.8 and 4.



Map 2.8. A Juxtaposition of the Chroniclers' Worldviews

However, despite these strikingly varied geographical horizons, almost all of our authors share a regional core world constituted by the Levant – Bilād al-Shām. For those authors who did not live in Damascus, the provincial capital and cultural center of the Levant is naturally a major reference point. Even the Nabulsi-bound world of al-Danafī, Damascus is mentioned a couple of times. In addition to Damascus, Levantine cities, such as Aleppo, Ba‘albak, Jerusalem, and Sidon are also marked in our authors’ geographies as in Figure 2.

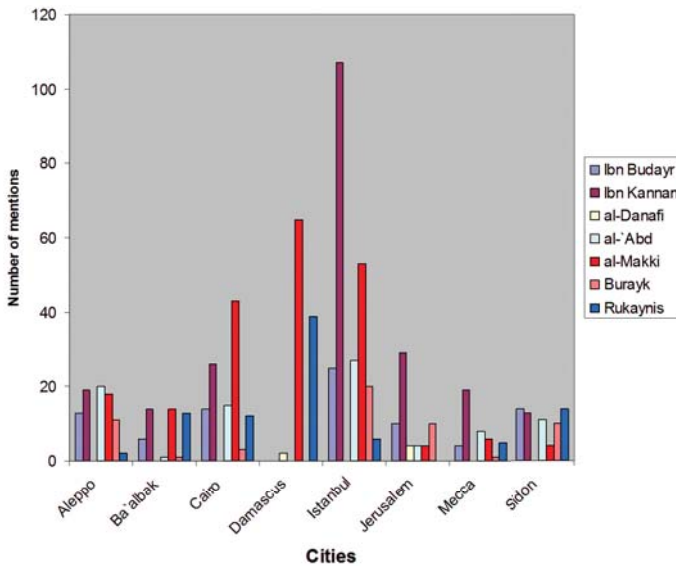


Figure 2: The Cities Frequently Mentioned by Most Chroniclers

The common emphasis on the Levant is, of course, readily explained in terms of proximity and a shared regional identification. However, nobody articulates the Levant as a territorially-marked entity as well as the priest: Burayk’s Levant is an “Arab Lands” where a Levantine geography extends from Antioch to ‘Arīsh. It is a world for Burayk where he found a resolution for his existential dilemma of being a Christian under Muslim dispensation. Thus, examined from the “Levantine lens”, we can easily see that the chroniclers in this study did share a world and a home. Even if they themselves had not visited Sidon or Jerusalem, their imagination, for all kinds of reasons, made journeys to these cities.

Outside the Levant, the major urban centers that make it to the spatial consciousness of most of our chroniclers are Istanbul, Mecca, and Cairo (Figure 2 and Map 4). With Istanbul being the imperial capital, and Mecca the spiritual

one, it is understandable that the two cities constitute significant landmarks in most Levantine cartographies. However, the unanimous presence of Cairo in this shared core world is less self-explanatory. Cairo figures in all the chronicles, even of that of the Rukaynīs who mention it twice as often as they do Istanbul, and of al-Danafī, who does not mention Istanbul at all. Even Burayk, despite his clearly delineated “Arab lands” which stop at al-‘Arīsh, mentions the great Egyptian city. The ubiquity of Cairo, as opposed to say, Baghdad, also an important city with which all of our authors had the connection of a common language, is striking.¹¹⁸ The reasons are several. To start with, Cairo seems to have simply been a common destination for the Levantines in the eighteenth century, whether to study, as was the case for Ibn Kannān’s colleagues, or to trade, which is the reason for which I suspect al-Makkī’s acquaintance, Ḥājj Sa’d al-Dīn, went so frequently to Egypt.¹¹⁹ The cultural significance of Cairo is evidenced in Ibn Budayr’s positing the city as one of the metropolitan poles of the proverbial cultural world. Further, Egypt was in the eighteenth century a constant military threat to the Levant, as evidenced by the incursions of ‘Alī Beg al-Kabīr and Muḥammad Abū al-Dhahab which reached the doors of Damascus, the French expedition from Alexandria which besieged Acre, and the Egyptian occupation of the Levant under Ibrāhīm Pasha, respectively recorded by al-Danafī, al-‘Abd and the Rukaynīs. In short, while the Levant was no longer ruled from Egypt, as it had been prior to the Ottoman conquest at the beginning of the 16th century, the political and cultural linkages continued. Thus for 18th Century Levantines, Istanbul was the capital, Mecca was the *ka’ba*, and Cairo ... it was simply Cairo!

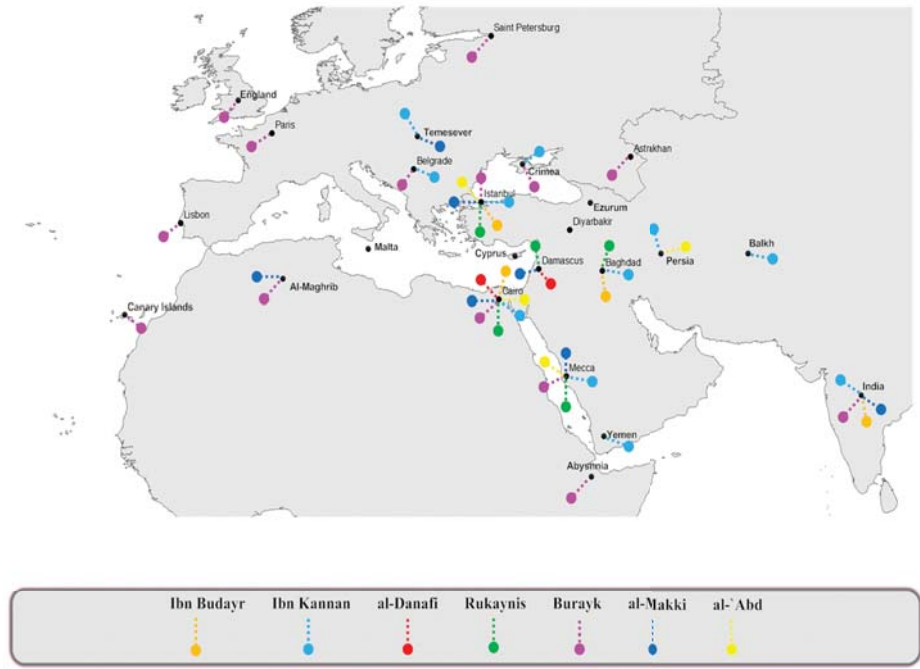
If we are to juxtapose both the “breadth” and “depth” of our various authors’ worldviews as visualized in Map 4 – showing not only the horizons of their respective geographical visions, but also the overlap of their visions with respect to some major regions or urban centers – it becomes visually clear what cities “mattered” in the spatial imaginaries of our chroniclers.

The three great cities – Mecca, Cairo and Istanbul – were significant not only due to each city’s distinct role and function in the world in which our chroniclers lived. The cities are imprinted in the spatial imaginaries of the Levantine chroniclers also because they were *connected*. This connection is achieved through imperial practice. The passage of the Hajj and the Egyptian Treasury caravans through Damascus was a ritual of political performance. For Damascenes, the arrival of these caravans signified the vassalage of the Egyptian province to the

¹¹⁸ Baghdad is mentioned by 5 of the 7 authors in our sample; however, the references to it are paltry compared to those of Cairo.

¹¹⁹ al-Makkī, *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ*, 100, 118, 127, 135, 198, and 227.

MAPPING OUT THE SPATIAL IMAGINARIES OF 18TH-CENTURY CHRONICLERS



Map 4. A Juxtaposition of the Chroniclers' Worldviews Showing Overlaps in Place Mention

Ottomans while the Hajj caravan underscored the religious legitimacy of the House of Osman. The performance of these rituals in Damascus, of which the citizens were ready consumers, is perhaps the closest that a state could come to imposing a spatial regime in a pre-modern pre-nationalist age. The annual arrival of the caravans not only oriented and conditioned the subjects spatially, but were, in the minds of our Damascene chroniclers, markers of time. They are testaments to the orderly, rhythmic functioning of the empire. The success of this “spatial regime” is evidenced by the fact that our Damascene chroniclers anxiously awaited and recorded these caravan passages with striking regularity. Although none of our chroniclers imagined every inch of the Ottoman Protected Domains, many were cognizant of and imagined some kind of Ottoman spatiality.

In Other Worlds? Mapping Out the Spatial Imaginaries of 18th-Century Chroniclers from the Ottoman Levant (Bilād al-Shām)

Abstract ■ This essay is about the global spatial imaginaries of seven chroniclers from the Ottoman Levant (Bilād al-Shām/Syria and Palestine) in the eighteenth century. While being unified in an Arabic-speaking Levantine identity, on the one hand, and conscious of their Ottoman affiliation, on the other, the authors came from decidedly different social, religious, and occupational backgrounds. Given the unity and diversity of the backgrounds of the authors, this essay examines the consequent tensions found in each author's spatial vision. By plotting and juxtaposing these authors' horizons into maps and graphs, both the differing and overlapping concepts of geographical identities are visualized. In a pre-national age, when the state's intervention in creating a territory-bounded identity was minimal, did eighteenth-century Ottoman Levantines live in the same world?

Keywords: 18th-Century Ottoman Levant, Arabic chronicles, non-scholarly historians, spatial imaginary, geographical identity, visualized worldviews.

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The Self-Fashioning of an Ottoman Urban Notable: Ahmad Efendi Tahazâde (d. 1773)

Charles Wilkins*

Kentli bir Osmanlı Seçkininin Kendine Öz-Biçim Vermesi: Tahazâde Ahmad Efendi (ö. 1773) Örneği

Öz ■ 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı taşrasındaki seçkinlerin (âyânlar) siyasî, sosyal ve iktisadî rollerine dair bir çok araştırma mevcut olsa da söz konusu ayanların kültürel yönelimleri ve kişisel ilgileri hakkındaki bilgilerimiz hâlâ sınırlıdır. Merkezî Osmanlı hükümeti ile taşradaki tebaa arasında siyasî arabulucu işlevi görmekte olan âyânların bir çoğu, Osmanlı memuru olmaları hasebiyle de kendilerinden yapmaları beklenen muhtelif görevler ile içinde buldukları ya da kök saldıkları taşra toplumlarının kültürel hususiyetçiliği (particularism) arasında kalan grift bir yerde bulunmaktaydılar. Bu çalışmada, yukarıda tasvir edilen seçkinlerden birinin, hem kadılık hem de tüccarlık yapan Tahazâde Ahmed Efendi'nin, 18. yüzyıl ortalarında Halep'te kurduğu bir medresenin vakfiyesi incelenmiştir. Vakfiye metni, bilhassa kütüphane envanteri, istihdam stratejisi, müfredat şartı ve seçilen dualar incelenmiş, ve Tahazâde Ahmed Efendi'nin hesaplı ve incelikli bir şekilde kendine has ve muhtar bir sosyal statü ve kültürel kimlik tasarladığı tespit edilmiştir. Ahmed Efendi'nin medrese müfredatında Hanefî fıkhına yer vermesi, kütüphanesinde ekseriyetle Hanefî mezhebiyle ilgili eserlerin olması ve *Edeb-i Osmanî* geleneği dairesinde Türk ve Fars şiiri ile ilgilenmesi, kendisini Osmanlı adli ve içtimai düzeni ile özdeşleştirdiğini göstermektedir. Öte taraftan Ahmed Efendi'nin kendi kültürel ve entelektüel yönelimini ortaya koyduğu bir alanı da inşa etmekten kaçınmadığı tespit edilebilmektedir. Bu husus özellikle kendi *şerifliğini* öne çıkarması ve *nakibûleşrafa* liderlik yapmak istemesinde açıkça fark edilebilmektedir. Yine kütüphanesinde önemli şecere metinlere sahip olması, Osmanlı öncesine dair farkındalığı (örneğin Memluk Sultanlığı dönemine ait kronikleri ve biyografik sözlükleri edinmeye özellikle gayret sarfetmesi, Osmanlı öncesi saygın ve mahalli olarak köklü bir çok Sufî tarikatine mensubiyeti), muvakkitlerin eğitimine verdiği

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büyük mali ve teknik destek sağlaması, ve belki de en dikkat çekici olanı ağırlıklı olarak Musul civarından gelen Kürtlere medresesinde müderris ve talebe olmaları için açıkça ve kapsamlı bir şekilde hamilik etmesi de bu fikri, - kendi özbiçimini inşa ettiği fikrini- desteklemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Halep, Tahazâde Ahmed Efendi, Ayan, Eşraf, Kürtler, vakfiye, öz-biçim, medrese

On 15 February 1765, Ahmad Efendi Tahazâde, a prominent member of the legal and religious establishment of Aleppo and a wealthy businessman, went to the main law court of that city and founded his third and final pious endowment, or *waqf*.¹ Consisting of over sixty commercial properties, numerous agricultural tracts, and an extensive library, the endowment provided for the distribution of very considerable funds and resources to Ahmad Efendi's college (*madrassa*), various mystical organizations, and members of his family. Indeed the magnitude of the Ahmad Efendi's act prompted many local dignitaries to gather that day in the court and witness the legal proceeding. The record of this act, a *waqfiyya* copied in the registers of the court, forms a remarkably rich source for examining not only the economic activities of Ahmad Efendi, but also his intellectual interests and spiritual orientation. Using this document and some other biographical sources, one can reconstruct various aspects of Ahmad Efendi's life and then make use of this reconstruction to suggest how the *a'yân*, or urban socio-political elite, of 18th-century Aleppo invested their wealth, cultivated their minds, and expressed their religious devotion.

The *a'yân* and their political ascendance in the 18th and 19th centuries is a well-established theme in Ottoman historiography and need not be discussed here.²

- 1 Under the provisions of *waqf*, owners place their property in an inviolable and perpetual trust dedicated ultimately to God, and the income that is generated from use of the property, most frequently rents from land or buildings, is directed to charitable purposes designated by the endower. In the *waqf* foundation document, which is registered in-the law court, the endower describes the properties, stipulates the conditions for the disposal of income, and appoints persons to supervise the endowment. See Gabriel Baer, "The Waqf as a Prop for the Social System," *Islamic Law and Society* 4 (1997), 264-97.
- 2 Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in Polk and Chambers, *ibid.*, 41-67. An elaboration on Hourani's thesis is Ehud R. Toledano, "The Emergence of Ottoman-Local Elites (1700-1900): A Framework for Research", in *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within*, ed. Ilan Pappé and Moshe Ma'oz (London: Tauris, 1997), 145-62. For studies on the *a'yan* of Syrian cities, see Margaret Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*

But while historians have contributed substantially to the general knowledge of the political, social, and economic roles of the *a'yān*, little is known about their cultural orientations and personal interests. The question of cultural orientation is especially significant. Functioning as political intermediaries between the Ottoman central government and local populations, the majority of the *a'yān* were effectively placed in an ambiguous position between the cosmopolitan demands of service as Ottoman officials and the cultural particularism of the local society in which they had become rooted.³ Indeed, membership in the ruling Ottoman class meant not only service to the Muslim faith and to the state in an office providing income and tax exemptions, but also familiarity with the “Ottoman way” (*Edeb-i 'Osmani*), a complex of linguistic competence, training in the educational canon, and knowledge of refined manners and customs. Rather, the ambiguous sociopolitical status of the *a'yān* appears to have created wide variations in cultural orientation and conceptions of self-identity.⁴

It is at this level where the example of Ahmad Efendi can be especially instructive, as his personal interests, inclinations, and apparent uses of history suggest the ways in which the *a'yān* fashioned and re-fashioned identities, both familial and individual, to undergird their social and political status. Intriguing questions arise in the case of Ahmad Efendi. First, what did it mean to him and how did he cultivate his status as a descendant of (Arab) Prophet Muhammad’s family? Second, was he a Kurd? Third, how could he reconcile belonging to both radical antinomian and traditionalist Sufi orders at the same time? Fourth, how could

(Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1999) and Linda S. Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985). For a recent critique of the *a'yān* category, see Bruce Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

- 3 Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Social groups, identity and loyalty, and historical writing in Ottoman and post-Ottoman Syria,” in *Les Arabes et l'histoire créatrice*, ed. Dominique Chevallier (Paris: Université de Paris, 1995), 79-93; Steve Tamari, “Arab National Consciousness in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Syria,” in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule: Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett with Stefan Weber (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 309-22; Karl Barbir, “From Pasha to Efendi: The Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society, 1516-1783,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1979-80), 68-83; Jane Hathaway, “The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of ‘Abbas Agha,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 37 (1994): 293-317; and Toledano, “Ottoman-Local Elites”, 154.
- 4 Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, 74; and Toledano, “Ottoman-Local Elites”, 154.

he comport himself as an Ottoman gentleman and yet also nurture a distinct pre-Ottoman identity linked with the Mamluk Sultanate? These are the major questions raised in the course of this study.

Political Career and Business Practices

The substantial economic resources and social prestige of the Tahazâde family in Aleppo society extended back at least to the second half of the 17th century.⁵ Their high standing was derived in part from their status as a family that produced members of the Muslim religious and legal establishment, the ‘ulama’.⁶ Enhancing their position was their claim to descent from the Prophet Muhammad. Those who made this claim, the *ashrâf* (sing. *sharîf*), frequently led, if not dominated, urban politics among the civilian elite in Syria in the 18th and early 19th centuries.⁷ Little is known about the eponymous founder of the family, Taha, but his son, Mustafa (d. 1681), figures prominently in local history.⁸ He served as *naqîb al-ashrâf*, or head of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad in Aleppo, accumulated great wealth, and enjoyed connections in Istanbul through intermarriage with the family of personal physician of Sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648-87).⁹ All four

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- 5 Margaret Meriwether, “Notable Families in Aleppo, 1770-1830” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1981); Appendix Two; and idem, *The Kin Who Count*, 36-8.
 - 6 Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count*, 30-68; and Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 56-63.
 - 7 Herbert Bodman, *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 79-102. For a broader study on the *ashrâf* as a status group in Ottoman society, see Hülya Canbakal, “The Ottoman state and descendants of the prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500-1700),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52 (2009), 542-78.
 - 8 The eponymous founder of the Tahazâde family was a certain Taha bin Mustafa, a scholar and preacher living in Aleppo. The registers of the qadi court dating from this period disclose that in 1625 a certain Taha bin Mustafa, who held the title of Efendi, was appointed as trustee (*mutawallî*) of Jami‘ al-Bahramiyya, a large and well-endowed congregational mosque in Jallum, the intramural quarter where, in the 18th century, the residences of the Tahazâde family were concentrated. See Abu-l-Wafa bin ‘Umar al-‘Urdi (1585-1660), *Ma‘adin al-Dhabab fi al-A‘yan al-Musharrifa bihim Halab*, ed. ‘Isa Abu Salim (Amman: Matba‘a al-Jami‘a al-Urdunniyya, 1992), 140, 182.
 - 9 Meriwether, “Notable Families,” Appendix 2, Biography #101. See also Damascus, Syrian National Archives, Law Court Registers (*Sijillât al-Mahâkim al-Shar‘iyya*), Aleppo (hereafter referred to as SMS), Vol. 102, p. 123; and Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 166-8.

of Mustafa's sons pursued careers as 'ulama' with varying degrees of accomplishment. Although Taha bin Mustafa (d. 1724/25), the father of Ahmad Efendi, held no religious or legal office, Taha's brothers together dominated the office of *naqīb* throughout the 18th century.¹⁰ The Tahazâde family preserved its status in ways other than tenure in public office. Like most notable Aleppan families, they intermarried with other families of wealth and social prestige,¹¹ invested a considerable proportion of their wealth in real estate,¹² and in the second half of the 18th century acquired tax farms of both commercial and agricultural activities.¹³

Lacking biographies, Ahmad Efendi's life can be teased out of two early 20th-century Aleppan historians, Kamil al-Ghazzi (1853-1933) and Muhammad Raghīb al-Tabbakh (1877-1951).¹⁴ Steeped in the established Arabic literary traditions of the biographical dictionary (*ṭabaqāt*) and historical topography (*khiṭaṭ*), these two authors wrote separate local histories of Aleppo but used similar kinds of sources: other biographies of other members of the Tahazâde family, poetic texts celebrating certain personal events, oral history, inscriptions, and architectural legacies.¹⁵ Knowing the year that Ahmad Efendi was first married (1717/18), al-Tabbakh estimates his birth year to have been around 1697/98.¹⁶ Nothing definite is known about his formative education, other than what one can deduce from the qualifications of positions that he held later in life, but his personal ambition is clearly

¹⁰ Meriwether, "Notable Families," 239-40.

¹¹ Court records document four weddings, two to members of other elite 'ulama' families and two to members of elite military-administrative families. See *ibid.*, 150.

¹² *Ibid.*, 175-7, 201-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 189-93.

¹⁴ See, respectively, their works, *Kitab Nahr al-Dhahab fi Tarikh Halab*, 2nd edition, 3 vols., ed. Shawqi Sha'ath and Mahmud Fakhuri (Aleppo: Dar al-Qalam, 1991-3), originally published in 1924-26; and *I'lam al-Nubala' bi-Tarikh Halab al-Shahba'*, 2nd edition, 7 vols., ed. Muhammad Kamal (Aleppo: Dar al-Qalam al-'Arabi, 1988-92), originally published in 1923-6. For a discussion of Ghazzi and Tabbakh as historians, see Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism and Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 126-7, 185-209.

¹⁵ Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 69-70. Al-Tabbakh attributes to political factionalism the absence of a notice of Ahmad Efendi in the preeminent biographical dictionary of the period, *Silk al-Durar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Thani 'Ashar*, by Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi (d. 1791), 3rd printing, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm and Dar al-Basha'ir al-Islamiyya, 1988). Al-Tabbakh relates that Muradi enjoyed close social ties with the Aleppan Kawakibi family and that the latter were bitter rivals with the Taha family in the local politics of the time.

¹⁶ Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 70.

demonstrated.¹⁷ Both in 1736/37 and 1737/38 the central Ottoman administration appointed him *naqīb al-asbrāf* of Aleppo. Around 1745/46, Ahmad Efendi was named qadi, or judge, of Jerusalem, a position which he held until 1747/48. This was soon followed by the judgeship of Baghdad, a post that he occupied from 1749/50 to 1751, after which he returned to Aleppo. At the same time that Ahmad Efendi was pursuing a career in law, he also managed to accumulate substantial real estate holdings. Although he inherited property from his father Taha, he seems to have built his estate through successful business ventures. When Ahmad Efendi returned to his native city in 1752, he had sufficient material resources to found a major institution of learning, a madrasa, which he named the Ahmadiyya, in the commercial heart of the city.¹⁸ He continued to increase its funding in the succeeding two endowments of 1759 and 1765.¹⁹

After 1751 Ahmad Efendi held no office in the central Ottoman administration but continued to promote the political interests of the Tahazâde family and in particular the ambitions of his eldest son, Muhammad Efendi (d. 1786), otherwise known as Çelebi Efendi. By 1760, Muhammad Efendi had secured extensive tax farms in the villages of the rural hinterland of Aleppo, maintained financial control over them by using his political connections in the capital to renew his appointments, and engaged in large scale money lending to villagers dependent on him.²⁰ Having established far-reaching political and economic influence in the rural areas, Muhammad Efendi expanded his urban constituency with the help of his father. In a *waqfiyya* executed in 1764, Ahmad Efendi stipulated that 600 *ghurūsh* from the revenues of the endowment, a substantial sum, be given annually to Muhammad Efendi to distribute to various charities and institutions in and outside Aleppo, most significantly to six different Sufi brotherhoods and numerous employees of the Great Umayyad Mosque, the center of religious life in the city.²¹ Some of the shaykhs of these orders even attended the foundation of this *waqf* and served as witnesses, evidence of the integration of the Tahazades among the religious elites of the city.²²

By 1767, Muhammad Efendi had held the office of *naqīb al-asbrāf* for a prolonged period, a rare political accomplishment, and had accumulated enormous wealth. This aggrandizement aroused bitter resentment among other members

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ SMS 102, 110; and al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, II, 45-6.

¹⁹ SMS 102, 110-29.

²⁰ Meriwether, "Notable Families," 189-94.

²¹ SMS 102, 123-4.

²² SMS 102, 129-30.

of the *ashraf* of Aleppo who were his political rivals.²³ Forming a coalition in the same year, the rivals petitioned the Sublime Porte that Muhammad Efendi be removed from office, claiming that he had abused his authority. The Porte responded favorably, not only dismissing Muhammad Efendi, but also removing his name from the registers of the Ottoman judicial class and banishing him to the city of Edirne, in Thrace.²⁴ Muhammad's father Ahmad Efendi was in Istanbul when he heard this news, and he immediately proceeded to petition the Sublime Porte to rescind the order.²⁵ Ahmed Efendi's defense of his son soured relations between him and members of the coalition, and they obtained an imperial order that he, too, be banished to Edirne. The pair stayed in exile for about five years and were transferred to several places, including Cyprus.²⁶ Both the financial disbursement contained in the provisions of the *waqf* and the attempt to rescind the order of banishment indicate Ahmad Efendi's commitment to his eldest son. But in the latter action, recognizing only the interests of his family, Ahmad Efendi pursued the prolongation of his son's already extended political power, a prospect that the unstable and shifting game of *a'yān* politics could not allow. Ahmad Efendi did not live long after his return from exile in 1772. He was by this time probably in his seventies, and he does not seem to have enjoyed the same measure of social and political prestige as he had in the pre-exile period. On 30 November 1773 Ahmad Efendi died of an apparent heart attack at home in Aleppo and was buried in the family cemetery adjacent to his madrasa.²⁷

Ahmad Efendi's political ambition was matched by his commercial acumen. The diversity of his real estate holdings are evident in the *waqf* documents. The 1765 *waqf* alone recorded eighty-three commercial properties, ranging from small retail shops to large manufacturing and wholesaling facilities; eight houses; and twenty-one gardens, fields, and orchards.²⁸ Ahmed Efendi channeled the bulk of his wealth into select commercial enterprises, primarily textile manufacturing and the processing and manufacturing of grain products. At the same time, he pursued the development and acquisition of real estate, both commercial and agricultural,

23 Al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, III, 237-8.

24 Bodman, *Political Factions*, 100-1; and al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, III, 238.

25 Al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, III, 238.

26 Bodman, *Political Factions*, 101; and al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhahab*, III, 238. Curiously, the event of Ahmad Efendi's exile does not appear in al-Tabbakh's history.

27 Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 68, 72.

28 For a detailed analysis of his investment strategies, see Charles Wilkins, "Ahmad Efendi Tahazâde: 'Alim and Entrepreneur in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo'" (M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1996), 17-33.

with the intent of deriving rental income, generally more secure than textile and grain enterprises. Ahmad Efendi was typical of his age in his investment strategies. Several prominent notables of Aleppo in the 18th century established *waqfs* of comparable size to that supporting the Ahmadiyya madrasa, and the financial basis of their endowment was rental income from extensive real estate properties. Records of inheritance settlements from the late 17th century also indicate that a high proportion of wealth was held in this form.²⁹ In general, while Ahmad Efendi had pushed the limits of political action for a lesser urban notable, his business practices were typical of the propertied classes of Aleppo.

Intellectual Interests

Ahmed Efendi's intellectual activity can be studied on the basis of a 250-item inventory of books that he donated to his madrasa in the third *waqf* (1765); the curriculum of the madrasa, which he stipulates in the first *waqf* (1752) and restates in the third *waqf*; and a handful of Arab biographical accounts. By far the most important source, the 1765 inventory provides a rare glimpse into the formative and advanced curriculum of an Ottoman Muslim gentleman. The biographical accounts provide glimpses into his acquisition, at least in part, of the large number of works in his library. This study is part of a growing body of micro-historical studies that have used *waqf* documents and estate inventories to shed light on the personal effects, tastes, and inclinations of individual members of the *a'yān*.³⁰ The general method of analyzing book lists, whether from library endowments, probate estate inventories, or curricula, as a means to comprehend the intellectual history of Muslim societies has attracted particular attention.³¹

29 Masters, *Origins*, 166-70.

30 Yavuz Cezar, "Bir Ayanın Muhallefatı," *Bellekten* 41 (1977), 41-78; A. R. Abdul Tawab and André Raymond, "Le Waqfiyya de Mustafa Ga'far," *Annales Islamologiques* 14 (1978), 177-193; Daniel Crecelius, "The Waqf of Muhammad Bey Abu al-Dhahab in Historical Perspective," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 57-81; and Hamza 'Abd al-'Aziz Badr and D. Crecelius, "The Waqfs of Shahin Ahmad Agha," *Annales Islamologiques* 26 (1992), 79-116.

31 See, for example, Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700," *Revue des monde musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (subtitled *Livres et lecture dans L'Empire Ottomane*) (1999), 143-75; Hathaway, "Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt"; Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995), 210-36; Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Ferman of Qanuni I Süleyman, dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98/99

Since the careers of most male members of the Tahazâde family had for several generations been in the religious and legal establishment, it is probable that Ahmad Efendi inherited a number of books from his relatives but considerably expanded the collection. While serving as judge in Jerusalem and Baghdad, he purchased books and personally copied manuscripts otherwise unobtainable.³² A British physician and long-term resident of Aleppo, Alexander Russell, also remarked that Ahmad Efendi had obtained a large number of books at considerable expense for the library of his madrasa.³³

Represented in the collection was a wide array of disciplines and fields of knowledge, from religion and law to history, language and literature, branches of philosophy, the natural sciences, mathematics, and engineering, suggesting that it was the self-contained and fully functioning library of a learned Muslim. Some learned person, perhaps the custodian of the library (*ḥāfiẓ al-kutub*) or Ahmad Efendi himself, took considerable effort to classify the works and arrange them in a specific sequence; even shorter works bound into of single-volume miscellanies (*majmū'as*) are identified (see Table 1). The ordering of the categories, proceeding from religious texts to Arabic letters and natural sciences, projects a distinctive hierarchy of dogmatic, moral, and legal positions.

Comparing this list with the works that were used in the curriculum of the central Ottoman administration (the Palace School), and also with texts that were reported to have been used in the madrasas of Aleppo in the 17th century, yields several threads of interest. Attention is first directed at what might be called the “primary” Islamic sciences: commentary on the Qur’an (*tafsīr*), reports of the Prophet Muhammad’s sayings and actions (hadiths, collectively called the Sunna), and law (*fiqh*). Attention is then turned to selected “secondary” fields of knowledge representing the humanities and natural sciences, namely, history, poetry, astronomy and geometry. The discussion on the personal piety of Ahmed Efendi to follow will examine a third set of texts in the inventory relating to mysticism, prayer, and the occult sciences.

(2004), 183-218; and Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).

32 Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 68.

33 Russell (ca. 1715-68), *A Natural History of Aleppo*, 2 vols., 1794 (Hants England: Gregg International, 1969), II, 94. The total number of volumes that came to be housed in the Ahmadiyya library, acquired both through purchase and copying, reached 3,000 by the time of al-Tabbakh's writing in the early 20th century. See al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 70.

Table 1. Survey of Books Donated to the Library of the Ahmadiyya Madrasa, Aleppo, Third *Waqfiyya*, 5 *Dhu'l-Hijja* 1178/15 February 1765.

Subject (with original subheading in Arabic)	Number of works	Number of volumes
Holy texts (<i>Kutub Allāh</i>)	4	35
Qur'an interpretation (<i>tafsīr</i>)	8	8
Conduct and sayings of the Prophet (<i>al-Sunna</i>)	68	77
Intercessory Prayer (<i>ṣalāt</i>)	4	4
Islamic Jurisprudence (<i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i>)	13	17
Hanafi <i>fiqh</i>	13	17
Shafi'i <i>fiqh</i>	12	14
Hanbali <i>fiqh</i>	6	6
Religious doctrine (<i>al-aqā'id</i>)	16	11
Islamic mysticism (<i>taṣawwuf</i>)	4	5
Lexicography (<i>luḡha</i>)	13	15
Grammar (<i>naḥw</i>)	9	16
Morphology (<i>ṣarf</i>)	8	5
Rhetoric (<i>al-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān</i>)	7	7
Logic (<i>mantiq</i>)	4	4
Rules of Debate (<i>adāb al-baḥth</i>)	5	3
Prosody (<i>'arūd</i>)	2	2
Belles-lettres (<i>adab</i>)	8	8
Poetry (<i>dawāwīn</i>)	6	6
History (<i>tārikh</i>)	13	34
Medicine (<i>tibb</i>)	2	2
Natural science (<i>al-ḥikmat al-ṭabi'iyya</i>)	6	8
Manuals of astronomical instruments (<i>alāt al-falak</i>)	12	4
Astronomy and Astrology (<i>aḥkām al-nujūm</i>)	6	6
Engineering (<i>handasa</i>)	4	2
Occult Sciences (<i>al-asmā' wa-l-ḥurūf</i>)	2	2
Works above in Persian or Ottoman Turkish	10	8
Total number	248	307

Sources: Damascus, Syrian National Archives (Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Tārikhiyya), Registers of the Qadi Courts (Sijillāt al-Maḥākīm al-Shar'iyya), Aleppo, Vol. 102, pp. 131-35

Of primary interest, obviously, were the Islamic sciences, whose works come directly after the listing of the sacred scripture of the Qur'an in the 1765 inventory. Among the eight works listed in the field of Qur'an commentary, the most significant is undoubtedly *Anwar al-tanzil wa asrar al-ta'wil* by Nasir al-Din 'Abdullah bin 'Umar al-Shafi'i al-Baydawi (d. 1315).³⁴ By the 18th century, this work came to be the most widely circulating and influential Qur'an commentary in the institutions of higher learning of the Ottoman Empire, including the Palace School,³⁵ also taught in the madrasas of Aleppo by the 17th century.³⁶ In fact, the inventory has two copies of this text, each explained with marginal glosses (sing. *hāshiya*, pl. *hawāshī*),³⁷ one by a certain Shaykh Ibrahim bin Haydar al-Sughrani (or al-Surani), most likely the father of the first teacher at the Ahmadiyya madrasa, Ahmad al-Surani, and a local scholar. Other works of *tafsīr* in the inventory written by the prolific Egyptian scholar al-Suyuti (1445-1505), or super-commentaries on his works, complement that of al-Baydawi and corroborate the establishmentarian orientation of the Ahmadiyya library *tafsīr* collection.³⁸ Yet the inclusion of one work of the Hanbali traditionist scholar Ibn Jawzi (1126-1200), probably the *Tafsīr Gharib al-Qur'an*, an analysis of obscure expressions in the Qur'an,³⁹ is in tension with the doctrinal orientation of the Ottoman establishment, which followed the Hanafi school of jurisprudence and Maturidi theology.

More significant are the library's holdings in hadith literature. In recent decades, historians have posited a resurgence of interest in hadith studies by Muslim

34 J. Robson, "al-Baydawi," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Revised Edition, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-) (hereafter referred to as *EI*²). The standard bibliographical and biographical information about Baydawi and this text may be found in Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, revised edition of vols. I-II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943-49, hereafter referred to *GAL*), II, p. 416; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 3 Supplement vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-42) (hereafter referred *GALS*), I, p. 738; and Kâtib Çelebi (1609-57), *Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asami al-Kutub wa-l-Funun*, ed. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941-43) (hereafter referred to as *KZ*), II, p. 1930.

35 Miller, *Palace School*, 108-9; Establet and Pascual, "Livres," 159; and Ahmed and Filipovic, "Sultan's Syllabus," 197-8, 208-9.

36 al-'Urdu, *Ma'adin al-Dhahab*, 149-53.

37 SMS 102, 130.

38 Jalal al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abu Bakr al-Suyuti (1445-1505), *al-Itqan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an*, *GALS* II 179 and *KZ* I 8; and 'Ali bin Muhammad Sultan al-Harawi al-Qari al-Hanafi (d. 1606), *Kitab al-Jamalayn*, a commentary on another work by al-Suyuti, *Tafsīr al-Jalalayn*, *GAL* II 145, *GALS* II 180, and *KZ* I 445.

39 *GAL* I 663, *GALS* I 918, and *KZ* II 1208.

scholars of North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries,⁴⁰ likely related to the social movements of Islamic renewal and reform in the same time span.⁴¹ The works classified as hadith in Ahmad Efendi's library are notable for their large number – at sixty-eight works, by far the largest classification and the diversity of the subgenres.⁴² Most of them (twenty-nine) were concerned with the multidisciplinary pursuit of hadith criticism, the remaining categories including significant representations of digests of canonical hadith collections, specialized topical collections, and auxiliary reference tools.⁴³ While the array of subgenres suggests a vigorous library for the study of hadith literature, the provenance of the works suggests a conservative disposition. Of the sixty-six that could be dated, more than half (thirty-seven) were written in the 14th and 15th centuries, a small minority (ten) in the 16th and 17th, and none in the 18th century.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most important Ottoman-era work of hadith is the *Kunuz al-Haqā'iq*, a systematic and careful digest compilation of hadith reports by 17th-century Egyptian scholar al-Munawi.⁴⁵ However, the apparent absence in the 1765

40 Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Transmitters of authority and ideas across cultural boundaries, eleventh to eighteenth centuries," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 3, *The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. David O. Morgan and Donald Reid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 582-610; John O. Voll, "Foundations for Renewal and Reform: Islamic Movements in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Oxford History of Islam*, ed. John Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 509-47, esp. 516-22, 530-1; idem, "Abdullah ibn Salim al-Basri and 18th Century Hadith Scholarship," *Die Welt des Islams* 42 (2002), 356-72; and Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtada al-Zabidi (d. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts: Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 39 (1999), 64-102.

41 John O. Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, 2nd Ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 29-30; and idem "Abdullah ibn Salim al-Basri," passim.

42 Cf. Establet and Pascual, "Livres des gens," 157.

43 Drawing on historical and literary forms of analysis, hadith criticism subgenres included general manuals (*mukhtaṣars*) and works of transmitter criticism (*ilm al-rijāl*) and of specialized analysis of hadith reports (*'ilal*, *mawḍu'āt*, etc.). This analysis uses the typology of hadith literature discussed by Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), Chps. 2 and 3.

44 Significantly, this distribution corresponds roughly to that found by Establet and Pascual in their general study of book ownership in probate inventories of Damascus townspeople around 1700. See "Livres des gens," 155.

45 *Kunuz al-Haqā'iq fī Hadīth Khayr al-Khalā'iq* by 'Abd al-Ra'uf bin Taj al-'Arifin al-Munawi, al-Qahiri al-Shafi'i (1545-1621). See A. Saleh Hamdan, "al-Munawi," *EI*²; and *GAL* II 394, *GALS* II 417, and *KZ* II 1521.

library of 18th-century commentaries or glosses on older works of hadith, let alone original treatises, lend support to the observation that little or innovative hadith scholarship was taking place in the Ahmadiyya madrasa in that century.

The library holdings in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) return discussion to the relationship of Ahmad Efendi to the Ottoman learned hierarchy. The representation of three different schools of jurisprudence – Hanafi, Shafi‘i, and Hanbali – suggests an inclusiveness of juridical opinion that is at odds with resolutely Hanafi Ottoman establishment. While the presence of roughly the same number of Shafi‘i works as Hanafi is not surprising, given the historic strength of the Shafi‘i school in Syria, the substantial representation of the Hanbali school, and the relatively recent provenance of the pertinent works, points to an intellectual vitality during the Ottoman period.⁴⁶ The prevailing impression of Ahmadiyya *fiqh* holdings, however, is that of close alignment with the Hanafi school, as the collection includes the chief manuals of Hanafi jurisprudence for Ottoman judges: the *Mukhtasar* of Abu-l-Husayn Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Quduri (972-1037)⁴⁷ and the *Multaqa al-abhur* of Ibrahim bin Muhammad al-Halabi (d. 1538/9).⁴⁸ That these works were referred to in the inventory by simply giving the name of their authors, when most other works have part or all of their title given, suggests that the people taking the inventory were familiar with their title and contents.⁴⁹ Ahmad Efendi would have consulted these texts regularly in his duties as both works served as summaries of large corpuses of pre-existing legal discourse and were useful as reference tools.

The works in other fields of knowledge generally locate his broader education within the boundaries of Ottoman elite culture. The works contained in the library classified in the categories of history, poetry, and astronomy reveal an impressive breadth of inquisitiveness and can be linked to the curriculum of the Palace School and, to a lesser extent, the curricula of the madrasas of Aleppo.

Within the category of history (Ar. *tārīkh*), one finds the major genres represented. Taking its place in the inventory is the apologetic work, *al-I‘lan bi-l-Tawbikh* of al-Sakhawi (1427-97), a scholar of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250-1517).

46 John O. Voll, “The Non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of Eighteenth Century Syria,” *Der Islam* 49 (1972), 277-91.

47 M. Ben Cheneb, “al-Kuduri,” *EI*²; *GAL* I 174-75, *GALS* I 295-6, 451-2, and *KZ* II 1631-4.

48 J. Schacht, “al-Halabi, Burhan al-Din Ibrahim b. Muhammad,” *EI*²; *GAL* I 478, *GALS* I 659-60, and *KZ* II 1814-6.

49 See similar references to these authors in other library listings and curricula in Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), I, 163-76.

Since this treatise was produced for the specific purpose of defending the study of history as an ancillary subject in the curriculum of religious studies, one can easily conceive of this work as an important didactic text.⁵⁰ There are several large multi-volume chronicles, most of them penned by scholars of the Mamluk Sultanate and recording the events of that empire, which spanned Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz: the *Tarikh al-Islam* of al-Dhahabi (1274-1348),⁵¹ the *Uyun al-Tawarikh* of Ibn Shakir al-Kutubi (1287-1363),⁵² and the *Rawdat al-Manazir* of Ibn Shihna (d. 1412).⁵³ The authors of these chronicles were either native-born or long-term residents of Syria. Such a geographical concentration is only partially offset by the presence of an unidentified Ottoman Turkish-language *Tevârih* chronicle, which would strengthen ties between the education of Ahmad Efendi and the curriculum of the Palace School.⁵⁴ No less significant were the library holdings of biographical dictionaries (Ar. *ṭabaqāt*),⁵⁵ also written by historians of the Mamluk Sultanate, namely, the *Wafi bi-l-Wafayat* of al-Safadi (1296-1363)⁵⁶ and the *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyya* of al-Asnawi (d. 1370),⁵⁷ among others. This collection is balanced with regard to subject: while al-Safadi concentrated on describing the political figures of his time, al-Asnawi focused on relating biographies of the eminent 'ulama'.

Least impressive were the holdings in geography, which were represented by a single work, the *Muthir al-Gharam li-Ziyarat al-Quds wa-l-Sham* of the Mamluk scholar Ibn Hilal al-Maqdisi (d. 1364).⁵⁸ This book, limited as it was to an account of the history of Syria, could not provide knowledge of countries outside the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the annals of the *Tevârih* probably presented more information in this regard since it included accounts of the military campaigns

50 *GAL* II 35 and *GALS* II 42; a full English translation of this work can be found in Franz Rosenthal, ed., *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 195-450.

51 F. Rosenthal, "al-Dhahabi," *EP*²; *GAL* II 46-8, *GALS* II 45, and *KZ* I 294-5.

52 F. Rosenthal, "al-Kutubi," *EP*²; *GALS* II 48 and *KZ* II 1185-6.

53 *GAL* II 46, 141, *GALS* II 176-7, and Katib Çelebi (1609-57), *Idah al-Maknun fi-l-Dhayl 'ala Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asami al-Kutub wa-l-Funun (Keshf-el-Zunun Zeyli)*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaasi, 1945) (hereafter referred to as *KZZ*), I, p. 597.

54 For a list of chronicles with the title, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1927), 35-8.

55 Michael Cooperson, "Biographical Literature," in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Robert Irwin, IV, 458-73.

56 F. Rosenthal, "al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil b. Aybak," *EP*²; *GAL* II 3, *GALS* I 562 and II 28, and *KZ* II 1996-7.

57 *GAL* II 90-1, *GALS* II 107, and *KZ* II 1101-2.

58 *GAL* II 130-1, *GALS* II 162, and *KZ* II 1589.

of the Ottomans in various regions, including the Balkan Peninsula. Still, the presence of works devoted to Jerusalem (*al-Quds*) and Damascus (*al-Sham*), suggest an appreciation of (greater) geographical Syria as a meaningful category of belonging.⁵⁹

The preponderance of works by authors living in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluk Sultanate is perhaps the most notable general feature of this category. It is curious why one does not find the important, more recent Ottoman-period histories produced in Syria and Egypt, such as chronicles of Muhammad bin Ahmad Ibn Iyas (d. 1523) and Shams al-Din Ibn Tulun (d. 1546), and the biographical dictionaries of Najm al-Din Ghazzi (d. 1577), ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-‘Urdu (d. 1615), and Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi (d. 1699).⁶⁰ One may speculate that Ahmad Efendi deliberately cultivated an interest in pre-Ottoman, Mamluk history, a point to which this study will return.

The collection of poetic works identify the intellectual interests of Ahmad Efendi with those of the educated Ottoman elite. The inventory includes not only Persian but also Arabic poetry written by various Iranian poets, which strongly suggests that Ahmad Efendi acquired them in Baghdad. It is, in fact, the latter poetry, the *Diwan* of al-Tughra’i⁶¹ and the works of al-Abiwardi,⁶² both from the 12th century, that provide evidence for the engagement of Ahmad Efendi in

59 On Ottoman geographical inquisitiveness, see Thomas Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 179-210; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010); and Michael Bonner and Gottfried Hagen, “Muslim Accounts of the Dar al-Harb,” in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 4, *Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 474-94.

60 For a survey of Arabic histories written in Syria in the early period of Ottoman rule in Syria, see Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1982), 295-307; and Michael Winter, “Historiography in Arabic During the Ottoman Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, eds. Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 171-88.

61 Mu‘ayyad al-Din Abu Ism‘ail al-Husayn bin ‘Ali al-Tughra’i (d. 1121/22). See F. C. de Blois, “al-Tughra’i,” *EP*²; *GAL* I 247, *GALS* I 439, and *KZ* I 798 and II 1537-9.

62 Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad bin Abu-l-‘Abbas al-Abiwardi (d. 1113). The specific works of al-Abiwardi listed in the inventory are the *Diwan*, *Iraqiyyat*, *Najdiyyat*, and *Muqatta‘at*. See Brockelmann and Ch. Pellat, “al-Abiwardi,” *EP*²; *GAL* I 253, *GALS* I 447, and *KZ* I 884 and II 1930.

the Arabic-language, poetical traditions of Iran that must have been accessible in Baghdad. Al-Tughra'i is closely associated with Baghdad, as this is the city where he served as a Saljuq official and composed much of his poetry. As for the Khurasanian al-Abiwardi, the itemized listing of his works within a single volume suggests Ahmad Efendi's interest in and familiarity with his poetry. Ahmed Efendi may have been motivated to acquire this collection because al-Abiwardi was a distinguished member of the *ashraf*: he could trace his pedigree back to an early Umayyad lineage and many of his poems recount the genealogy of the Abbasid Caliphs and their officials. Owning a copy of this *diwan*, in other words, lent Ahmad Efendi, a former *naqib* of Aleppo, a certain social and intellectual prestige.

Among the Persian language collections is *Asrarnama*, or "Book of Secrets," a long narrative poem of moral didacticism by the well-known medieval Iranian mystical poet and thinker 'Attar. Its sister work, the *Pandnama*, by the same author, enjoyed considerable popularity in the Ottoman Empire; the *Pandnama*, indeed, was used in the Palace School.⁶³ Also present were the Persian *diwans* of the 17th-century poets Shawkat and Sa'ib. Composed in the ornate *Sabk-i Hindi* style, the poetry of Shawkat and Sa'ib also enjoyed a great reputation among literate groups of the Ottoman Empire in the later 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁴ No doubt to aid Ahmad Efendi in his appreciation of this poetry, two 17th-century Persian-Persian dictionaries are also found in the library: the *Burhan-i Qati'* of al-Tabrizi⁶⁵ and the *Sharafnama-i Ahmad-i Munyari* of Faruqi.⁶⁶

63 Farid al-Din Abu Hamid Muhammad 'Attar (ca. 1142-ca. 1220). See H. Ritter, "al-'Attar," *EP*; E. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902), II, 507-8; "Attar," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985-); J. Rypka, *A History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel, 1968), 430-1; and Miller, *Palace School*, 110.

64 Shawkat Bukhari (d. 1695/96) and Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Sa'ib Isfahani or Tabrizi (d. 1677/78). See Munibur Rahman, "Sa'ib," *EI*²; J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Sabk-i Hindi," *EI*²; Brown, *Persia*, IV, 64, 265; E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London: Luzac, 1900-07), I, 130, IV, 96-7; and Rypka, *Iranian Literature*, 190, 237-9, 295, 301-2.

65 Muhammad Husayn bin Khalaf al-Tabrizi (fl. 17th century), who completed the text in 1651/2 in Hyderabad. See "Burhan," *EI*²; and C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1984), III, Part 1, pp. 31-5.

66 Ibrahim Qiwwam Faruqi (fl. 1458-74), written for the Sufi saint Sharaf al-Din Ahmad Yahya al-Munyari al-Bankali al-Hindi (d. 1380/1). See J. Rypka, *Iranian Literature*, 430-1; and Eduard Sachau and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), Part I, pp. 1005-6.

Ottoman Turkish poetry is represented in the library by a single work, the *Gencine-i Raz*, or “Treasury of Mystery,” by the 16th-century poet Yahya Bey. The *Gencine* revolves around moral precepts and rules of conduct (as does the Persian-language *Asrarnama* above) and was written in a style heavily influenced by the *Bustan*, a long, didactic poem by the 13th-century Iranian poet Sa’di, an important text in the Palace School curriculum.⁶⁷ The collection of poetry as a whole, encompassing the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages and diverse in content, projects Ahmed Efendi’s engagement in the three principal languages of the Ottoman Way (*Edeb-i ‘Osmani*). The circumstance, to be discussed below, that Ahmad Efendi was associated with a Sufi order, the Nesimiye, whose rituals were conducted in Turkish or Persian, corroborates that he possessed multi-lingual skills.

The works in the fields of astronomy and geometry can be examined together since they are closely related. Competence in the use of astronomical instruments and tables and in the performance of related mathematical computations was necessary for those who served as timekeepers (*muwaqqits*) in mosques. Geometry was a branch of mathematics on which *muwaqqits* were dependent for performing basic technical functions. The works on geometry in the inventory are notable for the ties they demonstrate between the library of Ahmad Efendi and the curriculum of the Palace School. The 13th-century scientist Nasir al-Din al-Tusi,⁶⁸ three of whose works on astronomy and geometry appear in the inventory,⁶⁹ was the translator of an Arabic language text used to teach Euclidean geometry in the Palace School; and one treatise of the 13th-century scholar al-Jaghmini,⁷⁰ also present, is mentioned as the principal geometry text in Aleppo in the 17th century.⁷¹

67 Yahya Bey (d. 1575/76) was a member of the notable Albanian Duqakin family that was recruited into Ottoman state service. See Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, III, 109, 116, 121-2, 125-7; and Miller, *Palace School*, 110.

68 Nasir al-Din Abu Ja’far Muhammad al-Tusi (1201-74). See H. Daiber and F. J. Ragep, “al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din,” *EI*².

69 These works are listed in the inventory as the following: (1) “Risala fi al-‘Amal fi-l-Asturab al-Musamma bi-l-Ala li-l-Tusi,” (2) “Risala fi al-Hay’a li-l-Tusi,” and (3) “Risala fi Sayr al-Kawakib wa Hay’atihim li-l-Tusi.” For a listing of al-Tusi’s works on mathematics, physics, and astronomy, see *GAL* I 673-6 and *GALS* I 929-32.

70 Mahmud bin Muhammad al-Jaghmini (d. ca. 1344/5). See H. Suter and J. Vernet, “al-Djaghmini,” *EI*².

71 This is an unidentified commentary (*sharh*) on *al-Mulakhkhas fi-l-Hay’a* of al-Jaghmini. See *GAL* I 473 and *GALS* I 865. See also Miller, *Palace School*, 96; and al-‘Urdu, *Ma’adin al-Dhahab*, 153.

Ahmad Efendi certainly patronized *muwaqqits* and may have been a practicing *muwaqqit* himself. Many of the pertinent texts in the library focus on the technical aspects of astronomical observation. Essentially how-to manuals, these works provide the fundamentals of *'ilm al-miqāt* -- the body of practical knowledge necessary for determining by calculation or instruments the hours of the day and night, with emphasis on the fixing of the times of the five canonical prayers in the mosques.⁷² The historian al-Tabbakh writes that Ahmed Efendi endowed for his library not only books in this subject but also astronomical instruments (*alāt falakiyya*).⁷³ Presumably these works and instruments, in particular the astrolabe and quadrant, constituted the textbooks and equipment used to provide instruction in the Ahmadiyya madrasa. It is clear from the text of the building inscription on the portal of the madrasa that Ahmad Efendi intended this subject to be included in his curriculum.⁷⁴ The interest that Ahmad Efendi had in *'ilm al-miqāt* did not end with training others. The 1765 *waqfiyya* attests to his regular financial support of the *muwaqqit* at the Great Umayyad Mosque of Aleppo, the central congregational mosque of the city.⁷⁵ Muezzins, persons who performed the call to prayer (*adhān*), had a long tradition of learning the rudiments of *'ilm al-miqāt*, a tradition that Ahmad Efendi supported by designating stipends from the revenues of the 1765 *waqf* for muezzins in Aleppo, Mecca, and Jerusalem.⁷⁶ Based on these pieces of evidence, one may infer that Ahmad Efendi had a practical knowledge of *'ilm al-miqāt*. Whether Ahmad Efendi conducted astronomical observation for scientific purposes is unclear. Alexander Russell remarked that he found in the city "one [unnamed] person ... capable of calculating eclipses, and on that account [he] had the reputation of a most profound astronomer."⁷⁷ Might it have been Ahmad Efendi himself?

72 These works are listed in the inventory as the following: (1) "Risala fi al-'Amal bi-l-Asturlab al-Musamma bi-l-ala li-l-Tusi, on which see the footnote above on al-Tusi; (2) "Sharh al-Asturlab al-Manzum li-'Abd al-Wahid," on which see *GALS* I 828; (3) "Ghayat al-Su'al fi Sharh 'Asharat al-Fusul fi al-'Amal bi-l-Rub'," on which see *GAL* II 128 and *GALS* III 1259; (4) "Hawi al-Mukhtasarat bi-l-'Amal bi'l-Rub'," on which see *GAL* II, 170 and *GALS* II 216; and (5) "Risala Hidayat al-Sa'il fi al-'Amal bi-l-Rub' al-Kamil, on which see *GAL* II 170. See also A. J. Wensinck and D. A. King, "Mikat," *EI*².

73 *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 70.

74 The inscription concisely lists the major subjects of the curriculum, including "astronomical instruments" (*alat [al-falak]*). See al-Ghazzi, *Nabr al-Dhahab*, II, 52.

75 SMS 102, 122.

76 *Ibid.*, 123-4.

77 Russell, *Natural History*, II, 99.

The examination of the collection to date reveals a broad-minded collector of scriptural commentary and legal texts, an avid and curious gatherer of history and poetry, and a patron and likely practitioner of practical astronomy. Many of these activities Ahmad Efendi must have pursued in the company of family and friends at home or among small groups of the literate elite who shared his interests. The next section speculates on Ahmad Efendi's role as a pedagogue beyond his social circle.

The Curriculum and Activities of the Madrasa

As seen through his instructions on admission and personnel recruitment recorded in the *waqfiyya*, it is apparent that Ahmad Efendi wanted his library accessible to the public. He stipulated that the library was to be open four days of the week corresponding to Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday. Anyone who wished to read the works of the library, consult reference books, transcribe copies, or write in general, could enter. Ahmad restricted use of these books to the library; under no circumstances were these books to circulate outside the madrasa.⁷⁸ The room which housed the library appears to have been adequate for scholastic activities. The historian al-Ghazzi describes it as spacious, furnished to store books, and having four windows, two looking on the open, central court of the madrasa, and two onto the family mausoleum.⁷⁹ The library thus constituted a true public foundation, offering free educational resources with no substantial restrictions as to access.

The instructions with regard to the recruitment of the principal teacher (*mudarris*) and the resident students (*sukkān hujar*), however, envisioned an institution that sought to give educational and occupational advantage to a specific ethnic and geographic group. In the 1752 *waqfiyya*, Ahmad Efendi made the following specifications regarding recruitment: first, the principal teacher and resident students shall come from among the Kurdish populations living in the areas of "Sanjaq Kuwi," "Sanjaq Baba," or "Suran", all towns in the hinterland of Mosul⁸⁰;

78 Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 70.

79 Al-Ghazzi, *Nabr al-Dhahab*, II, 45-6.

80 These place names correspond to present-day towns in northern Iraq. Sanjaq Kuwi appears to be an Arabic transposition of the Turkish Köy Sancak or Kurdish Koysinjac or Koya (36°05'N 44°38'E), a large town and district seat 35 miles east-southeast of the Iraqi city of Arbil. "Sanjaq Baba" could not be located, though if the name is transposed (in a manner consistent with Köy Sancak above) it bears some resemblance to the name of a village 25 miles north-northeast of Arbil in the same vicinity, Babaçiçak (36°33'N 44°10'E). "Suran" probably refers to Soran (36°39'N 44°32'E), a town close to Rawanduz

second, if no accomplished Kurdish scholar from these regions could be found, the trustee (*mutawalli*) shall appoint the teacher from among the Kurdish students currently residing in the madrasa; third, if no one among these students is Kurdish, the trustee shall appoint a Kurdish scholar from among the population of Aleppo; and fourth, if no Kurdish scholar can be found among this population, the Trustee should appoint someone to teach until a Kurdish scholar can be found.⁸¹ Ahmad further specified that the resident students, who received stipends in addition to their lodging, should remain unmarried, and if they did marry, they would no longer be permitted to lodge in the madrasa.

It is clear from the conditions stated above that Ahmad Efendi wished to provide benefits to a population to which he had personal ties, but the origin and nature of those ties are uncertain. It is probable that Ahmad Efendi had personal acquaintance with Kurdish scholars in the region of Aleppo and elsewhere, and that he encountered large Kurdish populations during his tour as a judge in the Ottoman province of Baghdad, part of which was historical Kurdistan. Al-Tabbakh judged it likely that the first principal teacher of the Ahmadiyya madrasa, a certain Ahmad bin Ibrahim bin ‘Umar al-Kurdi al-Surani, had influenced Ahmad Efendi to patronize and uplift this ethnic group.⁸² A native of the hinterland of Mosul, al-Kurdi so impressed Ahmad Efendi with his erudition and moral character that the latter summoned him to the instructorship. Subsequently, the extreme fondness (*shaghaf*) Ahmad Efendi had for al-Kurdi, according to al-Tabbakh, induced him to grant the latter’s request for the recruitment of Kurds from his birthplace and nearby areas.

Ahmad Efendi’s decision may have also been influenced by his personal travels. Relying on local oral tradition, one late 20th-century Aleppan historian related that while traveling through northern Iraq in his capacity as qadi of Baghdad (1749-51), Ahmad Efendi encountered such deplorable conditions of poverty and ignorance (*jahl*) among the Kurds living there that he was moved by compassion to bring about their educational and religious advancement.⁸³ Indeed, Ahmad Efendi’s observation of the wretchedness of these populations is supported by historical events. An army led by Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47) had devastated and depopulated the countryside of Mosul and Arbil prior to its siege of the former

(s. v. “Rawandiz,” *ET*²) and about 45 miles northwest of Arbil. See maps.google.com (accessed 18 June 2013).

81 Al-Tabbakh, *I‘lam al-Nubala’*, VII, 69-70; and al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-Dhabab*, II, 49.

82 Al-Tabbakh, *I‘lam al-Nubala’*, VII, 71fn.

83 Interview with Dr. Ahmad Sardar, Director of the Waqf Libraries in Aleppo (al-Maktabat al-Waqfiyya al-Islamiyya fi Halab), Aleppo, 3 August 1995.

city in 1743.⁸⁴ The coincidence, then, of Ahmad Efendi's admiration of a Kurdish scholar and his active compassion for a downtrodden Kurdish group serves as a plausible explanation for his deliberate recruitment policy.

Ahmad Efendi's peculiar ethnic policy also leads one to ask whether he himself was of Kurdish origin. Local oral tradition presents a contradiction, as it relates that while Ahmad Efendi was an Arab, the Tahazâde family (which later adopted the name of Çelebi in the 19th century) traced their *sharîf* lineage through the famous 12th-century Kurdish ruler Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin), who was native to the neighboring highlands of western Iran.⁸⁵ It does not necessarily follow, however, that Ahmad Efendi was ethnically Kurdish. The Tahazâde (and later Çelebi) family subsequently may have intermarried with Kurds, especially those coming to study at the Ahmadiyya madrasa. Additionally, the publicly recognized association the Tahazâde family had with this ethnic group may have led to the careful manufacture of a genealogy that incorporated and gave honor to both *sharîf* and Kurdish lineages.

The education that Ahmad Efendi designed for Kurdish and other students generally conformed to the local Islamic traditions. The three endowments provided stipends for instructors in the primary Islamic sciences of *tafsîr*, hadith, and Hanafi *fiqh*; to these should be added applied astronomy (*ilm al-mîqât*), though the instructors in this subject did not receive regular funding. It should be noted also that the principal teacher (*mudarris*) was to provide, along with the two days of instruction in *tafsîr*, four days of instruction in "whatever he chooses from among the fields of study and other subjects (*ulûm al-mawâdd wa ghayrihi*)."⁸⁶ Aside from stipulating the days on which these subjects were to be taught and the amounts of the salaries, no other specifications were made pertaining to the curriculum. What is striking about this program of education is that it does not incorporate the remarkable range of subjects contained in the book inventory detailed in Table 1.

The projected image of Ahmad Efendi as an educator combines elements of a genuine public spirit, a strong interest in the patronage of underprivileged Kurdish scholars, and a vigorous upholding of the canons of Islamic learning. This image is enriched by his personal appreciation of history and of Persian and Ottoman poetry, and his knowledge of astronomical timekeeping. But what can we say about his spirituality?

84 Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Publications, 1975), 170.

85 Interview with Dr. Ahmad Sardar.

86 Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala'*, VII, 70.

Mystical Pursuits

The pieces of evidence available for the study of the mystical activities of Ahmad Efendi are found in a biographical notice and in the 1765 *waqfiyya*, principally the books in the inventory that are on mysticism (*tasawwuf*), prayer (*ṣalāt*), the occult sciences (*al-asmā' wa-l-hurūf*), and various references to Sufi brotherhoods. The works dealing directly with mysticism display an interesting variety of doctrinal tendencies. Most notable is the sophisticated theosophical text *al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyya*, or “Meccan Revelations,” of Ibn al-‘Arabi (1165-1240).⁸⁷ Although this work attracted a very large following across the Islamic world, the antinomian ideas it contains provoked recurring attacks by orthodox theologians, who viewed the work as an innovation (*bid‘a*), and therefore heretical. This conflict was continuously played out in the Ottoman Empire, where members of the ‘ulama’ condemned the widespread adoption of the *Futuhāt* as a text in the curricula of local madrasas.⁸⁸ The extent to which the ideas of Ibn al-‘Arabi were embraced and normalized by Ahmad Efendi is perhaps reflected in the fact that an abridgement of the *Futuhāt* by the 16th-century scholar al-Sha‘rani was classified in the 1765 inventory not under mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), but rather under ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*).⁸⁹

Representing a very different tendency in Islamic mysticism in the inventory is *Nasihāt al-‘Alawiyya*,⁹⁰ as it is a hagiography of the founder of the Ahmadiyya order, producing and produced by the popular sub-culture of saint veneration in Egypt and Syria, and as such lacks the intellectual sophistication of the *Futuhāt*. While these two works are very different in approach, they share a common view that Muslim believers enjoy considerable freedom to explore their spirituality through mystical devotions.

87 A. Ateş, “Ibn al-‘Arabi, Muhyi al-Din Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad,” *EI*². On the *Futuhāt* see *GAL* I 442-8, *GALS* I 790-802, and *KZ* II 1238-9.

88 Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1982), 25; and Bruce Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 112-26.

89 *Al-Kibrit al-Ahmar fi ‘Ulum al-Shaykh al-Akbar* by Abu-l-Mawahib ‘Abd al-Wahhab bin Ahmad al-Sha‘rani (d. 1565). The *Kibrit* is composed of selections from another of Sha‘rani’s works, *Lawaqih al-Anwar al-Qudsiyya fi Bayan al-Qawa’id al-Sufiyya*, itself an abridgement of the *Futuhāt* of Ibn al-‘Arabi. See M. Winter, “al-Sha‘rani,” *EI*²; and *GAL* II 336, *GALS* II 335-8, and *KZ* II 336.

90 *Al-Nasihāt al-‘Alawiyya fi Bayan Husn Tariqat al-Sadat al-Ahmadiyya* by Nur al-Din Abu-l-Faraj ‘Ali bin Ibrahim al-Halabi al-Qahiri al-Shafi‘i (1567-1635). See *GAL* II 307, *GALS* II 418, and *KZZI* I 104 and II 654. See also K. Vollers and E. Littman, “al-Badawi, Ahmad,” *EI*².

A third tendency is exemplified in the work, *Talbis Iblis*, or “The Devil’s Delusion,” by Hanbali theologian Ibn al-Jawzi (1126–1200), which defines a rigid and narrow Sunni orthodoxy that condemns *tasawwuf* as an unlawful intrusion into Muslim tradition.⁹¹ Taking a less severe approach to Islamic mysticism, al-Sha‘rani’s work, *al-Bahr al-Mawrud*, serves as a manual that strictly prescribes ethical behavior for Sufis, and, significantly, denounces among other practices the retreat (*khalwa*), a Sufi ritual that, as will be made clear, Ahmad Efendi encouraged through his patronage of activities in Sufi lodges of Aleppo.⁹² Of all the works in the inventory, *al-Bahr al-Mawrud* most closely reflects Ahmad Efendi’s seemingly eclectic attitude to Sufism, since the work may be described as an attempt to balance an adherence to the shari‘a with a vigorous pursuit of mystical discipline.

Of Ahmad Efendi’s actual mystical affiliations, we can be reasonably sure of his initiation into the Qadiriyya, a well-known Sufi orthodox order the origin of which extended back to the 12th century.⁹³ Al-Tabbakh reports on the basis of a certificate (*ijāza*) that Ahmad Efendi was appointed as *khalifa* (spiritual successor) and shaykh of the Qadiriyya order in Aleppo, and that he retained that position until his death.⁹⁴ The 1765 *waqfiyya* furthermore provides multiple pieces of evidence of his association with the order. The person who made him *khalifa* and shaykh, *al-Sayyid* ‘Umar Efendi b. *al-Sayyid* Yasin Efendi al-Kaylani (or al-Jilani), served as a legal witness at the execution of that *waqf*.⁹⁵ Ahmad Efendi also designated a large sum for the nourishment of adherents in self-enforced seclusion (*khalwa*) in the Qadiriyya Sufi lodge (*zawiya*), known as the Salahiyya, in Aleppo. In exchange for this grant, Ahmad requested that those entering into *khalwa* recite each evening a communal form of intercessory prayer, and dedicate the spiritual reward of this act to the souls of thirty-nine deceased persons. Since the *khalwa* customarily lasted thirty-nine days, the prayers made each evening were dedicated to a certain soul. In an implicit ranking of spiritual favor, Ahmad Efendi stipulated that the spiritual benefits derived from the first eight days be conferred on eight

91 [*Al-Namus fi*] *Talbis Iblis* by ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Ali bin Muhammad Ibn al-Jawzi. See H. Laoust, “Ibn al-Djawzi,” *EP*²; and *GAL* I 504, *GALS* I 918, and *KZ* I 471.

92 *Al-Bahr al-Mawrud fi al-Mawathiq wa-l-‘Uhud* by Abu-l-Mawahib ‘Abd al-Wahhab bin Ahmad al-Sha‘rani. See Winter, *Society and Religion*, 108–9, 123; and *GAL* II 337, *GALS* II 465, and *KZ* I 228.

93 For a history of the Qadiriyya order and a description of its doctrine and practices, see D. S. Margoliouth, “Kadiriyya,” *EP*²; J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 40–44; and Éric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* (Damas: Institut Français d’Études Arabes, 1995), 225–9.

94 Al-Tabbakh, *I‘lam al-Nubala’*, VII, 72.

95 SMS 102, 129.

souls, the first being that of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), the founder of the Qadiriyya order, and the remaining seven on those of the *khalīfas* that followed successively in the leadership of the order. The remaining recipients were the souls of the members of the Tahazâde family, other members of the Aleppan *a’yân*, and Ahmad Efendi’s wetnurses.⁹⁶

A second affiliation is borne out by Ahmad Efendi’s grant, documented in the 1765 *waqfiyya*, to the shaykh of the Nesimi lodge (*tekke*) located in Aleppo.⁹⁷ The dervishes there were also to receive funds for nourishment during *khalwa*, in exchange for which they were to provide regular intercessory prayer. The mystical practices of this institution are based on the beliefs of ‘Imad al-Din Nesimi (d. 1418), a martyred Sufi poet of Turkish origin whose verse marks him as one of the first lyrical poets of importance in Oghuz Turkic classical literature.⁹⁸ His poetic production, consisting mostly of quatrains in both Turkish and Persian, must have formed the textual basis for the rites and meditations of this lodge. Nesimi’s ties to the city of Aleppo are well established, as it was there where his ecstatic heresies caused the local Mamluk governor to execute him. Nesimi is distinguished by his promotion of the theosophical ideas of Ibn al-‘Arabi but even more by his adoption of the tenets of the heterodox Hurufiyya sect (which appears to have historical links with the Anatolian Bektashi order), and his close adherence, both in poetry and practice, to *‘ilm al-hurūf*, an occult science that attributes cabalistic properties to letters of the alphabet and manipulates them to discern the nature of divinity.⁹⁹ Reinforcing Ahmad Efendi’s links with the Nesimi are two books in the inventory dealing with this science. While the first text, the *al-Lum‘at al-Nu‘maniyya*¹⁰⁰ of the 13th-century scholar al-Buni was a widely studied manual for *‘ilm al-hurūf*, the second text, the *Sharh Asma’ Allah al-Husna*,¹⁰¹ treated the

96 Ibid., 122-3.

97 On the Nesimi lodge in Aleppo, see Heghnar Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 126-7.

98 F. Babinger, “Nesimi,” *EP*; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, “Nesimi,” *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, edited by Adnan Adıvar et al (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1950-) (hereafter referred to as *IA*); and Kathleen Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi: Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972), 24.

99 Burrill, *Quatrains of Nesimi*, 38-42; and Bausani, “Hurufiyya,” *EI*².

100 *Al-Lum‘at al-Nuraniyya fi al-Kushufat al-Rabbaniyya* of Muhyi al-Din Abu-l-‘Abbas Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Buni (d. 1225). See B. Carra de Vaux, “al-Buni,” *IA*; T. Fahd, “Huruf, ‘Ilm al-,” *EI*²; and *GAL* I 497, *GALS* I 910, and *KZ* II 1566.

101 Multiple works by this title are available, but it may be that of the well-known theologian Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali (d. 1111). See W.

revered ninety-nine names of God, the principal object of speculation in this field of occult knowledge.

Whether Ahmad Efendi had ties to the Ahmadiyya order is less clear. The only connection that can be made is Ahmad Efendi's possession of the hagiographical work *al-Nasihah al-'Alawiyya*. The Ahmadiyya, a loosely organized order whose central tenet was the veneration of the Egyptian Sufi saint Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 1276), had had a long history in Aleppo. In the period of the Mamluk Sultanate, the cult of "Sidi Ahmad" enjoyed popularity among the provincial ruling elites of Egypt and Syria. So influential did the head of the Ahmadiyya in Aleppo become that after overrunning the city in 1516 Selim I found it necessary to execute him and appoint another in his place, at the same time installing a Turkish administrator to share in the leadership of the order.¹⁰² The Ahmadiyya organization may well have continued to exert influence locally in the Ottoman period to the extent that men of religious and social prominence were attracted to its membership; this was the case in Ottoman Egypt.¹⁰³ While there is no other evidence at hand of Ahmad Efendi's association with the order, one is tempted to speculate that his naming of his madrasa the Ahmadiyya is the happy coincidence of his own name and a deliberate attempt to recall the prestige of that venerable Sufi organization.

The inclusion in the collection of a book of prayer formulas attributed to 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and the fourth Caliph, begs explanation. It can be interpreted in two complementary ways. First, Sunni Muslims revered 'Ali as a member of the family of the prophet and considered him to be a key figure in the formation of spiritual lineages claimed by Muslim mystical orders. Second, as a member of the *ashrāf*, Ahmad Efendi no doubt sought to reaffirm openly his ties with the family of the prophet. The collection of prayer formulas can thus be viewed as both a practical text of a practicing Sufi and as with other works in the collection, a symbolic possession of a *sharīf* who wished to enhance his social standing.

What can be said of Ahmad Efendi's mystical activities in their broad outlines? As shaykh of the local Qadiriyya order, Ahmad Efendi possessed considerable spiritual stature and held the weighty responsibility of providing spiritual guidance to adherents (*murids*). The true Sufi shaykh, according to the 16th-century

Montgomery Watt, "al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad," *EP*²; and *GAL* I 420 and *GALS* I 752.

¹⁰² Winter, *Society and Religion*, 100-1; and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 205-6.

¹⁰³ Winter, *Society and Religion*, 101.

Egyptian Sufi al-Sha‘rani, deserved the total physical and mental submission of his adherents and could impose widely varying tests of discipline and obedience.¹⁰⁴ Within his order, the shaykh could serve as arbiter and hand down authoritative decisions in disputes arising among his adherents; and he could act as a confessor, since adherents had to disclose their thoughts, good and bad, to the shaykh. Ahmad Efendi’s knowledge of the devotional practices of this order, which include ecstatic rites, must have been extensive. It is puzzling why we do not find manuals for the conduct of Qadiriyya practices in the inventory; it is plausible, however, that these texts would have been kept at the Sufi lodge.

Ahmad Efendi’s public acknowledgement of his Sufi associations is all the more remarkable since they present an apparent tension: simultaneous membership in an order having strong orthodox tendencies (the Qadiriyya) and another order that presumably upheld heterodox, antinomian beliefs (the Nesimiye). How did Ahmad Efendi, a judge who upheld the religious conservatism of the Ottoman state and a member of the Qadiriyya, explain his membership in this suspect order? He may have eased this tension by being initiated into this order only after his career as a judge ended in 1751. Alternatively, one could view Ahmad Efendi’s Sufi associations generally as chiefly personal relationships formed with the various shaykhs, aiming not for rigid indoctrination but rather for participation in a tolerant exchange of ideas and sharing in open devotions.¹⁰⁵ According to this view, the goals of the Sufi novice were to receive training primarily in ethics (*akhlāq*) from a qualified and inspired shaykh and thereby make progress (*taraqqi*) along the Sufi Way, a single, broad cursus that united all of the mystical orders and minimized doctrinal differences. In this light we can view as signs of strong personal ties Ahmad Efendi’s designation by name of the Qadiri and Nesimi shaykhs as beneficiaries in the third *waqfiyya* and their presence as witnesses during the execution of the document. By the same reasoning, the absence of an Ahmadi shaykh as a beneficiary, the hagiography notwithstanding, would point to a weaker affiliation with that order or simply a personal curiosity in its system of belief.

Conclusion

The portrait of Ahmad Efendi derived from the surviving documentation enables us to reconstruct, at least in part, how Ahmad Efendi shaped his personal and family identity. By virtue of his distinguished judicial career Ahmad Efendi clearly held membership in the empire-wide Ottoman elite class. As a member of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 134.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 101.

the provincial *a'yan*, he was an intermediary, brokering influence in the imperial capital for local clients and interest and status groups. Operating in these two distinct but overlapping worlds he asserted and cultivated additional sources of social, cultural, and religious prestige.

This pattern is no clearer than in Ahmed Efendi's leadership of the *ashrāf* of Aleppo, whose claims to descent from the Prophet Muhammad not only distinguished them from the local population, but also served as the primary basis for effective joint political action vis-à-vis the central Ottoman government. Sharing the claim to ancient Arab nobility through *sharīf* lineage with other Aleppan notables, Ahmad Efendi could often find refuge and support in their solidarity. Yet within this elite group, he appears to have strengthened and articulated a pronounced individual, and by extension family, identity. First, he enhanced his *sharīf* status through occupation of the highest office of local *ashrāf* leadership, the *niqāba*, and through patronage of a library that boasted important works tracing *sharīf* genealogy and praising the family of the prophet.

Related to this claim is Ahmad Efendi's second component of identity, that of a Sufi shaykh. We see this most clearly in his requests for intercessory prayers, where he incorporates a section of his family lineage, and implicitly himself, into the spiritual lineage of the Qadiriyya. This is an attempt to reaffirm in perpetuity the claim of the Tahazāde family to an elevated socio-religious status. Bound up with this spiritual leadership, Ahmad Efendi also appears to have acted on a sort of pre-Ottoman, Mamluk-period civic awareness. He expressed this most notably through membership in the Nesimiye, and possibly Ahmadiyya, Sufi orders, both of which had distinguished, even heroic, roles in the city's Mamluk past, and through the active collection of written histories dealing with that era.

In addition to these assertions of religious and cultural prestige are others of a very different nature, namely, Ahmad Efendi's explicit and extensive patronage of Kurds, primarily from the area of Mosul, as teachers and students in his madrasa, and his generous financial and technical support for the training of timekeepers (*muwaqqits*). The multiplicity and diversity of Ahmad Efendi's associations that emerge from this study suggest the ways in which the *a'yan* of the eighteenth century searched continuously for sources of social status and prestige yet also exercised a restless intellectual curiosity and public spirit.

The Self-Fashioning of an Ottoman Urban Notable: Ahmad Efendi Tahazâde (d. 1773)

Abstract ■ While historians have learned much about the political, social, and economic roles of the Ottoman provincial elites (*a'yân*) in the 18th century, little is known about their cultural orientations and personal interests. Functioning as political intermediaries between the Ottoman central government and local populations, the majority of the *a'yân* were effectively placed in an ambiguous position between the cosmopolitan demands of service as Ottoman officials and the cultural particularism of the local society in which they were or had become rooted. This study takes in hand the foundation document of a college (madrasa) built in mid-18th century Aleppo by a Muslim judge (qadi) and merchant, Tahazâde Ahmad Efendi. Examining together the document's constituent elements, primarily the library inventory, personnel recruitment strategy, curriculum stipulations, and prayer supplications, this study discerns a calculated and fine-tuned effort on the part of the founder to fashion a distinct and autonomous social status and cultural identity. On the one hand, Ahmad Efendi identifies with the Ottoman legal and social establishment as through the prescribed teaching of Hanafi jurisprudence in the curriculum of the madrasa, the plurality of Hanafi texts in his library, and his cultivation of Turkish and Persian poetry in the *Edeb-i Osmani* tradition. On the other hand, Ahmad Efendi carves out a space within which he asserts his own cultural and intellectual orientation. This is seen most notably through promotion of his *sharîf* lineage and pursuit of group leadership as *naqîb al-ashrâf*, which is reinforced by ownership of prestigious genealogical texts in his library; the cultivation of an pre-Ottoman awareness tied primarily to the Mamluk Sultanate as seen in his concentrated acquisition of chronicles and biographical dictionaries of that era and his affiliation with multiple pre-Ottoman Sufi orders with proud but temporally remote local histories; his extensive financial and technical support for the training of timekeepers (*muwaqqits*); and, perhaps most strikingly, his explicit and extensive patronage of Kurds, primarily from the area of Mosul, as teachers and students in his madrasa.

Keywords: Aleppo, Tahazâde Ahmad Efendi, Ayân, Urban, Notables, Kurds, waqf, madrasa, self-fashioning

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Local intermediaries and insular space in late-18th century Ottoman Cyprus

*Antonis Hadjikyriacou**

Geç 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ında Yerel Aracılar ve Adasal Mekân

Öz ■ 18. yüzyıl ortalarından 19. yüzyıl ortalarına kadarki dönemde Osmanlı taşrasındaki servet ve iktidarın yeniden dağıtılmasına ilişkin tartışmalara katkı yapmayı amaçlayan bu makalede, üç mahalli seçkin üzerine odaklanılmaktadır: Kıbrıs tercümanı Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios (Acı Yorgaki), muhassıl Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa, Ermeni asıllı tüccar ve aynı zamanda elçilik tercümanlığı yapan Sarkis. Çalışmada, katı bir merkez-çevre ikileminin ötesine geçen analitik kategoriler aranmış, imparatorluk coğrafyasını daha iyi anlamak ve şimdiye kadar daha çok idari teşkilat üzerinden tanımlanan mekânsal tahayyülün ötesine geçmek için alternatif bir yaklaşım denemiştir. Braudel'in "minyatür kıtalar" kavramı kullanılarak Kıbrıs'taki yalıtılmış mekân olgusunu tasavvur etmek mümkün olmuş, bu sayede daha genel bağlamda ekonomik ilişkilerin doğası, üretim biçimleri ve taşradaki artıdeğerin birikimi daha iyi anlaşılabilmiştir. Burada incelenen üç yerel aracı, bu türden bir yaklaşımı araştırmacı için kolaylaştıran ve hatta teşvik eden ideal vakalar sunmuşlardır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı Devrinde Kıbrıs, adasallık, Sarkis, Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa, Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios, ayan, tercüman, aracılar.

This article examines three provincial intermediaries in Cyprus during the closing decades of the eighteenth century. It considers these cases as examples of some of the groups of Ottoman subjects who came to benefit in more ways than one from the redistribution of wealth and power in the Ottoman Empire during the period between 1750 and 1850. In this era, Ottoman imperial governance

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faced a series of challenges, and horizontal and vertical relationships of power and authority were undergoing significant renegotiation and reformulation.¹

A well-established historiographical trend on the study of this particular period concerns the shifting of attention from the imperial to the local.² Rather than reflexively adopting the vantage point of Istanbul, and often taking the documentary record produced by the central bureaucracy at face value, historians are now enquiring into the regional and provincial expressions of Ottoman repertoires of power. Paying equal attention to the horizontal as well as the hierarchical, there is a growing interest on the multilateral nature of imperial governance, the vernacularization of the language and discourse of legitimacy, and the local renditions of structures of authority and power encountered throughout the empire.³ Neither a homogeneous and uniform imperial order, nor a disorderly collection of idiosyncrasies, the emerging picture depicts the multiple dimensions of political, economic and social organization. Historians are now much more aware of the need to go beyond conventional and rigid understandings of institutions and the role of historical actors therein.

1 The bibliography on the period is vast. For some of the most recent and comprehensive treatments, see Ali Yaycıoğlu, “Provincial Power-holders and the Empire in the later Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (New York: Routledge, 2011), 436-452; Dina Rizk Khoury, “The Ottoman Centre Versus Provincial Power-holders: an Analysis of the Historiography,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya, N. Faroqi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 135-156; Bruce Masters, “Semi-autonomous Forces in the Arab Provinces,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3, ed., Faroqi, 186-206.

2 Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the nineteenth century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004); Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town. Ayntab in the 17th Century* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007); Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010); Antonis Anastasopoulos, “Centre-Periphery Relations: Crete in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Province Strikes Back: Imperial Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Björn Forsén and Giovanni Salmeri (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute at Athens, 2008), 123-136.; *idem.*, ed. *The Eastern Mediterranean Under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840*. (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2008); Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler and Efthios Gavriel, eds. *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009).

3 See generally, Woodhead, ed. *The Ottoman World*.

Three Historical Actors and Their Historian

[T]he dragoman of Cyprus [...caused] sedition and discord [...] by performing a great deal of villainy to the Muslim worshippers [...He was] executed in front of the Sublime Gate, and his corpse was put upside-down in the basket of a broom-seller, carried around, and left outside the gate of the fish market; he thus became a warning to others [...] It was rumored that all his property and cash totaled 11,000 purses [5,500,000 kuruş].⁴

Cabi Ömer Efendi

How could this faithless man become a governor?⁵
Sultan Abdülhamid I, on Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa

We went to the house of Mr Se[r]kis, [...] His house was in all respects a palace, possessing the highest degree of Oriental magnificence. The apartments [...] were adorned with studied elegance; the floors being furnished with the finest mats bought from Grand Cairo, and the divans covered with satin, set round with embroidered cushions.⁶

E. D. Clarke

Contributing to these debates, I will be examining here three case studies: Hadjiyorgakis Kornosios, dragoman of Cyprus; the *muhassıl* (tax-farming governor) Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa; and the Armenian consular dragoman-cum-merchant Sarkis. These are men that will not be encountered in Ottoman history textbooks, and for good reason. Primarily, none of them was remotely comparable to the better-known and prominent *ayan* in the Balkans and Anatolia who have received a lot of attention in the historiography of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. Looking at the spatial context within which these men were situated, there is nothing extraordinary about Cyprus during this period. Viewed from

4 Cabi Ömer Efendi, *Cabi Tarihi (Tarih-i Sultan Selim-i Salis ve Mahmud-ı Sani)*, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan, vol. 1, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 426-427. In the edited text of this work, the name of the dragoman is incorrectly transcribed as “Petraki”. For an explanation for this mistake see Antonis Hadjikyriacou, “Society and economy on an Ottoman island: Cyprus in the eighteenth century,” Ph.D. thesis (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2011), 261 fn. 800.

5 C.DH. 6699, undated *hatt-ı hümayun* by Sultan Abdülhamid I.

6 E. D. Clarke, “Clarke,” in *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, ed. Claude Delaval Cobham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 386-387.

the vantage point of center-periphery studies, Cyprus appears as just another Ottoman province of no special consequence.⁷ Many of the processes encountered throughout the empire are reflected on the island, and there is little deviation from the grand scheme of things as far as center-province interactions are concerned. In that sense, what can be learned by scrutinizing such a topic, beyond gaining glimpses into the micro-history of local intermediaries during a period of empire-wide reconfigurations of power?

The most commonly-employed units of analysis utilized for the purposes of such inquiries are those of capital and province. While these may seem as the most obvious tools to understand imperial realms, and indeed ones that cannot entirely be discarded, it may be possible to transcend the limits of a state-centered spatial imagination, which can often obfuscate alternative realities and historical processes. In an attempt to contribute to the quest for analytical categories that move beyond the center/province dichotomy, this article will make an initial attempt towards articulating an alternative scheme for understanding imperial space, and move beyond a spatial imagination confined to conventional administrative organization. Utilizing the Braudelian concept of ‘miniature continents’⁸ allows an envisioning of the Cypriot insularity that sheds light on the nature of economic relations, modes of production, and patterns of concentration of the rural surplus.⁹ Key provincial agents were able to manipulate the economic structures

7 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, “The Ottomanization of Cyprus: Turbulent times of transition and the quest for new analytical tools,” in *Ottoman Worlds: Foundational Coexistences*, ed. Devrim Ümit (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming 2014).

8 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1, transl. Siân Reynolds (London-New York: Fontana, 1972), 148-167

9 For other conceptualizations of insularity see Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, eds., *Insularités Ottomanes* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, Institut Français d’études Anatoliennes, 2004), particularly the contribution of Marc Aymes, “Position Délicate’ ou Île sans Histories? L’Intégration de Chypre à l’État Ottoman des Premières Tanzîmât,” 241-275; Spyros I. Asdrachas, “The Greek Archipelago: A Dispersed City,” in *Maps and Map-makers of the Aegean*, eds., Vasilis Sphyroeras, et al., (Athens: Polis, 1985), 235-248; Elias Kolovos, “Insularity and Island Society in the Ottoman Context: The Case of the Aegean Island of Andros (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” *Turcica* 39 (2007): 49-122; Stephan R. Epstein, *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Roxani Margariti, “An Ocean of Islands: Island, Insularity and Historiography in the Indian Ocean,” in *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013): 198-229; Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, eds. *Islands in History and Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Godfrey Baldacchino, “Islands, Island Studies, Island Studies Journal,” *Island Studies Journal* 1 (2006): 3-18;

of the island in different ways, and their study becomes a means to better understand the articulation of material conditions in an imperial setting. Hadjiyorgakis, Abdülbaki, and Sarkis are ideal case studies that can facilitate, or indeed instigate, this sort of inquiry.

Their story is as much about the lives and times of three Ottoman intermediaries, as it is the story of my own personal journey as an Ottomanist. I will therefore be infusing the narrative of how they came to be at the center of economic and social life in the island with that of how an inquiry into eighteenth-century Ottoman Cyprus led me to a quest for a total history of their lives which, in turn, unfolded insularity as an analytical tool that permitted an alternative conceptualization of the processes at stake.

Having returned from my first fieldwork trip to the *Başbakanlık* archives, and like any doctoral student, I was confronted with masses of photocopied Ottoman documents. I needed a strategy on how to deal with this material in order to prioritize types of documents or registers that I would start examining. Unsure of how to proceed, I was browsing the summaries of documents from the *Cevdet* series, and identified an imperial order concerning the affair of the confiscation of Hadjiyorgakis' property in the aftermath of his execution.¹⁰ Thinking that he is an extremely well-known figure in Cypriot history on whom little is known from Ottoman sources, I decided that this would be a good enough starting point for my venture into Ottoman documentation.

Ambition and Excess: Hadjiyorgakis Kornosios

Fast-forwarding towards the end of my doctoral studies, and having left Hadjiyorgakis aside to focus on other issues of eighteenth-century Cyprus, I came across a reference to an edition of Cabi's *History*. After I browsed through various accounts of contemporary Ottoman historians, I had lost all hope of finding any mention of Hadjiyorgakis in chronicles of the period. This made perfect sense, given that the dragoman was executed in 1809. In the background of the turbulence caused by the deposition of two Sultans and the murder of Selim III, one would assume that Ottoman historians had bigger fish to fry than to comment on the execution of an out-of-favor provincial official. In my last attempt to find

Alexis Rappas, "Insularity and Ethnicity: The Dodecanese under Italian Colonial Rule," in *Mediterráneos: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Cultures of the Mediterranean Sea*, eds. S. Carro Martin et al. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 263-174.

¹⁰ Başbakanlık Osmalı Arşivi (BOA) [Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry], Cevdet Adliye (C.ADL.) 2156.

something on Hadjiyorgakis, however, I came across the passage by Cabi's *History* quoted in the previous epigraph.

The story of Hadjiyorgakis has been told elsewhere,¹¹ and a range of studies offer a rare abundance of information on a particular historical actor.¹² I will therefore limit my analysis here to some of the more important facets of his life and times.

His ascendance to the position of dragoman meant that he had to coexist with the other two poles of power in Ottoman Cyprus at the time: the *muhassıl* (governor), and the Orthodox archbishop.¹³ The balance of power between the three loci of power was neither consistent, nor determined by religious affiliation. Hadjiyorgakis' appointment as dragoman was acquired with the assistance of *muhassıl* Abdülbaki Ağa, with whom, however, he subsequently clashed in a power struggle.¹⁴ Similarly, while the dragoman had allied himself with the bishops during his conflict with the *muhassıl*, his relationship with the prelates was tense.¹⁵

Once Abdülbaki was removed from power, the prelates were also stripped of their tax-collecting functions, having been found guilty of excessive taxation and irregularities.¹⁶ With the simultaneous discrediting of both the bishops and

11 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "The Province goes to the Center: the case of Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios, dragoman of Cyprus," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Sultans, Subjects, and Elites*, eds. Kent F. Schull and Christine Isom-Verhaaren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming 2014).

12 See indicatively, Theoharis Stavrides, "Cyprus 1750-1830. Administration and Society," in *Ottoman Cyprus*, eds. Michael, Gavriel and Kappler, 89-106; 100-141; Mette Pihler, ed. *A Dragoman's House*. (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture Publishers, 1993); Michalis N. Michaël, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατά τὴν Οὐθωμανικὴ Περίοδο (1571-1878). Ἡ Στάδιακὴ Συγκροτῆσὴ τῆς σε ἐνα Θεσμο Πολιτικῆς Exousias* (Nicosia: Kentro Epistemonikon Ereunon, 2005), 150-6; Euphrosynē Rizopoulou-Ēgoumenidou, "Ἱστορικὴ Μαρτυρία Ἰωάννου Κορνάρου τοῦ Κρητός," in *Nea Eikona kai Istorikē Martyria Iōannou Kornarou tou Krētos*, eds. eadem. and Christodoulos Chatzēchristodoulou (Nicosia: Iera Mētropolis Pafou kai Vyzantino Mouseio Hōrepiskopēs Arsinoēs, 2000), 19-46; Nuri Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti: Yönetim, Kilise, Ayan ve Halk (1750-1800). Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi*. (Famagusta: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2000), 86-89, 123-129.

13 Michalēs N. Michaël, "Ὁ Μουχασίλης, ὁ Δραγομάνος, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος καὶ ἡ Διεκδίκηση τῆς Πολιτικῆς Ἐξουσίας στὴν Κύπρο τῆς Οὐθωμανικῆς Περιφέρειας, 1789-1810," *Epetērida* 32 (2006): 229-237.

14 Stavrides, "Cyprus 1750-1830," 96.

15 Rizopoulou-Ēgoumenidou, "Ἱστορικὴ Μαρτυρία," 20.

16 BOA, C.ML. 26268; BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ. 27; Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti*, 88-89.

the governor, Hadjiyorgakis emerged as the only credible official on the island, essentially controlling the right to administer tax-collection and overshadowing the *muhassıl* and the bishops. Hadjiyorgakis had assumed the title of “representative of the non-Muslims” (*reaya vekili*), allowing him a great degree of authority over the fiscal and political affairs of the community, as well as implying leadership over it.

From that point onwards, Hadjiyorgakis gradually but steadily proceeded to expand the realm of his authority either within or beyond what was legally permissible. Nonetheless, his power was not uncontested. Extant documents report the questioning of his authority in various shapes or forms, and at different stages of his career. Even before he was appointed dragoman, and when Hadjiyorgakis was still at the bottom level of the tax-collecting process, a collective petition reported the double charging of taxation on his behalf.¹⁷ In 1790, Hadjiyorgakis reported violent opposition against his authority, when “certain bandits” had “secretly and in a violent manner” opposed the payment of taxes.¹⁸ On a different level, there are three separate cases when individuals accused Hadjiyorgakis of illegally appropriating their fixed assets.¹⁹ Finally, the biggest challenge against the dragoman took the form of an open revolt in 1804. In this year, he was assigned the collection of extraordinary taxes to cover the costs of the military expedition to Egypt during Napoleon’s occupation.

In the aftermath of Muslim resistance to his tax-collecting authority, Hadjiyorgakis wrote to the Porte to explain the situation. In his petition, he described himself as “representative of the province” (*vilayet vekili*), clearly a step further from his previous title as “representative of the non-Muslims” (*reaya vekili*). This conveys a sense of an institutional identity implying authority over both communities of the island.

This is the only evidence for the use of this unprecedented title, and there is no extant documentation from Istanbul confirming or inaugurating such an appointment. On the one hand, the stretching of meanings of titles and its use to augment one’s power through the projection of an institutional identity is frequently encountered in Ottoman Cyprus.²⁰ At the same time, if this were indeed

17 BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ, 1/25, undated petition of the *reayas* of Cyprus.

18 BOA, C.ML. 3132, f. 1.

19 BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ, 1/25, order to the *molla* of Nicosia, last days of Receb 1198/9-19 of June 1784; BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ, 1/34. See also Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti*, 232.

20 Hadjikyriacou, “Society and Economy,” 176-189.

the case, it would be an extremely audacious move to write to the sultan adopting this title with no foundation whatsoever.

The fiscal authority endowed to certain officials was often used as justification to adopt titles that conveyed the sense of broader jurisdiction with reference to communal representation in Cyprus. The blurred boundaries between fiscal and administrative functions meant that tax-collecting was used as the means to project an institutional identity and legitimacy.²¹ These issues are eloquently manifested in this particular episode, when Hadjiyorgakis essentially claims authority over the island as a whole, yet not in an entirely arbitrary fashion. The right to collect extraordinary taxes essentially gave authority to the dragoman over the island's Muslims and created a precedent that allowed him to project a particular institutional identity. Such a development, if unprecedented, was entirely in line with the gradual expansion of Hadjiyorgakis' fiscal and administrative functions. This was despite the fact that he was a non-Muslim, and mainly because he was able to perform these functions in a fashion that appeared efficient and effective from the vantage point of Istanbul.

Nonetheless, the several cases of complaints encountered above would justify, at the very least, the anticipation of irregularities or excesses in performing his fiscal and administrative functions. Indeed, the description of the procedure by Hadjiyorgakis himself in 1804 justifies the suspicions of those incredulous towards his intentions: the dragoman contracted a debt from various local lenders under his own name and paid the money on behalf of the Muslims. He then requested the assistance of the Porte in collecting the taxes from the Muslims to cover his expenses, including any interest incurred to his creditors.²² This essentially meant that these costs compounded the original amount of the taxes, leaving ample space for constructive ambiguity where hidden profits would fit. The degree of the dragoman's profit-seeking activities through taxation exceeded what was normal, acceptable, or even sustainable on behalf of the tax-payers, and such transgressions prompted riots and revolts.

These considerations raise the issue of the degree of power that Hadjiyorgakis enjoyed which, if high enough, translated into unilateral actions. Whereas the equilibrium of power between different poles of authority inherently necessitated certain checks and balances that would limit the ambitions and excesses of powerful individuals, the dragoman was able to sideline these regulatory mechanisms,

21 *ibid.*

22 Iōannēs P. Theocharidēs, "Ανέκδοτα Οθωμανικά Έγγραφα για το Δραγομένο της Κύπρου Χατζηγεωργάκη Κορνέσιο," in *Symmeikta Dragomanika tēs Kyprou* (Ioannina: Panepistēmio Iōanninōn, 1986), 29-30, 42-43, 53, (doc. 1).

and exert such a degree of control over the economy of the island to the extent that he jeopardized the very sustainability of surplus extraction. Indeed, this was the highest priority from the vantage point of Istanbul.

A chain of events that was nothing short of a watershed in the history of Cyprus vividly illustrate these observations: in 1802, Hadjiyorgakis had managed to concentrate and illegally export the vast majority of the island's cereal production. The grain was transported to Spain, where prices were inflated due to the Napoleonic wars. In the meantime, the local population in Cyprus experienced famine. Two years later, rumors of another imminent dearth due to grain hoarding, alongside the above-described collection of extraordinary taxes created an explosive mix that led to the outbreak of riots, followed by a two year-long period of chains of revolts and instability. While Hadjiyorgakis managed to escape to Istanbul unscathed, he was ultimately executed in 1809.²³

Yet, the dragoman made sure he left with a bang: after his execution it emerged that he had incurred several debts of almost 1.3 million kuruş spent on 'communal affairs'. Since Hadjiyorgakis was the representative of the province (*vilayet vekili*), this essentially meant that the people of Cyprus were responsible for the dragoman's debts.²⁴ This kind of financial breakdown was unprecedented, as Hadjiyorgakis was not just 'too big to fail', but was the biggest one of all. In short, a collapse of the financial system came about by the collective long-term indebtedness of the Muslims and non-Muslims of the island to the creditors of the dragoman.

Turning "the country to the nest of crow and owl": Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa

While concentrating and processing documents on Hadjiyorgakis for the purposes of my doctoral research, I quickly realized that Ottoman documentation relevant to his person was overlapping with another dominant figure of the period: Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa. His life unravels as a colorful and controversial story of social mobility.

Abdülbaki has been depicted by Greek-Cypriot historians as emblematic of the iniquitous nature of Ottoman rule. Discourses of the period attach the most negative of adjectives to his name, and Kyprianos, a local contemporary chronicler, paints the period of Abdülbaki's rule with the gloomiest of colors. So much so that one would even be tempted to take his bitter account with a pinch of

²³ Hadjikyriacou, "The Province goes to the Center".

²⁴ BOA, C.ML. 3801, f.1.

salt, especially when taking into consideration the author's propensity to liberally shed venom at anyone who opposed the interests, ideology, and legitimacy of the clerical hierarchy of the time. Nevertheless, as far the factual aspect of Kyprianos' account of the period is concerned, he was fairly accurate and often confirmed by Ottoman documentation.²⁵

Leaving the moralistic assessment of Abdülbaki aside, his case is a particularly useful example of how one could reach the position of *muhassıl*, his patronage networks, and more importantly the economic logic of such an individual. Nonetheless, the phenomena described have been observed elsewhere in the empire and, more than anything, their explanation lies in the nature of the period under examination. For example, the case of Hacı Ali Haseki, *voyvoda* of Athens, is strikingly similar.²⁶

One of the features that make Abdülbaki a particularly interesting case is that he was a local of humble rural background. As such, he did not fit the usual pattern of Ottoman officials who were appointed to the position. A timber-carrier, one-eyed, and illiterate, he entered the Ottoman military from the ranks of irregular soldiers (*levends*).²⁷ He managed to steadily climb to the top of provincial hierarchy by occupying several positions of authority that allowed him to become a major player in the financial and commercial affairs of the island, and develop complex business and personal relations with the European consuls involving bills of exchange.²⁸ At the same time, he ensured that his patrons in Istanbul were powerful enough to let him get away with virtually anything.

25 Archimandritēs Kyprianos, *Istoria Chronologikē tēs Nēsou Kyprou. Ekdosis Palligennēsias*. Reprint of 1788 edition. (Nicosia: Etairia Kypriakōn Spoudōn, 1971), 326-330.

26 See generally Katerina Stathi, "A Confrontation of Sources for the History of Athens in the Late 18th Century," unpublished paper presented at the Princeton University workshop "The Greek Experience Under Ottoman Rule," Santorini, June 23-24, 2007; Johann Strauss "Ottoman Rule Experienced and Remembered: Remarks on Some Local Greek Chronicles," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, eds. Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2002), 208-214; Spyros I. Asdrachas, *Viōsē kai Katagrafē tou Oikonomikou: Ē Martyria tēs Apomnēmoneusēs*. (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunōn, 2007), 214-238.

27 Kyprianos, *Istoria*, 326; Athanasios Komnēnos Ypsēlantēs, *Ekklesiastikōn kai Politikōn tōn eis Dōdeka Bibliōn H' Th' kai I' Ētoi Ta Meta tēn Alōsin (1453-1789)*, ed. Archimandritēs Germanos Afthonides Sinaitēs, Second Edition (Athens: Ekdoseis Karabia, 1972), 636.

28 Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 113-173; Giustiniana Migliardi O'Riordan, ed., *Archivio del Consolato Veneto a Cipro (fine sec. XVII–inizio XIX)* (Venice: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, 1991), *passim*; Paschalēs M.

The aforementioned conflict between Abdülbaki and Hadjiyorgakis could only be resolved through its transfer to Istanbul, where the perpetual animosity between the Grand Vizier and the *Kapudan* Pasha, who were the *muhassıls* and dragoman's respective patrons, was employed for the final resolution of the affair.²⁹ Other accusations against Abdülbaki came to the assistance of the dragoman, and a collective petition by the *ulema* and Muslim notables of Cyprus was sent to Istanbul. It lists no less than twenty five accusations against Abdülbaki, and pleads for his dismissal and exile.

Apart from the usual vague accusations of illegal exactions and the formulaic language of "oppression and transgression" (*zülüm ü ta'adi*), more novel crimes, and detailed descriptions thereof, include: taking possession of inheritances; forcibly taking money as alleged loans by producing false witnesses at the court; causing the divorce of married women (again, by producing false witnesses at the court) and taking them into his custody; forcibly taking donkeys, cotton, and silk; coercing people to sell their produce at cheap prices; exporting grain to Europe when the island was in need of cereals; diverting the water supply of the Selimiye (Aya Sofya) mosque of Nicosia to his *çiftlik*s thus starving the city of water; forcing the writing of false petitions in his defense; stealing the stamps of court officials and forging an *i'lam* stating that the complaints against him were slanders; imprisoning the dragoman Hadjiyorgakis, falsely claiming that he owed him money, and commissioning an attempt to his life; including five- and six-year-old children in the registers to reduce the per-capita nominal tax rate; demolishing the houses of those unable to pay their taxes and taking the timber as payment; refusing to cooperate with the authorities during the investigation against him; and, finally, being rebellious, and entrenching himself in the citadels of the island with bands

Kitromēlidēs, *Koinōnikes Sheseis kai Nootropies stēn Kypro tou Dekatou Ogdoou Aiōna* (Nicosia: Sugkrotēma Laikēs Trapezas, Ekpaideutiko kai Politistiko Kentro, 1992), 31-34 (doc. 8).

²⁹ Nikodēmos [Mylōnas, Metropolitan of Kition], "Ανέκδοτα Ιστορικά Έγγραφα," *Kypriaka Chronika*, 3 (1925): 171-233; for Abdülbaki's version of events see BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ 1/22; BOA, C.ML. 26268; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 4: *The Ottoman Province, The British Colony*, ed. Sir Harry Luke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 96-99; Kyprianos, *Istoria*, 328-330; Ypsēlantēs, *Ta Meta tēn Alōsin*, 636-638, 640. On patronage networks in general, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation (1570-1650)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 2-3; *eadem.*, "Civilian Society and Political Power in the Ottoman Empire: A Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480-1830)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17 (1985): 109-117.

of armed men.³⁰ Under the weight of such accusations, and having to deal with a powerful rival patronage network, Abdülbaki's position was dire.

He was dismissed, only to be reappointed *muhassıl* shortly thereafter. By taking advantage of the new configurations in Istanbul after the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Halil Pasha, Abdülbaki became close to the *Şeyhülislam*. Through various bribes and new patrons, he was about to return triumphant to the island.³¹ As another petition dramatically explains, the news came to Cyprus like a bombshell. In a desperate tone, the inhabitants of the island explain how “for eight consecutive years [he has] infested us, [has been] usurping our properties, violating our lands, and with various oppressions we were left without power and strength, scattered, dispersed, disturbed, and disappearing, and everything was left in ruins.” The *müfti* was so terrorized by the prospect of Abdülbaki's revenge, that upon receiving the news that he was reappointed as *muhassıl*, he fled to Damascus with his family. He was soon followed by all the *ulema*, notables, and many people who rushed to escape the wrath of Abdülbaki. The petition reached a crescendo with a final plea to the Sultan to show mercy to the people and revoke the appointment “for the sake of God, your sacred imperial head, and the heads of our lords, the exalted young princes.”³² The dramatic tone did the trick. An enraged Sultan Abdülhamid I commented: “how could this faithless man become *muhassıl* again? [...] This kind of support for oppression is not met with my most exalted approval.”³³

It is worth at this stage to consider certain questions arising from the relevant documentation. The anguish of the authors is evident and the language used against him is damning. In a typical example, the *kadı* of Nicosia wrote of his “satanic tricks”.³⁴ Even if we allow for a certain degree of exaggeration, there can be little doubt about the violent nature of his rule and his abuse of specific characteristics of the economy. Yet, an important question remains unanswered on what appears as an orchestrated and almost universal appeal for the end of Abdülbaki's rule: why had there been no recorded complaints previously? This is in sharp contrast to the tone of the post-1784 petitions, but also established practice. As Kyprianos (bitterly) informs, and archival documents confirm, Cypriots would often comp-

30 BOA, A.DVN.KBM. 1/40.

31 BOA, C.DH. 6699, undated petition (*arzuhâl*) of the inhabitants of Cyprus; Ypselantēs, *Ta Meta tēn Alōsin*, 640.

32 *ibid.*

33 BOA, C.DH. 6699, undated *hatt-ı hümayun* by Sultan Abdülhamid I.

34 BOA, A.DVN.KBŞ. 1/31.

lain to the authorities about the abuses of local dignitaries.³⁵ If the situation was so grave, why did the central bureaucracy have no idea about it? Or, to put the question more accurately, why were complaints not sent previously?

This prompts the question of what triggered the initial complaint against Abdülbaki in 1784 by the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the dragoman Hadjiyorgakis. The only source that provides an answer to this question is the English consul Michael De Vezin. He points out that Abdülbaki was the only *muhassıl* who had managed to keep his position for such an extended period of time, contrary to the usual practice of year-long appointments. He attributes this to the support of the archbishop and his patronage networks in Istanbul. This relationship came to an end in 1784 when the commercial interests of the *muhassıl* and the bishops conflicted, causing the all-out clash between the two sides.³⁶ Kyprianos also confirms that the higher clergy supported Abdülbaki in becoming *muhassıl*,³⁷ just as Hadjiyorgakis was originally appointed dragoman with the support of Abdülbaki.³⁸ Thus, the lack of complaints prior to 1784 is explicable by the cooperation and mutual assistance between the *muhassıl*, the prelates and/or the dragoman. In fact, this is a phenomenon observed throughout the eighteenth century.³⁹ A similar situation can be assumed for the Muslim notables who despite their vociferous denunciation of Abdülbaki's rule in their petitions, remained silent for most of the period. In short, there was a configuration of consensus between the island's main power-holders, during which they saw no reason to inform the capital of the serious problems in local administration.

The official inquiry into the conduct of Abdülbaki estimated that over nine years he had collected more than 16,000 *kise* (8,000,000 *куруş*).⁴⁰ This figure is by far the biggest I have encountered in Cyprus, both in current and constant prices. This was more than half the central Ottoman treasury's revenue for that year (14.5 million *куруş*).⁴¹ Bearing this in mind, the description of the situation on the

35 Kyprianos, *Istoria*, 314-315, 317, 329.

36 Michael De Vezin, "De Vezin," in *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, 368.

37 Kyprianos, *Istoria*, 327. He implies, however, that they were cheated.

38 Stavrides, "Administration and Society," 96.

39 Alexander De Groot, art. "Kubrus," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition; Michaël, "Ο Μουχασίλης," 229-237.

40 BOA, HAT 4122.

41 Erol Özvar, "Osmanlı Devletinin Bütçe Harcamaları (1509-1788)," in *Osmanlı Maliyesi. Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, eds., Mehmet Genç and Erol Özvar (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), 220.

island in the relevant report is hardly surprising: “the country will be a destitute and desolate place” (literally: “the country will be the nest of crow and owl”).⁴²

The affair ended with the exile of Abdülbaki and his appointment as customs officer (*gümriük emini*) at Jaffa. It is particularly intriguing that he was appointed to a profitable post of a Mediterranean entrepôt – hardly a punitive exercise. There is no mentioning of an official sentence or a confiscation. Abdülbaki engaged in his usual transactions during his time in Jaffa, like being involved in the market for bills of exchange, while debts owed to him from Cypriots were still considered valid.⁴³ In other words, despite the Sultan's wrath, it appears that Abdülbaki's patrons were still able to secure a decent retirement post.

Behind the Scenes: Sarkis, a Consular Dragoman in Ottoman Cyprus

The consistent nature of the documentation pertinent to Hadjiyorgakis and Abdülbaki prompted me to look for other similar cases with a critical mass of material on. Browsing through my notes, summaries and documents, I noticed that the name “Sarkis, son of Ovak” appeared in a frequency that rivaled the two actors examined above.⁴⁴ Upon further research, I quickly discovered that Ottoman documentation on Sarkis was unexpectedly gradually being complimented by several scattered references in travelers' accounts or secondary literature that no one had put together in the past in reconstructing the portrait of an impressive figure.⁴⁵

The emerging picture portrays a rich merchant, employed at the French and English consulates, enjoying the benefits of this protection, and who was very well connected to the centers of political and economic power of the island. This is nothing new. The power, wealth, and entrepreneurial activities of consular staff are well-documented throughout the empire, and several studies have elaborated on this issue. What makes his case valuable, however, is the fact that it is possible to document in detail the ways with which he was able to manipulate several factors

42 “memleketleri âşyâne-i büm ve gurâb olaca[k]”. HAT 4122.

43 BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 76/1; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 76/65; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 77/19; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 77/38; BOA, C.ML. 5221; BOA, C.ML. 30133; BOA, C.ML. 25166; BOA, C.HR. 6653; BOA, C.HR. 6997.

44 Thanks to the kind assistance of Maurits van den Boogert, I was able to locate the following additional references to Sarkis: The National Archives, State Papers [henceforth TNA, SP] 105/190, p. 90; November 12, 1798; SP 105/190, p. 117; May 30, 1799; SP 105/190, p. 139, September 12, 1799; BOA, ED 51, p. 8.

45 See also Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks, 1571-1878* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 112-114.

in the diplomatic, legal, and economic arena to his advantage through his many connections. His story is important as far as it reveals the path to success (and eventual persecution) of someone who was outside the official state apparatus.

His most valuable asset was that he was a consular dragoman; more precisely, an honorary dragoman i.e., he was less of an interpreter and more of a commercial intermediary, offering his knowledge of the local market and extensive trading links. Sarkis came from a family of merchants-cum-dragomans. His father was also dragoman of the French consulate, and Sarkis succeeded him in 1777.⁴⁶ His brother, Aretin, occupied the same position for the Dutch consulate and was also succeeded by his own son.⁴⁷ Sarkis and Aretin were business partners, and appear as major lenders in a register of communal debts.⁴⁸ Sarkis' son was also a *beratlı*, and had as his 'servant', as the rules of the capitulations had it, a member of the well-known and rich Greek-Orthodox family of Karydis, also deeply rooted in consular services.⁴⁹ The family's deep relationship with trade is also revealed by a joint export venture of Aretin with Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios in 1786.⁵⁰ Additionally, the two brothers appear in the list of subscribers for Kyprianos' *History*. The book was the first Cypriot attempt towards a late-eighteenth century synthesis of enlightenment and religious historiography, and the two brothers' subscription is another indication of their degree of integration with the small circle of educated Greek-Orthodox administrative, religious, and merchant elites. They were the only non-Greek Orthodox subscribers, save for a Russian priest in Venice.⁵¹

Sarkis was originally working for the French, and following Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, the Ottomans responded by shutting down French consulates. As a French protégé, his property was confiscated. Sarkis quickly moved to reinstate his position by offering his services to the English, and the consul requested the

46 Thoukydidēs P. Iōannou, *Emporikes Sheseis Kyprou-Gallias Kata to 18o Aiōna*. (Nicosia: Politistikes Ypēresies Ypourgeiou Paideias, 2002), 58.

47 BOA, KBM 1/14, f. 2; Mehmet Akif Erdoğan, "Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Sonlarında Kıbrıs'ta Avrupalı Konsoloslar ve Tercümanları," *İkinci Uluslararası Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Kongresi. 24-27 Kasım 1998*. vol. 2, eds. İsmail Bozkurt, Hüseyin Ateşin, M. Kansu (Famagusta: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1999), 319; Ioannēs P. Theocharidēs, "Το Καθεστώς του Δραγομάνου του Ολλανδικού Προξενείου στην Κύπρο επί Τουρκοκρατίας," in *Symmeikta Dragomanika*, 74-79, 84-88, 95-96 (docs. 3-4).

48 BOA, C.ADL. 2737; Nikodēmos, "Ανέκδοτα Ιστορικά Έγγραφα," 222-228.

49 This was Krikor. TNA, SP 105/190, p. 117, 30 May 1799; SP 105/190, p. 139, 12 September 1799. The 'servant', in reality someone who benefited from capitulatory status, was Konstantinos, son of Andronikos Karydis.

50 Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti*, 287.

51 Kyprianos, *Istoria*, 404.

issuing of a *berat* for his new dragoman-cum-commercial intermediary. The Ottoman authorities flatly rejected the request, perhaps rather unexpectedly. The consul called upon his ambassador in Istanbul, Lord Elgin, to push for Sarkis' appointment and re-instatement of his property. The ambassador exerted a great degree of pressure to the Porte, but to no avail.⁵²

During this period, the Ottoman state was deeply concerned about the manipulation of the rules of the capitulations, and keen to take action to re-establish its authority. There was widespread concern about dragomans who were conspicuously not performing their specified duties, and simply sought *beratlı* status to acquire European protection, evade taxation and gain a more competitive position in trade through lower customs duties.⁵³

The English consul and ambassador were not deterred by the Porte's refusal, and continued to push for the appointment of Sarkis and re-instatement of his property. Lord Elgin "petitioned [this case] with the repeated submission of notes, and no matter how many times the necessary replies were given, he was even more persistent."⁵⁴ In the continuing refusal of the Ottoman authorities to allow the appointment of Sarkis, the English became more aggressive, and elevated it to an issue that might have affected relations between the two states, forcing a discussion of the problem with the Ottoman ambassador in London, Ismail Efendi. After repeated discussions in London, continuing pressure from the English, and the relevant recommendations by Ismail Efendi, it was decided that the request would be permitted by Sultanlic command, as a token of the sincere and honest relations between the two states.⁵⁵ One can imagine Selim III dragging his hand while unwillingly writing his rescript on the relevant document: "let it be permitted".⁵⁶

Clearly, the issue was blown out of proportion. It would be naïve to accept in an unqualified manner the fact that a petty dragoman at a provincial consulate could have disturbed the bilateral relations of England and the Ottoman Empire. Much more important dynamics were at play here.

A better understanding of the affair can be reached if it is placed in the context of the relations of European powers with the Ottoman Empire at the time, and the debates on the extents and limits of the meaning of the capitulations. While

52 BOA, HAT 15333.

53 Maurits van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, and beratlıs in the 18th Century* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 105-112.

54 BOA, HAT 15333.

55 *ibid.*; Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks*, 112-114.

56 BOA, HAT 15333, undated *hatt-ı hümayun* by Sultan Selim III.

one may assume that a certain degree of prestige and diplomatic bullying was involved, it would be too simplistic to leave it at that. Sarkis had something to offer to the English consulate in Cyprus. Having already been a protégé of the French, he was a seasoned merchant. The prospect of incorporating within the English consulate someone who was well-acquainted with the French trading networks in Cyprus must have been attractive, particularly so when Napoleon was invading Egypt and the French consulate on the island was closed down. Regardless of the complex reasons behind this affair, there can be little doubt about who the eventual beneficiary was. Sarkis managed to cancel the confiscation of his estate and acquire the position of dragoman. This was no small achievement considering that little more than a dozen people held that status in Cyprus at the time.⁵⁷

Equally, if not more, controversial was the confiscation of Sarkis' estate following his death. This was an affair that lasted several years, and is richly documented in the Ottoman archives by a collection of detailed reports from various officials involved in the process.⁵⁸ In accordance with the usual procedure, an inquiry officer (*mübaşir*) was sent from Istanbul in order to calculate the value of Sarkis' estate. The original report stated that the confiscation could not take place because the amount of money in arrears was in excess of the total value of the inheritance: the assets of Sarkis totaled 79,859 kuruş, whereas his arrears amounted to 98,044 kuruş.⁵⁹

Complications arose when the *kadı* informed Istanbul that serious irregularities took place during this investigation, questioning the validity of these figures. According to this report, Sarkis' assets were hidden in order to present the accounts at a loss, thus preventing the confiscation. The *kadı* reported that the real transactions register of Sarkis had been hidden, and that the family had given various amounts of money to certain officials in order to prevent investigators from finding the cash: 50,000 kuruş worth of gold was allegedly entrusted to the Armenian bishop of Cyprus; 50,000 kuruş to the *muhassıl*; 25,000 kuruş to the *na'ib* of Nicosia; and 15,000 kuruş to the *müfti* – in total 140,000 kuruş.⁶⁰ The accusations also involved the inquiry officer Abdi Efendi, who was also accused of “connivance and negligence.”⁶¹

57 van den Boogert, *Capitulations*, 90.

58 BOA, C.ML. 4890.

59 *ibid.*, f. 2.

60 *ibid.*, ff. 3-6.

61 *ibid.*, f. 6.

These allegations were the tip of the iceberg. According to the same report, during the investigation large volumes of cash crops and commodities were found in Sarkis' warehouses. The most impressive claim concerns 30,000 *kiles* (769.68-923.62 metric tons) of grain. If this was true, then one merchant kept twice as much as what was reportedly illegally exported to Europe in 1784 by Abdülba-ki (15,000 *kiles*),⁶² and the equivalent of three-quarters of the total amount of grain required from the whole island by the Ottoman military in 1800 (40,000 *kiles*).⁶³

As evidence for the wealth of Sarkis, the *kadı* points to the luxurious family residence, confirming the description of a visiting Englishman encountered above.⁶⁴ Other European travelers hosted in the mansion further elaborated on the dazzling exhibits of riches, conspicuous consumption and displays of power by a man prestigious enough to regularly make his home available to visiting foreigners of some stature:

At Lefkosia [Nicosia] we are very hospitably entertained by an Armenian merchant, of the name of Sarkes, who is an English *baratli*, and under that protection has amassed a considerable property, and lives in splendour; he and his relations seem to occupy all the principal offices of the island held by the Christians, such as interpreter and banker to the Mutesellim, or deputy of the Qapudan Pasha, collector of the contributions of the Christians, head of the Christian community &c.⁶⁵

I dismounted at Nicosia, at the house of a rich Armenian merchant called Sarkis. The house he lives in, recently built by himself, is very large, well decorated and luxuriously furnished. This show of luxury in the house of a Christian proves the mildness of the Government in Cyprus. Throughout Asia Minor no *rayah* dare make such show of this.⁶⁶

The residence was not included in the probate register because the court accepted that Sarkis had transferred it to his children prior to his death. The *kadı* also stated that upon Sarkis' death, the family rushed to purchase extremely expensive luxury household goods, furniture and upholstery worth 100,000 *kuruş*, thus converting cash in order to prevent its confiscation. By claiming that these are household items, and therefore part of the house, they were technically not

62 BOA, A.DVN.KBM. 1/40.

63 BOA, C.AS. 5835.

64 W. M. Leake, "Leake" in *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, 338-339.

65 Clarke, "Clarke," 386-387.

66 L. A. Corancez, "Excerpta Cypria: Corancez," in *Kypriaka Chronika* 1 (1923): 152.

the property of the deceased. The *na'ib* of Nicosia was implicated in this episode, something that casts shadows over the court's acceptance of the transfer documents from Sarkis to his children.⁶⁷ Finally, it is estimated that the real value of Sarkis' assets amounted to 1,000 *kise* (500,000 kuruş) in total, more than ten times the official amount of 49,859 kuruş.⁶⁸ These accusations notwithstanding, subsequent investigations revealed no new proof, and the original probate register was officially accepted. The confiscation was therefore cancelled, and the inheritance left to the family.⁶⁹

Biography of an Ottoman Island

The stories that started taking shape after I had finished studying these three individuals during my research were, if anything, a colorful read and I decided that putting them together would make a good chapter. Once I started thinking about their overlapping narratives, the most important common thread was the impressive amount of wealth they all accumulated, even by Cypriot standards. Abdülbaki gained a total of 8 million kuruş during his governorship, an amount that was more than half the central Ottoman treasury's revenue for that year; Hadjiyorgakis' property was reputedly 5.5 million kuruş; Sarkis' residence was described as a "grand three-door mansion containing one hundred rooms, all of them exquisitely furnished".⁷⁰

Sarkis, Abdülbaki, and Hadjiyorgakis, incidentally all of them Cypriot and representative of the three main religious communities on the island, demonstrated an acute entrepreneurial spirit, with extensive trading and financial activities. They were deeply involved in the grain, cotton, and silk trade, the three main products of the island, often exporting large quantities of goods legally or illegally. They had privileged access to administrators who either openly helped them, or were looking the other way. Their deep knowledge and experience of the political, economic, and commercial networks of the island, as well as the Levant and Istanbul, were particularly beneficial. Hadjiyorgakis had some bones to pick with Mehmet Ali, governor of Egypt, who confiscated one of the dragoman's ships;⁷¹ while Sarkis and Abdülbaki appear to have been engaged in several financial tran-

67 BOA, C.ML. 4890, f. 4; see also MAD 972, f. 240.

68 BOA, C.ML. 4890, f. 3 marginal note (*derkenar*) dated 18 Ramazan 1225/17 October 1810.

69 BOA, C.ML. 4890, f. 8.

70 BOA, C.ML. 4890, f. 4

71 BOA, C.ML. 19843

sactions involving debts and bills of exchange in Jerusalem.⁷² As a result of their involvement in all sorts of affairs and transactions, they were also the subject of complaints and accusations, and they frequently appear in court disputes.

Their official titles obscure much more than what they reveal about the range of their activities. A dragoman was not just an interpreter, and a *mubassil* was not just a tax-farmer. A great deal of other capacities should be added to the ones recognized and assigned to by the Ottoman state, an issue pointed out by Christine Philliou and Palmira Brummett.⁷³ These men were at the same time entrepreneurs, moneylenders, financiers, merchants, and political players, with extensive networks of commercial and financial activity. At a different level, the growing literature on intermediaries in Mediterranean ‘contact zones’ puts under scrutiny particular individuals who were able to traverse the fluid cultural, linguistic and identity boundaries of the early-modern world, illustrating how rigid understandings of these analytical categories inhibit the conceptualization of individual and collective agents.⁷⁴ The three cases examined here fit perfectly into this category of intermediaries.

Alongside two high-profile state functionaries who are central to any history of the period (Abdülbaki and Hadjiyorgakis), Sarkis is a little-known figure, and one who did not occupy any official state position. Yet, he emerges as an important factor in the economic and social life of Cyprus. The interaction of a non-state actor with the Ottoman state lends important insights into the position, influence, and relationship of individuals positioned in the middle-to-upper level of society – but clearly more towards the upper side.

These men not only benefited from the readjustments of center-province relations at various stages, but they were also sometimes instrumental in the

72 BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 76/1; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 76/65; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 77/19; BOA, D.BŞM.MHF. 77/38; BOA, C.ML. 5221; BOA, C.ML. 30133; BOA, C.ML. 25166; BOA, C.HR. 6653; BOA, C.HR. 6997.

73 Christine Philliou, “Mischiefs in the Old Regime: Provincial dragomans and Social Change at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 25 (2001): 119; Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 14.

74 E. Natalie Rothman “Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009): 771-773; *eadem.*, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 4; Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* 91 (1990): 34; also *eadem.*, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

formulation of these readjustments. Hadjiyorgakis and Abdülbaki in particular, were recipients of fiscal authority devolved from Istanbul to Cyprus, and were able to negotiate, and even stretch the meaning of the terms that prescribed their authority and power. In that, they occupied lofty positions in the tax-collecting pyramid and administration of the island. Their positioning in the credit nexus meant that they could efficiently and effectively transfer large amounts of money to the Ottoman coffers at times of need, be it with the use of bills of exchange, or their own financial networks.⁷⁵

The growing provisioning needs of the Ottoman state from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards opened a wide range of opportunities for all three of them. Their role in urban-rural relations meant that they were able to concentrate large amounts of key goods – a major asset for both the Ottoman state and foreign consulates. At the same time, the position they occupied in the economic, social, or political life of the island meant that their removal would be tantamount to a complete dismantling of their networks and a restructuring of complex systems of power. This explains their indispensability, why they occupied their positions for so long, as well as the spectacular fashion in which they fell out of favor.

At the same time, this is a period when the Ottoman state is actually not raising its demands from Cypriot taxpayers. The analysis of revenue data from the period between 1785 and 1799 reveals that there is a rise in current (nominal) prices of 75.62%, i.e. an annual rise of roughly 5%.⁷⁶ However, taking inflation and debasement into consideration changes the picture dramatically. If we account for inflation, the annual rise in taxes is 1.78%, while if we convert the currency to bullion in order to consider the declining silver content of the *kuruş*, we notice that Istanbul's revenue was only rising by a meager 0.25% per year.⁷⁷ This is also a period when the rise of imports of luxury goods had changed the balance of trade of Cyprus.⁷⁸ If this is an indication of a certain growth in the economy, and in view of the fact that increased revenue did not accrue to the Ottoman state in the form of taxes, then the question of who benefited from the surplus of the island is raised. The obvious answer is that it was men like Hadjiyorgakis, Abdülbaki and Sarkis, confirming, and giving further substance to, the observations regarding

75 Hadjikyriacou, "Society and Economy," 170-176, 181-204, 238-274.

76 BOA, C.ML. 12909, f. 2.

77 Inflation is calculated here according to the Consumer Price Index and silver content of the Ottoman currency provided in Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler, 1469-1998* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000): 16. For the full analysis, see Hadjikyriacou, "Society and Economy," 156-158.

78 Ioannou, *Emporikes Sheseis*, 280, 312-312, 320.

the rise of local entrepreneurs in the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean at large during this period.⁷⁹

The profit-seeking behavior encountered in eighteenth-century Cyprus is typical of what Ottoman documentation rather formulaically describes as “oppression and transgression” (*zulm ü ta’adi*). Petitions against Abdülbaki are particularly graphic on the description of several crimes that go beyond what is usually known of the actions of petty and great *ayan*, while his fortune rivalled the annual revenue of the Ottoman treasury. This was immediately followed by a period dominated by the dragoman Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios, whose activities culminated in causing a famine through grain hoarding. At the same time, Sarkis’ warehouses could supply 75% of the amount of cereals requisitioned from the whole of the island in 1800. One is struck not only by the degree of control such men had over production, but also by the fact that the economy was even functioning, let alone surplus-producing.

Conclusion: Towards Insular Space as an Analytical Category

Having finished the chapter with these questions in mind, I left Sarkis, Abdülbaki and Hadjiyorgakis to rest, and proceeded to write the remaining eight chapters wondering what was it that made the economy sustainable. I was puzzled by the question of how it was possible for a Cypriot to accumulate a fortune that amounted to a substantial proportion of the Ottoman budget. A few decades later, and as if this was not enough, it was not until the manipulation of a staple food market that a revolt would take place, marking the tipping point of a whole system of power on the island.

The study of these three individuals directed me to two variables while trying to understand the economy and society of Cyprus that was clearly sustainable to a large extent, before it would collapse under the weight of someone who monopolized power and gravely disturbed the distribution of resources: the productive capacities of the island, and the ability of key individuals to control its economic structures. What was the constant that bound the two together?

Towards the end of my research, and when I was able to have a more holistic picture, I felt that I came to full circle, and my impression that space could be this constant was further enhanced. An understanding of the Cypriot insularity cannot afford to ignore the relationship between space and productive structures.

⁷⁹ Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 177.

Put simply, Cyprus was large enough and had the geological and climatic conditions for a cash-crop oriented economy where international trade occupied a vital role. Other aspects of my research demonstrate that the means and ability to concentrate the rural surplus took complex forms and had a range of social and political ramifications in Ottoman Cyprus. Consequently, funneling the island's key products to ports, warehouses, and workshops were central elements for the career of any local power-broker.

What Braudel formulated as 'miniature continents' – referring to the economies, societies and cultures of the larger Mediterranean islands – can function as a conceptual framework here. To better understand the different attributes of various categories of insular space, consider the vast majority of the smaller Aegean islands, where geography, ecology and productive structures were conducive to trade and population mobility (but not a cash-crop agricultural economy), leading Spyros Asdrachas to call the Aegean a "dispersed, liquid city".⁸⁰

The dense links formed due to these conditions in the Aegean led to an important degree of mutual dependency and cohesion within communities, even if this cohesion was not beyond corrodibility.⁸¹ Such communities were characterized by "solidarity and collective responsibility" in matters of taxation, while "mutual control became a necessity, and individual freedom was subordinated to the common interest".⁸² So much so, that interest-free loans to the community were recorded.⁸³ Other communities situated in continental spatial settings also demonstrated a notable sense of communal solidarity, to the extent that Socrates Petmezas described "the rules and values of a 'moral economy' which provided for the reproduction of local societies".⁸⁴ Local notables who had a vested long-term

80 Asdrachas, "The Greek Archipelago", 235-248

81 Spyros I. Asdrachas, "Νησιωτικές κοινότητες: οι φορολογικές λειτουργίες (I)," *Ta Istorikal/Historica* 5 (1988): 3-36; *idem.*, "Νησιωτικές κοινότητες: οι φορολογικές λειτουργίες (II)," *Ta Istorikal/Historica* 5 (1988): 229-258.

82 Gilles Veinstein, "İnalçık's views on the Ottoman Eighteenth Century and the Fiscal Problem," in *The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kate Fleet, Special Issue of *Oriente Moderno* 17 (1999): 9.

83 Asdrachas, "Νησιωτικές κοινότητες (II)," 238.

84 Socrates D. Petmezas, "Christian Communities in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece: Their Fiscal Functions," *Princeton Papers* 12 (2005): 77-85; *idem.*, "Διαχείριση των Κοινοτικών Οικονομικών και Κοινοτική Κυριαρχία. Η Στρατηγική των Προυχόντων: Ζαγορά 1784-1822," *Mnēmon* 13 (1991): 77-102; Spyros Asdrachas, "Φορολογικές και Περιοριστικές Λειτουργίες των Κοινοτήτων στην Τουρκοκρατία," *Ta Istorika* 3 (1986): 45-63; Giōrgos D. Kontogiōrges, *Koinōnikē Dynamikē kai Politikē Autodioikēsē: oi Ellēnikes Koinotētes tēs Tourkokratias* (Athens: Nea Synora, 1982).

interest in the sustainability of the community felt compelled to pay attention to its internal cohesion and tax-paying capacity in order to ensure their future profit opportunities through tax-collection, despite certain exceptions to this rule. These are precisely the self-regulatory processes that appear less rigorous and to be functioning to a lesser degree in Cyprus, as these three cases of intermediaries colorfully illustrate.

Taking these issues into consideration, one is better situated to answer the question of what explains the sustainability of the Cypriot economy, and provide an alternative conceptualization of the presence and realm of activities of men like Hadjiyorgakis, Abdülbaki and Sarkis who appeared in succession, but also overlapped with each other during a time-span of fifty years. Large islands with a cash-crop oriented agricultural economy had very different needs and productive structures to the ones encountered, for example, in the Aegean islands, and relations of social and economic power developed accordingly. Put simply, Cyprus was big and productive enough to have a sizeable surplus, and at the same time contained enough to permit the creation of a commercial and credit nexus that facilitated the efficient and effective concentration of production to satisfy the interests of state, private agents, or both.⁸⁵

Exploring insularity and insular space comes with an important caveat: it is too easy to lean towards the idiosyncratic in attempting to understand the historical processes at stake. By definition, an inquiry into the nature of insular space is prone to questions pertaining to peculiarity, difference, aberration or deviation. Documenting and justifying an argument based on those grounds is far more difficult. In that, while local specificities partly explain certain processes, these were not necessarily unique and blend in with empire-wide phenomena. What I illustrate here is that space (be it insular, continental, montane, riverine, or otherwise) can function as a tool that has more of an analytical than an explanatory value, and permits a different conceptualization of phenomena encountered in the Ottoman Empire or elsewhere.

Useful as they may have been, debates on the Ottoman eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still remain unresolved as to the degree, extent and effect of decentralization. More than thirty years on, the discussion on the Ottoman transition to modernity, largely revolving around the ability or willingness of the state to effect, monitor and regulate this process, is perhaps reaching its explanatory potential. Broadening the scope of inquiry beyond the immediate purview of the state, or at least what is conspicuously recorded as such in official documentation,

85 Hadjikyriacou, "Society and Economy," 205-237, 275-285.

is a necessary step towards understanding the less visible elements of historical processes.

Transcending, but not necessarily discarding, center-province relations as the dominant paradigm in the study of the Ottoman Empire, necessitates the employment of novel lines of inquiry, analytical tools and categories. Space or, in this case insular space, may prove to be one such alternative that can shed light to less apparent dynamics relevant to the formation of material conditions in imperial realms. Such a conceptualization opens exciting possibilities for the pursuit of knowledge within and beyond the field of Ottoman Studies.

Local Intermediaries and Insular Space in late-18th century Ottoman Cyprus

Abstract ■ Contributing to the discussions on the reconfigurations of wealth and power in the Ottoman Empire between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, this article considers the cases of three provincial notables in a provincial setting: Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios, dragoman of Cyprus; the *muhassıl* (tax-farming governor) Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa; and the Armenian consular dragoman-cum-merchant Sarkis. Seeking analytical categories that move beyond a rigid center/province dichotomy, this article makes an initial attempt towards articulating an alternative scheme for understanding imperial space, and move beyond a spatial imagination confined to conventional administrative organization. Utilizing the Braudelian concept of 'miniature continents' allows an envisioning of the Cypriot insularity that sheds light on the nature of economic relations, modes of production, and patterns of concentration of the rural surplus. The three local intermediaries examined here are ideal case studies that can facilitate, or indeed instigate, this sort of inquiry.

Keywords: Ottoman Cyprus, insularity, Sarkis, Hacı Abdülbaki Ağa, Hadjiyorgakis Kornesios, *ayan*, dragomans, intermediaries.

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The Rebellious Kapudan of Bosnia: Hüseyin Kapudan (1802-1834)

Fatma Sel Turhan*

Bosna'nın Asi Kapudanı: Hüseyin Kapudan (1802-1834)

Öz ■ Bu makalede yerel bir Bosna beyi olan Hüseyin Kapudan'a odaklanmakta ve ona, merkezi otoriteye karşı duracak gücü veren 19. yüzyıl Bosna'sının dinamikleri analiz edilmektedir. İlk olarak Hüseyin Kapudan'ın aile geçmişi incelemekte ve Bosna'nın küçük bir kazası olan Gradacac'dan gelip de gücünü bu kadar pekiştirmesini sağlayacak uygun ortamı nasıl bulduğu ele alınmaktadır. İkinci olarak Hüseyin Kapudan'ın kapudanlık yaptığı yıllar olan 1821-1832 arasına yoğunlaşmakta ve Hüseyin Kapudan'ın nasıl inkişaf edip zamanla artan bir zenginliğe sahip olduğu ortaya konmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak Hüseyin Kapudan'ın *de facto* valilik yaptığı, Eylül 1831'den Haziran 1832'ye kadar olan dönem incelenmektedir. Bu kapsamda Hüseyin Kapudan'ın Bosna'da yerel halkın desteğiyle nasıl valilik iddiasında bulunduğunu sorgulamakta ve Bosnalıların merkezin kendilerine gönderdiği valilerin haklarını koruyamayacağı yönündeki bir yargıya nasıl sahip oldukları tartışılmaktadır. Konuyla ilgili olarak şu soruların cevaplarını aramaya çalıştım: Yerel Bosna halkını Babıali'ye arzuhallerle başvurmaya ve Hüseyin Kapudan'ın Bosna Veziri olmasını istemeye yönelten saikler nelerdi? Ve bu isteklere karşı merkezi otoritelerin tavrı ne oldu? Odaklandığım son konu ise Hüseyin Kapudan'ın ve onun başlattığı hareketin kaderinin ne olduğudur. Bu kapsamda Hüseyin Kapudan'ı Haziran 1832'de merkezi güçlerle karşı karşıya getiren ve yenilgisiyle sona eren savaşı inceledim. Akabinde hareketinin bastırılmasından sonra Avusturya'ya kaçışının, Avusturya makamlarınca İstanbul'a teslim edilmesinin ve İstanbul'a gönderildikten sonra zenginliğine ve yakınlarına ne olduğunun üzerinde durdum ve Hüseyin Kapudan'ın şüpheli ölümü hakkındaki iddialara değindim.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hüseyin Kapudan, Bosna, isyan, merkezileşme, II. Mahmud

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During the period between 1820s and 1830s, Bosnia witnessed two great rebellions, which affected the whole region and could only be suppressed through large scale interventions from the center. Inhabitants of Bosnia first revolted after the abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826¹ and then, rebelled against the new orders of the Porte, including the changes in land tenure and military system, the changes in military uniform, as well as the changes in the status of some districts of Bosnia, after 1828.² The leader of the second rebellion was Hüseyin Kapudan. Being Bosnian and having famous *kapudan* ancestors after the eighteenth century, Hüseyin Kapudan became a very crucial figure in terms of motivating the local residents into action, and of consolidating them under the shelter of a regional power base.

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed many changes in the Ottoman state apparatus in terms of reconstructing political and administrative structures in a centralized manner and, related to this, the creation of a new bureaucracy. After Mahmud II had destroyed the Janissary Corps in 1826, he began the process by dividing the functions of the central government into departments and institutions.³ The most visible outcome of his reform and centralization policies was a more influential state in every aspect of life, which caused great dissatisfaction among the Bosnians in this period. Bosnia became one of the main battlegrounds for the clashes between central forces and local *ayan*[s] and between centralization and retaining local autonomy. A more modernized and centralized government meant the reduction of the influence of local elites and created a paradoxical situation, since one of the essential characteristics of the Ottoman Empire was its dependency on the local elites in terms of collecting taxes and exercising control over the population. The conscious divergence from the traditional system of the state engendered a huge rebellion among local inhabitants, who, from then on, turned into defenders of the old order. The rebellion was intended to preserve the privileges of the Bosnian notables in opposition to the aims of centralization.

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- 1 In both rebellions, although the leading figures of the rebellion had changed, the general participation and demands of the rebels as well as the reasons for the rebellion followed a very similar pattern, indicating, in essence, a certain continuity which can be formulated as “reactions against the centralization policies of the empire.” For more information about the rebellion and the leadership after the abolition of the Janissary army see, Fatma Sel Turhan “*Rebelling for the Old Order: Ottoman Bosnia, 1826-1836*” (PhD Diss., Boğaziçi University, 2009), 122-191.
 - 2 See for example, BOA HAT 429/21886 H, 11Zilhicce 1243/24 June 1828.
 - 3 Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 36-40.

For the Bosnians, centralization meant a new army, a new land system, a new administration, and a change in status for non-Muslims. The Ottoman Sultan was much more interested in maintaining his authority over his subjects, regardless of their faith, and in a more interventionist state in terms of local issues. With the new army, there was the possibility that the position of *kapudans* and *yerlikulu* Janissaries of Bosnia would change, while the new land system would break the power and influence of local notables. With the new administration, Saray, the principal city of Bosnia, became the administrative center of the province, after which it would eventually lose its autonomous character. Another source of unease among the Bosnians was the rights given to the Serbs. For instance, some districts were handed over to them to the disadvantage of the Bosnians. All these changes seem to have profoundly debilitated the traditional, semi-independent socio-administrative order of Bosnia.

In that sense the Treaty of Edirne (1829), in which the Ottoman authorities agreed to cede some territory to the Serbian side, became a turning point for the Bosnians. The territory was to include the six districts from Vidin, Alacahisar and Bosnia, which Serbia claimed, but did not administer.⁴ News of the new arrangement shocked the local inhabitants, who claimed that the lands concerned had belonged to the Bosnians and Albanians since their conquest.⁵ A number of letters were sent to the Porte underlining that if these lands were given to the Serbians it would cause great anger among the local inhabitants, and demanding the abandonment of the idea.⁶

According to a report of the Vali of Bosnia Ali Namık Paşa, on 4 February 1831, the notables of Bosavine region gathered in Hüseyin Kapudan's house and decided to fight back against the attempts of the Serbians to capture these six districts.⁷ They organized a *meşveret* (consultation) in Tuzla-i Zîr where most of the notables of the region either came personally or sent authorized representatives so as to constitute

4 BOA HAT 442/22200, 02 Ramazan 1246/14 February 1831.

5 BOA HAT 1109/44685, 03 Zilkade 1245/26 April 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 E, 23 Şevval 1245/17 April 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 H, 04 Şevval 1245/29 March 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 İ, 09 Şevval 1245/03 April 1830, BOA HAT 44685 V, 17 Şevval 1245/11 April 1830, BOA HAT 45032 A, 29 Zilhicce 1245/21 June 1830.

6 See for example BOA HAT 1109/44685 B, 15 Şevval 1245/09 April 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 Ç, 09 Şevval 1245/03 April 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 E, 23 Şevval 1245/17 April 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 H, 04 Şevval 1245/29 March 1830, BOA HAT 1109/44685 İ, 09 Şevval 1245/03 April 1830.

7 BOA HAT 438/22091, 21 Şaban 1246/04 February 1831. See also BOA HAT 1127/45030, 17 Şaban 1246/31 January 1831.

a general alliance (*ittifak-ı umum*).⁸ On 28 March 1831, the rebels in Tuzla moved through Travnik, where they besieged the *vali* himself and most of his supporters who sought refuge in the city. The *vali* had to yield and was dressed up in clothes which were forbidden after the abolition of the Janissary army.⁹ After Ali Namık Paşa had stayed in Travnik for 20 days, the rebels sent him to Busovac, a district of Saray where his position of house-arrest continued for the following 24 days. Only 200–300 of his supporters accompanied him.¹⁰ During the Muslim Festival of Sacrifice in June 1831, he escaped, together with his men, through the Hersek region.¹¹

Because of the worsening situation in both Albania and Bosnia, Grand Vizier Reşid Mehmed Paşa, who had been serving in the Balkan lands for a long time¹² was ordered to suppress the rebellion.¹³ Reşid Mehmed Paşa's army managed to defeat İškodralı Mustafa Paşa, who was besieged in İškodra.¹⁴ On the other hand, the rebels of Bosnia sent letters to all the notables of the region under the signature of Hüseyin Kapudan, calling on them to send soldiers to Yenipazar.¹⁵ According to a report dated 8 June 1831, they were able to gather a large army in Yenipazar which was to be sent to the Kosovo region.¹⁶ When the rebels of Bosnia reached İpek and joined the soldiers from İškodra under the command of Arslan Paşa, they

8 A copy of this letter can be seen in BOA HAT 438/22095 G, 29 Şaban 1246/12 February 1831.

9 BOA HAT 438/22095 F, 17 Zilhicce 1246/29 May 1831.

10 BOA HAT 438/22095 D, 21 Zilhicce 1246/02 June 1831, BOA HAT 438/22095 F, 17 Zilhicce 1246/29 May 1831.

11 BOA HAT 419/21667, 23 Zilhicce 1246/04 June 1831, BOA HAT 431/21919, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831, BOA HAT 438/22095 A, 09 Muharrem 1247/20 June 1831, BOA HAT 438/22095 D, 21 Zilhicce 1246/02 June 1831, BOA HAT 438/22095 F, 17 Zilhicce 1246/29 May 1831.

12 Hakan Erdem, "Perfidious Albanians" and "Zealous Governors": Ottomans, Albanians, and Turks in the Greek War of Independence,' in *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760–1850: Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation*, eds. Antonis Anastasopoulos and Elias Kolovos (Rethymno: University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology, 2007), 227, 237.

13 BOA HAT 433/21989, 19 Zilhicce 1246/31 May 1831, BOA HAT 440/22148, 24 Rebiyülahir 1247/02 October 1831. For more information about Reşid Mehmed Paşa see Erdem, "Perfidious Albanians" and "Zealous Governors", 237.

14 BOA HAT 442/22201, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, BOA HAT 442/22218, 27 Muharrem 1247/08 July 1831.

15 A copy of these letters can be seen in BOA HAT 431/21919 D, 19 Zilhicce 1246/31 May 1831.

16 BOA HAT 413/21919 C, 27 Zilhicce 1246/08 June 1831.

attacked İpek, Piriştine and Vułçettrin, where they succeeded in repulsing the army of the Grand Vizier.¹⁷ Reşid Mehmed Paşa was forced to return to Üsküb where he impaled three captured rebels,¹⁸ most probably in revenge for his defeat as well as a show of strength.

The *de facto* Governor: Hüseyin Kapudan

Because of the flight of Ali Namık Paşa, the post of governorship (*valilik*) was vacant in Bosnia. At the end of June 1831, the Porte decided to give this position to the Guardian (*Muhafız*) of Vidin, İbrahim Paşa.¹⁹ When İbrahim Paşa was preparing to depart from Üsküb for Yenipazar on 2 September 1831, news came to him that Hüseyin Kapudan had applied to the central authorities for permission of his governorship and was awaiting their decision.²⁰ In his petition to the Porte, Hüseyin Kapudan argued that all the inhabitants of Bosnia demanded his vizierate. He described how much he was obedient to the state, and if he was accepted for the governorship, he would serve with heart and soul.²¹ At the same time Hüseyin Kapudan held a *meşveret* which was attended by a large number of delegates in Saray.²² Based on the decision of that *meşveret*, the local inhabitants appointed Hüseyin Kapudan as vizier on 24 September 1831 and celebrated the appointment with gun salutes.²³ When a state official came to remind them of the state's orders, the people of the region replied: 'We have appointed our vizier and we are requesting the state to confer his horsetails. However, if they are not sent, we will gather 200,000 armed men and we will fight until all of us perish. We will not accept any other vizier apart from Hüseyin Kapudan.'²⁴

17 BOA HAT 442/22201, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 69, 73, 03 Rebiyülevvel 1247/12 August 1831.

18 BOA HAT 442/22201, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831.

19 BOA HAT 431/21919, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831, BOA HAT 440/22147, 11 Muharrem 1247/22 June 1831. For the same issue see also, BOA HAT 432/21963, 13 Rebiyülevvel 1247/22 August 1831, BOA HAT 441/22183, 14 Rebiyülahir 1247/22 September 1831.

20 BOA HAT 442/22205, 01 Rebiyülahir 1247/09 September 1831.

21 BOA HAT 440/22154 D, undated.

22 BOA HAT 442/22205, 01 Rebiyülahir 1247/09 September 1831, BOA HAT 437/22077 D, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831, BOA HAT 440/22148 C, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831.

23 BOA HAT 440/22148 B, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831.

24 BOA HAT 440/22148 B, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831.

Meanwhile, the notables of every district signed the letters of appeal and sent these to the central authorities, requesting the acceptance of Hüseyin Kapudan's governorship.²⁵ We see that, a short time after those events, in the letters sent from Bosnia to the Porte, the title of Hüseyin Kapudan was raised to Kapudan Hüseyin Paşa as a sign of his position as vizierate.²⁶ He was also mentioned as '*Devletlü Hüseyin Paşa, Vali-i Bosna, or Vali-i Eyalet-i Bosna*' many times in the local court records (*sicils*).²⁷ More importantly, in a *buyuruldu* (decree) of the Grand Vizier, he was mentioned as '*Eyalet-i Bosna Valisi Vezir-i mükerrem saadetlü, refetlü Hüseyin Paşa*' and it was said that he (Hüseyin Kapudan) begged pardon for his part in rebellion and requested the vizierate post, implying his desire to serve the state.²⁸

In that period, the Grand Vizier's forces managed to defeat İškodralı Mustafa Paşa²⁹ who was very troubled because he had been dismissed from

25 For example, BOA HAT 443/22221 İ, 21 Rebiyülahir 1247/29 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 J, 28 Rebiyülahir 1247/06 October 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 K, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 L, 17 Rebiyülahir 1247/25 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 M, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 N, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 O, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 Ö, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 P, 05 Cemaziyülevvel 1247/12 October 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 R, 19 Rebiyülahir 1247/27 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 S, 11 Rebiyülahir 1247/19 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 T, 19 Rebiyülahir 1247/27 September 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 U, 02 Cemaziyülevvel 1247/09 October 1831.

26 For example, BOA HAT 435/22039 A, 18 Rebiyülahir 1247/26 September 1831, BOA HAT 437/22077 C, 09 Ramazan 1247/11 February 1832, BOA HAT 443/22221 F, 07 Cemaziyülevvel 1247/14 October 1831.

27 Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 69, p. 83, 07 Cemaziyülevvel 1247/14 October 1831, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 69, p. 89, 23 Cemaziyülahir 1247/29 November 1831, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 70, p. 16, 17 Zilkade 1247/18 April 1832, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 70, p. 25, 13 Şevval 1247/16 March 1832, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 70, p. 34, 17 Şevval 1247/20 March 1832.

28 Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 70, p. 16, 07 Ramazan 1247/09 February 1832.

29 İškodralı Mustafa Paşa was a member of the Buşhâti family in İşkodra. The ancestors of İškodralı Mustafa Paşa, the Buşhatlıs, came to power in the region of İşkodra in 1756 and, apart from a very short breaks, ruled the region until 1831. İškodralı Mustafa Paşa obtained the post in 1811 and succeeded in imposing his control over a large area and cooperating with the mountain tribes. Although he displayed ebbs and flows in his attitudes towards the central authorities, they kept Tepedelenli Ali Paşa as their main concern and interestingly preferred to use İškodralı Mustafa Paşa against Tepedelenli Ali Paşa rather than move against him. However, after the destruction of Tepedelenli Ali

the control of Elbasan and Ohri *sancaks*. According to the claims, the dismissal of Mustafa Paşa from those posts was related to his refusal of the Porte's orders to pacify Bosnians and recruit *Asakir-i Mansure* soldiers from them. In fact, after sending his agents to Bosnia, İşkodralı Mustafa Paşa decided to unite with Hüseyin Kapudan against the efforts of the Serbians to capture the six districts.³⁰ Because of the threat of a possible alliance with Hüseyin Kapudan, the Grand Vizier's forces suppressed İşkodralı Mustafa Paşa's rebellion first, and in November 1831 he was sent to Istanbul.³¹ Thereafter, special emphasis was placed on fortifying Albanian castles, as well as acquiring the allegiance of the local Gheg Paşas in order to suppress the Bosnian rebellion.³² The Porte proved to be uneasy about the fact that İbrahim Paşa, the center's appointee, was unable to go to Bosnia.³³ Thus, the change of Bosnian governor came into question once again. It was decided at the beginning of 1832 to appoint Mahmud Hamdi Paşa to this post.³⁴

The letter of appointment sent to Hamdi Paşa on 13 February, 1832 shows that he was expected to clear the province of the rebels and restore order,³⁵ by dispatching a large army there under his command.³⁶ At the end of April 1832, Mahmud Hamdi Paşa was able to go to Yenipazar with some 25,000 soldiers.³⁷ The advance of the central forces continued when the battles Seniçe, Pirebol, Hisarcık and Vişegrad ended in victory for Mahmud Hamdi Paşa's forces.³⁸ The army continued

Paşa, the cooperation between the central authorities and İşkodralı Mustafa Paşa came to an end. For detailed information about İşkodralı Mustafa Paşa see; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 361-362.

30 BOA HAT 437/22080, 25 Ramazan 1246/09 March 1831, BOA HAT 406/21191, 07 Şevval 1246/21 March 1831.

31 BOA HAT 443/22221 A, 11 Cemaziyülahir 1247/17 November 1831.

32 BOA HAT 441/22189, 16 Receb 1247/21 December 1831, BOA HAT 443/22221 A, 11 Cemaziyülahir 1247/17 November 1831.

33 BOA HAT 423/21775, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

34 BOA HAT 423/21775, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

35 BOA HAT 716/34202, 11 Ramazan 1247/13 February 1832, BOA HAT 716/34202 A, 11 Ramazan 1247/13 February 1832.

36 BOA HAT 439/22130, 22 Şevval 1247/25 March 1832.

37 BOA HAT 439/22132, 03 Zilhicce 1247/04 May 1832, BOA HAT 443/22224, 03 Zilhicce 1247/04 May 1832.

38 BOA HAT 442/22217, 28 Zilhicce 1247/29 May 1832, BOA HAT 909/39784, 05 Muharrem 1248/04 June 1832.

the march against the rebels in Pirace and Alacahan and defeated them.³⁹ From Baneska and Yenipazar to Alacahan news arrived that all the regions had been ‘conquered’ and cleared of the rebels.⁴⁰ The final battle took place in Saray on 4 June 1832.⁴¹ The first move came from the rebels’ side, since the aim of Hüseyin Kapudan was to attack the central army first and to gain the initiative. The rebel cavalry and infantry attacked from five or six sides. It was reported that the battle lasted for seven hours.⁴² In the end, the rebels, many of whom perished during the battle, were defeated. About 100–200 rebels were captured, while others escaped.⁴³

The seizure of the Saray district was greeted with great pleasure by the Porte, where prayers were offered that the ongoing rebellion of Mehmed Ali Paşa (or Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa), who rose against Istanbul from Egypt, would be defeated in a similar manner. Albanian support for quelling the revolt was commended and Ottoman officials reported that fact in *Takvim-i Vekâyi* publicly thanking the Albanians. Letters of thanks and encouragement were prepared and sent to the Paşas of Albania, as well as the *vali* of Bosnia.⁴⁴

Rising to Power: from Hüseyin Kapudan to “Devletlü Hüseyin Paşa”

Hüseyin Kapudan’s rise to power gives clues to understanding the dynamics of the internal and external politics of Bosnia in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Hüseyin Kapudan was most probably born in 1802 in Gradacac, a small and picturesque city in the western part of the Bosavine region. In fact, Gradacac or Grad was well known from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards when the ancestors of Hüseyin Kapudan became the holders of its *kapudanlık*.⁴⁵ The father of Hüseyin Kapudan, Osman, had four sons, namely Murad, Hüseyin, Osman Paşa and Hacı Bekirbey. After the *vali* of Bosnia, Ali Celaledin Paşa, executed Murad Kapudan in 1821 Hüseyin Kapudan took the position

39 BOA HAT 442/22217, 28 Zilhicce 1247/29 May 1832.

40 BOA HAT 437/22081 D, 13 Muharrem 1248/12 June 1832.

41 Hamdija Krečevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV, Prilozi za Političku Istoriju Bosne I Hercegovine u XVIII i XIX Stoljeću*. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 43.

42 BOA HAT 437/22081 D, 13 Muharrem 1248/12 June 1832.

43 BOA HAT 437/22081 D, 13 Muharrem 1248/12 June 1832.

44 BOA HAT 422/21745, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

45 Hamdija Krečevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV*, pp. 29–30. It is understood that the second name of Hüseyin Kapudan is Bahtiyar, since in some documents he was referred to as Hüseyin Bahtiyar Bey. See for example BOA HAT 294/17478, 11 Cemaziyülevvel 1242/11 December 1826, BOA HAT 426/21851, 27 Rebiyülevvel 1242/29 October 1826, BOA HAT 942/40659, 17 Cemaziyülevvel 1242/16 January 1827.

and became the *kapudan* of Gradacac at an early age.⁴⁶ He held the *kapudanlık* for 11 years between 1821 and 1832, during which he developed strong relationships with not only the Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia but also the non-Muslims, especially the Catholics, for whom he had built a huge monastery housing 1,500 persons in Tolisa without permission from the Sultan, which may help to explain how he was subsequently able to take refuge in Austrian territories.

The evidence indicates that Hüseyin Kapudan thrived and became increasingly prosperous as time went on. According to Saffetbeg Baġagić, Hüseyin Kapudan had gained his wealth mainly by counterfeiting money. He claims that an Austrian, who had escaped from his homeland and taken refuge with Hüseyin Kapudan came with a machine for producing counterfeit coins. While the Austrian minted the coins, Hüseyin Kapudan put the money into circulation and exchanged it for gold. After this illegal activity had brought Hüseyin Kapudan great riches, he killed the Austrian.⁴⁷ On the other hand, historian Kreġevljaković counters these arguments by claiming that “the story was created long after the death of Hüseyin Kapudan. The oldest people who told the story of Hüseyin Kapudan orally did not mention anything about the ‘counterfeiting machine.’”⁴⁸ Unfortunately, we can’t check the authenticity of these claims, but even if we accept that the stories were fabricated, they still suggest that Hüseyin Kapudan accumulated great wealth, thus making him a subject of folktales.

On 26 September, 1831, Kapıcıbaşı Hüseyin Aġa, who had been sent to Bosnia with a special mission to explain the orders of the Porte and convince people to accept the newly appointed governor, reported that after Hüseyin Kapudan usurped the governorship in Bosnia he spent money lavishly, several times that of previous governors of Bosnia, on the provincial affairs. When Kapucubaşı Hüseyin Aġa interrogated an *ehl-i vukûf*, a local expert, on this, he said that he had certain information that Mehmed Ali Paşa in Egypt and Miloġ Obrenović in Serbia were supporting Hüseyin Kapudan with money. Hüseyin Aġa added that those claims seemed reliable to him since it was not possible to meet those expenses from the revenues of a district alone.⁴⁹

Other documents corroborate the financial support of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa to Bosnian and Albanian rebels. For example, in a letter sent on 25 May, 1831,

46 Hamdija Kreġevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV*, 29–30.

47 Saffetbeg Baġagić, *Kratka Uputa u Protlost Bosne i Hercegovine*, 143, quoted in Hamdija Kreġevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV*, 31.

48 Hamdija Kreġevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV*, 32.

49 BOA HAT 435/22039 A, 18 Rebiyülahir 1247/26 September 1831.

by İškodralı Mustafa Paşa, to Silahdar İlyas Bey and other notables of the Tosks of Albania, İškodralı Mustafa Paşa noted that he was waiting for the promised financial support of Mehmed Ali Paşa and his Bosnian soldiers' support to proceed.⁵⁰ In August, 1831, İškodralı Mustafa Paşa sent his uncle, Ohrili Celeleddin Bey, and his treasury scribe, Mustafa Bey, to Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa in order to get the promised money. They returned to Fitor harbor on a Greek ship and delivered the money to the Bosnian and Albanian rebels.⁵¹ According to the central authorities, the aim of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa in giving this financial support was to divert the state troops to the Bosnian and the Gheg regions, in order to prevent any march against him. According to the Porte, the money that Mehmed Ali supplied to the Albanian rebels brought their loyalty.⁵²

The second claim, that of Miloş Obrenović's support of the Bosnian and Albanian rebels, is a more complicated issue that requires further explanation of the network of associations that emerged in this period, between Miloş Obrenović and İškodralı Ali Paşa, between Miloş Obrenović and Hüseyin Kapudan, as well as between Miloş Obrenović and the Porte. We learn from the report of the Grand Vizier for 16 June, 1831 that Miloş Obrenović had sent 500 *kese akçes* to İškodralı Mustafa Paşa for the support of his movement. Later, the Grand Vizier confiscated the money and Reşid Mehmed Paşa allocated it to be spent on the expenses of the army in the region.⁵³ It is interesting to see that during the same period Miloş Obrenović was in full communication with the Porte with which he shared all his information about Bosnian and Albanian issues.⁵⁴ It is likely that after that relationship between Miloş and İškodralı Mustafa Paşa came into the open, the Porte refused Miloş's offers to help the Porte with money and soldiers.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have any documents which demonstrate such a relationship between Hüseyin Kapudan and Miloş Obrenović. On the contrary, the documents show us that Hüseyin Kapudan was very uncomfortable with Miloş Obrenović's rival claims to some Bosnian lands.

⁵⁰ BOA HAT 431/21919 H, 13 Zilhicce 1246/25 May 1831.

⁵¹ BOA HAT 416/21529, 08 Rebiyülevvel 1247/17 August 1831.

⁵² BOA HAT 347/19732, 29 Zilhicce 1248/19 May 1833.

⁵³ BOA HAT 431/21924, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831.

⁵⁴ See for example, BOA HAT 436/22063, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831, BOA HAT 436/22063 G, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831, BOA HAT 436/22063 H, 05 Muharrem 1247/16 June 1831.

⁵⁵ This refusal of help of Miloş by the central authorities can be seen in BOA HAT 1117/44858, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832, BOA HAT 1117/44858 A, 24 Zilhicce 1247/25 May 1832.

From Escape to Exile and Death

After the battle on 4 June, 1832, when the rebels were repulsed by Mahmud Hamdi Paşa's and İstoçeli Ali Paşa's troops, Hüseyin Kapudan escaped from Saray and first went to Gradacac where he prepared for his escape at his home. However, since Mahmud Hamdi Paşa sent Albanian soldiers against him, he could not stay very long in Gradacac. Through the agency of one of his closest friends, the priest Ilija Starčević, he communicated with Austrian authorities and appealed for refuge. The Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the group of rebels permission to take refuge in Austria in exchange of their promise that they would not join any rebellion after that.⁵⁶ The group included Hüseyin Kapudan, his wife and his son, 50 rebels who were very close to Hüseyin Kapudan, 22 women, 26 children, and 40 servants.⁵⁷ Under the control of the Commander of Varadin, the group was sent to Brut, where Hüseyin Kapudan was given residence. But a few weeks later, a group of about 80 persons of those rebels returned to Bosnia, expecting that Mahmud Hamdi Paşa would pardon them.⁵⁸ However, although they presented their submission, Mahmud Hamdi Paşa chose to punish them.⁵⁹

Although the rebellion was suppressed, the central authorities relentlessly pursued the fugitive group in order to arrest them. Mahmud II even personally ordered Mahmud Hamdi Paşa to capture Hüseyin Kapudan as soon as possible, since, to him, terminating the Bosnian issue would only be possible after Hüseyin Kapudan and his advocates had been caught.⁶⁰ At first, officials at the Porte did not know where the fugitives were; the only information about Hüseyin Kapudan was that, before he escaped, he had someone to gather some of his belongings

⁵⁶ Belgradî Raşid. *Vak'a-i Hayretnüma*, 87.

⁵⁷ Hamdija Kreţevljaković, *Izabrana Djela IV*, p. 45. Kreţevljaković gives a list of important persons in this group as such: Fedayizade Ali Paşa, Yaldızcıoğlu Mustafa Ağa known as Muyağa Zlatarević or Hacı Müyû, Mahmud Bey of Gradaçevîç, Mustafa Bey of Tuzla, Emin Bey of Maglay, Mahmud Bey of Derbend, Sinan Bey of Doboy, Mehmed Bey of Krupe and Tüfekçi Salih Ağa. Some of goods possessed by the group were 3,000 golden *dukas*, two sacks of silver money, two gilded daggers, four silver horse pistols, two jeweled swords, two gold cartridge belts, four gold watches, one silver watch, one gold tobacco box, two silver candlesticks, four suits embroidered with gilded thread, thirty eight double silver pistols, thirty eight gilded rifles, four daggers embroidered with jewels, two lances and two flags.

⁵⁸ BOA HAT 440/22149, 03 Safer 1248/02 July 1832.

⁵⁹ BOA HAT 421/21715 D, 29 Zilhicce 1248/19 May 1833.

⁶⁰ BOA HAT 422/21746, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832, BOA HAT 422/21755, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

which he acquired while he was governor of Travnik.⁶¹ Learning of his escape to Austria, the Porte sent, letters to the Governor of Dalmatia demanding that the fugitives should not be admitted to Austria and if they were, they should be repatriated to the Ottoman Empire. Again it was heavily stressed that, if those people were not caught, they would continue to conspire in Bosnia.⁶² Moreover, Mahmud II ordered the authorities in Istanbul to remind the Austrian officials that, since the Austrian side occasionally suffered from the banditry of the Bosnian rebels, creating order in the region would be very beneficial to the Austrians as well.⁶³ Not only was the envoy of the Habsburg Empire informed of the risks posed by the refugees, but also letters relating to the issue were sent to Prince Metternich via the *chargé d'affaires* in Vienna.⁶⁴

An extensive correspondence between the Ottoman and Austrian sides ensued. Prince Metternich wrote that those "bandits" had taken refuge in Austria a long time before the arrival of the letters from Istanbul informing of their offenses. According to him, the Austrian side, with considerable effort, had extracted apologies from the refugees, with their request to be pardoned.⁶⁵ Through the agency of the Habsburg emperor, letters of amnesty were prepared and sent to Istanbul via the *Muhafiz* of Belgrade.⁶⁶ Also Metternich, via the envoy of Austria, asked the central authorities to approve of pardon for those refugees since they submitted their obedience.⁶⁷ In the end, the Porte gave guarantees to the Austrian side via the envoy in Istanbul that if the fugitives were handed over, they would be pardoned and their possessions restored to them.⁶⁸ Such decrees were prepared and sent to Hüseyin Kapudan, Yıldızcioğlu Mustafa Ağa, Fedayizade Ali Paşa and Mehmed Kapudan, calling them to Istanbul and guaranteeing that should they agree to come to Istanbul, their possessions would be returned them.⁶⁹ The Austrians added a decree of assurance which was also sent to Hüseyin Kapudan. The assurance directed that the group first go to Belgrade where their opinion

61 BOA HAT 441/22185, 22 Muharrem 1248/21 June 1832.

62 BOA HAT 441/22185, 22 Muharrem 1248/21 June 1832.

63 BOA HAT 422/21746, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

64 BOA HAT 423/21764, 29 Zilhicce 1247/30 May 1832.

65 BOA HAT 442/22213, undated.

66 BOA HAT 428/21874 A, 10 Rebiyülahir 1248/06 September 1832. A copy of the translation of those letters can be seen in BOA HAT 442/22215, undated.

67 BOA HAT 428/21874, undated, BOA HAT 428/21874 A, 10 Rebiyülahir 1248/06 September 1832.

68 BOA HAT 495/24281, 03 Cemaziyülahir 1248/28 October 1832.

69 Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 72, p. 37, 23 Safer 1248/22 July 1832.

would be sought as to which city in Anatolia they would prefer to be exiled, after which the fugitives would be sent into exile.⁷⁰

Before going to Belgrade, Hüseyin Kapudan and his associates were first brought to Zemun where an official of the *Muhafız* of Belgrade talked to Hüseyin Kapudan about their choice of exile. Hüseyin Kapudan complained that the Anatolian districts were very far away and requested permission to stay in Belgrade. Moreover, he added that his wife was still in Osijek in Austria and requested her return to Bosnia. The authorities refused the requests,⁷¹ and after three days of discussion, the group accepted the demands of the Porte. A day later, Hüseyin Kapudan, Fedayizade Ali Paşa, Yıldızcıoğlu Mustafa and Mehmed Kapudan of Krupe went to Belgrade together with their 69 followers. Here again, Hüseyin Kapudan requested permission from the Belgrade *Muhafız* to stay there.⁷² In spite of Hüseyin Kapudan's persistent demands, he was summoned to Istanbul.⁷³ The group moved to Belgrade at the beginning of October and stayed there more than two months. Hüseyin Kapudan fell ill during their stay which served to postpone their passage to Istanbul until he recovered.

On 26 December, 1832, the group departed from Belgrade, and the *Muhafız* of Belgrade reported to the Porte that, because of bad weather conditions, their arrival in Istanbul might be delayed as long as till the beginning of February.⁷⁴ Mahmud II personally wrote that Hüseyin Kapudan and his three companions should be escorted carefully on the road in order to prevent their flight. He also ordered that the issue of preventing their escape should be reported both to the *Muhafız* of Belgrade, Hüseyin Paşa, and the *Muhafız* of Vidin, İzzet Paşa, who should give their utmost attention to the issue.⁷⁵

It is important to see that after Hüseyin Kapudan was sent to Istanbul and was under house arrest, he continued to communicate secretly with Bosnia. According to an official document dated 11 May, 1833, Mahmud Hamdi Paşa reported to the Porte that Hüseyin Kapudan sent one of his couriers and his treasurer to Bosnia.

70 BOA HAT 495/24281, 03 Cemaziyülahir 1248/28 October 1832.

71 BOA HAT 495/24281, 03 Cemaziyülahir 1248/28 October 1832.

72 BOA HAT 495/24281, 03 Cemaziyülahir 1248/28 October 1832, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 72, p. 37, 23 Safer 1248/22 July 1832.

73 BOA HAT 422/21749, 29 Zilhicce 1248/19 May 1833.

74 BOA HAT 441/22175, 03 Şaban 1248/26 December 1832.

75 BOA HAT 441/22175, 03 Şaban 1248/26 December 1832. The order that was sent to *Muhafız* of Vidin calling him to pay attention to the dispatch of those four persons can be seen in, BOA HAT 658/32140, 01 Ramazan 1248/22 January 1833.

After they had arrived in Bosnia, they circulated false rumors stirring up mischief among the people of the region. In order to prevent any intrigues, Hamdi Paşa warned that people associated with Hüseyin Kapudan should not be allowed to travel from Istanbul to Bosnia.⁷⁶ Those explanations given by Hamdi Paşa also give us clues about the exile of Hüseyin Kapudan. It can be said that Hüseyin Kapudan was kept under surveillance, but in a manner which enabled him to continue to interfere in Bosnian affairs.

The claims about Hüseyin Kapudan's interference frustrated the central authorities very much. Not very long after Hamdi Paşa made the claims, Hüseyin Kapudan died in Istanbul. According to one eyewitness, a female servant who described his death to Bekir Bey Gradacacazade, the oldest person of the Gradacacazade family, "Hüseyin Kapudan went out shopping in order to make preparations for the Feast of the Birth of the Prophet. In the evening, when he was performing the ablution, he became ill and he started to vomit. A short while later, he died."⁷⁷ After his death, allegations were made that he had been poisoned. According to another allegation, there was a cholera epidemic at that time, and it was possible that he had become infected.⁷⁸ After his death, likely on 17 August 1834, he was buried in Eyüb Cemetery in Istanbul.⁷⁹

After the wife of Hüseyin Kapudan and Yıldızcıoğlu Mustafa Ağa stayed in Belgrade for a few months, they were also sent to Istanbul together with their children. After the death of Hüseyin Kapudan, his wife applied to the Porte, saying that she, together with her two little children, were vulnerable in Istanbul, having no kith or kin with them and they requested permission to return to Bosnia.⁸⁰ The central authorities agreed.⁸¹ The wife and children of Yıldızcıoğlu Mustafa Ağa were also summoned to Istanbul but were all exiled to Trabzon.⁸²

76 BOA HAT 441/22176 A, 11 Muharrem 1249/31 May 1833.

77 Hamdija Krečevljaković. *Izabrana Djela IV*, 48.

78 *Ibid.*

79 *Kalender Narodna Uzdacina* (1353–1354/1935), Sarejevo, A. 73. In this calendar, there was the inscription of his grave: 'Eyalet-i Bosna'da Izvornik Sancağı'nda Gradačaniçe kazasına bağlı Gradacac Kalesi'nden Gradacacazadelerden Osman Kapudanzade merhum esseyid Hüseyin Bey'in ruhu için el-fatiha.' Quoted in Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Mahmud II. Zamanında Bosna-Hersek*, 146.

80 BOA HAT 1426/58368, undated, BOA HAT 1426/58370, undated.

81 BOA HAT 756/35776, undated, BOA HAT 1426/58370, undated.

82 BOA HAT 438/22118, undated, BOA HAT 438/22118 A, undated, BOA HAT 438/22118 B, undated.

Conclusion

The *de facto* governorship of Hüseyin Kapudan started in September 1831, when local inhabitants, old and young, applied to the Porte with petitions and demanded that he be made the vizier.⁸³ The demands of the local people were directly related to their collective understanding that the *valis* sent by the center did not protect their rights properly, and only a native *vali* could maintain and uphold the rights of the Bosnians. The centralization efforts of the Porte and increasing pressure from the Serbians were two matters in which the people felt these rights were not being upheld. It is clear that, for them, this demand had become a matter of life and death. Special officials who were sent to Bosnia to report on conditions, and even the Grand Vizier, believed that the only way of terminating this rebellion was for the central authorities to accept Hüseyin Kapudan's *valilik*.⁸⁴

Several scholars like Aličić or Eren argue that the rebellion included a nationalist agenda.⁸⁵ Surviving evidence suggests otherwise. While requesting the post, Hüseyin Kapudan frequently repeated how obedient he was to the Ottoman state, saying that if he were granted the governorship, he would work heart and soul for the good of the state. This study concludes that even though the rebels' demands to choose their own governors, to resist those appointed by the central authority and to organize themselves against the Ottoman central forces under the leadership of a local power holder were all significant events, the movement of Hüseyin Kapudan was not secessionist; it did not aim to separate Bosnia from the Ottoman Empire. Rather, the demands intended to preserve the centuries-old rights and privileges granted by Istanbul.

The Bosnians probably believed that if they did not accept the appointed governor, the Porte would eventually approve Hüseyin Kapudan's governorship, a logic that had been borne out during the previous rebellions in the province. The rebellious history of Bosnia contained various examples in which the state preferred to step back rather than leave the province in tumult. As Brummett points out, the punishment for such rebellions was theoretically death. In practice,

83 See for example BOA HAT 437/22077 D, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831, BOA HAT 440/22148 C, 09 Rebiyülahir 1247/17 September 1831, BOA HAT 440/22154 D, undated.

84 For example, BOA HAT 435/22039 B, 18 Rebiyülahir 1247/26 September 1831, Saraybosna Sicilleri, vol. 70, p. 16, 17 Zilkade 1247/18 April 1832.

85 See for example Ahmed S. Aličić, *Pokret za Autonomiju Bosne od 1831 do 1832 Godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 1996), p. 415; Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Mahmud II. Zamanında Bosna-Hersek* (İstanbul: Nurgök Matbaası, 1965), 72, 115.

however, even if the process of rebellions often began with a series of complaints and threats, they were concluded with negotiation and compromise rather than punishment.⁸⁶ Based on previous examples, the Bosnians probably believed that the rebellion would end with negotiations and the state would postpone the application of new reforms. In that sense, the most insistent and firm attitude in suppressing the rebellion came from Mahmud II, who followed events in Bosnia closely and did not hesitate to intervene in whenever problems arose.

Bosnian–Albanian cooperation in organizing the rebellion, Mehmed Ali Paşa’s attack on Syria and his concurrent financial assistance to the Bosnian rebels; the complexity of all these events shows that the explanation of Hüseyin Kapudan’s rebellion lies somewhere beyond the one-dimensional claims of Ottoman governmental needs or Bosnian expectations. Miloş Obrenović’s relations with both the Bosnians and the central authorities, and the Porte’s correspondence with Austria in order to get help for the suppression of the rebellion are all clear evidence that the rebellion should not be analyzed without taking into consideration of the interplay between the interregional and international participants. It is also significant that the Ottoman center and provincial agents of this era were all willing and active in engaging international diplomacy as well as conducting talks with each other throughout the events.

The Rebellious Kapudan of Bosnia: Hüseyin Kapudan (1802-1834)

Abstract ■ This paper examines a local elite from Bosnia, Hüseyin Kapudan, and analyzes the dynamics of Bosnia that gave him the power to resist the central authority at the beginning of the nineteenth century. I first study his family background and try to show how he, coming from a relatively small city of Bosnia, Gradacac, found a suitable environment for establishing his power and preserving it. In that part, by tracing back the biographical details of Hüseyin Kapudan, I aim to reflect the surrounding conditions in Bosnia which eased the path of Hüseyin Kapudan. Secondly, I concentrate on his *kapudanlık* years between 1821 and 1832, and explain how Hüseyin Kapudan had thrived and become increasingly prosperous. Thirdly, I analyze the *de facto* governorship of Hüseyin Kapudan which started in September 1831 and lasted till June 1832. I inquire how Hüseyin Kapudan claimed his governorship in Bosnia with the support of inhabitants and how the Bosnians held the general belief that the *valis* whom the center sent did not protect their rights properly. I seek to answer the following questions: What were the reasons that directed local inhabitants to apply

86 Palmira Brummett, ‘Classifying Ottoman Mutiny: The Act and Vision of the Rebellion,’ in *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 22 (1) (1998), 91–107.

to the Porte with petitions and the demand that Hüseyin Kapudan should be the vizier of Bosnia? And how did the central authorities react to those demands? I will then concentrate on the fate of Hüseyin Kapudan and his movement. I investigate his defeat by central forces in June 1832, his escape to Austria after the suppression of his movement, his capitulation and the circumstances concerning his wealth and his relatives after he was sent to Istanbul as an exile. Finally, I will account for his death, suggesting that he was likely poisoned by the hand of the state.

Keywords: Hüseyin Kapudan, Bosnia, rebellion, centralization, Mahmud II

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Sultan Abdülmecid's 1846 Tour of Rumelia and the Trope of Love

Darin Stephanov

Sultan Abdülmecid'in 1846 Rumeli Seyahati ve Sultana Yazılan Bulgarca Kasideler

Öz ■ Bu çalışmada Sultan Abdülmecid'in 1846 senesindeki Rumeli seyahatinin gerçekleşmesinin farklı vecheleri analiz edilmekte, bu seyahatin Ortodoks Bulgar halkı üzerinde yarattığı etki değerlendirilmekte ve Bulgar toplumunun kendini algılama biçimini şekillendirmesi bakımından uzun vadedeki büyük etkisinin izleri sürülmektedir. Makalede, Abdülmecid'in Rumeli'ye yaptığı seyahat, sefeli II. Mahmud'un 1830'larda yaptığı memleket gezilerinin önemi de hesaba katılarak, geniş bir bağlamda ele alınmıştır. Abdülmecid'in 1846'daki Rumeli gezisi, II. Mahmud'un 1826'da Yeniçeri ocağını kaldırmasının ardından "hükümdarın görünürlüğünü" daha da arttırmak için benimsediği yeni "seyahat siyaseti" bağlamında incelenmektedir. Osmanlı başkentinde, vilayetlerde ve ilki 1836'da olmak üzere yurtdışında da yapılan, özellikle yıllık *veladet* ve *cülus* günü kutlamalarıyla kendini gösteren bu yeni süreç, görüşümüze göre, özellikle gayrimüslim tebaanın sadakatini kazanmayı hedefleyen yeni bir tarz merkezileşme metodunun tezahürüydü. Bu süreç, Osmanlı hükümdarı ve tebaası, toplumunun merkezi ve çevresi arasında (Gayr-i Müslimleri de kapsayan) inanç ve evrensel hükümlerlik kavramları ve pratiklerine dayanan yeni etkileşim imkanlarını da beraberinde getirdi. Temelinde tanzim edilebilir simgeler üzerinden anlaşılan bu etkileşim imkanlarının daha önce pek de eşi benzeri yoktu. Merkezin yerele getirdiği ve gittikçe çeşitlenen kutlamalarla, gayrimüslimler ve hükümdar arasında dikey sadakat bağları yaratıldı. Söz konusu bağlar, 19. yüzyılın ortalarında en az yirmi otuz yıl kadar gayet başarılı bir şekilde kurulmaya devam etti. Yine bu bağlar ortak çıkarların dile getirilmesi ve cemaate ilişkin taleplerin billurlaştırılmasında hayati bir zemin teşkil etti. Son tahlilde bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılın ortalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda modernitenin doğuşu ve gelişimi ile halk düzeyindeki etnik milliyetçi düşünce zihniyeti üzerine yapılan çalışmalar için yeni bir çerçeve çizmeye çalışacaktır.

Keywords: Abdülmecid, hükümdarın görünürlüğü, Bulgarca kasideler, modernite, milliyetçilik

Conceptual Overview and Historical Background

This paper relies on two premises in tackling a theme common to all papers in this volume. First, *modernity* is a complex, historically salient phenomenon, which consists of a 'bundle' of parallel economic, political, and sociocultural processes. Second, *nationalism* and *modernity* are intimately related and very recent phenomena. In terms of setting a mass-scale sociocultural precedent which permanently altered the notion of public space and the discourse and practices of power, both nationalism and modernity in Europe can be traced no earlier than the French Revolution. Within the Ottoman realms, these phenomena were announced in a most lasting, implication-rich manner by the Greek Revolution of 1821-1829. Of central importance then is the process of extension of long-standing localized *micro* forms of belonging and their linkage to the center for a *macro* form of belonging. This is a universal and continuous process of formation of modern public space and, over time, modern rules of politics. Among its core vehicles, the annual secular pan-imperial ruler celebrations, a global mass-scale nineteenth-century phenomenon, constitute a largely under-researched and extremely fruitful area of focus. Within the Ottoman realms, these festivities – the sultan's birthday (*veladet*) and accession day (*cülus*) – commenced by order of Mahmud II in the capital, the provinces, and abroad in 1836, a fact which remains almost completely unknown and has until today received hardly any scholarly attention.¹ Under Mahmud II's successors, the sultanic celebrations gained tremendous momentum, and were among the key factors, which ushered in a new era of *ruler visibility*. For the purposes of this paper, ruler visibility in the pre-modern period is a combination of direct and indirect components. The former include the sultan's physical presence at public ceremonies and the degree of his personal exposure to the public gaze. The latter consist of a set of symbolic markers of the ruler, such as his cypher (*tuğra*) on the one hand and the architectural monuments, such as fountains, mosques, and tombs, constructed or restored by him, on the other. In the absence of a consistent, genuine effort on the part of the ruler to reach out past elite circles and the confines of the capital and due to the lack of a periodical press and mass culture to popularize his 'good works', both types of visibility are quite limited in the pre-modern period. The first major vehicle for the new era of *ruler visibility*

1 This statement pertains to the royal birthday and accession-day celebrations as recurring events within a given sultan's reign (see Stephanov, "Minorities, Majorities, and the Monarch: Nationalizing Effects of the Late Ottoman Royal Public Ceremonies, 1808 – 1908," PhD Dissertation, University of Memphis, 2012). In contrast, such celebrations treated as one-time events in the capital within a given sultan's reign have received ample coverage (see Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaş! Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, Istanbul, 2004.)

was the sultan's personal touring of the imperial domains, introduced by Mahmud II in the aftermath of the 1826 destruction of the Janissaries, after a century or so of prevailing sultanic seclusion. Over a period of seven years (1830-1837), Mahmud II made no fewer than five imperial tours of the provinces.² The first trip was to Tekfurdağ, in the vicinity of Istanbul, and it lasted a day. The sultan went there by steamship on January 28, 1830 and personally supervised the transportation of a shipload of cargo waiting in the port to be sent to Şumnu (Shumen in present-day Bulgaria). The sultan's next tour, starting on June 3, 1831 and lasting for 33 days, was to Edirne and the provinces around the Dardanelles. As Cengiz Kırılı insightfully points out, each tour went farther away from the capital, and the majority of them were clearly designed with the Empire's non-Muslim population in mind.³ Despite the official purpose of the tours – to examine the living conditions of his subjects and provide charity to the poor – Kırılı convincingly argues that Mahmud II's real purpose was “to be seen rather than to see his subjects.”⁴ During these tours, Mahmud II indeed consistently provided funding for churches, synagogues and other historic sacred sites. His attitude set an example for high ranking Ottoman officials to follow.⁵ The sultan also distributed monetary payments along the way (51 kuruş to each Muslim and 31 kuruş to each non-Muslim). He even went to small villages and distributed gifts to their inhabitants. While not unprecedented, such engaged benevolent treatment of Ottoman non-Muslims was certainly rare, especially over a period of just a few years. It was clearly outside the norm of previous Ottoman practices.⁶ According to Kırılı, “in an attempt to captivate the sentiments of his subjects Mahmud constantly downplayed his godlike figure and

2 This section is based on Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845*, (PhD Dissertation, SUNY-Binghamton, 2001), who also drew on Abdulkadir Özcan, “II. Mahmud'un Memleket Gezileri,” in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoglu'na Armagan* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991).

3 “Although he travelled extensively in the Rumelian provinces where Greeks and Jews lived predominantly, the only Anatolian province that he [Mahmud II] visited where Muslims constituted the majority of the population was the imperial seat's neighboring town of Izmit.” (Kırılı, *Struggle*, 266).

4 Kırılı, *Struggle*, 263-64.

5 Bernard Lory analyzed the case of an 1830 charitable donation by the Grand Vizier for the repairs of a Christian Church in Manastir (Bitola). See Bernard Lory, “The Vizier's Dream: ‘Seeing St. Dimitar’ in Ottoman Bitola,” *History and Anthropology*, 20/3, (2009), 309-316.

6 For a detailed discussion of the circumstances of church construction and repair in the Ottoman Empire over the previous centuries, see Rossitsa Gradeva, “Ottoman Policy towards Christian Church Building,” *Etudes Balkaniques*, 4 (1994), 14-36. See also Hakan Karateke, “Opium for the Subjects? Religiosity as a Legitimizing Factor for

presented the image of an invincible yet human and earthly ruler.”⁷ True to the clothing regulation he had issued only two years earlier, the sultan wore the new style headgear (*fez*) and trousers as he was walking among his subjects. Mahmud II continued to reproduce the new image of the Ottoman ruler on his third and fourth tours of Istanbul's neighboring town of Izmit, in 1833 and 1836, respectively. The former lasted a week and the latter – two weeks.⁸

The last tour was the longest and best documented. It commenced on April 29, 1837 at Varna (in present-day Bulgaria) on the Black Sea coast of Ottoman Rumelia. Over the course of 39 days, Mahmud II visited more than a dozen towns on or near the Danube. Helmuth von Moltke, a Prussian officer who accompanied the sultan on this trip noted how the people who did not believe that the sultan was visiting their town crowded town squares to see him.⁹ In a speech Mahmud II had Vassaf Efendi read¹⁰ at Şumnu, the sultan declared: “I distinguish the Muslims among my subjects only in the mosque, the Christians in the church, the Jews in the synagogue; there is no other difference among them. My *love* and justice are strong for all, and all are my true sons.”¹¹ This statement took up the theme of equality between religious groups in the Empire, first touched upon in July 1829, towards the end of the Greek Revolution, when Mahmud II had addressed the Orthodox Christians (*Rum*) of the Morea (the Peloponnese peninsula in present-day Greece) in a ferman in the following terms: “There will be in the future no distinctions made between Muslims and *re'aya*”¹² and everybody will be ensured the inviolability of his property, life and honor by a sacred law (*Şeriat*) and my sublime patronage.”¹³ It also presented the relations between ruler and

the Ottoman Sultan,” in *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, (ed.) Hakan Karateke, Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 126.

7 Kırılı, *Struggle*, 265.

8 Ibid.

9 See Helmuth von Moltke, *Lettres du Marechal de Moltke sur L'Orient* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1872), 139.

10 This act of delegation seems to have been a deliberate nod to the sultan's past invisibility and inaccessibility, especially vis-à-vis provincial crowds who were utterly unaccustomed to experiencing the sultan's physical presence in any way whatsoever.

11 Maria Todorova, *Anglia, Rossia i Tanzimat. Vtoraya Chetvert' XIX Veka* [England, Russia and the Tanzimat: The Second Quarter of the 19th Century (in Russian)] (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), 46, with reference to Enver Ziya Karal, “Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayununda Batınin Etkisi,” *Bellekten*, XXVIII/112 (1964), 595.

12 Literally, “flock.” At the time, this was a loose term referring to Ottoman non-Muslims as a whole.

13 Ruben Safrastjian, “Ottomanism in Turkey in the Epoch of Reforms in XIX C.:

subjects through a universalizing *father-children* metaphor of society, common to all contemporary empires. Such a metaphor had been employed by Ottoman rulers in the past, as with the metaphors used concerning the Janissaries, but in Mahmud II's time it gained a new meaning and urgency to it. Its use reflected the sultan's attempt to pre-empt the rise of ethnoreligious claims, inspired by novel notions of popular sovereignty, maintain unity irrespective of cultural affinities, and re-orient weakened subject loyalties back to the center in the aftermath of the disastrous 1828-29 Russo-Ottoman War. In fact, the whole 1837 tour was timed around the Russian withdrawal from the fortress of Silistre (Silistra in present-day Bulgaria) in late 1836. The familial metaphor and its mutations would play a key role later under a number of Mahmud II's successors as a symbolic buffer against all attempts to invoke principles of constitutionalism and self-determination. The trope of love expressed towards a ruler's subjects, regardless of their faith, predated by about two decades a similar development in the Russian Empire.¹⁴

The speech further announced: "You Greeks,¹⁵ Armenians, Jews, you are all servants of God, and you are all my subjects -- just as good as the Muslims. Your beliefs are different, but you all obey the laws and my imperial orders." Apparently, at the end of the speech the sultan inquired whether anybody among the non-Muslims had any complaints or whether their churches needed repairs. In another village, he actually donated money for church repairs.¹⁶ In another speech during the same tour, the sultan addressed the leaders of non-Muslim communities directly:

"It is our wish to ensure the peace and security of all inhabitants of our God-protected great state, both Muslim and *re'aya*. In spite of all difficulties we are determined to secure the flourishing of the state and the population under our

Ideology and Policy I," *Etudes Balkaniques*, 4 (1988), with reference to Anton von Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom türkischen Reiche in Jahre 1821 und der Gründung des hellenischen Königreiches: Aus diplomatischen Standpunkte* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867), Bd. 6, 57.

14 See Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), vol. II, Part I, "Alexander II and the Scenario of Love," 17-157.

15 The word Moltke used in German is "Griechen." See Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835-1839* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1876), 130. The original word in Ottoman was most likely "Rum."

16 Karateke, "Opium," 126, with reference to Helmut von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835-1839* (Berlin: Posen, Bromberg, Mittler, 1841) 131, 142.

protection. You [the leaders of non-Muslim communities] bearing in mind our wish, ought to believe us in this deed."¹⁷

The repeated invocation of God and faith in all of the above passages, with the stress falling on their universal and authority-upholding, rather than specific and potentially divisive functions, constituted the single most important thread in the sultan's legitimating strategies throughout his late reign. It was religion, in the form of a carefully composed set of integrative messages and practices, which underwrote Mahmud II's attempts at ceremonial penetration, consolidation and centralization of the Ottoman domains. His eldest son and successor, Abdülmecid (1839-1861), whose personal character differed in many respects from his father's, nevertheless would stay the course politically so that the earlier policies could strike roots.

Sultan Abdülmecid's Public Image on the Eve of His 1846 Tour of Rumelia

The trope of love by and for the ruler was spelled out and immensely popularized by Abdülmecid himself during his tour of Rumelia in 1846. A year before that tour, an imperial decree (*hatt-i şerif*) announced a few key features of the sultan's intended public image. A translation of this decree and an address-commentary, inspired by it, were printed side by side in Bulgar Slavic¹⁸ on a leaflet meant for domestic distribution. This decree reveals what soon became the two cornerstones of Abdülmecid's *scenario* of power – education and public health. In its penultimate paragraph, the edict specifically addressed the need for more schools and “popular Enlightenment (*narodno prosveshthenie*).” In addition, it envisioned the opening of a large hospital for poor people and strangers, “as a pious creation (*kato edno blagochestivo sozidanie*).”

17 Safrastjian, “Ottomanism,” 74-75, with reference to Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1943), 28.

18 This umbrella term encompasses a set of regional South Slavic dialects of the mid-nineteenth century. In my view, it better reflects contemporary linguistic realities and respective mentalities. To use the term ‘Bulgarian’ would be to suppose the existence of a standardized literary language and a corresponding prevalent (macro) group consciousness, neither of which was a fact until decades later. Therefore, I use the term ‘Bulgar’ (the Ottoman designation) and ‘Bulgarian’ (the modern nation-state designation) as group designators with the dividing mark being the year 1878 when the modern nation-state of Bulgaria was founded. Similarly, I use the terms (Hellene-minded) Rum and Greek to denote group identifications before and after modern nation-state formation, as well as without and within state borders where the frame of reference is centered on the modern nation-state of Greece set up in 1832.

Significantly, the decree presented both policies, as originating from the sultan. The text portrayed him as intimately involved and emotionally invested in their success. Abdülmecid was concerned about institutions “useful to the common good (*polezni za obshtoto dobro*) (1);” he cared about “the well being of Our subjects (*dobroto byitie na Nashyite poddannyi*) (3).”¹⁹ Apparently, the alleged failure of his subordinates to turn these intentions into realities filled the sultan’s heart with “pity and grief” leaving him in peace “neither during the day nor at night (*ne denya ni noshtya*).” This is a major departure from the aloof image of the ruler, which had been the norm prior to Mahmud II’s late reign. Moreover, this edict, dated January 1/13, 1845,²⁰ contains the earliest evidence I have encountered to date of the sultan’s title of ‘tsar,’ deployed with respect to his Bulgar subjects.²¹ In fact, this title is invoked, in some fashion or other, no fewer than eight times in the space of a single page of text, whereas ‘sultan’ does not appear even once. Paradoxically, just when it creates the impression upon the reader of this being a Christian monarch, the tsarist reference is paired with a reference to “the intercession of our St. Prophet (*hodataystvoto na nashego sv. Proroka*) (2).”²² This stunning choice is an early indication of what quickly unfolded as a consistent policy of presenting the sultan as a rightful ruler to various non-Muslim communities along lines and with symbols familiar to them. Even though this article focuses on a particular (Bulgar Slavic) subset of the largest (Christian) such grouping, there is evidence to suggest that this deliberate strategy cut across all non-Muslim faith-based communities of the empire.

The theme of the caring ruler, with his priorities in education and public health is much expanded and complicated in the address-commentary attached to it. This rich and strongly suggestive text, entitled “Dear Bulgars of the same kin (*Lyubeznii mi edinorodtsi Bulgare!*)”²³ opens as follows:

19 Numbers in parentheses hereafter refer to the frequency with which certain words and phrases appear in the original text.

20 The texts of the edict and the address-commentary can be found in Ivan Georgov, *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniya* [A Collection of Popular Adages (in Bulgarian)] (Sofia, 1908) kn. 24, ch. I.

21 Andreas Lyberatos has demonstrated the use of a very similar sultanic title – ‘*anax gen. anaktos* (king)’ – in the case of the (Hellene-minded) Rum of *Filibe* (Plovdiv in present-day Bulgaria) as early as 1841. See Andreas Lyberatos, “The Application of the Tanzimat and Its Political Effects: Glances from Plovdiv and Its Rum Millet,” in *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe, 16th-19th C.*, (ed.) Maria Baramova et al. (Berlin: LiT Verlag, 2012).

22 The abbreviation “*sv.*,” which stands for “*sveti* (holy)” is identical to the one preceding the names of Christian saints in modern Bulgarian.

23 Unless otherwise specified, capitalization/punctuation in primary source excerpts is kept in accordance with the originals.

“The generous and most merciful love, which today His Majesty, our Brightest Tsar, Sultan Abdul Medzhid pours fatherly on his faithful subjects through this beneficent *Hatti Sherif*⁴ of his hand, awoke my zeal (*revnost*) to popularize its translation in Bulgar so that you may not remain without merriment and gladness of the universal joy, which this Tsarist course produces; you, I mean, who have dedicated your faithful hearts to His Tsarist love.”²⁵

This programmatic sentence opens and closes with direct references to the trope of the sultan's love for his subjects. It thus picks up the thread of the fatherly metaphor Mahmud II deployed on his 1837 tour of Rumelia. There are further traits of Abdülmecid's moral portrait, such as generosity and mercy, which will soon become defining characteristics of his attitude to his subjects. The mention of the subjects' hearts, filled with a joy, expressed via a repetitive, typically Ottoman phrasing is not new, but the strength and trajectory of enhancement of their bond to the object of their love – the ruler – is. So is the complexity of paternal-filial exchange between the two parties. The author reiterates the constancy (“day and night”) of the sultan's interaction with and care for his subjects, comparing it to that of “a natural father for his progeny (*kato edin prirodnyiy otets za svoyata rozhba*).” This organic metaphor functions bilaterally. On the one hand, the father aims to give his progeny “good upbringing, a development of the mental faculties, a moral education;” on the other, the child is thus “good and useful, not only to itself, but capable of every aid to its father.” Therefore, if at the start of this address the subjects' hearts are “dedicated” to the sultan's love, by its conclusion, they are “perfectly dedicated” as well as being encouraged to “strive in order to become already more deserving of His most generous mercy.” Several aspects of the relationship between the people and the ruler are particularly worthy of note. First, this call for a popular exertion in the name of the sultan is unequivocally a matter of duty (*niy sme dluzhni*). So is the act of prayer to God for the sultan's long life, prosperity, and a peaceful “tsardom.” Interestingly, this duty of supplication is invoked by way of an injunction to “always pray to the almighty God with diligent hands (*vinagi s rutse blagoserdnyi da molim usevyishnyago Boga*).” In return, the subjects would have the hope of living quietly and prosperously “under His mighty wing.” This metaphor would become permanently etched onto the public mind, re-appearing time and again over the years in various texts of similarly emotional, propagandizing and mass mobilizing nature.

²⁴ Worthy of note is the larger font of the decree's title, which is superior to any other in the text, including the sultan's.

²⁵ This and all subsequent underlinings are the author's own.

The close textual analysis of this address-commentary, composed by Ivan Stoyanov,²⁶ and published with the financial support of Nikola Tupchileshtov,²⁷ would be much less relevant and telling, if this text remained an isolated act, the expression of a subjective individual attitude. However, there are a number of thematic links and striking similarities with another, formal text of state, which undeniably contains the sultan's own position. The text in question is the speech, read by Mustafa Reşid Paşa in the sultan's presence to representatives of the various local Ottoman communities in the courtyard of the government building in Edirne on May 6/18, 1846. It explains early on the sultan's motif for the tour – “to see with his own eyes and get to know the important needs of his various peoples, and thus complement all that is necessary for their happiness.”²⁸ This clarification comes on the heels of a fatherly metaphor laid out at the very beginning of the text – “as a good father constantly caring for the well being of his children.” The text then lists a number of immediate economic improvements, based on the royal inspection in and around Edirne, before returning to familiar topics, such as the social pact, the trope of love, and the importance of duty. In most of these subjects, the speech starts off with concepts, already expounded by Stoyanov, before charting new territory. For example, the recognition of the sultan's constant and extensive care for his subjects leads to the observation that “such signs of magnanimity are very rare in the annals of the State.” In return, the popular end of the social pact reads as follows:

“Let all of us, subjects of all ranks, dedicated to our Venerable Tsar get to know them [the signs of magnanimity]! Let us thank God for having the best and most righteous Monarch, and let us work to show ourselves grateful and worthy of such superior abundance (of goodness)! Let us unite our hearts with love for the fatherland, and let us hasten, in accordance with the will of our most kind Tsar in the development and prosperity of our fatherly place (*otechestvennoto ni mesto*) where we first saw the sun.”

26 Ivan Stoyanov (1817-?) was a Bulgar teacher and poet. Very little is known about his life.

27 Nikola Tupchileshtov (1817-1895) was an affluent Bulgar merchant and leader of the Bulgar community in Istanbul.

28 Apparently, this was also a central motif behind the sultan's tour of Crete that same year. See Hakan Karateke, “From Divine Ruler to Modern Monarch: The Ideal of the Ottoman Sultan in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (eds.) Jörn Leonhard and Ulrike von Hirschhausen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 293.

This highly charged appeal reiterates the subjects' dedication to their ruler before taking their commitment to a higher level in a number of ways. First, there is a quick progression in the sultan's moral outlook. From a starting point of generosity and mercy [here, 'most kind (*preblag*)'], traits noted before – the sultan is portrayed as 'venerable (*pochitaem*),' 'most righteous (*nay-pravednyiat*),' and a source of 'superior abundance of goodness (*prevoshodna blagodat*).' All of these divine/saintly attributes and prerogatives add an air of sanctity to the sultan's persona. As a result, the previously stated importance of duty to the ruler is here transformed into an imperative; the striving to please him is accelerated ("let us hasten") and intensified ("let us work to show ourselves grateful and worthy"). This escalating sense of urgency culminates in a profoundly new and quintessentially modern call for unification ("let us unite our hearts") and totalization ("all of us"; "all ranks"). Unlike Stoyanov's address to the Bulgars, this call is much wider: it targets Muslims, Christians and Jews, as subsequent passages explicitly point out. The decree goes even further, however, in stating that "the difference of faith and its law is a matter of everyone's simple conscience." Perhaps even more astonishing is the re-arrangement of the metaphors of 'love' and 'father' – what had heretofore been the sultan's fatherly love for his subjects – into the subjects' "love for the fatherland" – a newly found basis for subject mobilization. Paradoxically, the notion of fatherland in this text has not one, but two meanings. The above passage contains a clear definition of the first, *micro* sense, which must have had an instant resonance with the decree's target listeners in Edirne or elsewhere – "our fatherly place where we first saw the sun." The second, *macro* meaning, as well as the final articulation of the relationship between ruler and subjects can be found in the following passage near the decree's end:

"All of us are subjects of the same State (*istata Derzhava*), compatriots (*sootechestvennitsyi*), and children of the one and same fatherland! When this is so, it does not become us at all to scorn each other! But let us follow the same path which our Tsar has drawn for us. Let us imitate His respectable example! As you see, H.M. does not discriminate among any of his subjects in the distribution of his acts of mercy. Is it not then a sacred duty for us (*sveshテナ za nas dolzhnost*) to live in accord and to hasten with all our strength to everything which serves the well being of our common fatherland (*obshtoto nashe otechestvo*)?"

Here, finally, we have the complete transformation of the father-children metaphor of Ottoman society and the trope of love binding its two components into an appeal for a mass popular territorial bond to and love for an abstract *macropatria*. Since this conceptual novelty is far removed from the everyday lives of most people, however, it needs to be qualified. Therefore, it is constructed on the basis

of the instantly recognizable and emotionally binding *micropatria*, the primary contemporary meaning of ‘fatherland.’ By a process of magnification capped by the boundaries of the Ottoman state, the new concept becomes “a common fatherland.” The principles of uniformity (“the same path”, “let us imitate”) and totality (“all of us,” all our strength”) get further confirmation and elaboration. As a result, this passage takes the imperative of duty a step further – to the realm of a sacred obligation.

In conclusion, the speech expressed hope that the sultan’s subjects would rely on help from “the Divine providence (*Bozhii promisal*)” to be able to reckon with “His [the sultan’s] Autocratic will (*Negovata Samoderzhavna volya*).” The first reference comes through as a clear concession, considering the Prophet’s intercession of the previous year’s decree, to the non-Muslim populace. This is a step towards crafting a composite heterogeneous image of the ruler in conjunction with the multiplicity of different religio-communal angles of viewing him. So is his title of “autocrat (*samoderzhets*)” whose derivative forms appear no fewer than six times throughout the speech. Given that this text is shorter than the decree its saturation with tsarist references (8) is even higher.

II. The Sultan’s 1846 Tour of Rumelia

From Edirne, Abdülmecid proceeded to *Eski Zağra* (Stara Zagora), *Kızanlık* (Kazanluk), *Gabrova* (Gabrovo), *Tirnova* (Turnovo), *Rusçuk* (Ruse), *Silistre* (Silistra), and Varna.²⁹ The route of the 1846 tour followed closely, except in reverse order, Mahmud II’s tour of 1837. According to witness accounts, along the way, the sultan was greeted everywhere with poetic recitations and songs of praise and prayer, both in Ottoman and Bulgar.³⁰ The pride of place among welcoming parties invariably fell on students, of all creeds, most clad in white uniforms, some in solemn church-going attire, with flowers and green branches in their hands. At every stop, ceremonial cannon salvos were fired during the day and elaborate firework illuminations were performed at night. In the town of Kızanlık, known then as now for the most fragrant roses and the best rose oil, the sultan’s visit coincided, possibly by design, with the rose harvesting season. So the locals

²⁹ All of these towns are situated in present-day Bulgaria.

³⁰ In *Gabrova*, the rehearsals, led by the Metropolitan of *Tirnova*’s chief cantor, lasted for several days prior to the sultan’s arrival. See Todor Burmov, *Spomenite Mi. Dnevnik. Avtobiografia*. [My Recollections. A Diary. Autobiography.] (Sofia: Liubomudrie, 1994), 22. Todor Burmov (1834-1906) was a Bulgar teacher, journalist and intellectual, later a Bulgarian politician and the first Prime Minister of Bulgaria.

sprinkled rose water and poured rose oil before the sultan's cavalcade. According to Hristo Stambolski, in the three days of the sultan's stay in town no rose harvesting was done so that the whole area would be exquisitely scented in his honor.³¹

For his part, the sultan had doctors vaccinate all children against smallpox in public before sending each one off with a small gift of money.³² Even people with rare diseases were, on occasion, summoned to the sultan's presence so his doctors could cure them.³³ Needless to say, the sublime visit caused the locals, who were unaccustomed to direct contact with the center of power, quite a stir. The fact that they were completely unaware of the sultan's looks produced at least in one instance, a comical episode. In *Gabrova*, where the twelve-year-old Todor Burmov was in the welcoming party of students lined up along the road several kilometers outside of town, the children once commenced their solemn singing upon cue that the sultan was in the group passing by them, only to abruptly cut it after being told it was not him. In the end, Burmov sang without knowing who within the group of passing dignitaries the sultan actually was. Apparently, the sultan's departing ceremony the following day did not help resolve the issue either.³⁴ Such ignorance of the sultan's visage would soon be ameliorated, with the officially condoned wide proliferation of royal portraits across the imperial domains, as well as abroad.

31 See Hristo Stambolski, *Avtobiografiya, Dnevniitsi, Spomeni*. [Autobiography. Diaries. Memories.] 1852-1879 (Sofia, 1972) 31. Hristo Stambolski (1843-1932) later became a professor of anatomy and histology at the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul, as well as an important figure in the affairs of the Bulgar community of Istanbul. After 1878, he settled in Eastern Rumelia (present-day South Bulgaria), where he became a successful politician.

32 This took place in Kızanlık, Gabrova, Tirnova, Rusçuk and probably elsewhere. See Stambolski, *Autobiography*, 31; Burmov, *My Recollections*, 23; Nayden Gerov, "Diaries" in *Vuzrozhdenski Putepisi* [Travelogues from the Bulgarian Revival Period], (ed.) Svetla Gyurova (Sofia: Bulgarski Pisatel, 1969) 72. Nayden Gerov (1823-1900) was a Bulgar teacher, ethnographer, writer, book publisher, and later, Bulgarian lexicographer. He was a widely traveled, foreign-educated individual, who at the time of the sultan's visit had just returned from his favorite Russian Empire. Gerov's views, therefore, were very much not representative of the majority of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects he hereby named. I have heretofore come across extremely few Bulgar references dating from 1846. All of them can be traced to distinguished rather than ordinary people.

33 See Gerov, "Diaries," 72.

34 Burmov, *My Recollections*, 23.

The most detailed account, albeit from a hostile source, relates the sultan's visit to Rusçuk, which, at four days, may have also been the longest. According to Nayden Gerov, the greeting ceremonies proceeded on a communal basis, with the Jews being placed closest to the town walls, next to them the Armenians, then the Bulgars, and finally, the Muslims, situated the farthest from town, yet being the first to see and welcome the sultan. The front of each non-Muslim group consisted of school children, with candles and willow twigs, and priests in liturgical attire. Behind them stood other townsmen, some holding placards with words of praise for the sultan. The Muslim school children were also dressed in white, the difference being that some of them held green flags with white writing on them. A dervish presided over the Muslim group, holding a large green flag with a text in gold. Apparently, there was also spatial separation based on gender – women remained behind the town walls, while men formed two lines stretching for about two kilometers along the road outside. As the sultan approached, each group of youngsters would in turn sing for him, everyone else bowing profusely. Based on Gerov's description, it seems that Abdülmecid was dressed in a slightly more luxurious fashion than during state ceremonies in Istanbul, his military coat sewn with gold, and diamonds around his neck hearkening back to olden times. If so, this may have been an attempt to meet provincial expectations, which were yet much less in tune with the fast changing realities of sultanic power in the capital. As the sultan proceeded quietly, however, he showed none of his ancestors' restrained head movements and fixed sideways gaze, avoiding eye contact. Instead he chose to constantly turn his head around.³⁵

Regardless of the memoirists' personal dispositions towards the unfolding sultanic spectacle – be it solemn (Stambolski), enthusiastic (Burmov) or sardonic (Gerov), all of them employed in their accounts the same titles of 'autocrat (*samodurzhets*)' and 'tsar,' contained in the period documents analyzed above.³⁶ In Rusçuk, the Bulgar students even sang to the sultan an anthem, entitled "The Most Autocratic tsar of ours (*Samoderzhavneyshiy tsar nash*)."³⁷ This is a testament to the wider relevance and popularity, which these titles must have quickly gained among the non-Muslim Ottomans.

35 This description is based on Gerov, "Diaries," 67-70.

36 The word '*samodurzhets*' at that time had little if any of the negative associations the word 'autocrat' instantly conjures up today. Instead, as its constituent morphemes suggest, it signified a ruler of an independent state.

37 Gerov, "Diaries," 70.

The Discourse of Reform and Bulgar Songs of Praise and Prayer for the Sultan

What provincial non-Muslim populations very quickly embraced, enriched, and employed to their advantage was the discourse of the Tanzimat. Even though in substance, the Tanzimat reforms began at least a decade prior to November 3, 1839, the phrase *'Tanzimat-ı Hayriye* (the Auspicious Tanzimat)' promoted widely, both at home and abroad, after this date found resonance with the population, and created a substance of its own. Based on a Bulgar songbook, published in 1851 in Serbia, this process seems already well under way during Abdülmecid's 1846 tour of Rumelia. This book opens with the texts of two prayers, recited by Bulgar school children to the sultan on his arrival at *Tirnova* on May 14/26, 1846. The first prayer appears in a highly formulaic cyrillicized Ottoman, a rare and fascinating occurrence in print. It seems identical to the one read at *Kızanlık*.³⁸ This may have been a standard reading at all schools across the imperial domains at the time, regardless of faith and denomination. Such was indeed the case with the second prayer, in Bulgar. Its title – “A Hymn for many years (*Mnogoletstvenno vospevanie*)” – unmistakably points to its Orthodox liturgical origins – a familiar and comfortable zone for Orthodox Christian believers; hence, an ideal platform for appealing to their sensitivities and directing their praises to the ruler. The author, Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich, who witnessed the event, explicitly indicated that the hymn was “used in the Turnovo school (*supotreblaemoe v Ternovskoto uchilishte*).”³⁹ This hymn, as well as the author's lengthy dedication to the sultan printed on the book's first page, contains an unusually high number of references to the ongoing reform process in the empire. The dedication summarizes in substantial detail, according to the author's understanding, the reform measures, broached by the *Güllhane Rescript*, twice mentioning it by name (*Hatt-ı Şerif*).⁴⁰ This seems an unusual subject matter for a songbook, especially in its opening lines. It must reflect the decree's profound impression on and popularity among Ottoman non-Muslims. Judging by the hymn's text, this was indeed so. In it, the Bulgars collectively thank the sultan for the “acts of goodness (*dobrini*)” they received and continue to “incessantly

38 See Stambolski, *Autobiography*, 31.

39 Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich, *Novi bulgarski pesni s tsarski i drugi novi pesni ili pohvali*. . . [New Bulgar Songs along with Tsarist Songs and Other New Songs or Eulogies] (Belgrade, 1851). Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich (1805-1862) was a Bulgar teacher, poet, publisher and book vendor.

40 Here is an excerpt: “. . . May trade be free everywhere . . . and the tax with good measure; may life be lived with a fear of God, without difference among persons and faiths, and may all people be equal before the law . . . may everyone keep his father's faith, without changing it by force . . .”

(*neprestanno*)” receive, as well as for the persistent service of justice in “the time of the most resplendent, most serene, most peace-loving and most merciful ... Tsar and Autocrat.” The latter titular phrase bears uncanny resemblance to medieval Bulgar and broader Slavic formulae. So does the prayer’s repetitive, incantatory solicitation of peaceful and prosperous “many years (*mnogaya leta*).” It seems that the whole set of such notions was recently dusted off old books and brought back to public usage in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-nineteenth century.⁴¹ It was then married to the discourse of reform. As a curious 1849 newspaper announcement shows, on the interface of these two main narratives, there was substantial room for improvisation, the expression of local sentiment and the advancement of local objectives. In this posting, the townspeople of *Tirnova* expressed their gratitude to the sultan for the dispatch of a certain Cemaali Paşa to govern the affairs of their town. The text starts off with an exact reproduction of the hymn discussed above, before launching a praise of the above-mentioned bureaucrat’s beneficial actions in *Tirnova*. Through him, the posting focuses on the ruler’s upholding of justice, in line with “divine justice (*bozhya pravda*).” In the process, it twice refers to the Tanzimat and once to the decree itself.⁴² This posting helps place Yoannovich’s book in perspective. It serves as a preliminary indication that prayer texts, such as this one were influential in a number of ways, going beyond the direct, short-term encounter with the ruler, into the realm of the long-term symbolic, with profound inculcating effects on the populace. Among them, the trope of love was central. The above-mentioned hymn calls the sultan “the most peace-loving (*mirolyubiveyshago*).” Yoannovich’s book dedication reiterates this assessment and expands it to incorporate the sultan’s subjects by referring to Abdülmeçid’s motivation for reform in the following terms – “out of affection and a burning [literally, ‘hot’] desire for peace and the good livelihood of his subjects.”⁴³

What is most remarkable about this book is that it also contains songs, which Yoannovich, inspired by the sultan’s visit, composed in its aftermath for the purpose of creatively re-enacting and symbolically framing the encounter. Three of

41 The exact circumstances of this major transformation have yet to be clarified. It remains unclear whether there was an explicit order to this effect from the Ottoman center or whether the initiative came from below in the aftermath of the *Gülhane Decree*. One way or another, this new discourse of the ruler gained prominence in the mid-1840s and lasted for several decades.

42 *Tsarigradski Vestnik* (literally, “Tsar City Newspaper”) 72 (05.II.1849). The posting is signed « P.D. ». ‘Tsar City’ (*Tsarigrad*) is still a widespread nickname for Istanbul in modern Bulgarian and other Slavic languages. Ironically, it seems to have outlived its Ottoman counterparts – *Dersaadet*, *Asitane*, and others.

43 “... *ot obich i goreshho zhelanie za mirut i dobriy pominok na poddannitsite si ...*”

them merit closer attention and add important new dimensions to the symbolic interaction between the ruler and the ruled. Two of these songs appeared shortly after Abdülmecid's Rumelian tour in the 1847 Almanac also composed and published by Yoannovich in Wallachia.⁴⁴ They contain what seems a largely factual account (with occasional metaphoric touches) of the sultan's visit. The first song explains to the people the purpose of the sultan's tour in the following terms:

“May there be peace and love
 And no violence
 Whoever has a need
 May tell him
 Give him a complaint
 And hope
 That somehow he will receive [it]
 In his time
 Whatever one begs
 The tsar carries in his pocket
 Ready to bestow
 And to make good
 For this reason
 He passed here [Tirnova] too
 To see his reaya
 To go around his land”

These poetic lines reveal a close direct emotional connection between the (Muslim) ruler and the (non-Muslim) ruled, a radical novelty in Ottoman history. This excerpt focuses on the top-down part of the relationship, painting the picture of a sensitive, highly accessible, benevolent, and generous ruler, who is also omnipotent. The song continues with first-hand account particulars of the sultan's visit to Tirnova, which largely fall in line with the memoirs covering other such visits from the tour. In the process, the motif of the sultan's larger-than-life stature gets a new dimension with the reverence Christian clergymen display for him. With a gospel in hand, they bow to the ground and stretch their hands up in a

⁴⁴ Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich, *Almanac or Calendar for the Year 1847* (Bucharest: I. Copaynig, 1846?). Perhaps in an intended gesture of added solemnity, both this publication and the 1851 songbook were printed in old Church Slavonic letters, as if these were liturgical texts. Such was also the case with Stoyanov's 1845 edict translation and address-commentary.

prayer to God for “[his] long life (*mnogaya leta*).” The clergymen then accompany the sultan into town singing “a song for many years (*mnogoletna pesen*)” along the way. Their enthusiasm infects the popular masses. That evening, everyone prays to God and performs animal sacrifice for the sultan’s health.⁴⁵ In gratitude, the sultan bestows money gifts to all, ranging in value from five piasters (to boys) to twenty piasters (to clergymen).

The second song paints the whole encounter with the brush of folk fairy tales:

“We reached golden years
 We saw Sultan Midzhit [sic]
 Our fathers have not seen
 Our grandfathers have not heard
 Such a serene tsar (*brisimo tsarche*)⁴⁶
 Such a merciful Sultan (*milostivno Sultanche*)”

The choice of such expressive medium, the mythic tone of the narrator’s voice may perhaps be attributed to a combination of, on the one hand, the improbability of the above sequence of occurrences and, on the other, the high degree of common fervor it generated. Along these lines, the shift from third person singular to first person plural seems highly significant. So is the introduction of a temporal component via the blood connection to fathers (*bashti*) and grandfathers/ancestors (*dedi*), and the exponential hyperbolizing deep into the past – the length of time during which the fathers have not seen anything like this pales in comparison to the length of time the grandfathers/ancestors have not heard anything like it. In its natural flow, this extreme popular excitement bridges divides based on strict interpretations of faith, and leads to paradoxical, from our present-day point of view, results. The indications, more or less subtle, for a trajectory of religious and

45 The Balkan folk practice of ‘*kurban*’ [in Bulgar(ian)] and ‘*kourbania*’ (in Greek), from the Hebrew ‘*qorban*,’ survives until today. Its roots remain contentious. Whether it originated in pagan times or not, this ritual was shared by Muslims and Christians alike, perhaps with overlapping justification. For a lengthy discussion on this topic, see Bruce McClelland, “Sacrifice, Scapegoat, Vampire. The Social and Religious Origins of the Bulgarian Folkloric Vampire” (PhD Dissertation: University of Virginia, 1999).

46 The diminutive forms ‘*tsarche*’ and ‘*sultanche*’ can be literally rendered as ‘tsarlet’/‘little tsar’ and ‘little sultan’, respectively. One might think these derogatory terms, yet the author’s intention here is clearly different. These diminutive forms were probably justified by the sultan’s young age (twenty-three in 1846) and they show fondness for the ruler, the sort of gentle attitude one would normally exhibit to a youngster.

cultural syncretism are interspersed throughout the song.⁴⁷ At its very outset, the sultan is compared with a serene newborn lamb as well as a mighty lion.⁴⁸ Then in the above passage, another word for 'serene' is used (*brisim*). However, neither these, nor the outbursts of ecclesiastic reverence for the sultan, detailed above, seem to adequately prepare the reader for the song's closing lines. They convey a popular rapture which can be qualified as nothing less than a personality cult:

“Wherever he stepped and sat
 And whichever way he looked
 We kiss that place
 And commemorate him
 With joy we were all weeping
 And on the trees we were climbing
 And for the sultan we watch
 Whence will we see him again
 Oh, will we prove worthy
 For him to twice appear to us
 In the year of 1846,
 He passed through Terno [Tirnova]
 Most merciful he appeared to us
 Inaugurated the land customs
 God [gave to] us to lord over.”

The theme of visibility, the act of visual exchange between the ruler and the ruled, unobtrusively present in all of the above excerpts from this song and elsewhere, carries the gradually unfolding stages of popular embrace of the ruler as the people's own to such an intense conclusion.⁴⁹ As the poem makes clear, the cult of the monarch is centered on the space inscribed by the sultan's movement and vision. Perhaps most indicative of a cult is the shift from past to present tense in tune with the shift from the account of the sultan's visit to an account of popular behavior afterwards. Whereas the visit is a one-time event, the response is a re-

47 For the purposes of this paper, I define *syncretic* as follows – of a mixed nature, combining heterogeneous, potentially conflicting elements into a seamless harmonious whole.

48 Serene (*krotuk*) as a lamb
 Upon its birth

Strong as an aslan [a profanation of the Ottoman Turkish word 'aslan' = lion.]

49 Interestingly, throughout the song, there are more references to Abdülmecid as 'tsar' (7) than 'sultan' (6, including the title).

petitive occurrence, unbounded in time – “we kiss that place and commemorate him.” Based on this evidence, poetically enhanced, yet largely grounded in reality, it may not be far fetched to state that the people treat the sultan as they would a saint. This impression is only made stronger by the use of the verb “*da se yavya* (to appear)” with reference to the sultan. This verb has a mystic, otherworldly connotation, and is often employed in relating supernatural, dream- or vision-like experiences. Thus, this song ends on a high point of ruler sanctity.

The same two songs appeared in Yoannovich’s 1851 songbook, with some highly suggestive changes, including an entirely new segment. The changes concerned several aspects of the relationship between the sultan and his subjects. Whereas in the 1846 version of the first song the sultan carried that which his subjects needed in his pocket, in 1851 he held it in his “bosom (*pazva*)”. Thus, the ruler seems to be holding his subjects’ needs in greater esteem in 1851. After all, the bosom is next to one’s heart, where one would also carry a love letter. This sultanic gesture is then matched by a concession on the part of people – “Only we should beg and implore him” – another novel addition. The subtle evolution of the social pact towards a shorter distance between the two parties and a more pronounced popular reverence for the ruler is manifested in other ways as well. For example, the students welcoming the sultan in the 1851 text “were sitting dutifully (*chinno sedyaha*),” a remark absent from the earlier version. Whereas the clergymen “were bowing to the ground” in 1846, in 1851 they were “all falling to the ground (*usi na zemla padat*).” The list of animals sacrificed for the ruler’s health is longer in 1851. In addition to oxen, cows, lambs, kids, and calves, it includes “birds and sparrows, little pigeons.” That such an extensive description (a total of six poetic lines) should be included attests not only to the reality of the event of animal sacrifice (*kurban*), but possibly also to the wide range of social strata involved, with everyone contributing what they could afford. Perhaps in recognition of such a broad spectrum of devotion, an 1846 line – “[the tsar] Bestowed gifts on all of them (*Sichkite dari*)” – was sung twice in the 1851 version. More importantly, the first song received an entirely new ending, consisting of two parts. The first relates the sultan’s didactic words to a gathering of local notables before his departure from Tirnova:

“From the saray he looked at them,
 And ordered them,
 To look after the re’aya
 And not harm it
 To guide it,
 To instruct it
 From the saray he descends,

And says to all:
 Turks of Muslim faith
 Christian reaya
 I recognize alike
 And equal honor give
 Both Muslim faith
 And Christian
 Both Armenian
 And Jewish
 I recognize alike
 And equal honor give.”⁵⁰

Once again, the visual exchange is prominent. It is a key element in the process of conveying the will of the ruler to his proxies, and ensuring the enforcement of that same autonomous omniscient will for the benefit of the masses. What is surprising, however, is the protagonist's choice to segment this heretofore faceless, malleable “flock (*reaya*)” of non-Muslims, based on religious denomination. The text is deliberately repetitive in listing communities and insisting on their equal rights. It reveals an intense preoccupation with the Tanzimat's focus on equality. Since Yoannovich was not only an author, but also a publisher and a bookseller, what he wrote was more likely than not in tune with what people thought, felt, wanted to hear/read, and were willing to pay for. In all likelihood, the act of naming in this excerpt reflects processes of acceleration of communal events and gradual crystallization of the communal frame of mind twelve years after the *Gülhane Rescript*. As the passage immediately following demonstrates, this choice in no way contradicts the overarching paternalistic role of the sultan in the familial metaphor of Ottoman society:

“In the coach he sat,
 To the reaya he turned his eyes,
 As a father to [his] children,
 That is how he looked,
 Outside of town he came,
 And told all of them:
 I hereby depart,

⁵⁰ It is interesting to note the lack of any Bulgar references whatsoever. Whoever intellectuals like Gerov may have considered Bulgar seems to still blend into the “Christian” and “re'aya” categories by the time this passage was written (1851). The latter two markers thus seem much more credible self-referents at the popular level.

To God I thee entrust,
 To God I thee entrust,
 My shadow I leave here,
 So you may not be sad
 And of me grievous”

The last four poetic lines contain references to a universalized God, and just as striking – the invocation of the shadow of God (*zillü'llah*), a profoundly Muslim title of the sultan, in order to keep his Christian subjects from grieving his departure. One would be hard pressed to find a passage, which better illustrates the syncretic nature of the integrationist project and the inclusive notion of faith on which it largely rested. This symbolic separation of the shadow of the ruler from his body is an early signal for a trajectory of abstraction in the terms of glorification of the sultan, which would gradually lead to a full blown personality cult by the end of the nineteenth century under Abdülhamid II.

Despite the protagonist-sultan's call, a final segment of the first song, not quoted here, captures in great detail the shared common sorrow accompanying his departure. Allegedly, the sultan's sheer physical presence gave people joy and allowed them to share their needs with him. Since the same segment also relates factual details of the sultan's departure from Tirnova and the people's return to town after seeing him off, it cannot be easily dismissed as a figment of Yoanovich's imagination.

The second song also displays changes along the path of ruler glorification. Whereas in the 1846 version the sultan, aged 23, is treated lovingly as a youngster, the 1851 version casts the image of the older (aged 28) Abdülmecid with corresponding respect, in a more mature light. There is no trace of the diminutive forms “little tsar/sultan,” his mercy is further emphasized (“merciful” becomes “most merciful”) and the designation “serene (*brisiim*)” is replaced by the image of a ruler with some experience, “a good master (*dobar gospodar*).” At its end, the second song has two new lines which serve as a thematic prelude to the entirely new third song.⁵¹ The first of these lines replaces an earlier line – “God [gave to] us to lord over.” This change acts to soften the notion of the sultan's control over his subjects, as imposed from above (by God), and instead shifts the emphasis to the theme of the ruler's reception by the people as their gift. Therefore, it serves as a perfect transition to the last song dedicated to Abdülmecid.

⁵¹ “May God continue [his] days
 And upon us bestow him.”

The new, third song grabs the reader's attention from its very title – “Love for the Sultan by his subjects (*Lyubov k sultanu ot poddannicite mu*).” It carries in a most overt and intense form yet the call for individual mobilization in the name of the ruler:

“Whoever loves the sultan,
 Runs to him,
 Loves him from the heart,
 Expend labor for him,
 Exhausts life,
 Does not leave the Tsar,
 Does not spare one's health,
 Always praises the Sultan,
 For the smallest need
 Summons all the strength
 Serves him faithfully,
 And remembers him.
 Prays for the Tsar,
 And slaughters kurban,
 Rams and rams,
 And fattened oxen
 So good-loving
 He is God-loving,
 As he does not reject [the tsar]
 So the tsar loves him,
 (And) whoever hates the sultan,
 He enters into sin
 (And) whoever thinks ill of him
 May God destroy him.”

Unprecedentedly, mobilization unfolds in both prescriptive (“runs to,” “expend labor,” “exhausts life,” “always praises,” “serves,” “remembers”) and proscriptive (“does not leave,” “does not spare one's health”) lines of reasoning. Therefore, it inscribes a complete moral universe. As before, the individual behavioral model is still based on love, though a love which is unequal. Of the five references to love in this segment, four originate with the individual and flow towards the sultan, and only one proceeds in the opposite direction. Moreover, the roots for ‘love’ in the original – ‘*obich*’ and ‘*lyub*,’ a duality which the English translation does not reflect, are also employed in an asymmetric manner. For example, all of the ‘*lyub*’ forms, the root carrying the more passionate type of

love, are centered on the sultan. However, the most remarkable aspect of this song is that it goes beyond love. The extreme call of popular duty to the sultan transforms what would otherwise be irrational behavior into a normal regularity, thus creating a higher plane of activity (“for the smallest need summons all the strength”). Here, for the first time, the notion of *duty to* the ruler, traced above through a series of texts, enters the territory of *sacrifice for* the ruler. Once outlined with unusual detail, this higher plane is then taken a step further into the realm of the divine, which seals its legitimacy – the good-loving (*dobrolyubiv*) becomes God-loving (*Bogolyubiv*). Since Abdülmecid is both sultan (3) and tsar (3), the two terms being employed here on an alternating basis, he enters seamlessly into a Christian theological reference frame regarding the rightful universal ruler.⁵² Therefore, actions against the tsar-sultan invoke notions of sin, with the ruler claiming divine protection.

The Tour’s *Ripple* Effects and the Beginnings of a Bulgar ‘Feeling’

Abdülmecid’s 1846 tour of Rumelia stimulated local cultural production and inspired local ceremonial practices in many more ways than can be detailed here.⁵³ The mental connection of provincial Bulgar populations to the sultan, forged single-handedly and vividly by the tour, was afterwards perpetuated not only by the expanding royal birthday and accession day celebrations but also by a nascent Bulgar periodical press and a rising number of newly minted annual communal celebrations (annual school examination ceremonies, celebrations of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, etc.). The 1850s marked progressively higher points in the popularity of sultanic authority, whose mainstay remained the songs of praise and prayer.⁵⁴ The close communal relationship of the Bulgars to the monarch

52 It is worthy of note that this text lacks explicitly/exclusively Christian or Muslim markers of faith.

53 As evidence of the type evaluated above, long kept under wraps by national(ist) historiographies, resurfaces it will allow a more complex, multi-communal evaluation of this and other notable sultanic events. For a recent publication reflecting firsthand the warm welcome Abdülmecid received by another Ottoman non-Muslim community on another tour, see Aron Rodrigue and Sara Stein, eds., *A Jewish Voice from Ottoman Salonica: The Ladino Memoir of Sa’adi Besalel a-Levi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

54 As Ivan Vazov, later “the patriarch of Bulgarian literature” put it: “In the school of my native town [Sopot] one would glorify Sultan Abdul Medzhid in Turkish hymns long before one heard about and glorified the [Bulgarian] Enlighteners Cyril and Methodius . . .” (*Speech at the Gala Banquet*, XIX, 355-56)

gradually became the central legitimating component in the increasingly politicized process of voicing communal concerns, in the crystallization and manifestation of communal agendas, and the clash of communal rivalries (in the first instance, between Bulgar-minded and Hellene-minded *Rum*). At the same time, the Bulgars began to develop a more explicit and elaborate sense of communal belonging transcending any particular locale, any familiar zone of microregional, real-life habitation. The new, momentous development in the 1850s was the trend towards the substantiation of an abstract collective entity called 'Bulgaria,' along with its mental geographic mappings, and personification as 'mother.' It strengthened the notion of a blood connection among the Bulgars, and opened the door to a more intense emotional appeal and group mobilization via a) the creation of accompanying images of Bulgaria's victimization and sanctification, and b) the utterance of increasingly credible calls for group unification and sacrifice in her name.⁵⁵

Concluding Overview

This paper provides a glimpse of the kinds of sources and type of analysis that can allow us to peer through the mists of an Ottoman past which has long been unjustly painted in black and white – a fragmented, desiccated, flattened past, whose contours conveniently aligned with the main axes of the nation-state era succeeding it. The goal, as with all articles in this volume, was to recover elements of a *living empire* of (ordinary and not so) people and their fluid syncretic multidimensional attachments within a wider world long vanished. In the process, this paper substantiated to one degree or another two overarching claims. First, the monarch directly engineered and effectively commanded many popular ties of loyalty which a priori seem counter-intuitive or even inconceivable. Second, and perhaps even more perplexing to us today, upon closer inspection, the mode of (individual and group) mental relation to a faraway monarch/center and the symbolic dynamics of this connection seem only very slightly different from the mode of (individual and group) attachment to a putative 'nation.' For a number of reasons then, including the fact that the former is slightly less demanding on the imagination and has precedence in time, it seems that it served as a template and platform for the rise of the latter, both in theory and practice.

⁵⁵ Interestingly, the notion of 'fatherland' seems to have never been personified.

Sultan Abdülmecid's 1846 Tour of Rumelia and the Trope of Love

Abstract ■ This article analyzes various aspects of the complex staging of Abdülmecid's 1846 tour of Rumelia, evaluates the immediate response it elicits from local Orthodox Christian Bulgars, and traces its momentous long-term impact on the shaping of the Bulgar community's self-conception. The article places Abdülmecid's tour within the larger context of his predecessor's groundbreaking series of imperial tours of the 1830s, and the still larger context of Mahmud II's far-reaching shift towards *ruler visibility* after his destruction of the Janissaries in 1826. This overarching process, which relied crucially on the annual royal birthday (*veladet*) and accession-day (*cülus*) celebrations in the Ottoman capital, the provinces, and abroad (first held in 1836), began, in the author's view, as yet another type of centralization – of subject (especially, non-Muslim) loyalties. It created an unprecedented avenue for direct regularized symbolic interaction between the ruler and the ruled, core and periphery of Ottoman society on the basis of innovative conceptions and practices of (inclusive) faith and (universal) kingship. Among non-Muslims, the broadening range of local celebrations of the center forged vertical ties of loyalty to the monarch, which were quite successful for at least two or three decades in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, it provided a vital venue for the expression of communal interests and the crystallization of communal agendas.

In the final analysis, this article lays out in broad strokes a new framework for the study of the advent and nature of modernity and the ethnonational mindset at the popular level in the mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Abdülmecid, ruler visibility, trope of love, modernity, nationalism

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G. A. Pugaçenkova ve Minyatür Yorumları Üzerine

Muhlise Rustamova

Galina Anatolyevna Pugaçenkova, 7 Şubat 1915 tarihinde Kazakistan Cumhuriyeti'nin Verniy ilinde dünyaya geldi. Liseyi bitirdikten sonra 1930 yılında Taşkent Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık bölümünü kazandı. 1937 yılında lisansını bitirdikten sonra aynı üniversitenin Orta Asya Mimarisi Tarihi bölümünde yüksek lisansa başladı. 1941 yılında doktorasını savundu. 1942-1960 yılları arasında Mirza Uluğbek Araştırma Enstitüsü'nün Tarih ve Arkeoloji bölümünde doçent ünvanıyla bölüm başkanı olarak çalıştı. 1958-1960 yılları arasında Hamza adındaki sanat enstitüsünde kıdemli araştırmacı olarak çalıştı. 1960 yılından itibaren aynı enstitünün Sanat Tarihi ve Mimarisi bölümünde başkanlık yaptı.



1940'lı yıllardan itibaren Özbekistan, Türkmenistan ve Afganistan bölgelerinde yapılan arkeolojik kazılara aktif bir şekilde katıldı. 1946-1961 yılları arasında Güney Türkmenistan'daki yapıların arkeolojik kazılarını yapan VII. Grup'un başkanlığını yaptı (YTKE). Partlar krallığını, antik Baktriya ve Dalverzintepe yerleşik şehrini ve Kampirtepe'yi arkadaşlarıyla birlikte bulan Pugaçenkova, birçok ilmi eserler neşretti.

1959 yılında "Güney Türkmenistan'ın antik çağdan feodal döneme kadar mimari gelişimi" adındaki doçentlik tezini kıdemli bir sanatçı düzeyinde savundu. 1959-1984 yılları arasında Özbek Sanat Tarihi ilmi araştırma grubunun baş danışmanlığını yaptı. 1962 yılında profesör oldu. 1968 yılında Özbekistan Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti Bilimler Akademisi'nin muhabiri oldu. 1984 yılında ise aynı Akademi'ye üye seçildi. 1983 yılında ise "Sovyet Özbekistan'ı" "*Sovetskiy Uzbekistan*" adındaki derginin yayın kurulunda yer aldı.

Pugaçenkova ile uzun yıllar birlikte çalışmış olan öğrencileri çeşitli konferanslarda bu efsane bilim kadını hakkında konuşmalar yapmışlardır. İşinde olduğu gibi özel hayatında da düzenli, disiplinli, ciddi ama hep gülümseyen yüzü ile herkesi etkisi altına alabilmiştir. Orta Asya Sanat Tarihinin kurucusu Pugaçenkova'nın asıl mesleği mimarlıktır. O, hayatını, önüne çıkan tüm fırsatları en iyi şekilde değerlendirerek kendi istediği bir şekilde kurdu. Onun yaşam tarzı hakkında efsane söylentiler hiç bitmedi; zarıflığı, güzel giyinmesi, bakımlılığı, çalışkanlığı, hırsı, zekâsı ve bunlara rağmen sakin duruşu vardı. Pugaçenkova olmadan Orta Asya Sanat Tarihi düşünülemez bile, onun hemen hemen tüm arkeolojik kazılarına, etütlerine katılan yakın arkadaşlarından olan Moskova'daki Doğu Müzesi Müdür yardımcısı Tigran Mkrtırçev¹ onun hakkında şöyle der: "Ben onun öğrencilerinden biriydim, aslında onun sayısız öğrencisi vardı. Orta Asya sanat tarihinde bilmediği konu yoktu. Bilimsel çalışmalarda bizzat ya da dolaylı olarak elbette onun adı geçerd. Pugaçenkova'nın geniş ve sistemli düşünme yeteneği, hep hayranlık uyandırmıştır. O, M.Ö. III. yüzyıldan başlayıp XVI. yüzyıl yani Timurlular dönemine kadar olan tarihle ilgilenirdi. Onunla her konuda konuşabilirlerdik. Bazı tarihçiler, arkeologlar ve sanatçılar onun kitaplarındaki bilgileri yanlış sayıp eleştirirlerdi, ancak öyle değildi. Onlar sadece kendi alanlarını bildikleri için tarih içindeki sürecin akışını, sebep-sonuç ilişkisinin doğurduğu neticeleri göz ardı ederlerdi. Bu yüzden Pugaçenkova haklı çıkardı, çünkü onun engin bilgisi, sistemli düşünmesi, kültür genişliği, sürecin akışını

1 Mkrtırçev Tigran Konstantinoviç Moskova'da Orta Asya Araştırmaları Devlet Müzesi Müdür Yardımcısı aynı zamanda tarihçi ve arkeolog. İran, Afganistan ve Hindistan Buda anıtları alanında uzmandır. Onlarca kitabın müellifidir, kitapları Rusça ve başka dillere çevrilmiştir.

tespit ederek sezgileriyle araştırma metodu ve ilmi disiplini son derece önemli yeteneklerinden biriydi. Onun ayrı ayrı bilgileri irdeleyip bir zincir halinde tasnif edebilme yeteneği vardı. Muazzam bilimsel sezgi sahibiydi. Bununla birlikte o İngilizce ve Fransızca dillerini bilir ve zorlanmadan bu dillerde kitaplar okurdu. Orta Asya sanat tarihi bilim dalında okumadığı, göz ardı ettiği bir kitap ve çalışma olduğunu zannetmem. Onun kitapları ansiklopedi gibidir, içinde her şeyi bulabilirsiniz. Bu yüzden Pugaçenkova Orta Asya sanat tarihinde önemli bir şahsiyettir.

Pugaçenkova – Sanat Tarihinin ve arkeolojinin önemini gözler önüne seren ve bilim dünyasında farklılık getiren ve bu iki dalın parlak dönemini yaşatan biridir. Pugaçenkova harika bir editördü, hızlı okur ve önemli yapısal eleştirilerde bulunurdu. Çok sayıdaki uzman ile aynı anda çalışabilirdi. O, kaynakları hemen vermezdi ama fikir ve öneride bulunurdu. Öğrencilerine üstesinden gelebilecekleri konuları çalıştırırdı ve sezgilerinde de yanılmazdı.

Pugaçenkova zamanının en lüks kütüphanesine sahipti. Böyle bir kütüphane hatta Moskova ve Petersburg’da bile yoktu. Bazı öğrencilerine bu ev kütüphanesinde çalışmalarını için izin verirdi. Evin içinin her tarafı tavana kadar kitaplarla dolu idi, gerekli olan kitabı hemen yerinden bulur verirdi. Onun evi akademik ve aristokratik yönüyle bir kültür vahası gibiydi. Pugaçenkova gündemi iyi takip eder, yeni çıkan her kitabı, dergiyi gözden geçirirdi, ancak kendi yazdığı kitaplara bakmazdı, onları ezbere bilirdi çünkü. Ancak her şeyden önce kendi işini yapardı.

Demir gibi bir karaktere sahipti, kimseden korkmazdı. Bir dönem enstitü müdürü bayanların işe pantolon giyip gelmelerini yasakladı, kararın çıkmasının ertesi günü Pugaçenkova işe pantolonla geldi. Müdür dahil kimse bir şey diyemedi, böylece bu yasak kendiliğinden sessizce ortadan kalkmıştı.

Pugaçenkova az ve öz konuşurdu, bana bir defasında “Tigran şakalarınızı tekrar ediyorsunuz.” demişti, bu bana yetmişti. Kazılardaki “özgür ortam” ona tesir etmezdi. O, her zaman mesafeli idi.

1948 yılındaki kazılarda bulunan muhteşem altın ritonlar, Dalverzingtepe’de buldukları 34 kg altın defne Pugaçenkova ve yanında çalışanların şanslı dönemleriydi, onlara SSCB ve üniversiteler büyük ölçüde yardım ediyorlardı. Pugaçenkova bütün bu işlerde bir lokomotifti.

SSCB’nin dağılmasıyla Pugaçenkova Özbekistan’da yaşamaya devam etti. Ancak iyice yaşlanınca evini ve akademik kütüphanesini ismini saklı tutan birine sattı ve oğlunun evine taşındı. (Pugaçenkova’nın iki oğlu ve bir kızı vardır.) Galina Anatolyevna Pugaçenkova 18 Şubat 2007 yılında Taşkent’te 92 yaşında vefat etti.

Taşkent'e yakın bir yerdeki Dombabad adındaki Hıristiyan mezarlığına, ünlü arkeolog olan eşi Masson'un yanına defnedildi.

Özbekistan Sanatı adındaki kitabı günümüzde nadir bir ansiklopedik eser olması bakımından çok önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu kitapla Pugaçenkova devlet tarafından onur belgesi ile ödüllendirilmiştir. Bu ciddi çalışma günümüzde yeniden ele alınıp yazılsa iyi olurdu, bu görevi Galina Anatolyevna'nın talebelerinin üstleneceklerini umuyoruz.”

Ödülleri

1946 – 1940-1945 yılları arasında olan İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda cesurca hizmet ettiği için ödüllendirildi. (Bu ödül, işçi, teknisyen ve sanayi ve ulaştırma da çalışanlar, çiftçiler ve tarım uzmanları, bilim, teknoloji, sanat ve edebiyatçılar, Sovyet yetkilileri, parti, sendika ve diğer toplum kuruluşlarında çalışan elemanlar için verilmiştir.) 1964- Özbek Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti Bilimler Akademisi'nin onurlu bilim adamı ödülü. 1966- Rempel ile birlikte çalıştığı “Antik çağdan XIX. yüzyıla kadar Özbekistan'da Sanat Tarihi” adlı eseri için “Hamza” adındaki Özbekistan Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti devlet ödülü. 1970- V. İ. Lenin'in doğumunun 100. yıldönümünü anma programında gösterdiği hizmetten ötürü aldığı ödül. Lenin Nişanı, SSCB'nin ülke gelişiminde katkıda bulunan; sanatta, bilimde, sporda ve askeri alanlarda başarılı olan kişilere, organizasyonlara, şehirlere verdiği nişandır. 1975- Kızıl Bayrak İşçi Nişanı. Kamu hizmetlerinde gösterdiği başarılar için Sovyetler Birliği tarafından verilmiştir. 1984- Kıdemli emektar nişanı. (veteran of work) 1992- Biruni Devlet Ödülü. 1993- Özbekistan Sanat Akademisi'ne akademisyen olarak seçildi. 1993- Uluslararası Doğu Mimarlık Akademisinin Fahri Doktoru oldu. 1995- Fransa “Akademik Palm”ı ile ödüllendirildi. 2000- Özbekistan Sanat Akademisi tarafından altın madalya ile ödüllendirildi.

Bununla beraber, Galina Anatolyevna Pugaçenkova Orta ve Uzak Doğuda Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü ve İtalyan Enstitüsü'nün üyesi, Strasbourg Üniversitesi'nin Fahri Doktoru, Uluslar Arası Doğu Mimarisi Akademisinin fahri üyesi ve birçok tanınmış bilimsel kuruluşlarda üyeliği olan önemli bir bilim kadınıdır. Uluslararası Anıtları koruma ve restore etme kuruluşunun üyeliğini de yapmıştır.

Minyatür Yorumları

Orta Asya Minyatürleri adındaki bu kitap, Sovyet döneminde gelip geçmiş olan en önemli sanat tarihçisi olan Galina Anatolyevna Pugaçenkova ve onun

öğrencisi Galerkina tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Kitap uzun ve zahmetli bir çalışmanın sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Kitapta Orta Asya'da resim sanatının kronolojik gelişim süreci kültürel, siyasi ve dini oluşum süreci içerisinde geçirdiği evreler ve değişiklikleri net bir şekilde anlatılmıştır. Pugaçenkova'nın uzun yıllar boyunca biriktirmiş olduğu tecrübesi ile kitap daha da renkli ve akıcı bir şekil almıştır. Kitaptaki minyatürler, Özbekistan, Rusya, Fransa ve Amerika'da bulunan eserlerden oluşmaktadır. Renkli, siyah-beyaz ve tamamlanmamış toplam olarak 72 adet minyatür bulunmaktadır. Kitabın giriş kısmında İslam öncesi resim sanatı ve Özbekistan'ın çeşitli bölgelerinde bulunan renkli freskler, saray ve evlerdeki resim sanatı, İslam dininin resim sanatına etkisi, soyut resim çizimine başlama, hat sanatının gelişimi, yasaklara rağmen resim sanatının nakkaşlar tarafından kâğıt üstünde devam ettirilmesi, XVII. yüzyıldan sonra resim yapmanın tamamen yasaklanması, ekollerin birbiri ile etkileşimi, ipek yoluyla Hindistan, İran ve Orta Asya ekolünün teknik özleştirmeleri ve XIX. yüzyıldaki tasvir meselesinden bahsedilmektedir.

Ayrıca minyatürlerdeki kompozisyonların döneminin önemli edebiyatçılarının divan, destan ve nasihat içeren eserleri için çizildiği tespit edilmiştir. Bunun yanında gündelik hayatta olan olaylar; dini, din dışı, savaş meydanı, hükümdar portresi, doğum anı, sevgililerin görüşme sahnesi, saray ehli vs. gibi ilginç kompozisyonlara da geniş yer verilmiştir.

Kitapta özellikle XV. ve XVII. yüzyıl minyatürlerine ağırlık verilmiş olup, bu yüzyıllarda Herat, Buhara, Semerkant, Şaş, Mavereünnehir (Amuderya ile Sirderya arasındaki küçük beylikler) ekollerinin sergiledikleri muhteşem minyatürler mevcuttur. Bu yüzyılda Orta Asya sanatı değişik minyatür ve diğer sanat dallarında kendine özgü tarzıyla ve orijinalliğiyle başarılarla damgasını vurmuştur².

Minyatür konuları "Altın Zincir", "Yusuf ile Züleyha", Câmi "Şah –Nâme", Firdevsî "Bostan ve Gülistan", "Ebu'l-Hayr Han Tarihi" gibi gazellerin kıssalarını anlatan kompozisyonlardır. Bununla birlikte Sâdi, Ali Şîr Nevâi ve Nizâmî'nin eserlerine yapılan minyatürler yukarıda adı geçen ekoller tarafından yapılmıştır. Biz bu minyatürlerin içinden 8 tanesini seçtik ve tanıtmaya çalıştık.

2 Pugaçenkova, G., Galerkina, O. *Minyatyrı Sredney Azii*, İzobrazitelnoye İskusstva, Moskova 1970, s. 6-8.

Kendi oturduğu ağacın dalını kesen adam.

Sâdi, Bostan

New York Metropolitan Müzesi

II. 134,2 s.61

1522-1523 Buhara

Boyutu 29.2/19.2 cm

Sâdi'nin "Bostan" manzumesindeki mesnevilerinin bir kıssasında, bir adamın kendi oturduğu dalı testere ile kestiğini gören bahçıvan ile diğerlerini şaşkınlıkla olayı seyredip, "Bu herif bize değil, kendisine kötülük ediyor." demeleri tasvir edilir. Şair, buradaki ahmak adamı maiyetindekilere zulmeden padişah ile kıyaslamıştır. Padişah maiyetindeki insanlara zulüm etmekle ancak saltanatının temelini zayıflatmaktadır. Kıssa, felsefi boyutuyla aslında dönemin padişahına bir mesajdır, bu dünyanın fâni olup, her şeyin geçici olduğu anlatılmak istenmiştir.

Padişaktan üstün olan yoktur – diyorsun,

Ancak, derviş kanunların efendisidir

Zenginlik, hükümdarlık bir yükür, o halde (aslında)

Kim gerçek, Padişah mı? – O Allah'ın zahididir.

Sâdi'nin fikirleri minyatürde tam olarak yansıtılmamıştır. Metnin içeriği kısım tasvir edilmiştir. Minyatürdeki geometrik çizimlerin simetrikliği ve temiz çizimi Maverâ nakkâşlarına ait olduğuna delalet eder. Merkezde büyük bir ağaç ve onun üzerinde kendi oturduğu dalı testere ile kesen adam çizilmiştir. Onu hayretle seyreden bahçıvan, yan tarafta iki tane ince ağacın önünde oturan derviş ile delikanlı resmedilmiştir. Buradaki tüm karakterler kıssadan alınmıştır. Her bir karakterin yüz hatlarındaki mimikleri ve giyimleri farklı çizilmiştir. Ayrıca etrafta çeşitli çiçek türleri, yeşillikler, vadiler ile resim mükemmel bir şekilde tamamlanmıştır³.

3 Türkiye'de Sâdi'nin *Bostan* ve *Gülîstan* eserini Kilisli Rıfat Bilge tercüme etmiştir. Şeyh Sâdi Şîrazi, *Bostan ve Gülîstan*, Can Kitabevi, 1968. Ayrıca bkz, Ebu Abdullah Muslihuddin Sâdi-i Şîrazi, *Kitabu Gülîstan bi'l-Türki*, haz. Ali Fehmi Karamanlıoğlu, trc. Seyfi Serayi, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1978.



Muhammed Murad Semerkandî

Rudabe'nin doğumu

Firdevsî Şahnâme

Özbekistan Şarkiyat Akademisi

1811, s. 49b

1556-1557, Orta Asya

Boyut 5,8/17cm

Firdevsî'nin *Şahnâme*'sinden alınan bir sahnedir. Bahadır Rüstem'in doğum anı tasvir edilmiştir. Genelde bu gibi sahneler şatafatlı bir odada gururlu bir anne ve ona övgüler yağdıran çok sayıda ziyaretçiler ile birlikte resmedilir, ancak buradaki sahne oldukça sadedir. Nakkaşın, felsefi boyutu ele almak istediği ortadadır. Sade odadaki Rudabe'nin acıları, sabrı ve umudunu tasvir etmek istemiştir. Minyatürdeki asıl amaç anne çilesini göstermektir. Hüznün hâkim olduğu kompozisyondaki boyalarda da hâkim renk mavimsi mordur. Sahnede Rüstem'in babası olan Zâl endişelidir, dua etmektedir. Diğer tarafta perdenin arasından bakan ebe duruyor. Ortada Rudabe'nin iki arkadaşı onu kollarından tutarak teselli etmektedirler. Rudabe ise acılardan dolayı kaşları gergindir, başörtüsünden dağılan saçları görünmektedir, mecalsiz bir şekilde salıverilmiş kolları ile minyatürde olağanüstü gerçeklik hissettirmiştir.



Seyehatçı Tosbağa / Kaplumbağa

Câmi Tuhfetü'l-Abrar

M.E. Saltıkova Şedrina Devlet Halk Kütüphanesi

Dorn, 425, s. 46a

XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı Buhara

Boyut : 22/13



Câmi'nin *Tuhfetü'l-Ahrar* gazeli yirmi bölümden ibarettir her bir bölümün sonunda bir darbı mesel anlatılmıştır. Onların içinde seyahatçi kaplumbağa kıssası vardır (Ruslarda seyahatçi kurbağa versiyonu var). Tosbağa uzun bir çubuğu dişleyip, başka ülkeye uçmaya hazırlanan ördeklere onu da götürmelerini rica eder, buna zor ikna olan ördekler sonunda razı olurlar. Kaplumbağaya gökyüzünderken konuşmamasını tembihlerler. Ördekler onu gökyüzüne yükseltirler, kuşlar tarafından gökyüzüne yükseltilen kaplumbağa çok mutlu olur ve aşağıdakilere övünmeye başlar. Ben uçuyorum, duydum duymadım demeyin – diye bağırmaya başlar ve ağzını açtığı için tutunduğu çubuktan kayar ve yere düşüp parçalanır. Sonuç olarak bir geveze eğer düşünmeden konuşur veya hareket ederse sonu hüsrana uğrar ve cezalandırılır. Bir bakıma nasihat veren bir kıssadır.

Bununla birlikte minyatür diğer karakterler ile bir bütünlük içinde çizilmiştir. Resimdeki karakterlerin tarzı XVI. yüzyıl insanların vasıflarını taşır. Birbirinden farklı desenlerdeki elbiseli insanlar gökyüzünde uçan kaplumbağaya hayretle bakıyorlar. İleride vadinin arkasında, yarısı görünen çadırın önünde bir hanım ile erkek birbiriyle konuşmaktadır. Etrafta çiçekler, yeşillikler ve ağaçlar var. Koyu renkte akan nehirde ördekler yüzmektedirler. Ancak bir yaşlı adamın tüm olanlara aldırmadan nehirde ayaklarını yıkaması ilginçtir.

Orta Asya minyatürlerindeki renklerin canlı ve parlak olmasına karşın bu minyatürde keskin ve koyu renkler kullanılmıştır. Yumuşak geçişlerin yerine belli çizgilerle ayrılmış renkler kullanılmıştır.

Güzel ve ona âşık olan yaşlı adam.

Câmi Tuhfetü'l-Ahrar

M.E. Saltıkova Şedrina adındaki Devler Kütüphanesi

Dorn, 425, s. 58

XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı Buhara

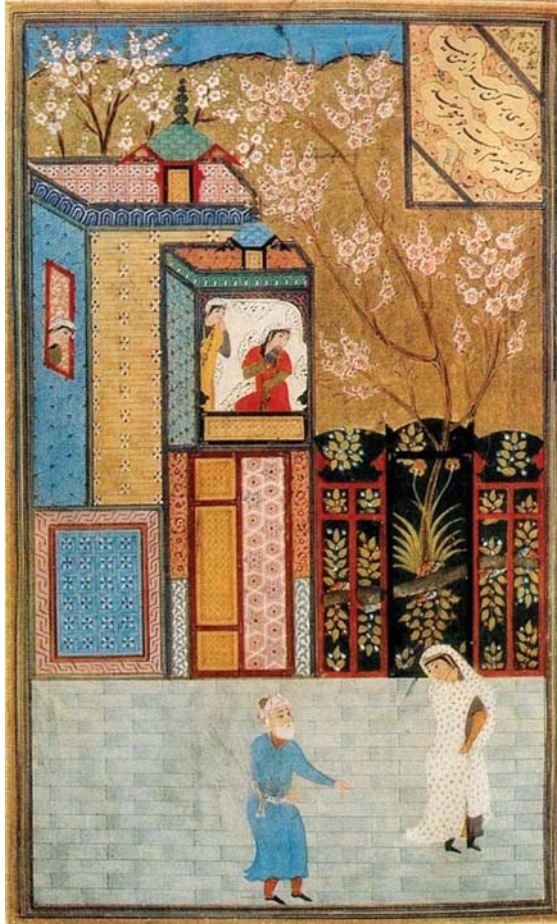
Boyut: 22/13

Câmi'nin gazellerindeki başka bir kıssanın konusu ise şöyledir; Bir ihtiyar çiçeklerle dolu bir bağda örtüsüne bürünmüş güzel bir kadını görür ve ona âşık olur. Bu arada rüzgâr eser ve bayanın başörtüsünden griye dönüşmüş saçları gözükür. Bunu gören ihtiyar hemen ondan yüz çevirir. Güzel pardösüsünü yere atar ve onun yaşlı olmadığını gören ihtiyar neden onu aldattığını sorduğunda kadın şöyle cevap verir: “Senin için ihtiyar kadın ne kadar itici ise, benim için de senin gibi genç kıza izhâr-ı aşkıta bulunan ihtiyar itici gelir.” der.

Cami'nin *Tuhfetü'l-Ahrrar* adlı eserine işlenen bu minyatürde saray ahalisi çizilmiştir. Yıldızlı köşkteki camdan aşağı bahçede olanlara hayretle bakan bayanların yüz hatları net çizilmiştir. Arka bahçedeki uzun, ince ve narin badem ağacı, beyaz pardösülü güzel kadının duruşunu sanki tekrarlıyor gibi izlenim verir. Parlak renkler ise dramatik bir konu olmasına rağmen minyatüre bayram havası vermiştir.

Minyatürdeki geometrik desenler cetvelle net bir şekilde çizilmiştir. Kahramanların yüz şekilleri ve giyim kuşamlarının incelenmesi sonucu minyatürün Buhara ekolü tarafından çizildiği tespit edilmiştir.

Nakkaş, Câmî'nin eserinin manasını minyatürde bariz bir şekilde çizmiştir. Minyatür ihtiyarın yaşı ile uyuşmayan isteği, gençliğe karşı özentisini anlatan hüzünlü bir kompozisyonudur. Ancak renklerdeki canlılık ve şenlik ağır hikâyeyi perdenin arkasına gizlemiş gibidir.



Şeyh San'an
Nevâi Lisānu't-Tayr
Paris Milli Kütüphanesi
Suppl. Türk, 996 s.25
1553, Buhara
Boyut 11,2/12 cm

Lisānu't-Tayr'ın konusu, tasavvufun temel düşüncesi olan Allah'ın isimlerinin tecellilerinin insanda belirmesidir. Günlerin birinde her yerden gelmiş kuşlar bir araya toplanırlar. Aralarından başkan seçmek isterler. Herkes kendisinin başkanlığa en layık olduğunu öne sürer. O sırada Hüdhüd adında bir kuş, kuşların Simurğ adında bir padişahı olduğunu, onun vasıflarını öğrenmek için bizzat ona gidip görülmesinin gerekli olduğunu söyler. Böylece uzun ve zorlu bir yolculuğa çıkarlar. Yolculuk sırasında Hüdhüd kuşların sorduğu her soruyu cevaplayıp, ardından bir kıssa anlatır. Bu kıssalardan bir tanesi de Şeyh San'an kıssasıdır. Şeyh San'an hikâyesi aşkın kudretini gösteren ve aşktan dolayı yapılan tüm kabahatlerin Tanrı indinde bağışlanacağını belirten bir kıssadır. Cevhere ulaşmak için nefsin istediği her şeyden vazgeçmek gerekmektedir. Şeyh San'an Mekke'de ikamet eden bir âlim, abid ve zahid zattır. Ettiği duaların kabul olması onu her yerde ünlü kılmıştır. Halinden pek memnundur. Bir gün rüyasında bir Rum güzelini görür ve rüya aylarca tekerrür eder. Şeyh Rum güzeline âşık olur ve onu bulmak için müritleriyle yola çıkar. Rum diyarına gelir ve kızı aramaya başlar. Ağlar, sızlar, geceleri uykusuz geçirir. İbadetini aksatır. Eleme dayanamayıp müritlerinden yardım ister. Müritleri ibadetine dönmesini, oruç tutmasını, tövbe etmesini tavsiye etseler de oralı olmayan şeyh perişan bir dervişe dönüşür. Müritler ondan utanır ve birer birer onu terk etmeye başlarlar. Olan biteni duyan kız şeyhe gelir, şeyh onu görüp mutlu olur ve izhar-ı aşkıta bulunur. Kız onu azarlar, ancak şeyh oralı olmaz. Kız şeyhin İslam'ı terk etmesini, domuz eti yiyip, domuz çobanlığı yapmasını, Kur'an sayfalarını yakmasını, şarap içmesini ve beline zünnar bağlamasını ister. Şeyh hepsini yapar. Rum halkı sarhoş şeyhle dalga geçmeye başlar. Bundan muzdarip olan şeyh onları ve dinlerini kınar ama yolundan dönmez. Bu arada vaktiyle şeyhten eğitim almış müridi onu ziyaret için başka diyarlardan Mekke'ye gelir. Olanları öğrenince çok üzülür ve diğer müritlere: "insan on köpek baksa hiç olmazsa beşi ona hayatı boyunca sadık kalır, peki siz ne yaptınız!" der. Şeyhini geri getirmek için yola koyulur, müritler hatalarını anlayıp ona katılırlar. Şeyhini domuzları otlatırken gören mürit ona acır ve gece gündüz ağlayıp Allah'a dua etmeye başlar, bir gün imsak vaktinde yarı uykulu yarı ayıkken Peygamberi görür ve müjde alır. Şeyhinin akli başına gelmiştir. Mekke'ye dönebilirler. Kalbindeki boşluk dolmuştur. Şeyh hamdı, yandı ve pişti. Allah sonunda ona lütfetti. Bu arada Rum güzeli rüyasında

Hız. İsa'yı görür. Peygamber onu azarlar, büyük bir hata yaptığını, şeyhin aslında Allah'ın çok sevdiği kulu olduğunu, hemen ondan özür dileyip dinine girmesini söyler. Kız çok pişman olur ve şeyhin peşine düşer, çölde hastalanır ve bitap düşer. Şeyhe bu durum belli olur, kızını bulur. Kız özür diler ve Müslüman olarak orada vefat eder. San'an Mekke'ye döner, ölene dek İslam'a hizmet eder.

Resimde domuzları otlatmakta olan evliyanın düştüğü durum bir Müslüman için aşağılayıcı haldir. Onu görmeye gelen müritleri acıyla eleştirerek şeyhlerine bakmaktadırlar. San'an'ın yanında ise pis ve azgın domuzlar vardır. Ressam Nevâi'nin kıssasını net bir şekilde çizebilmiştir. İnsanların yüzlerindeki mimikler, çöl tasviri, figürler, renklerdeki uygunluk bu minyatürün Buhara ekolüne ait olduğunu delalet eder.



Hz. Muhammed'in Burak ile Miraca yükselmesi

Emir Hüsrev Deblevi Hızır Han Tarihi

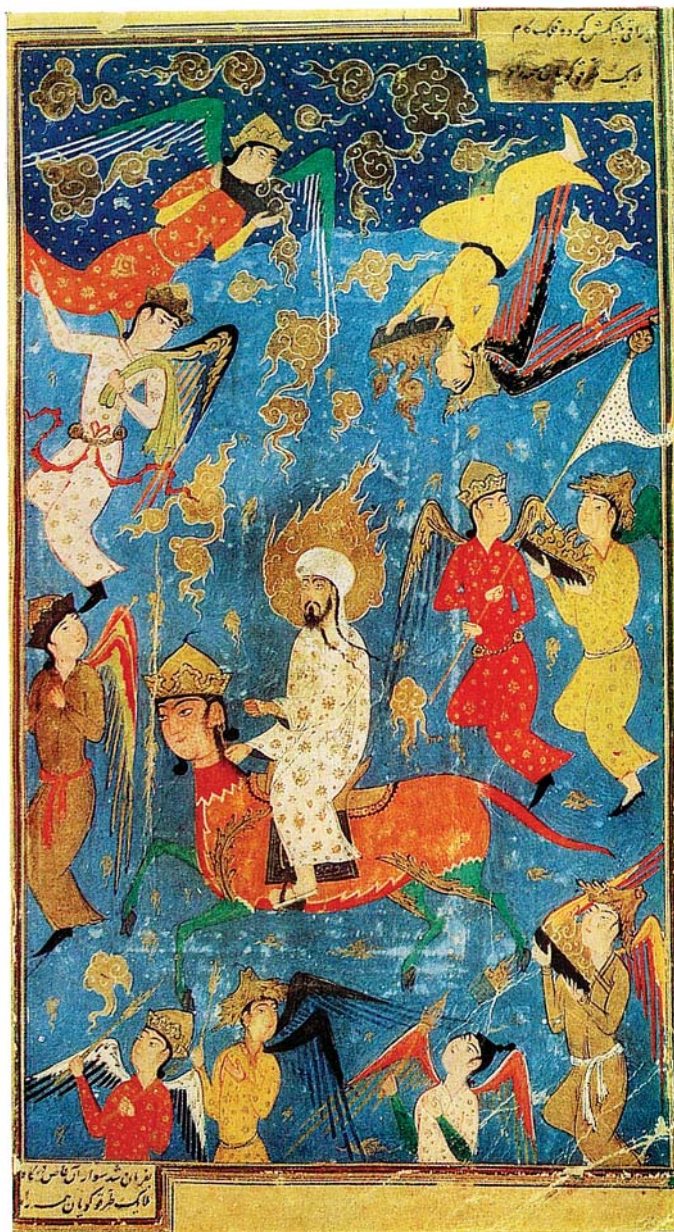
M.E. Saltıkova Şedrina Milli Kütüphanesi, Leningrad

İran Serisi, 1598, Buhara

Boyut: 25,3/14,3cm

Minyatürde Hz. Muhammed'in miraca yükseldiği olay anlatılmaktadır. Peygamberin bineği, Burak adında fantastik bir varlıktır. Burağın baş kısmı doğu kadınının tipini andırır. Başında tacı, boynuna kadar uzanan hafif dalgalı saç, kulaklarında küpeler, keman kaşlar, badem gözlü, kemikli burnu, küçük ağız, geniş yüzü vardır. Gövdesi geyik gövdesini andırır. Uzun kuyruğu vardır. Burağa bindirilmiş vaziyette çizilmiş Hz. Peygamberin yüzü açıktır; başında sarığı var, uzun saçlı ve seyrek sakallıdır. Üzerinde çiçek desenli sade elbisesi var. Ayaklarında terlikleri var. Gökyüzü koyu ve açık mavi ile boyanmıştır. Hz. Peygamberin etrafında ona yemek sunan, bulutları kovarak yol açan, bayrak taşıyan, başlarında tacı, omuzlarında kanatları olan melekler insan kılığında çizilmiştir. Bu motiflerin, Budistlerin gökyüzündeki varlıklar -Aspara ve kutsal bulutlar- Bao Yün'den etkilenecek çizilmiş olabileceği ihtimali vardır.

Gözlemlerden çıkarılan sonuç Orta Asya ve İran sanatındaki XIV. yüzyıla ait resimlerdeki bazı karakterlerin, diğer ülke ve dinlere mensup olan insanların sanatından alındığıdır. Örneğin doğaüstü güçlerin tasvir edildiği minyatürlerde; melekler, cinler yabancı kaynaklarda (Budist ve Hint Mitolojileri) ve gökyüzünde var olduğuna inanılan ancak görülmeyen fantastik varlıklar gibi karakterlerden İslami motif ve sembollere uyarlanarak alınmıştır.



Muhammed Mukim

Boğayı taşıyan Fitne (Fettan)

Nizami Hamse

Chester Beatty Kütüphanesi Dublin

Pers 276, s. 171

1668-1667, Buhara

Boyut: 13.4.8,5cm

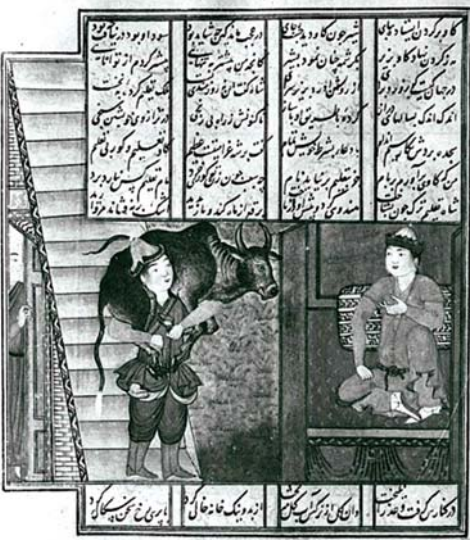
Nizami'nin eserlerinin çoğu aşk ağırlıklı olmakla birlikte, nasihat tarzı konular da mevcuttur. Minyatürde yedi güzeller gazelindeki bir bölümde Behram Şah ve onun sevgilisi Fitne arasındaki olay tasvir edilmiştir. Behram Şah bir gün ava giderken Fitne'yi de yanına alır. Ok atma maharetini göstererek övünmeye başlar, ancak Fitne bu duruma pek hayranlık göstermeden, aslında bu yeteneğin çok çalışmanın bir sonucu olduğunu pervasızca söyler. Fitne'nin sözüne çok kızan Behram onun katledilmesini maiyetindekilere emreder. Bir ihtiyar Fitne'yi askerlerden kurtarır ve kızı evine gizler. Bu arada Fitne küçük bir buzağıyı her gün sırtına alıp merdivenden çıkıp egzersiz yapmaya başlar. Aylar geçer buzağı büyür, Fitne'nin de gücü çoğalır. Fitne'yi katletme emri verdiği için kendini affedemeyen Behram perişan olur. Günlerden bir gün evin ikinci katında dinlenirken merdivenlerden sırtına kocaman boğa yükleyerek kendisine doğru çıkan birini görür ve şaşkınlıktan dili tutulur. Boğayı yere indiren kadının Fitne'nin ta kendisi olduğunu görünce çok sevinir. Fitne'nin bu halinin, ancak uzun bir idmanın sonucu olduğunu söyleyen Behram'a cevabı şöyle olur: "Gördün mü, uzun egzersiz nelere kadir yapar insanı, bana olağandışı güç, sana ok atma becerisi."

Boğa taşıyan Fitne konusu çok kez çeşitli ressamlar tarafından çizilmiştir. Ancak Buhara versiyonunda geometrik düzen, insanların yüz hatları, Fitne'yi kurtaran ihtiyar, merdivenden boğayı sırtlayarak çıkan Fitne, Behram Şah net bir şekilde çizilmiştir. Musikişinaslar ile korodakiler şaşkınlıkla Fitne'ye bakar vaziyette resmedilmişlerdir. Ev, XVII. yüzyılda Buhara evlerinin tipik örneğidir; iki katlı, teraslı, sütunlu, süslemeli motifleri ile varlıklı birinin evi olduğunu gösterir.

Boğayı sırtında taşıyan Fitne sahnesi birçok ekollerde tekrar çizilmiştir. Bu minyatürlerden biri günümüzde Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunmakta olup,



İvan Stchoukine onun üzerinde çalışma yapmıştır⁴. (Resim 1,2,3) Nizami'nin *Hamse*'si Azerbaycan'da Mehmed Cafer Caferov ve ekibi tarafından Azerbaycanca, Rusça ve İngilizce dillerine çevrilmiş, Mikail Abdullayev çizimiyle yeniden resmedilmiştir⁵. (Resim 4)



b) FITNEH, PORTANT UN JEUNE BŒUF, DEVANT BAHRÂM
Même manuscrit, fol. 243.

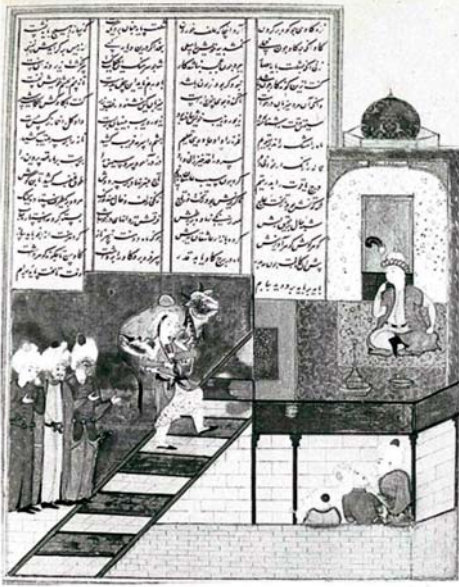
Resim 1



a) FITNEH, PORTANT UN JEUNE BŒUF, MONTE VERS BAHRÂM
Manuscrit n° XIII, daté de 886/1481, à Tabriz, fol. 167.

Resim 2

4 İvan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures Des Manuscrits De La "Khamseh" De Nizâmî*, Aau, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi D'istanbul, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner yay, Paris 1997.
5 Mehmed Cafer Caferov, *Nizami "Khamse" motifs in Mikail Abdullajev's works*. Işığ yay, Baku 1990.



a) FITNEH, PORTANT UN JEUNE BŒUF, MONTE VERS BAHRÂM.
Même manuscrit, fol. 157 v.



Фитне
Фитне
Фитне

Фитне во Фитне [фрагмент]
Бак и Фитне [фрагмент]
The bull and Fitne (fragment)

Resim 3

Resim 4

Hükümdarın Kadını sarhoş olarak yakaladığı sahne.

Sadi, Gulistan

1566-1567 Buhara ekolü

Boyut: 25/15 cm

“Aşk ve Gençlik” hakkında öğretici bir hikâyedir. Yaşlı kadı (yargıç) genç ve güzel bir kadına âşık olur ve onun evinin önüne gelip ağlar sızlar, içki içer, sarhoş olur. Bunu duyan padişah, durumu bizzat görmek için kadının haberi olmadığı bir zamanda kadının evine gelir ve gerçekten onu sarhoş bir halde yakalar.

Minyatürde mimari yapılarındaki cepheler süslenmiştir, köşk odaları üç boyutlu olarak gösterilmiştir. Resmin yukarıdaki bölümünde harem ve pencerelerinden bakan iki bayan; yan taraflarda korkuluklar ve arka tarafta bağ bahçe, avluda ise sarhoşluktan şuurunu kaybetmiş kadı ve yanında ona arkadaşlık eden adam, oturduğu yerde sızıp kalmış bir vaziyette resmedilmiştir. Padişah bu durumdan

hiç hoşlanmadığı ve yargıladığı bu adamın kadılığı hak etmediğini düşünmüş bir şekilde resmedilmiştir. Kapıdaki hizmetçi korkarak olanları izlemektedir. En alttaki sahnede padişahın maiyetindeki hizmetliler ve atı resmedilmiştir.

Minyatürdeki sahne birçok olayı izleyiciye aktarmaktadır, zor bir çalışmadır, bir kaç kompozisyon, olay aynı anda aktarılmaya çalışılmış, perspektif ve boyut yardımıyla canlı cansız tüm ayrıntılar aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bütün bunlar sarhoş kadı ve sızmış delikanlının etrafında oluşmakta dolayısıyla iki sarhoş konunun özünü teşkil etmektedirler. Ayrıca Maveria ekolünde ender kullanılan karanlık gökyüzü gri ay ve yıldızlar dikkat çekicidir.

İşbu minyatür İran Safevi ekolünün yeniden ikinci hayat bulmasının açık kanıtıdır.

Makalede, XVI. ve XVII. yüzyılda Orta Asya'daki çeşitli minyatür ekolleri tarafından çizilmiş olan minyatürler verilmiştir. Minyatürlerin konuları bir birinden farklıdır; dini, sivil, saray ehli, nasihat tarzı, ders çıkarma gibi konular içermektedir. Minyatürler, Sadî'nin *Bostan*'ı, *Gülistan*'ı, Firdevsî'nin *Şahname*'si, Camî'nin *Divan*'ı, Nevai'nin *Hamsé*'si, Emir Hüsrev Dehlevî'nin *Hızır Han Tarihi*, Nizami'nin *Fitne* adlı eserlerinden esinlenen nakkaş camiası tarafından büyük bir titizlikle çizilmiştir. Ayrıca aynı konuları anlatan birçok minyatür dönem dönem tekrar çizilmiştir. İncelemiş olduğumuz kitaba sadık kalarak, minyatürün anlatım şeklini olduğu gibi verdik. Burada minyatürün bilgileri, eserin müellifi, konunun kısa özeti, ekol tespiti, renk ve çizim analizi bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda Pugaçenkova'nın eşsiz yorumuyla ayrı bir boyut kazanmakta, fikir vermektedir.

İlmi Çalışmaları

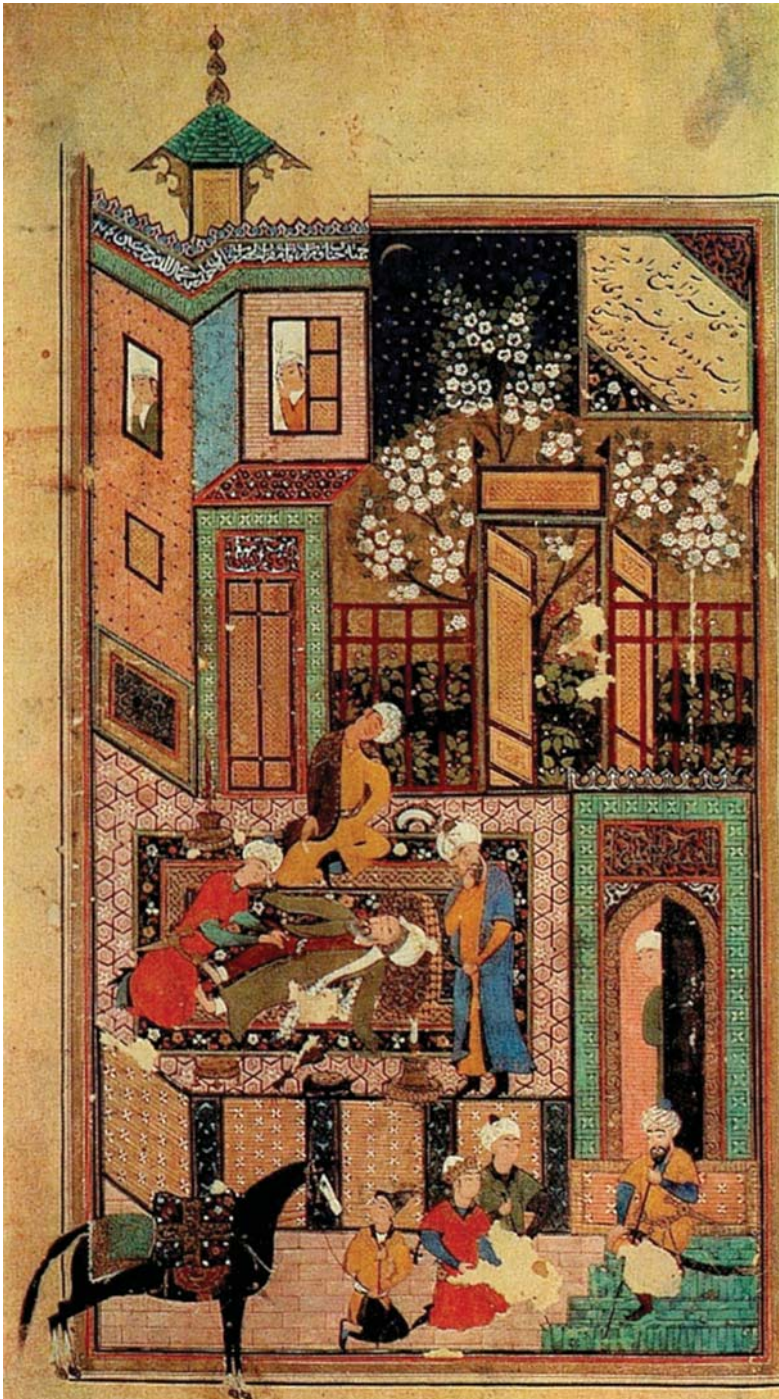
Özbekistan Sanatı, «İskusstvo Uzbekistana» Orta Asya'nın birçok ülkesindeki üniversitelerde ders kitabı olarak okutulur.

Pugaçenkova'nın editörlüğünü yaptığı birkaç ciltlik Özbekistan'ın Mimari Anıtları adındaki ilmi çalışma uzman bir grup tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

Bununla birlikte Pugaçenkova 750'den fazla bilimsel kitap ve makalenin yazarıdır. Çalışmaları birçok dile çevrilmiştir. Bu çalışmalarından dolayı Guinness Rekorları Kitabı'na giren tek bilim kadınıdır.

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KİTÂBİYAT / BOOK REVIEWS

Hedda Reindl-Kiel, Seyfi Kenan (eds.),

Deutsch-türkische Begegnungen / Alman Türk Tesadüfleri. Festschrift für Kemal Bedilli / Kemal Beydilli'ye Armağan,

Berlin: EBVerlag, 2013, 664 s., ISBN: 978-3-86893-113-6.

Bu değerlendirmenin konusunu İstanbul'da ve Münih'te tarih eğitimi görmüş, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümünde Yakıçağ Tarihi Kürsüsünde uzun yıllar öğretim üyesi olarak çalışmış ve emekli olduktan sonra Yeditepe Üniversitesi'nde ve nihayet İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi'nde öğretim üyesi olarak çalışan Prof. Dr. Kemal Beydilli hakkında hazırlanmış armağan kitap oluşturmaktadır. Bu eser, Kemal Beydilli'nin Münih'teki öğrenim döneminden okul arkadaşı ve Bonn Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi Hedda Reindl-Kiel ile Marmara Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi Seyfi Kenan tarafından hazırlanmıştır ve Prof. Beydilli'nin Almanya'dan ve Türkiye'den meslektaşlarının ve öğrencilerinin Almanca ve Türkçe makalelerinden oluşmaktadır. *Deutsch-türkische Begegnungen/ Alman Türk Tesadüfleri* başlığını taşıyan kitapta Kemal Beydilli'nin çalışma alanının genişliğine uygun olarak Osmanlı tarihinin farklı alanlarına ait konularda makaleler bir araya getirildi. Kitabın girişinde Kemal Beydilli'nin zengin yayın listesi (Kemal Beydilli'nin Yayınları, s. 21-31) verilerek, editörler tarafından ayrı ayrı yazılmış takdim yazılarıyla Kemal Beydilli'nin hem hayat hikâyesi, hem de akademik kişiliği çok güzel bir

şekilde özetlenmiştir. Her iki yazı da, Kemal Beydilli'nin hem Avrupa'daki, hem de Türkiye'deki tarihçilik geleneklerine derinlemesine vakıf olduğunun, tarihçinin işini son derece ciddiye aldığına, kaynak kullanımında ve değerlendirmelerinde çok titiz olduğunun altını çizmektedir. Bu bağlamda benim de 2001'de tanışıp günümüze kadar sık sık görüşme fırsatı bulduğum Kemal Beydilli'den aldığım "tarihçilik dersleri" var.¹ Bir akademisyenin kendi danışmanlığını yaptığı tezler dışında, etrafındaki gençlerin çalışmalarını bu şekilde titizlikle okuyup düzeltmeler yapması takdire şayan, fakat pek de yaygın bir durum değildir. Hoca'nın neden bu zahmete katlandığını merak edip sorduğumda, bana hiç unutmadığım ve bence her akademisyene düstur olması gereken şu cevabı vermişti: "Mal ve mülkün olduğu gibi bilimin de zekâtı ve sadakası vardır. Yetişmekte olan birinin tezini okuyup düzeltmek de bilimin bir zekâtıdır, sadakasıdır." Bu sözden de anlaşılacağı üzere Kemal Beydilli bilgisi konusunda hiç de ketum birisi olmamıştır ve bu yönüyle etrafındaki herkese tarihçilik sevgisini aşıl原因an, ilmi prensiplerinden asla taviz vermeyen hepimize örnek Osmanlı tarihçilerinden birisidir. Kendisi aslında bu tür armağan kitaplarına hiç sıcak bakmamış ve sohbetlerinde bunu sık sık dile getirmişti, ancak Almanya'daki çok sevdiği meslektaş ve arkadaşı Hedda Hanım'ın bir tatlı sürpriz girişimi sonucunda "Almanya'dan gelen bu seferi" bir İstanbul beyefendisi olarak memnuniyetle kabul etti. Böyle bir eserin hazırlanmış olmasının, eserin sağladığı akademik katkı yanında, eserleriyle tanıdığımız değerli bir Osmanlı tarihçisinin yayınlarının toplu olarak verilmesi ve nasıl yetiştiği, prensipleri ve bir hoca ve meslektaş olarak özellikleri özetlenerek yeni tarihçi kuşaklarına takdim edilmesi bakımından oldukça yararlı olduğu kanaatindeyim. Ayrıca bu eserde, diğer armağanlarda sıklıkla karşılaştığımız, mitleştirme, abartma ve yapay bir karakter tasviri yoktur. Bilakis gerek editörler, gerekse yazarların samimi ve doğal bir anlatımı sözkonusudur. Sırf bu yönüyle bile bu eserin örnek bir armağan yayını olduğunu söyleyebilirim.

Burada tartışacağım derleme eserin içeriğine gelince, eserin girişinde de işaret edildiği gibi makaleler, herkesin uzmanlık alanıyla ilintili olarak genel Osmanlı tarihi çerçevesinde hazırlanmıştır. Hacim olarak da makaleler arasında önemli farklılıklar göze çarpmaktadır. 19 makalenin yer aldığı eserde bu makaleler iki ana başlık altında toplanmıştır: Birinci başlık "Alman-Türk, Türk-Alman Tesadüfleri" (Karşılaşmaları), İkinci başlık ise "Osmanlı Siyaset ve Kültür

1 Bunlardan biri doktora tezimde yaptığım önemli bir hata hakkında: V. Mehmed'in tahta çıkışını anlatırken onu V. Murad'la karıştırarak kendisinin tanınmış bir mason olduğunu yazmışım. Tezimin kitap olarak basılmasından kısa bir süre önce bu büyük hatayı, tezimi dikkatlice okuyan Kemal Beydilli'nin beni uyarması sayesinde düzelttim. Buna benzer deneyimleri Kemal Hoca'nın yakınında bulunan başka birçok kişinin de yaşadığı muhakkaktır.

Tarihinden Görünümler” şeklindedir. Bu başlıklar altında yer alan makaleleri ayrı ayrı değerlendirmek ve ancak bu değerlendirmenin sonunda kitabın tamamı hakkında genel bir yargıya varmak mümkün olacaktır.

Kitabın ilk bölümünde beşi Almanca ve biri Türkçe olmak üzere altı makale yer almaktadır. Sultan portreleri üzerine yaptığı çalışmalarla da tanınan Hans Georg Majer, derlemenin ilk makalesinde 1402 Ankara Savaşı sonucunda Timur’a esir düşen Yıldırım Bayezid’in “demir kafes”e konması hakkında 16., 17. ve 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı’da ve Avrupa’da oluşmuş minyatürleri ve resimleri ele almaktadır. Majer, Almanca olarak yayınlanan bu makalede Timur, Bayezid, kadın ve kafes figürlerinin yer aldığı farklı dönemlere ait resimleri karşılaştırarak içeriklerini yorumlamakta ve bunların kaynaklarını ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Sultanın ve kadınının aşağılandığı bu tasvirlerin Avrupa’da çok rağbet gördüğünün altını çizen tarihçi, makalenin sonunda bunun sebebini sorgulamakta ve bu tasvirin zafer ve hezimet, güçlülük ve güçsüzlük, yükseliş ve düşüş, şans ve zavallılık gibi zıtlıklarını içerdiği için bu ilgiyi gördüğünü belirtmektedir. Ayrıca ona göre, düşmanın düştüğü acınacak durumun “Schadenfreude” (başkasının acısına sevinme) gibi duyguları da uyardığına, bunun da ötesinde bir hükümdarın düştüğü bu acınacak durumun kendi beyleri için de bir mesaj içerebileceği duygusunu da kapsadığına işaret etmektedir. Makalenin sonunda incelenen resimlerden on tanesi renkli olarak basılmıştır. Majer tarafından kaleme alınan bu makale yalnızca Bayezid’in esaret hayatıyla ilgili çalışmalara orijinal bir katkı olmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda Avrupa’daki Osmanlı algısı/imajı çalışmalarına da önemli bir katkı oluşturmaktadır.

Derlemedeki diğer Almanca makale Michael Weithman tarafından kaleme alınmıştır ve Hans von Siltberg isimli Bavyeralı bir askerinin 1396 Niğbolu Savaşında Osmanlılara esir düşüşünü ve 31 yıllık “esaret hayatını” anlatan eserini ele almaktadır. Eserin içeriğinin değerlendirildiği makalede Hans von Siltberg’in 1402 Ankara savaşına kadar Bayezid’in yakın askerleri arasında hizmet etmesi, savaştan sonra Timur’a esir düşmesinden sonra ise Timur’un ordusunda, 1405’ten sonra ise Herat’ta bulunan Timur’un oğlu Şahruh’un ordusunda hizmet etmesi anlatılmaktadır. Daha sonra başlayan taht kavgaları döneminde Tatar orduları içinde Orta Asya’ya giden Siltberg nihayet Kırım’a gelir ve oradan da Kafkasya üzerinden 1426’da Batum’a kadar gelir. Burada bindiği bir Ceneviz ticaret gemisiyle Bizans’ın başkenti Konstantinopolis’e (İstanbul) gelir ve oradan da tekrar Bavyera’ya geri döner. Hans von Siltberg’in eserinin özetlenmesinin ardından yazar eserin kaynak değerini sorgulamakta ve öncelikle el yazmalarını tartışmaktadır ve Siltberg ile ilgili kaynakların çok sınırlı olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Siltberg’in memleketine geri döndükten sonra eserini yazdığını belirten yazar Siltberg’in kendisini bir esir olarak takdim etmesini tartışmakta ve ona “imtiyazlı esir” yakıştırması

yaparak, aslında Osmanlı sarayında ve daha sonra Moğol ordularında kapıkulu veya asker olarak hizmet ettiğine işaret etmektedir. Eserinde İslamla ilgili olumsuz tasvirlerin yer almadığına işaret eden yazar ayrıca Schiltberg'in hep Hıristiyan kaldığını yazmasına rağmen Osmanlı sarayındaki muhafızlık hizmeti döneminde Müslüman olmuş olma ihtimaline de değinmektedir. Weithman, Schiltberg'in eserinin Avrupa'da Yakın Doğu ve İslam hakkında objektif olmaya çalışan ilk eser olduğunu ve Avrupa'daki Şark ve Asya algısını Aydınlanma çağına kadar şekillendirdiğini belirtmektedir. Bu makale de bir yandan Avrupa'daki Osmanlı algısı çalışmalarına katkı oluşturmakta, öte yandan Osmanlı ve Tatar tarihinin önemli kaynaklarından birini eleştirel bir şekilde tanıtmaktadır.

Osmanlı-Avrupa ilişkilerini ele alan bir diğer makale Abdullah Güllüoğlu tarafından kaleme alınan ve "Büyük Bozgunun İlk Senelerinde Osmanlı Diplomasisi (1683-1685)" başlığını taşıyan Türkçe makaledir. Daha ziyade Almanca kaynaklara dayanan bu makalede Osmanlı devletinin 1684-1685 yıllarında Mukaddes İttifak devletleri ile yaptığı barış görüşmeleri ele alınmıştır. Yazar bu barış girişimlerinin başarısız olduğunu belirterek, savaşın ısrarla devam ettirilmesini ilk olarak Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa'nın Viyana başarısızlığının intikamını alma hırsına bağlamaktadır. Ayrıca Avrupalı müttefiklerin savaş meydanlarında kazandıkları zaferlerin savaş istek ve cesaretlerini artırdığına ve özellikle de Papa'nın bu savaşın devamından yana olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Kitabın editörlerinden Hedda Reindl-Kiel makalesini 1699'da Avusturya elçisinin maiyetinde Osmanlı başkentine giden Wilhelm Ernst Schmid hakkında yazmıştır. Almanca olarak kaleme alınan makalede öncelikle Thüringen'deki kariyeri, İtalya'ya gidişi ve oradan da Viyana'ya gelişi ele alınmakta, Viyana'dan İstanbul'a gelecek elçilik heyetine girişi ve yolda borçlanması ve bunun sonucunda da İslam'a girerek Mehmed ismini alması anlatılmaktadır. Kendisi hakkındaki bilgiler memleketindeki akrabalarına 1712 ve 1720 yılında yazdığı mektuplardan alınmaktadır ve 1720 sonrasındaki hayatı hakkında kaynak yoktur. Mehmed'in mektuplarından yola çıkarak yazar kendisinin Osmanlı sistemine nasıl entegre olduğunu ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bağlamda padişahın kendisini evlendirmesi ve İstanbul'da ona bir ev vermesi, aldığı idari görevler ve gelirleriyle ilgili bilgiler değerlendirilmektedir. Bunlar arasında kendisinin zengin bir dul kadınla evlenmesi, altı cariyesinin olması gibi bilgiler de yer almaktadır. Ayrıca kendisinin Edirne'de de bir evi vardır. Yeme içme adetleri, atları, ünvanları, diğer ülke elçileriyle ilişkileri, İsveç ve Rusya ile Osmanlı ilişkileri, Mora seferi ve Venedik'le savaş gibi konular da mektupta yer almaktadır. Reindl-Kiel, mektuplarda yer alan bu bilgilerin neden yazıldığı ve Schmid'in memleketinde nasıl bir etki yaptığı gibi sorulara bağlamı inceleyerek açıklık getirmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu örnekten yola

çıkarak yazar Osmanlı'ya gelen ve Müslüman olan diğer Avrupalıların kariyerlerinin ne şekilde geliştiği hakkında bir model ortaya koymaya çalışmakta ve buna örnek olarak Alexandre de Bonneval / Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa'yı ele almaktadır. Makalenin sonunda Wilhelm Ernst Schmid / Mehmedmed Ağa'nın mektupları verilmiştir. Osmanlı'da biyografi çalışmalarıyla da tanınan tarihçi Reindl-Kiel'in bu makalesi Avrupalıların Osmanlı hizmetine girişi ve kariyerlerini anlamamıza önemli bir katkı olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Klaus Kreiser Almanca olarak kaleme aldığı makalede Prusya ile Osmanlı ilişkilerini ele almaktadır. Makalede öncelikle Osmanlı'da Prusya ve Almanya için kullanılan tabirlere yer veren Kreiser, Almanca'dan Osmanlıca'ya yapılan çevirilere, haritacılık alanındaki çalışmalara, Almanca'nın İstanbul'da kullanımına, Almanya'da Türkçe öğreniminin 19. Yüzyılda önem kazanmasına, Berlin'deki Osmanlı elçileri ve bunların Almanya hakkındaki raporlarına, 1911 yılında Osmanlı'dan Almanya'ya gerçekleşen bir inceleme gezisine ve bunun gibi diğer kültürel ilişkilere değinmektedir. Sonuçta yazması gereken tespiti girişte yazan Kreiser Prusya ile Osmanlı arasındaki bu ilişkilerin "Avrupalı bir millet ile bir İslam devletinin ilişkileri tarihinde başka bir örneğinin olmadığını" belirtmektedir. Ayrıca bu ilişkilerin askeri ve askeri olmayan ilişkiler olarak kategorize edilemeyeceğini de belirten Kreiser bu ilişkilerin erken dönemleri hakkında pek bilginin bulunmadığının altını çizmektedir.

Hans-Peter Laqueur makalesinde 1913'te Almanya'dan Osmanlı Devletine eğitim subayı olarak gönderilen ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı esnasında Çanakkale gibi önemli cephelerde komutanlık yapan Liman von Sanders ile Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) ve İsmet (İnönü) arasındaki ilişkiyi kısaca ele almaktadır. Kaynak olarak Liman von Sanders'in ve İsmet İnönü'nün anılarını kullanan Laqueur, Türk tarih yazımında Liman von Sanders'in Çanakkale savaşındaki rolünü yok saymasına ve Liman von Sanders'in zor bir kişilik olması ve emri altındakilere "kaba" davranması nedeniyle Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın komutanı von Sanders'le sıcak bir ilişki kuramadığına değinmektedir. Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın von Sanders hakkındaki eleştirel tutumuna karşılık, von Sanders'in Mustafa Kemal Paşa ve İnönü hakkında olumlu değerlendirmeler yaptığına ve Kurtuluş Savaşı döneminde 1921'de yardım teklifinde bulunduğuna işaret etmektedir. Almanca olarak kaleme alınmış bu makalenin sonunda Liman von Sanders'in Berlin'de yayınlanan bir gazetede 1921 yılında yazdığı ve Yunan ordusunun Mustafa Kemal'i asla yenemeyeceğini iddia eden yazısı ve benzer başka yazılar ek olarak verilmiştir.

Kitabın ikinci bölümünde dokuzu Türkçe ve dördü Almanca olmak üzere 13 makale yer almaktadır. Bu makalelerden ilki Şevket Küçükhusseyin tarafından

Almanca olarak yazılmıştır ve *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut*'da kadın imgesi üzerinedir. Makalenin ilk bölümünde bu eserin 1300 yıllık tarihi, Türkiye ve Orta Asya'da sahip olduğu önem ve hakkındaki çalışmalar değerlendirilerek ikinci bölümde ayrıntılı olarak kadın imgesi ele alınmakta ve bazı romantik milliyetçi yazarların aksine bu eserde "feminist" bir bulgunun yer almadığına işaret etmektedir.

Balkanlardaki Osmanlı mimarisi ve demografik gelişim hakkındaki çalışmalarıyla tanınan Machiel Kiel 70 sayfalık Almanca makalesinde farklı örnekler vererek Balkanlardaki Osmanlı vakıflarını ve bu vakıflara bağlı köyler ile üzüm bağları ve şarap üretimi konusunu ele almaktadır. Kiel'in demografik ve ekonomik gelişimini incelediği yerler arasında Makedonya'da bulunan Mariovo, Tikveş, Yunanistan'da Yenice-i Vardar ve Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey Vakfı, Bulgaristan'da Boboşevo ve Te-teven, Merkezi Yunanistan'dan Valide Sultan Kösem Mahpeyker Vakfı ve Velitsa ve Dadi, bu köylerin vakıf bulunmayan Lefta, Modhi, Valtesi ve Panagia köyleriyle karşılaştırılarak vakıf köylerinin özelliklerinin ortaya konması, Hersek'teki Debarsko Polje'de vakıf kültürü ve şarap üretimi, Dabrica, Predolje gibi köyler yer almaktadır. Balkanların farklı bölgelerinin karşılaştırılması yoluyla Kiel'in ulaştığı ilginç sonuçlardan biri vakfa bağlı "imtiyazlı" Hıristiyan köylerinin hem nüfus bakımından daha iyi geliştiği, hem de "zor dönemlerde İslam'a geçme eğiliminin" daha az olduğudur. Kiel, ayrıca Balkanlardaki vakıfların bir kısmının ana zenginlik kaynaklarından birinin üzüm ve şarap üretimi olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi'nde Balkan şehirleri ve bölgeleriyle ilgili makalelerin çoğunun yazarı olan Kiel'in bu makalesi Balkan şehirleri ve kazalarının 15. ve 20. yüzyıl arasındaki gelişimini ele aldığı çalışmalarına bir ek olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Osmanlı klasik dönemi çalışmalarıyla tanınan Feridun M. Emecen'in derlemedeki makalesi Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın şehzadelik dönemi hakkındadır. Makalede öncelikle Süleyman'ın gündelik hayatıyla ilgili tarih yazarlarının bilgi vermeyişi ve bunun gerekçelerini ele alan Emecen, Süleyman'ın doğduğu 1494 yılından 1509'a kadar babası Selim'le birlikte Trabzon'da kaldığını, burada kardeşleri Salih ve Kamerşah'ın ve büyükannesi Gülbahar Hatun'un ölümüne şahit olduğunu, ayrıca sünnet düğününün yapıldığını belirtir. Makalede şimdiye kadar kullanılmamış bir masraf defterinde Süleyman'ın sünnet düğünüyle ilgili Farsça bir kaydı değerlendiren Emecen, II. Bayezid'in gönderdiği hediyelerden yola çıkarak Şehzade Selim'in çocuğu olan iki hanımı olduğunu tespit etmektedir. Makalede ayrıca gönderilen hediyeler sıralanmakta ve bunların sembolik anlamı değerlendirilmektedir. Ayrıca makalede Süleyman'ın oğullarının en büyüğünün Murad olduğu ve onun da diğer kardeşi Mahmud gibi 1521'de bir çiçek salgını nedeniyle öldüğü, Süleyman'ın hanedana yeni üyeler kazandırmak amacıyla yeni "hane" kurmasının da bu olaydan sonra gerçekleştiği belirtilmektedir.

Kitaptaki diğer makale Claudia Römer'in kısa bir Almanca makaleyle Uygurca'da kullanılmış bir cümle kalıbının Kanuni Sultan Süleyman dönemi resmi yazışmalarında da kullanılması üzerinedir. Diğer bir Almanca makale Henning Sievert tarafından Ebu Sehl Nu'man Efendi'nin 1740'larda kaleme aldığı *Tedbirât-ı Pesendide* adlı eserini ele almakta ve bu eserde Nu'man Efendi'nin Osmanlı'nın düşmanları Avusturya (Nemçelü) ve İran (Acem)'a karşı kaleme aldığı uyarıları incelemektedir. Eserde çok olumsuz bir Acem ve Avusturyalı imajının bulunduğu ve buna karşılık sınırlarda bulunan Kürtler ve Macarların imajının ise son derece olumlu olduğuna işaret eden Sievert, Nu'man Efendi'nin Osmanlı'nın Avusturya ile sınır tespit komisyonunda yer aldığına ve bu misyonun başındaki Tiryaki Mehmed Paşa hakkında da eleştirel bilgiler verdiğiine işaret etmektedir.

İsmail E. Erünsal, "Osmanlılar'da Sahhaflık Mesleği ve Sahhafılar" başlıklı makalesinde Osmanlı'da sahaflık konusunun incelenmesinde kaynakların azlığının yarattığı sorunlara işaret etmekte ve *Sicill-i Osmani* gibi biyografik kaynaklardan ve muhalefât kayıtlarından yararlanarak sahafılar hakkında ne şekilde bilgi toplanabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Sonuç olarak sahafıların çoğunlukla ulema sınıfına mensup ve iyi eğitilmiş kişiler olduklarını ifade etmektedir.

Osmanlı'nın reformcu padişahı III. Selim'in Fransız İmparatoru XVI. Louis ile yazışmaları derlemede Aysel Yıldız tarafından kaleme alınmış makalenin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Makelede Selim ile Fransız sarayı arasındaki bağlantının kimler tarafından sağlandığı, bu bağlantının hedefleri ve paylaşılan görüşler tartışılmaktadır.

Kitabın editörlerinden Seyfi Kenan'ın makalesi ise III. Selim döneminde 1792 yılında İstanbul medreselerinde yapılan denetimin raporu hakkındadır. Makalede kısa bir girişten sonra medreseler, müderrisler, sınıf ve öğrenci sayısı gibi ayrıntılı bilgilerin yer aldığı teftiş raporu tablo halinde verilmiştir.

Fatih Yeşil, III. Selim ve II. Mahmud dönemlerinde Osmanlı'da nazırlıkların yükselişini ele alan bir makale ile derlemeye katkı sağlamıştır. Makalede özellikle Nizam-ı Cedid ordusunun kuruluşunda nazırlıkların rolü ve önemi üzerine durulmaktadır. Bir diğer makale Mustafa Aydın'ın 1779-1838 yılları arasında Osmanlı'da Kazaklar üzerinedir. 1775'te Zaporoje Hıristiyan Kazak bağımsızlığına Ruslar tarafından son verilmesi sonucunda Osmanlı Devletine sığınan 5.000 civarında Kazak (Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Potkalı ve İgnad Kazakları) Osmanlı Devletinin Kuzeybatı sınırlarına yerleştirilmiş, ilk üç sene vergiden muaf tutulan Kazaklar daha sonra cizye ödemeye başlamış ve Osmanlı ordusunda hizmet etmeye başlamışlardır. 1821 Yunan İsyanının başlamasından sonra Rumların donanmadan uzaklaştırılması üzerine donanmada ve Yeniçeri ocağının kaldırılmasından sonra Asakir-i

Mansure'de de kendilerinden yararlanan Kazaklara, 1828-1829 Osmanlı-Rus savaşında Ruslarla ilişki kurmaları nedeniyle güven azalmış, isteyenlerin Rusya'ya göçüne izin verilmiştir. Makale, içerdiği birkaç yer ismi yazım yanlışlarına (ör. Babdağ, Tolçı, Isakçı, hatman) Osmanlı-Ukrayna ilişkilerinin boyutlarını göstermek bakımından önemli bir katkı olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Kitapta yer alan bir diğer makale 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarında Osmanlı veraset usulünde Sultan Abdülaziz'in yapmak istediği değişiklik üzerinedir. Makalenin Tanzimat ve Osmanlı kurumlarının modernleşmesi çalışmalarıyla tanınan yazarı Ali Akyıldız, hanedanın en yaşlı üyesinin tahta geçmesi anlamına gelen "ekberiyet" usulünün I. Ahmed döneminde başlayarak 19. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar uygulandığına ve 1876 Anayasasıyla kanunlaştığına işaret etmektedir. Tanzimat'la birlikte padişahların kendi oğullarını veliht yapmak için saltanat veraset usulünde değişiklik yapmaya çalıştığını belirten Akyıldız, Abdülaziz'in oğlu Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi'yi veliht yapmak için başvurduğu yolları ve önlemlerini tartışmaktadır. Bunlar arasında 9 yaşındaki Yusuf İzzeddin'e binbaşılık rütbesinin verilmesi, şehzade olan Murad'ın ise dışarıyla bağlantılarının sınırlandırılması, bir ay süren şehzade sünnet törenleri gibi önlemler de yer almaktadır. Fakat Ali Akyıldız şehzadenin bu şekilde ön plana çıkarılmaya çalışılmasının dönemin kamuoyu ve devlet erkânı üzerinde aksine olumsuz bir etki yaptığını, 1876'da Abdülaziz'in tahttan indirilmesiyle de bu projenin başarısız olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Makalenin sonunda Ziya Paşa'nın Osmanlı veraset sistemini anlatan yazısı eklenmiştir.

Kitabın diğer makalesi Mahir Aydın tarafından Makedonya'da kaymakamlık görevinde bulunmuş Tahsin Uzer'in Birinci Dünya Savaşı arefesinde tayin edildiği Van Valiliği ve bu dönemde Tahsin Bey'in Van'daki idari, askeri ve mali alanlarda uygulamaya çalıştığı reformları hakkında yazılmıştır. Hükümete raporlar göndererek bir takım önlemler alınmasını isteyen ve bu sürecin sonunda Suriye valiliğine tayin edilen Tahsin Bey'in Van'daki faaliyetleri Aydın'ın ifadesiyle tarihten dersler çıkartılacak niteliktedir.

Armağan kitabın son makalesi Selçuk Akşin Somel tarafından Abdülhamid dönemi eğitim tarihi konusunda 1980 sonrasında yapılan akademik çalışmaların historiyoğrafik bir değerlendirmesi şeklinde yazılmıştır. Makalede ilgi çeken bölümlerden biri yerel tarihçilik ve taşra eğitim sistemi hakkındaki çalışmaları içermektedir. Makalenin diğer bir konusu ise gayrimüslim cemaatlerin eğitim sistemleri ve yabancı okullar hakkındaki çalışmalar üzerinedir. Makale esas itibarıyla Türkiye'de yapılan çalışmalarla sınırlandırılmıştır.

Kitabın sonunda bu makalelerin ortak bir kaynakçası yer almaktadır (s. 593-664). Eserin geneline bakıldığında Osmanlı-Avusturya ilişkilerinden başlayıp,

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman dönemi, III. Selim, II. Mahmud, Abdülaziz, Abdülhamid dönemlerine ve Birinci Dünya Savaşına kadar geniş bir konu yelpazesi oluşturduğu görülmektedir. Derlemede yer alan makaleler, çoğunlukla birinci el kaynaklara dayanan orijinal makalelerdir ve Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarına önemli katkı sağlayacak niteliktedir. Birkaç ufak yazım yanlışı dışında (ör. Machiel Kiel'in girişinde *Beitrag* - katkı yanlışıyla *Betrag*- tutar olarak yazılmıştır, s. 273)dikkat çeken bir sorun yer almamaktadır.

Büyük emek harcanarak hazırlanmış bu büyük eserin en büyük eksikliği, Kemal Beydilli'nin tez öğrencileri ile asistanlarının çoğunu kapsamamış olmasıdır. Fakat şüphesiz bu eser onların "Hoca kabul etmez!" korkularını yenmelerine vesile olmuştur ve yeni inisiyatifleri teşvik eder niteliktedir.

Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu

Andrei Pippidi,

Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe,

London: Hurst & Company, 2012.

A. Pippidi, 1983 yılında Oxford Üniversitesi'nde hazırladığı doktora tezinin güncellenmiş ve genişletilmiş şekli olan eserinin asıl amacını, "Osmanlı ilerleyişine Batılı entelektüellerin verdikleri tepkiyi göstermek" şeklinde ifade eder. Kitabını bu tema üzerine bina eden yazar, 'Türk' kavramına vurgu yapar ve bunu etnik bir grubu tanımlamak için değil, 'Müslüman Osmanlı'ya karşılık olarak kullandığını söyler. Bu eksende Osmanlılar'ın Avrupa'daki ilk fetihlerinden başlayarak XVII. yy.'ın ilk yarısına kadar Batılıların Türklere bakışlarının kodlarını çözmeye ve arka planda yer alan temel saiklere ışık tutmaya çalışır.¹

Altı bölümden oluşan eserin girişi sayılabilecek olan *An Archeology of Representations* başlıklı birinci bölümde eserle ilgili genel bir çerçeve çizilir. Yazar, çalışmasının yalnızca Osmanlı algısı ekseninde olmadığını, aynı zamanda Osmanlı tebası olan Hıristiyanların vaziyetleri hakkında bilgiler de verdiğini söyler. Kaynaklarını

1 A. Pippidi'nin ele alınan kitabının konusuna benzer nitelikte Osmanlı ve Batı ilişkileri, Batı'da Osmanlı algısı ve bu algıda dinin etkisi temalı önemli bazı makale çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Söz konusu çalışmaların yer aldığı yayın için bkz. Seyfi Kenan (ed.), *Erken Klasik Dönemden XVIII. Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar Osmanlılar ve Avrupa: Seyahat, Karşılaşma ve Etkileşim*, (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010).

bilimsel bir süzgeçten geçirdiğini ifade eden Pippidi özellikle, Batılı yazarların Osmanlılar hakkındaki görüşlerinin tutarsız ve sık sık birbirini nakzeden bilgiler içerdiğini vurgular. Ayrıca, dini, siyasi ve edebi kolaycılık gibi sebeplerden dolayı Osmanlılar'a ait olan gerçek fotoğrafın genel olarak ya gölgelendiğini ya da karartıldığını söyler.

Pippidi'ye göre, Batı'da Osmanlı algısını örgütleyen ve belirleyen temel dinamik Reform hareketleridir. Nitekim Reformist yaklaşımlar, Batı'nın Osmanlı hukuku ve düzenine bakışıyla ilgili mevcut zihniyet aynasını dört bir tarafından parçalamıştır. Bununla beraber yazar, XIV. ve XV. yy.'da Osmanlı karşıtı algının kaynağını dini saiklerin teşkil ettiğini söylerken, günümüzde ortaya çıkan yeni bilgilere rağmen bu tarz eski önkabullerin henüz değişmemiş olmasını teessüfle karşılar.

“Late Medieval and Renaissance Views of the Ottomans” başlıklı ikinci bölümde Haçlı seferleri süreci ele alınmakta ve Batılıların, İstanbul'un fethiyle sonuçlanan evre hakkında umursamaz bir tavır içinde buldukları ifade edilmektedir. Özellikle fetih sonrasında gündeme gelen “Müslüman Osmanlı”ya karşı “Hıristiyan Avrupa”nın birleştirilmesi projelerine öncülük edenlerin önemli bir kısmının askeri, siyasi ve dini konularla vazifeli seyyahlar olduğu belirtilir. Bu tür casus seyyahlara göre düşman tektir: “Müslüman Türkler.” Bunun karşısına “Hıristiyan Avrupa” tek vücut olarak çıkmalıdır.

Bu bölümde yazar, Papalık özelinde ve genel olarak Hümanist çevrelerde İstanbul'un fethine doğru giden süreci ve sonrasına dair yansımaları gözler önüne sermekte, Türk ilerleyişinin durdurulması için gerek papalık makamında bulunmuş ve gerekse devlet görevleri olan birtakım önemli isimlerin savaş açılması yönündeki çabalarına ışık tutmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, söz konusu aktörlerin hissiyatlarına değinerek yaptıkları manipülasyonu da tespit etmektedir. Bununla beraber, İstanbul'un fethi öncesi ve sonrasında Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Batılı ve özellikle İtalyan yazarlar tarafından nasıl algılandığına değinmekte ve sonraki sultanların çağdaşları olan yazarlara kadar söz konusu algının izini sürmektedir. Dışa yansıyan hakim görüntü olarak, Türklerin, 'kana susamış barbarlar' olduğu konusunda genel bir ittifak olduğuna vurgu yapmaktadır.

Yazar, konu etrafında Batı dillerindeki ilgili eserlerin temel argümanlarını özetlemek ve bunlarla ilgili görüşlerini yer yer belirtmek suretiyle, Osmanlı tarihi hakkında bibliyografik açıdan da önemli bilgiler sunmuş olmaktadır.

Yazarın üzerinde durduğu Pero Tafur, Bertrandon de la Broquière, Arnold von Harff, Sir John Madeville ve Brother Bartolomeo di Giano gibi seyyahların ileri sürdükleri görüşler genel olarak şöyle özetlenebilir: ‘Türkler kaba, şehvet düşkün,

vahşi ve zalimdirler, tebaları olan Hıristiyanlara da zulmetmektedirler'. Bu yargılara karşılık getirilen öneriler ise şöyledir: 'Türkler, ya Amerikalı yerliler örneğinde olduğu gibi Hıristiyanlığı kabul edecekler, ya zorla boyun eğdirilecekler ya da zayıf yönleri üzerinden geliştirilecek politikalarla geriletilecekler'.

Yazarın, Türklerin Hıristiyanlaşacağına dair XV ve XVI. yüzyıllarda görüş ileri süren Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, Giovanni Nanni ve Antonio Arquato gibi bazı kâhin, falcı ve astrologları zikrederken von Harff'ın bir casus, Madeville'nin sabit fikirli bir propagandist, di Giano'nun bir misyoner olduğunu belirtmekten de kaçınmadığı görülür.

A. Pippidi, Osmanlılar hakkında "zalim" (tyranny) ifadesinin Batılılar tarafından kullanılmasının, özellikle İnebahtı mağlubiyetiyle (1571) birlikte "yenilmez Türkler" önkabulünün yıkılmasından sonra yaygınlaştığını belirtir. Örneğin, Venedikliler bu tarihe kadar Türkleri tanımlar ve tasvir ederlerken "zalim" ve "vahşi" sıfatlarına pek iltifat göstermedikleri gibi, planlanması istenen savaş tekliflerine karşılık isteksiz bir duruş sergilemişler ve daha çok müzakere yolunu tercih etmişlerdir. 1585 yılına gelindiğinde ise Gianfranco Morosini, Osmanlıları "dünyanın gördüğü en büyük zalim" olarak tanımlayacaktır.

Bunlara rağmen yazar, Osmanlı seyahat notlarının günümüze kadar ulaşmış olmasını geniş bir literatür sağlamış olması bakımından çok değerli bulur ve seyyahların yaptıkları tasvirlerden bir Osmanlı imajının inşa edilebileceğini belirtir. Fakat, seyyahların birinden diğerine, İstanbul'a geldikleri güzergâha (ör. Sırbistan üzerinden ya da Ege adalarından) bağlı olarak bu Osmanlı algısının da farklılaştığını söyler. Ayrıca, bölgeden bölgeye ve on yıldan on yıla koşulların değiştiğini de dikkate almak gerektiğini dile getirir ve seyyahların aktarımlarındaki çelişkilerin kaynağı olarak iki sebebe dikkat çeker: "Seyyahların dini önyargıları ve ait oldukları farklı kültürler."

Türkler, emeğe verdikleri önem, hukuka saygı gibi Hıristiyanlarca çoktan unutulmuş ilkeler dolayısıyla söz konusu seyyahlar tarafından zaman zaman takdir de görmüşlerdir. Hıristiyanlık dünyasıyla ilgili Türkler üzerinden dile getirilen bu tür eleştirilerle Protestanlığın köklerinde yatan ilkeler arasındaki bağıntıyı ifade etmeden geçmek zordur. Yazara göre bu durum, Luther öncesinde Protestanlığa doğru evrilen sürece işaret etmektedir.

"Three Thinkers and Their Disciples" ismini taşıyan üçüncü bölümde Rönesans ve Reform dönemlerinin üç öncüsü olan Makyavel, Luther ve Erasmus'un Müslüman Doğu hakkında Hıristiyan Batı'ya doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak çizdikleri istikamet ve bunun yöntemleri üzerinde durulmaktadır. Yazar, üzerlerine dikkat çektiği üç düşünür ve onların takipçileri tarafından Türkler dolayısıyla

Macaristan, İspanya, Fransa ve Almanya'da yaşanan arayış ve çıkış yollarını irdeler. Hümanist aydınların düşündükleri ve gerçekleşmesini istedikleri genel olarak iki yöntem vardır: “Kâfir Türklere karşı Hıristiyan Avrupa'nın birleşmesi ve Türklerin Hıristiyanlaştırılması.”

İlk olarak Makyavel'i ve onun *Prens* isimli meşhur eserini ele alan yazar, buradaki Fransız ve Türk yönetim şekilleri arasındaki mukayeseli tespitlere yoğunlaşır. Makyavel gibi Türkler'i dolaylı şekilde bir umut olarak gören hümanist aydınlardan Robert Cecil, Jacques Bongars, Hubert Languet, Paolo Sarpi ve Francesco Vettori'nin öne sürdükleri görüşlere dikkat çeker.

Luther ise, Türkleri ve Papa'yı aynı anda hedef alarak “Papa deccaldır, Türklerle şeytanın cisimleşmiş şekli” olduğunu dile getirmekte ve Osmanlı fetihlerini kıyametle özdeşleştirmektedir. Ayrıca Türkler, Luther tarafından ‘Avrupalıların hayatlarına çökmüş bir karabasan’ gibi gösterilir. Luther'in takipçilerinden olan Hartmudt von Kronberg ise, Papa VI. Hadrian'a yazdığı bir mektubunda, papalık kurumunu ilga ederek Luther'in öğretisi etrafında bütün Avrupa'yı birleştirmesini teklif etmektedir. Kronberg'e göre Türkler de bu şekilde Hıristiyanlaşma yoluna gireceklerdir.

Eserde ayrıca, benzer görüşleri paylaşan ve aynı amaca matuf birtakım çalışmalar yapan XVI. yy. seyyah ve yazarlarından Salomon Schweigger, David Ungnad, Stephan Gerlach, David Chytraeus, Franz Billerbeck, Martin Crusius gibi Luthercilerin fikirleri üzerinde durulur. Yazar, Crusius ve Chytraeus'un Balkan tarihini, Türklerden bağımsız bir şekilde ve Avrupa tarihinin bir parçası olarak ele alan ilk kişiler olduğuna okuyucunun dikkatini çekerek söz konusu yazarların düşünsel anlamda yaptıkları stratejik hamleye işaret etmektedir.

Bu bölümde ele alınan üçüncü düşünür olan Erasmus, yeni bir haçlı seferi fikrine temkinli yaklaşmıştır. 1515 yılında şöyle der: “Türklerle savaşmamız konusunda, ne İsa'nın bir emri ne de havarilerinin bir teşviki vardır.” Papa X. Leo'ya yazdığı mektubunda Erasmus, “bütün prensleri karşılıklı bir uyum ve barış içerisinde Hıristiyanlık'ta buluşturarak, kâfir Türkleri zapturapt altına almak ve imha etmek için en doğru ve güvenli anayolu da inşa etmiş olacaksınız” demektedir. Bu düşüncesinden vazgeçmeksizin ileriki dönemlerde “şartların kendilerini zorlaması ve kaçınılmaz olması dışında Türklerle savaş fikrine sıcak bakmadığını ve zaferin, Tanrı'nın inayeti olmadan kazanılamayacağını” ifade etmektedir. Erasmus bir savaş aleyhtarı değildi, fakat, Avrupa'yı harap eden çatışmaları vebaya benzetiyor ve St. Augustine'in “Just War” (haklı savaş) kuramına dayanarak savaş fikrini sert bir şekilde mahkum ediyordu.

Yazar Pippidi, din ve kültürlerin yaşama hakkını savunan ve bu bağlamda Osmanlıları bilimsel bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutan Erasmus takipçileri olarak tanınan François Baudouin, Jean Bodin ve Etienne Pasquier gibi yazarlar üzerinde de durur. Özellikle, herkesin kendi dinini serbestçe yaşama hakkını savunan F. Baudouin'nin, bu ilkeyi gerçekleştirmiş olan Osmanlıların bunu nasıl olup da başarmış olduklarına şaşırıldığını dile getirir. Zira bu dönemlerde, sanıldığı aksine, Osmanlı topraklarında yaşayan Hıristiyanlar için dinlerini yaşama kaygısından ziyade sosyal ve ekonomik sorunları ilk sırada yer almaktadır.

Avrupalılar, Balkanlarda yaşayan Osmanlı tebası olan Hıristiyanları, çözülmünün anahtarı saymaktaydılar. Özellikle, din üzerinden kurulacak bir bağ ile bu ayrılık sağlanabilirdi. Nitekim, Osmanlı Rumları zamanın şartlarına bağlı olarak önce Katoliklerle, ardından Protestanlarla yakınlaşmışlardır. Erasmus öğretisi de, yapılan propagandalar sayesinde Orta Avrupadan Balkanlarda Romanlar, Slavlar, Ermeniler, Rumlara ve Doğu Akdeniz'de ise Frenklere kadar uzanmıştır. Ayrıca, Boğdan ve Selanikte XVI. yy.'ın ortalarından itibaren yoğunlaşan misyonerlik faaliyetleri sonucu Protestanlık'a geçenler olmuştur.

"After Erasmus" adını taşıyan dördüncü bölümde A. Pippidi, "Sancte Turca, libera nos!" (Aziz Türkler, bizi kurtarın!) şeklinde Türklere ironik bir dille seslenen ve ilk olarak Osmanlı Devleti'ni "hasta adam" olarak ilan eden Paolo Sarpi, Katolik ve Protestanlar arasında bir uzlaşma sağlanması için çabalayan Jacques-Auguste de Thou (Thuanus), Doğu Kilisesi ve Protestanlık arasında politik anlamda ortak bir zemin oluşması için uğraşan Isaac Casaubon, İstanbul ve İzmir'den götürdüğü yazmalar ve Osmanlı maddi kültürüne ait muhtelif antik eşyalarla Fransa'da önemli bir müze oluşturan Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Pairesc gibi yazarların görüşlerine yer vermekte ve bunlar üzerinden şekillenen Osmanlı algısı üzerinde durmaktadır.

XVII. yy.'ın ikinci yarısında özellikle 1683 Viyana savaşı sonrası Balkanlar'a veya Anadolu'ya giden seyyahlar artık buradaki Hıristiyanlarla ilgili herhangi bir üzüntü taşımıyorlardı. Zira, zamanın çoğu oryantalisti, savaş alanını terketmiş ve kendilerini dilbilimsel çalışmalara vermişlerdi. Yazarın belirttiğine göre Batı'da genel tarih içerisindeki Osmanlı tarihinin temeli Agrippa d'Aubigné ve Jacques-Auguste de Thou tarafından bu yüzyılda atılmıştır. Diğer taraftan, Osmanlıların artık sona yaklaştıkları şeklinde kehanetler de paralel bir şekilde yaygınlık kazanmıştır.

Kitabın hedef kitlesinin özellikle İngiliz okuyucular olduğunu dile getiren yazar, bu sebeple İngiliz-Türk ilişkilerini ayrı bir başlıkta değerlendirmiş ve beşinci bölüme "Anglo-Turcica" adını vermiştir. XVI. yy.'ın başlarında Türkler, "dünyanın mevcut korkusu" ve "Tanrı'nın gazabının araçları"yken, bir ada devlet olmasının

sağladığı ayrıksılık sebebiyle İngiltere için durum böyle olmamış ve getirilen Haçlı seferi teklifleri burada pek ilgi görmemiştir. Yazara göre İngiliz seyyahlar, yurtlarından ayrılırlarken yanlarında bilgi bakımından doğu ile ilgili her ne götürmüşlerse dönüşte ilave bir şey getirmiş değillerdir. Bu, onların iyi gözlemci olmadıklarından değil, kendilerini geçmişten getirdikleri bakış açılarından soyutlayamamalarından ileri gelmiştir. Yazar, Türklerle ilgili ilk dönem İngiliz literatürünün genel özelliğinin, klasik dini geçmişle olan bağları yeniden kurmak şeklinde belirlediğini söyler. Büyük Giles Flethcher'e (1549-1611) atfedilen "The Policy of the Turkish Empire" isimli kitabında Türkler hakkında "vahşi, zalim, kaba" şeklindeki önyargılı nitelermelerin belirgin olduğu ve Türklerin nasıl olup da Hıristiyan topraklarında kazanımlar sağlayacak bir yönetim kurabildiklerinin sorgulandığına değinir. Pippidi ayrıca, İslâm'la ilgili olarak söz konusu kitapta ileri sürülen fikirlerin uydurma olduğunu söylemekten de geri durmaz.

Bu bölümde yazar, 1453'ten hemen sonra İstanbul'u terkederek İngiltere'ye sığınan John Argyropoulos ve Emmanuel gibi bilginlerin burada gerçekleştirdikleri başarıları da dikkat çeker. Ve Türkleri, Hıristiyan Avrupa medeniyeti için bir tehlike olarak gören Thomas More'un görüşlerine değinir. Yazarın belirttiğine göre, yıllar ilerledikçe Osmanlıların kuzey sınırları iki sebep yüzünden İngiltere'nin ilgisine dahiline girer: 'Mağdur Protestan mültecileri yerleştirme alanı olarak ve bölgede yükselen ticaret.'

Altıncı bölüm "Trade, Politics and Religion" başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölümde yazar, İngiltere ve Osmanlılar arasında gelişen ticarete ve bunda öne çıkan isimlere yer vermektedir. Söz konusu aktörlerin başında İstanbul'a atanan ilk İngiliz elçisi William Harborne gelir. Harborne'un 1580'de İngiltere'ye verilen kapitülasyonlar, bölge ticareti ve Levant Company'nin kurulmasındaki çabalarına değinilir. Bundan başka Edward Barton, John Newberie, Henry Austell, Richard Mallorye, Thomas Wilcox, Richard Babington, George Anglesea, Edward Bushell, William Aldridge gibi tüccarlara da yer veren yazar, 1618'e geldiğinde bölgede İngiliz ticaretinin çok güçlendiğini belirtir. Seyyahların Türkler hakkında verdikleri bilgiler de bu bölümde önemli bir yer tutar.

Yazar, Elizabethan dönemi Osmanlı algısının, İngiliz oyun yazarları ve edibi-yatçılarının eserlerinden süzulebileceğini düşünmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Kyd, Shakespeare, Thomas Goffe ve Roger Boyle gibi yazarların eserlerindeki Türk karakterlerini örnek olarak verir. Diğer taraftan, katı bir Türk aleyhtarı olan Francis Bacon'ın ileri sürdüğü görüşleri de aynı minvalde zikreder. Ayrıca, ikisi İngiltere ve birisi İran adına her türlü casusluk, elçilik, aracılık gibi görevleri yerine getirmiş olan Sherley kardeşlerin faaliyetlerine değinir.

Henry Blount gibi övücü bir üslupla yaklaşanlar olsa da, genel olarak İngiliz yazarlar Türkleri ‘zalim, vahşi canavar, medeniyet düşmanı, geri kalmış, şehvet ve para düşkünü’ olarak tanımlarlar. İngiltere’de Bacon dönemindeki katı Osmanlı algısı yavaş yavaş değişime uğramış ve I. James döneminde ekonomik ve siyasi kaygıların bir sonucu olarak Osmanlılarla ilişkiler iyi bir seyir izlemiştir.

Eserinin son kısmında konuyu özetleyen Pippidi, genel yargılarını da burada vermektedir. Dağınık ve parçalı Katolik Hıristiyan dünyasının Osmanlıların Avrupa’ya çıkışlarına bir refleks olarak tahkim edildiğini söyler. Bu dönemde Müslümanlarla temas kuranların şekillendirdikleri ‘vahşi’ Türk algısı, Rönesans döneminde de devam etmiştir. Özellikle İstanbul’un düşmesinden sonra, birkaç olumlu yaklaşım dışında, Türklere karşı Batı’nın tavrının genelde düşmanca olduğunu ve her ne kadar Osmanlılar tabiyetlerinde Hıristiyanlara yaşama hakkı vermişlerse de, bu durumun mevcut olumsuz algıyı değiştirmedikçe söyler. Güç olarak kırılma noktası Osmanlılar’ın İnebahtı’da mağlubiyeti tatmış olmalarıdır. Bu tarihten itibaren Osmanlılar’ın artık sonlarının geldiği düşüncesi Batı’da yaygınlık kazanmış ve buna dair umutlar artmıştır.

Makyavel ile birlikte XV. yy.’a doğru Batılılar, Osmanlıları merkezi monarşik yapılı İspanya, İngiltere ve Fransa ile karşılaştırmışlardır. Martin Luther, başlangıçta Roma Kilisesi’ni şeytana benzetirken, Viyana kuşatması sonrası (1529) bu yakıştırmalarını Osmanlılara yöneltmiştir. Osmanlı coğrafyasındaki Rumlar da, özellikle Katolik yapıya karşı çıkan Calvinist, Lutheran vb. hareketlerin hedef kitlesi olmuştur. Erasmus Avrupa’da savaş karşıtı politikalara daha yakın duran Almanya, İtalya, Fransa İngiltere, İspanya, Polonya ve Macaristan gibi ülkelerde takipçiler bulmuştur. Osmanlıyı tartışan yazarların kullandıkları hümanist dil de bazen Makyavel’in öğretilerinden süzölmüş olurdu.

Osmanlı coğrafyasına, günlük hayatı canlı olarak görmek için seyahat eden ve doğu dillerini öğrenen İngiliz seyyahlar, Osmanlı karşıtı önyargıları düzelterek aydın bir tabaka hazırladı. Bu nedenle, akademik disiplinin şafağı doğuyor, Henry Blount ise 1634 yılında; “Eylem halinde olan yegâne milletin Türkler olduğunu” ilan ediyordu. Blount’un bu sözleri, tarafsızlığa doğru evrilen ve geçmişten ayrılan farklı bir dönüşüm sağladı. Buna karşılık Pippidi, Türklerin Avrupa içlerinde kabul görmeye başlamasının, Köprülü ailesinin Osmanlıya yeniden aşılacağı şahin politikalar sonucunda sekteye uğradığı ve başarısız Viyana kuşatmasının faturasını da Osmanlıların Karlofça’da ödedikleri şeklinde dikkat çeken bir tespitle bulunarak eserini sonlandırmaktadır.

Üslup, dil ve yaklaşım bakımından oldukça özgün, akademik ve eleştirel bir niteliğe sahip olan eserde Türkçe kaynaklara pek yer verilmemiş olması bir eksiklik

gibi görünse de, kitabın Osmanlı tarihi literatürüne sunduğu katkı yadsınamaz. Zira, eserin klasik dönem Batı literatürünün bir özeti sayılabilecek bibliyografik değerlendirmeleri içeriyor olması, söz konusu katkının boyutlarının derecesini yükseltmektedir. Bu itibarla, Batıların zihinlerindeki Osmanlı algısını asıl kaynağından resmediyor oluşu, A. Pippidi'nin bu eserini şimdiden klasikleştirmiş sayılabilir. Diğer taraftan, başlangıcından XVII. yy.'a kadar olsa da, Türkiye'nin Avrupa ile ilişkilerinin tarihi seyrini açık bir şekilde sunması da kitaba güncel bakımdan değer katan ayrı bir özellik olarak zikredilmelidir. Bu önemli çalışma, yazarının hedef kitesi olarak gösterdiği İngiliz okuyucudan çok daha fazla Türk araştırmacıları ilgilendiriyor olması sebebiyle, umarız ki, en kısa zamanda Türkçe'ye kazandırılır.

Kenan Yıldız

Dariusz Kołodziejczyk,

Zaproszenie do Osmanistyki. Typologia i Charasterystyka Źródeł Muzułmańskich Szasiadów Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej: Imperium Osmańskie i Chanatu Krymskiego / Eski Lehistan'ın Müslüman Komşularının Kaynaklarının Tipolojisi ve Karakteri: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kırım Hanlığı (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2013), 120 sayfa.

Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarının sağlam bir temele oturtulması için, bu çalışmaların en önemli ayağı olan arşivlerin ve arşiv kaynaklarının tanınması ve belgelerin dilinin anlaşılacak doğru yorumlanması gerektiği herkesin malumudur. Bu bakımdan ayrı bir ihtisas sahası olan paleografya ve diplomatikanın tarihçiler ve tarih öğrencileri tarafından önemli ölçüde bilinmesi gerekir. Osmanlı Devleti'nde her bir kalemin farklı tarzda yazışma üslubu olduğu ve kayıt tuttuğu göz önüne alınırsa Osmanistika (Osmanlı araştırmaları bilimi) alanındaki çalışmalar için bu, daha da özel bir anlam taşır. Günümüzde tarihçiler için bu yönde yardımcı kitaplar mevcuttur. Mübahat Kütükoğlu'nun ve Tayyip Gökbilgin'in kitapları bunların başında gelir.¹ Yine Polonyalı bilim adamları Jan Reychman'ın Ananiasz Zajaczkowski ile birlikte hazırladığı çalışması ve konuya farklı yönlerden bakış açısıyla Suraiya Faroqhi'nin eseri de aynı

1 Bkz. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili: Diplomatik*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 1994); M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatik İlimi*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1992).

şekilde zikredilebilir.² Osmanlı bürokrasisinde yazılan her belgenin kendine has üslubuyla anlaşılması için iyi tahlil edilmesi ve yazım karakterlerinin bilinmesi araştırmacıların işini kolaylaştırır. Diğer yandan Osmanlı tarihçiliği açısından (araştırma konusuna göre) Türkiye'deki arşivlerin yanı sıra birçok ülkenin arşivinin araştırmaya dahil edilmesi gerekir. Bu bakımdan da söz konusu arşivlerin hangileri olduğu, içerikleri ve çalışma şartlarını da tanımak lazımdır. Ayrıca araştırma sahasına göre söz konusu sahadaki belli başlı çalışmaların da başlangıçta bilinmesi elzemdir.

Bu bağlamda Polonyalı tarihçi Prof. Dr. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk'ın kaleme aldığı ve Polonya'da 2013 yılında basılan *Osmanistika'ya Davet. Eski Lehistan'ın Müslüman Komşularının Kaynaklarının Tipolojisi ve Karakteri: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kırım Hanlığı* adıyla Türkçe'ye çevirebileceğimiz Lehçe kitap da son dönemde bu çerçevede yazılmış eserlerden biridir.³ Kitap bu manada Polonya'daki tarih öğrencilerini Osmanlı bilimine davet ettiği gibi, davetle birlikte Osmanlı biliminin inceliklerini ve ipuçlarını da vermektedir. Bu bakımdan eser, bu sahaya yeni başlayacaklar veya ilgi duyanlar için rehber niteliğinde bir çalışmadır. Diğer yandan Osmanlı-Leh-Kırım Hanlığı ilişkileri üzerine ciddi araştırmaları bulunan Kołodziejczyk'ın bu son eseri vesilesiyle daha evvel yayınladığı söz konusu çalışmaların nasıl vücut bulduğunu anlamak mümkündür.⁴

Eser beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. “Jak zostaje się osmanistą?” (Nasıl Osmanlı araştırmacısı (Osmanist) olunur?) başlığıyla verilen birinci bölümde (s. 9-17) Kołodziejczyk nasıl “Osmanlı araştırmacısı (Osmanist)” olunur sorusunu kendi

2 Jan Reychman, Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmansko-tureckiej*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), İngilizcesi için bkz. Aynı yazarlar, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, (ed) Tibor Halaski-kun, (Hague; Paris; Mouton, 1968). Türkçesi için bkz. Aynı yazarlar, *Osmanlı-Türk Diplomatikas El Kitabı*, Çev. Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, (Ankara: Başkanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993). Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

3 “Osmanistika”, Türkoloji'nin sadece Osmanlı Devleti dönemi ve genel itibarıyla ve daha ziyade tarih alanındaki araştırma ve çalışmalar için Polonya'da yaygın şekilde kullanılan bir terimdir.

4 Kołodziejczyk'ın bu sahadaki en önemli iki çalışması için bkz. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of Ahdnâmes and other Documents*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000); *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th-18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Kołodziejczyk'ın çalışmalarının genel bir listesi için bkz. Hacer Topaktaş, “Lehistan'dan Polonya'ya: Polonya Tarihyazımında Türkler ve Türkiye”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, (TALİD), C. VIII, sy. 15, (2010, basım yılı 2011), s. 537-590.

tecrübe ettiği Osmanlı tarihçiliği hikayesinden yola çıkarak zamanın şartları ve eğilimleri çerçevesinde cevaplamakta, alanın gerektirdiği sabır, yetenek ve kaynak bilgisi hakimiyetinden bahsetmektedir.

İkinci bölüm “Najważniejsze zbiory dokumentów osmańsko-tureckich i krymskotatarskich” (Osmanlı-Türk ve Kırım Tatarları Belgelerinin En Önemli Koleksiyonları) (s. 18-34) başlığını taşır ve dünyada, Türkiye’de ve Polonya’da Osmanlı ve Kırım Hanlığı arşiv koleksiyonlarının nerelerde olduğundan, hangi koleksiyonlara bakmak gerektiğinden ve arşivlerin araştırma ve çalışma şartlarından bahsedilmektedir. Bu bakımdan ilk olarak Polonya’da ve Türkiye’de, sonrasında Balkan ülkelerinde, İtalya, Fransa, İngiltere, Hollanda, Avusturya, Macaristan, Romanya ve Slovakya, Almanya, İskandinav ülkeleri, Rusya ve diğer ülkelerdeki arşivlerin Osmanlı ve Kırım Hanlığı’na dair koleksiyonlarıyla ilgili sırayla açıklama yapılmaktadır.

“Paleografia” (Paleografya) başlıklı üçüncü bölüm (s. 35-50) adından anlaşıldığı üzere paleografyaya ayrılmıştır. Bu bağlamda bu alanda mevcut yazı çeşitleri tanıtılmaktadır. Arşiv belgelerinin yazı çeşitleri (kufi, nesih, sülüs, divani, ta’lik, rik’a, siyakat), vesikalardaki bazı teknik kısaltmalar ve sayılar mezkur bölümde anlatılmaktadır. Bölümde yazı türleriyle ilgili örneklere de yer verilmiştir. Ancak Reyhman ve Zajączkowski’nin mevzu bahis çalışmalarının varlığına binaen nâşir, bu bölüm ve diplomatika bölümünü (dördüncü bölüm) çok uzun tutmadığını ve fazla ayrıntıya ve örnekleme yer vermediğini belirtmektedir.

Dördüncü bölüm “Dyplomatyka” (Diplomatika) (s. 51-95) başlığıyla sunulur ve diplomatika ile ilgili konuları içerir. Evvela sultanlara ait vesikalar olan hüküm, ferman, berât, nişân ve nâme-i hümayunlar gibi birtakım belgelerin teknik ve fizikî özellikleri ile ilgili bilgiler verilmektedir. Bu gibi belgelerin bir nevi şifresini çözenin püf noktalarının görülmesi bakımından bazı önemli hususlar belirtilmektedir. Buna göre bu yazıların davetle başladığı; tuğrası, elkabı, duası, hükmü vs. ile devam edip tarih ve yerle sonlandırıldığı örneklerle anlatılırken, bunların Lehçe ve Latin diplomatikasındaki karşılıkları da verilmektedir. Mesela:

“Inwokacja (İac. invocatio, tur. da’vet), Intytulacja (İac. intitulatio, tur. ‘unvan), Sankcja (İac. sanctio, tur. te’kid), Datacja (İac. datatio, tur. tarih), Miejsce wystawienia (İac. locatio [yer⁵])”

bunlardan birkaçıdır. Kołodziejczyk bundan sonra Osmanlı bürokrasisinin önde gelen bürokratlarının belgelerindeki özellikler hakkında bilgi vererek devam eder. Ardından da Osmanlı kançılıryasının (bürokrasinin) işleyişi ve işlevi

5 Kitapta “[yer]” ifadesi bulunmamakla birlikte açıklama bilgisi olarak yazar tarafından eklenmiştir.

ile ilgili kısa bir bilgilendirmede bulunur. Daha sonra ise Kırım Hanlığı belgelerinin özelliklerine geçer. Aynı şekilde Kırım Hanlığı belgelerindeki da'vet, tamga, mühür, tuğra sözlerini, unvan ve te'kid kısımlarını, sonsözü, tarihlendirme ve yer bildirme kısımları gibi belgelerdeki ayrıntıları aktarır. Osmanlı belgeleriyle farklarını kıyaslar.

“Gromadzenie podręcznej biblioteki. Trendy i mody w badaniach ostatecznych lat” (El Kitapları Derlemesi. Son Yıllarda Araştırmalarda Eğilimler ve Modalar) başlığını taşıyan son bölümde (s. 96-107) ise Osmanlı tarihi alanında son yıllarda görülen eğilimlerden ve popüler çalışmalardan bahsederken bu sahanın kısa bir bibliyografik panoramasını sunar. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı araştırmalarının temel eserlerini sıralarken özellikle Kırım Hanlığı üzerine çalışmalara hususi bir yer verir. Ayrıca son yıllarda Osmanlı sosyo-ekonomik ve şehir tarihi çalışmaları ile Osmanlı kronikleri üzerine çalışmaların artışından birkaç örneklemeyle bahseder ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu araştırmalarının diğer imparatorlukların araştırmaları gibi gelecekte daha az ilgi görmeyeceğine dair fikir beyan eder.

Sonuç olarak “Osmanistika’ya Davet” adlı çalışması vesilesiyle Kołodziejczyk, Polonya’da Osmanlı Devleti ve Kırım Hanlığı tarihine dair zengin koleksiyonların herkes tarafından tanınacağı sonucuna varmaktadır. Ayrıca Osmanlı Devleti tarihiyle meşgul Polonyalı bir araştırmacının çalışmasını kesinlikle batı dillerinde yayınlaması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Nâşir, Osmanlı dış siyaseti ve ticareti araştırmalarında Osmanlı idari kadrosu için kendi meselelerinin dış meselelerden daha önemli görüldüğünü hatırlamak gerektiğini belirtir. Yine Polonya’nın Osmanlı Devleti ve Rusya ile birlikte üç önemli komşusundan biri olan Kırım Hanlığı elitinin Polonya idarî yapısına model olarak baktığı, aynı şekilde Polonya-Litvanya elitinin de Kırım’dan at yanında silah, kıyafet ve at koşumları getirdiğini ifade ederek karşılıklı etkileşime işaret eder. Ancak Kırım Hanlığı ile ilgili en zengin koleksiyonların hâlâ araştırılmayı beklediğini de ekler.

Yukarıda belirtilen hususlar ışığında Kołodziejczyk’ın eserinin Osmanistika sahasına giriş yapacak Polonyalı genç araştırmacılar için iyi bir başlangıç çalışması niteliğinde olduğu söylenebilir. Esasında kitabın farklı Avrupa dillerine çevrilmesiyle Osmanistika çalışmalarına hevesli birçok araştırmacı için de faydalı olacağı aşikardır. Yalnız kitapta görülen Osmanlı Devleti ile Kırım Hanlığı arasındaki bağlantı ayrımındaki keskinlik, özellikle Polonya arşivlerinde Kırım Hanlığı ile ilgili belgelerin etkisiyle ortaya çıkmış görünmektedir. Hanlığın en nihayetinde Osmanlı Devleti’ne bağlı bir idare olduğunu, dış ilişkilerini İstanbul’dan tamamen bağımsız yürütmediği göz önüne alınırsa söz konusu kitapta oluşan ayrı ayrı teşekküller görünümünü ve Osmanlı-Kırım bağlantısını yeniden değerlendirmek gerekecektir. Zira Osmanlı arşivindeki birçok belge Bahçesaray’ın Polonya ile diplomatik ilişkilerini İstanbul’dan

tamamen bağımsız deęil bilakis yer yer onun adına ve bilgisi dahilinde yürüttüğüne de işaret eder. Aynı şekilde Kırım Hanlığı üzerine Türkiye'deki arşivlerde yürütülecek daha derin arařtırmalar Hanlığın Polonya ve Osmanlı Devleti ile ilişkisinin organik bağlantılarını daha iyi gözler önüne serecek gözükmektedir. Bu ise yeni bir arařtırma sahası olarak tarihçileri beklemektedir.

Hacer Topaktaş

Yazarlar için not

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