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Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF SURAIYA FAROQHI



EDITED BY

VERA COSTANTINI AND MARKUS KOLLER

BRILL

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Living in the Ottoman
Ecumenical Community

The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage

Politics, Society and Economy

Edited by

SURAIYA FAROQHI AND HALIL INALCIK

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Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi

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INTRODUCTION

OTTOMAN ECUMENICAL COMMUNITIES—AN APPROACH TO OTTOMAN HISTORY

Ottoman political history was the first topic to interest in Christian Europe and within the borders of the Ottoman Empire since the seventeenth century. Authors such as Paul Rychart, Mouradgea d'Ohsson or Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall were primarily interested in the military and administrative structures, which seemed to have been so different from those known in Western Europe. But they contextualized Ottoman history by referring to military matters which gave produced the idea of a state in decline after the sixteenth century. This sentiment was shared by writers such as Demetrius Cantemir, who spent long periods of time in the Ottoman Empire where chroniclers and political authors expressed the same view.¹ The paradigm of decline has become subject to criticism only in the last few decades.² However, the rejection of the “rise and fall pattern” required a new framework for writing Ottoman history. Suraiya Faroqhi proposed a concept that did more justice to the economic, political and military developments than the “paradigm of decline” did. She divided up Ottoman history into a “stage of foundation” (until 1453) followed by “expansion” (1453–1575), “crisis and stabilizations” (1575–1768), “new crisis” (1768–ca. 1830) and “contraction” (1830–1918).³ This structure reflected a transformation in Ottoman studies where social, cultural and provincial history restrained political

¹ V. Aksan, *Ottoman Political Writing, 1768–1808*, in “*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*”, 25/1 (1993), pp. 53–69; C. Kafadar, *Les troubles monétaires de la fin du XVI s. et la conscience ottomane du déclin*, in “*Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*”, 43 (1991), pp. 381–400.

² Ch. K. Neumann, *Political and diplomatic developments*, in S. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey* Vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 44–62, p. 44.

³ S. Faroqhi, *Formen historischen Verständnisses in der Türkei. Politische und wirtschaftliche Krisen in der “Frühen Neuzeit”*, in R. Dürr; G. Engel; J. Süßmann (eds.), *Eigene und fremde Frühe Neuzeiten. Genese und Geltung eines Epochenbegriffs*, Munich 2003 (= *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 35), pp. 107–122, pp. 117–122.

history.⁴ New topics became the focus of attention and required multi-perspective approaches to Ottoman history.

*The Ottoman Empire—From an “Object of History” to a
“Subject of History”*

Until the twentieth century the majority of studies on Ottoman history had treated the sultan's empire only as a political unit and regarded it as an “object of history”. This idea had its origin in the Eurocentric world-view of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman Empire was seen as a state belonging to the Middle East rather than to Europe. Consequently the overwhelming number of West European authors who wrote studies on European history left Ottoman history aside.⁵ However, Suraiya Faroqhi has shown convincingly in her monograph *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* that there was no “iron curtain” between the Ottoman and “other” worlds. She emphasised the idea that in the early modern period the reality was “one world” characterized by manifold contacts between cultured and pragmatic elites as well as pilgrimage and close artistic contact with the European Renaissance. Her book is based on diplomatic records, travel and geographical writing as well as personal accounts.⁶

When Beshara Doumani used court records (*sicil*)⁷ for her study on Palestine, she distinguished between two kinds of documents included in the *sicils*. Orders from the central- and provincial administration reflect the view of the government and treat the people as “objects”. In contrast to this group of historical sources human beings appear as “subjects” in probate inventories, cases of dispute or complains.⁸ The latter texts are Ego-documents,⁹ used extensively by Suraiya Faroqhi in her book *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*. By basing the study mainly on this corpus of source material she made a valuable contribu-

⁴ Neumann, *Political and diplomatic developments*... cit., p. 45.

⁵ Among many other examples see G. A. Craig, *Europe since 1815*, New York 1974.

⁶ S. Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around it*, London 2004.

⁷ “Sidjill” (S. Faroqhi ed.), in *El²* Vol IX., pp. 538–545.

⁸ B. Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1995, p. 9

⁹ W. Schulze, *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung “Ego-Dokumente”*, in idem. (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, Berlin 1996, pp. 11–30 (= Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit; Vol. 2).

tion to the transformation of the Ottoman Empire from an “object of history” into a “subject of history”. This approach makes it necessary to write Ottoman history “from the bottom” by giving a voice to people who stayed for a certain period of time or always lived in the Ottoman Empire. Studies on culture, daily life¹⁰ or the world-view of people¹¹ living in different parts of the empire demonstrate that the treatment of the Ottoman Empire primarily as a political unit limits our understanding of its heterogeneous character in terms of politics and culture, as well as social and religious life. By way of example some religious communities had their political and spiritual centres outside the Ottoman borders¹² and Ottoman merchants built up networks crossing political boundaries.¹³ This raises the question of the role borders played in the “one world” described by Suraiya Faruqi.

The Ottoman Ecumenical community—Borders in a Common World

The Ottomans used different terms for frontier. *Hudud* or *sınır* designated the demarcated or recognised boundary and *uç* meant the frontier zone, which, according to Islamic law, separated the “House of War” (*dar ül-harb*) from the “House of Islam” (*dar ül-Islam*).¹⁴ Classical Muslim legal theory stressed a permanent state of war between both “houses” which could be interrupted by the Muslim ruler. His duty was to push forward the borders of the *dar ül-Islam* into the territories of the infidels, but he could agree with a temporary peace treaty.

In the historiography there is an ongoing discussion about the character of *hudud/sınır*, which was sparked by the question of whether the Ottomans had accepted the idea of a demarcated borderline. Rifa’at Abou-el-Haj regards the peace treaty of Sremski Karlovci (1699) as

¹⁰ For an overview see S. Faruqi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich. Vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1995.

¹¹ For medieval Europe see A. J. Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen*, Munich 1997.

¹² A. Molnár, *Le sait-siège, Raguse et les missions catholiques de la Hongrie ottomane 1572–1647*, Rome, Budapest 2007.

¹³ K. Kévonian, *Marchands arméniens au XVII^e s., à propos d’un livre arménien publié à Amsterdam en 1699*, in “Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique”, 16/2 (1975), pp. 199–244.

¹⁴ M. P. Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*. Venice 2002; C. Heywood, *The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths*, in D. Power; N. Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, New York 1999, pp. 228–250, p. 235.

the very first agreement in Ottoman history forcing the government in Istanbul to consent to such a policy.¹⁵ However, other historians reject this concept and refer to the numerous *smirnames* that had already been conducted since the fifteenth century.¹⁶ In these documents the borders between the Ottoman Empire and its neighbouring states were fixed in writing. But this debate must be integrated into discussions about developments occurring in the other parts of the “one world”. In his study of the Cerdanya, Peter Sahlin denies the idea that after the peace treaty between France and Spain (1659) a fixed borderline crossed this area. Quite the contrary, clerical and secular elites continued to exercise jurisdiction and power over the population in the border areas without respecting the political border.¹⁷ A similar phenomenon was the frontier zone between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. After the conquest of Hungarian territories by the Ottoman armies in the sixteenth century, the majority of the local aristocracy left the new Ottoman province for Habsburg territories. But they continued to try collecting taxes from the peasants living on their former country estates and insisted on their judicial rights over them. But the Ottomans seemed to have had the same attitude towards the political border and collected taxes from villages situated on the Habsburg side.¹⁸

It is to be assumed that in Early Modern Europe there was a concept of borders, which influenced border societies in Western Europe as well as in the Ottoman Empire. Jeremy Black argues that there was a traditional concept of sovereignty based on the extension of jurisdiction rather than of direct rule over territories.¹⁹ But this attitude changed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the emerging territorial states began to regard the frontier as the most remote periphery of the country, which had to be defended by force of arms.²⁰ They erected a large number of fortresses to protect their countries and tried to “close”

¹⁵ R. Abou-el-Haj, *The formal closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe: 1699–1703*, in “*Journal of Asian and Oriental Studies*”, LXXXIX (1969), pp. 467–475.

¹⁶ D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century)*. An Annotated Edition of *Ahdnames and Other Documents*, Leiden 1999, pp. 57–67.

¹⁷ P. Sahlin, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley 1989.

¹⁸ F. Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban*, Budapest 1981.

¹⁹ J. Black, *Maps and Politics*, Chicago 1997.

²⁰ A. Franke, *Franzosen, Spanier oder Katalanen? Die Pyrenäengrenze in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Ausbildung nationaler Identitäten in einer Grenzregion*, in W. Schmale; R. Stauber (eds.), *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin 1998, pp. 187–208.

their frontiers. In this context the peace treaty of 1699 integrated the Ottoman Empire into this policy, which became dominant in the “one world”.

In Early Modern Western Europe this change in the political understanding of frontiers could have been caused by new ideas of possession and property. Ownership became the basic right of each individual to be upheld by the state and consequently the state included this idea in its concept of state integrity. This development intensified in the seventeenth century when—in contrast to the Middle Ages—political borders were visualized by cartography.²¹ However, the process of strengthening individual rights shows some similarities to the process of individualization taking place in the Ottoman Empire since the late sixteenth century. The establishment of tax-farms, the increasing engagement of the Janissary corps in trade and commerce, the rise of local notables as well as the emergence of wealthy urban upper classes appearing in the eighteenth century at the latest, were indications²² of a process which transformed Ottoman society from a military society into a “civil” one. In a long-term perspective, the rights of individuals were strengthened and the law of citizenship (1864) can be regarded as the final result of that process. The changes in Ottoman society could also have influenced the attitude towards the border. In the “official” Ottoman mind the *gazi* state mentality had endured until 1699²³ and disappeared more and more after the peace treaty of Sremski Karlovci. In the eighteenth century Ottoman political writers abandoned the idea of the “ever-victorious frontier” as well.²⁴ The historiographical mainstream holds the military defeats and the political problems responsible for these changes in the Ottoman state concept.²⁵ But the transformation of Ottoman society and the long-term process that strengthened the interests and rights of individuals must also be taken into account. The integration of the Ottoman Empire into the policy of closed frontiers might have been

²¹ W. Schmale, „Grenze“ in der deutschen und französischen Frühen Neuzeit, in W. Schmale; R. Stauber (eds.), *Menschen und Grenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin 1998, pp. 50–75, p. 56f.

²² The indications mentioned are described in S. Faroqhi, *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. Vol. 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839, Cambridge 2006.

²³ Heywood, *The Frontier in Ottoman History*... cit., p. 242.

²⁴ Aksan, *Ottoman Political Writing*... cit.

²⁵ Until the eighteenth century in the Ottoman Empire dominated the Near Eastern State Theory, see H. Inalcık, *Kutadgu Bilig'de Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri*, in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*, Ankara 1969, pp. 259–275.

caused by the military pressure of the Christian European powers as well as by social and political developments within the Ottoman society. But Suraiya Faroqhi's studies make clear that the historical reality of the early modern "one world" was not only characterized by its having been split up into states with closed frontiers. Writing history "from the bottom", by treating the Ottoman Empire and other countries as "subjects of history", reduces the importance of political borders for doing historical research. Each social, economic and religious group had its own world-view and in most of the cases the borders of these communities were not identical with the political frontiers. Regarding the Ottoman Empire and the other early modern states as systems of different ecumenical communities rather than only as political units with fixed frontiers can be a useful approach to a better understanding of the various ways in which their subjects interacted. In this context the term ecumenical community designates social, religious and economic groups building up cross-border communities. Different ecumenical communities overlapped within the boundaries of a state or in a specific area and gave them their distinctive characters. This festschrift for Suraiya Faroqhi aims to describe some of the close contacts between various ecumenical communities within and outside the Ottoman borders, and their interaction in the early modern "one world".

Istanbul—Activities of Different Ecumenical Communities in the Ottoman Capital

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Ottoman dynasty was able to extend its rule over Anatolian and South East European territories. The stage of expansion, lasting until the conquest of Constantinople (1453), was interrupted by the military defeat of Bayezid I (1389–1402) in the battle of Ankara (1402) when he was taken prisoner by Timur.²⁶ In historiography there has been a long discussion about the character of the early Ottoman Empire. Paul Wittek emphasized that it depended on the active implementation of the *gazi* or Holy War ideology.²⁷ In his recent book Heath Lowry rejects the assumption that the terms *gazi/gaza* or *akın/akıncı* referred to religious motives for waging

²⁶ For Timur see T. Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer und die islamische Welt des späten Mittelalters*, Munich 1993.

²⁷ P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938.

war on non-Muslims. He argues that they described the way in which Christians and Muslims went to war together under the Ottoman banner in the fourteenth century.²⁸ Without underestimating the importance of religious motives and propaganda for warfare²⁹ the outstanding character of the Ottoman state was the willingness of its ruling elites to practicize a coopting policy. LINDA DARLING refers to the taxation system, the architecture, and scribal and military recruitment, all indicating that the Ottoman culture was formed from an amalgamation of Turkish/Seljukid/Islamic and Byzantine/Christian influences. Her article shows that the administrative organization became more complex after 1360, but that during the reign of Murad I (1362–1389) especially, the *gazi* mentality seemed to have become more widespread among the common people and soldiers than in the emerging bureaucracy, which was more interested in expanding the governing apparatus and developing the state's direct control over its lands and revenues. The bureaucratic apparatus began to produce a growing number of documents, which form the main basis of historical studies. But, as was the case in medieval West European courts, a large number of administrative documents were also forged in the Ottoman Empire. The article by HANS GEORG MAJER deals with this issue and makes it clear that many of the written sources produced during the reigns of Osman (ca. 1300–1324?), Orhan (1324–1362) und Murad I (1362–1389) must be regarded as falsifications. But when forged historical sources are used carefully they do not provide less information than real documents. For research on the early Ottoman state, our knowledge depends primarily on administrative sources as well as on chronicles, most of which follow the Byzantine style of chronicle writing, describing the rulers with stereotypes such as law-abiding or unselfish. IRÈNE BELDICEANU-STEINHERR's article looks at the ruler as a human being who's decisions are not solely influenced by the criteria of law or belief.

After an interregnum following the military catastrophe of Ankara, the Ottomans continued to expand their power over Anatolia and the Balkans. In 1453 Mehmed II (1451–1481) conquered Constantinople, which became the capital of the new early modern great power. After the conquest Istanbul became a melting pot where different ecumenical

²⁸ H. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany/NY 2003, p. 132.

²⁹ C. Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–45*, Aldershot 2006 provides many examples.

communities overlapped. The city attracted people from the Mediterranean, Western Europe and other regions, whilst the number of inhabitants rose to several hundred thousand after 1500. The people arriving belonged to various ecumenical communities that gained a foothold in Istanbul shortly after the conquest. Among them there were Jews coming mainly from Spain. Their social and political position in early Istanbul is well known.³⁰ MINNA ROZEN's article focusing on the social structure of the Jewish population of Istanbul in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries offers detailed insight into the heterogeneous character of ecumenical communities. She raises the question of how the social structure of the living is reflected through the cemetery, and how the living used the cemetery as an additional arena in which they construct their own world. The background of many families mentioned in her article and their professional activities demonstrate that the Jewish community was a cross-border ecumenical community of its own, which was closely connected with different early modern states.

Apart from the Jews, who had lost their dominant role in Ottoman foreign trade after 1600, the French *nation* represented another ecumenical community in Istanbul.³¹ The close political and economic relationship between France and the Ottoman Empire began in the sixteenth century when Süleyman I granted an *ahdname* to the French king in 1536. But the authenticity of this document has been subject to discussion and GILLES VEINSTEIN puts forward further arguments underlining the scepticism of other historians.

Apart from the Ottoman and Western European states, the Russian Empire also belonged to the "one world" described by Suraiya Faroqhi. MARKUS KOLLER deals with the fur trade between Russia and Istanbul, carried out by Ottoman merchants who travelled to Moscow to buy these luxury goods. They had the opportunity to stay in this city for some years in a *kervansaray* reserved for the merchants of the Sublime Porte. Fur was also brought to Istanbul via the Crimea or by the "Polish caravan" passing through Lwow on its way to the Bosphorus. This caravan had always been led by an Armenian bearing the title of a *kervanbaşı*. The Armenians formed an important ecumenical community by building up a network linking New Djulfa to India and Tibet,

³⁰ M. Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul. The Formative Years, 1453–1566*, Leiden 2002.

³¹ For the French *nation* see E. Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden 1999.

to Izmir, Aleppo, Marseille and Amsterdam. It was the “private sector” consisting of merchants that brought the bulk of goods to Istanbul, since according to Ottoman principles the state’s role in the economy was one of indirect rather than direct involvement. The government interfered when it anticipated a danger of shortages requiring a number of pre-emptive measures. Indirect state involvement also enforced the official fixed prices (*narh*) in Istanbul, whose function in the nineteenth century is analyzed by MEHMET ALI BEYHAN.

*Economic Cross-border Ecumenical Communities in the
Provinces of the Empire*

In Early Modern Europe cross-border ecumenical communities were often perceived by state authorities as monolithic entities. Venetian documents spoke of “Turkish” merchants who came to Venice and stayed there in the *Fondaco dei Turchi* situated in the very heart of the city. Habsburg sources referred to traders from the Slavic regions in the Ottoman Balkans as “Raitzen”, without being interested in their regional or ethnic origin. However, economic cross-border ecumenical communities were heterogeneous entities whose individual members acted and interacted according to their own interests using the networks of their own and other communities. By way of example, Venetian merchants could fall back on a network of consuls.

Cross-border trade within the “one world” has been the subject of extensive historical research. We are well informed about the trading networks of Indian,³² Russian³³ or Venetian³⁴ merchants in the early modern period. Studies on inter-regional trade are based on a variety of historical sources including account-books, which are also available for Ottoman history. GÉZA DÁVID analyzes the account-book of Becskerek and Becse originating from the sixteenth century. It includes the customs duties and treasury incomes in the *vilayet* of Temesvár. But this kind of source material offers hardly any detail about individual merchants belonging to the cross-border trade communities. NERIMAN ERSOY-HACISALİHOĞLU introduces a family of Bulgarian traders by

³² S. Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750*, Cambridge 1994.

³³ P. Bushkovitch, *The Merchants of Moscow 1580–1650*, Cambridge 1980.

³⁴ B. Arbel, *Trading Nations, Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 1995.

the name of Gümüşgerdan. They made their livelihood by buying and selling textiles in the nineteenth century. This family belonged to the community of rich Bulgarian traders who shared the market with Greeks and Ragusans. The Gümüşgerdans established good relations with the Ottoman administration and, with the support of the authorities, started manufacturing and later managed to improve their status in provincial society. Together with Greeks, Jews and agents of the French *nation* in Istanbul as well as merchants from Bulgarian cities, they were engaged in the close commercial relations established between the Ottoman Empire and France after the Crimean War. STOYANKA KENDEROVA's article shows that a large number of goods produced in the Bulgarian territories were also exhibited at the world exhibition in Paris (1867). In the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries new players began to appear in the markets of the "one world". Foreign companies produced consumer goods, which flooded the Ottoman market. These modern and post-modern types of ecumenical communities built up a new style of cross-border economic networks. YAVUZ KÖSE asks about the perception of the companies by Ottoman customers and is interested in the way goods were marketed and distributed. DONALD QUATAERT focuses in his contribution on a company in the coal-mining area of Zonguldak in the early twentieth century. The entrepreneur in question was an Ottoman Greek who established good relations with the authorities and the influential German ambassador. Donald Quataert points out that the richness of entrepreneurial activities in the last stage of the Ottoman Empire reveals a dynamic and kinetic society.

*Social and Religious Ecumenical Communities in the
Ottoman Periphery*

However, the "one world" was more than an economic market where goods were transported from one place to another. It was also a multi-regional market for information in which merchants and traders acted as mediators between different cultures and provided the people with knowledge about remote regions. Another important source of information were travellers and pilgrims who formed other kinds of cross-border communities. Christian pilgrims visited the places traditionally associated with the life of Jesus Christ and his mother Mary. Muslims went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, which was under Ottoman rule until 1918. The Hadj was not only a religious obligation to Muslims, who were supposed to visit the Holy Places of Islam once during their lives.

The legitimization of sultanic rule also depended on the ability of the Ottoman ruler to protect the caravans of pilgrims on their way into the Hijaz and to erect or restore religious buildings in Mecca and Medina.³⁵ The article by SELCUK ESENBEL about Japanese Muslim pilgrimages during the twentieth century shows that the Islamic pilgrimage, though meant for religious purposes, in this case, served as an alternative form of international relations. The Hadj of the Japanese Muslims took place through informal transnational networks of Muslim communities in China, India, or South East Asia, and even Russia, across many different countries.

Informal cross-border networks were also formed by travellers leaving their home countries. Their reports must be approached carefully since their authors were also influenced by the contemporary cultural circumstances in their own countries. This becomes evident when historians work with the travelogue (*seyahatname*) of Evliya Çelebi, the most famous seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller.³⁶ NICOLAS VATIN analyzes his style of writing by referring to Evliya's description of Süleyman I's military campaign in Hungary (1566). The author argues that Evliya Çelebi seemed to have been familiar with the texts of Ottoman historical writers, and that errors in his travelogue might have been caused by the oral tradition. When he was a young man he could have heard the stories of his father and other persons who had taken part in that campaign. Political ideas determined the report of the Croatian Matija Mažuranić who visited Bosnia in 1839. Croatian political life at the time of his journey was strongly marked by the activities of the Illyrian movement of national revival, with Ljudevit Gaj as its leader and the Mažuranić brothers as its fervent adherents. The movement called for the overcoming of Croatian regional particularities and for the cultural union of all South Slavs (who were considered descendants of the Illyrians, hence the movement's name). Bosnia was seen as a part of that Illyrian area, and its liberation from Ottoman rule was one of Gaj's main preoccupations. TATJANA PAIĆ-VUKIĆ and EKREM ČAUŠEVIĆ show that Mažuranić did not head for that country as a mere adventurer, even though his travelogue shows that the journey was not lacking in adventure. His aim was to inquire "into the state of that part of our Illyria", to estimate what could be done for "the national cause", and to evaluate

³⁵ S. Faruqi, *Herrscher über Mekka. Die Geschichte der Pilgerfahrt*, Munich 1990.

³⁶ R. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality, The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden 2004.

whether Bosnian Muslim rebellions could bring about any serious changes in that country.

Other types of cross-border communities were established by Muslim and non-Muslim religious groups. After the foundation of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1622) apostolic vicars came to the Ottoman Balkans and wrote reports to Rome about the situation of the Catholic Church and its flock in these areas.³⁷ Franciscans and Jesuits, who had their spiritual and political centres in Western Europe, began to expend their missionary activities. The Serbian Orthodox Church had also built up a network with centres outside the Ottoman Empire. Monks from the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos and from other monasteries in the Slavic regions of the Balkans went to Russia and other countries to get support.³⁸ The influence of this network on local ecclesiastical structures still remains to be researched in depth. Information about the functioning of religious communities can be found in Ego-Documents. ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU provides insight into the structures of the Greek Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century by focusing on the lower clergy. She bases her research partly on the memoirs of a priest, Papa-Synadinos, who lived in Serres during the first half of the seventeenth century. This text is fairly unique in its genre and composed in the first-person singular, constituting a rich source of information on the everyday life of a parish priest in a sizeable Macedonian town and offering a clear picture of the clergy in general at that time.

In the seventeenth century, mosque preachers created another religious network in Istanbul. They were disciples of Mehmed Birgevi, Ustuvani and Kadızade, becoming known as *kadızadeler*. The chronicle (*mecmua*) of Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija introduced by KERIMA FILAN, shows that this group had a strong position in Sarajevo in the eighteenth century. Some of the *kadızadeler* came from Amasya and seemed to have been integrated into a well-established interregional community.

After the final Ottoman conquest of Bosnia (1463) a process of urbanism accelerated the islamization of the area, because cities developed into centers of Muslim cultural life. In most regions of the Ottoman Balkans, islamization reached its peak in the seventeenth and early eighteenth

³⁷ S. M. Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegowina. Voremanzipatorische Phase 1463–1804*, Munich 1984.

³⁸ A. Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom Carstvu XV–XVII vek*, Belgrade 2000.

centuries, but in Bosnia the majority of the local population declared themselves Muslims just at the end of the sixteenth century. Mosques, pious foundations or *medreses* changed the townscapes in Bosnia and Hercegovina and, as the article by MACHIEL KIEL about the history of Konjic shows, gave them a characteristic feature which is still visible. The process of transformation after Ottoman conquest is the topic of the contribution by VERA COSTANTINI, who emphasizes that, together with the language of the administration, urban culture was perhaps the sector that saw the greatest changes. In contrast to villages, which maintained their layouts, albeit experiencing a serious demographic crisis due to the recent conflict and the plague epidemics that followed, the cities of Nicosia and Famagosta underwent some fundamental changes, such as the banishment of all Christians from within the city walls.

*The Meditarranean—Ecumenical Communities between
Political Powers*

The Ottoman Balkans formed part of the early modern Mediterranean world where economic, religious and social ecumenical communities overlapped and interacted in a great variety of ways. Networks of merchants who were engaged in the maritime trade linked the Maghreb with Marseille or connected Egypt with the Dalmatian coastal cities.³⁹ As the article by DANIEL PANZAC illustrates, the members of the trading ecumenical communities in the Meditarranean used the *lingua franca* to communicate with each other from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. However, the interaction of the cross-border trade communities did not take place without disputes between individual members of such networks. BENJAMIN ARBEL's study of the ship bearing the name Sant'Antonio da Padova, but more commonly called Girarda, shows that juridicial problems between business partners could result in the main Meditarrenean powers of Venice, Spain and the Ottoman Empire, becoming politically and diplomatically embroiled. The ship was the subject of a dispute between the ship owner, Antonio Girardi—a Venetian citizen—and a partnership of Jewish entrepreneurs in Ottoman Istanbul. As it often happens in matters related to international maritime trade, the dispute could not be resolved without political contacts

³⁹ D. Panzac, *Commerce et navigation dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIII^e Siècle*, Istanbul 1996.

between governments. Thus, what had started as a private disagreement developed into a protracted crisis that added just another ingredient to the already complex relations between the afore-mentioned Mediterranean powers. A further important player was the “classical city-state” Dubrovnik/Ragusa which had close economic relations with most of the other Mediterranean regions. Ragusa was a commercial rather than a military power and had to negotiate its political status with Venice and the Ottoman Empire. In a comparative study FARIBA ZARINEBAF examines the impact of Ottoman rule on the tributary city of Dubrovnik and the Morea, focusing on the town of Anavarin. Her article about the Ottoman and Venetian administrative policies in their respective commercial colonies and tributary states sheds light on the economic and political conditions in regions situated on the edges of both states. The article by OLIVER JENS SCHMITT makes clear that there were plenty of personal contacts between members of the local administrative structures of the Mediterranean powers. In the sixteenth century the town of Split was situated on the Venetian-Ottoman border and tried to protect itself from Ottoman attacks with its military forces and with good relations to Ottoman dignitaries in Bosnia, who received gifts or were invited to festivities. ARIEL SALZMANN’s study on cross-cultural migrations during the long sixteenth century represents a critical discussion of Fernand Braudel. She argues that in reconstructing his own vision of future conflict, Huntington stumbled upon one of the central contradictions in Braudel’s *chef d’œuvre*: his inability to come to terms with the motives behind Spain’s policy of the forced expulsion of religious minorities, and the failure of the capitalist or demographic conjuncture outlined in volume one, to fully explain the policies of states or the “events” he observed in volume two.

The editors hope that this *festschrift* does justice to the services Suraiya Faruqi has rendered to Ottoman historiography and that the contributions are worthy of the thematic and methodological variety of Ottoman studies. We would like to thank all the friends and colleagues of Suraiya Faruqi who took part in this volume.

Markus Koller

Giessen, 19 September 2007

PART ONE
ISTANBUL

ACTIVITIES OF DIFFERENT ECUMENICAL COMMUNITIES
IN THE OTTOMAN CAPITAL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN GOVERNMENTAL
INSTITUTIONS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY:
A RECONSTRUCTION

LINDA DARLING

Like the history of Islam itself, the history of the Ottoman Empire rests on a construction of its early period derived from sources written one to two centuries after the events, chronicles that rely on an uncertain oral tradition and that express a later interpretation of their subject's beginnings. The chronicles present the early Ottomans as essentially stateless and resistant to such governmental activities as taxation, accumulation, and record-keeping; the preferred vision is one of tribal "feasting and fighting" and the *gaza* of heroes. State institutions represent injustice; they spring up during the reign of Bayezid I (1389–1402) as the result of corruption by association with the Byzantines, and when they appear they cause Bayezid's downfall and the dismemberment of his state. This construction of early Ottoman history was spread by Ahmedi, Yakhshi Fakih, and doubtless other writers and intellectuals of the Interregnum, and through Aşıkpaşazade it became part of the Ottoman historiographical tradition.¹

Köprülü in 1931 attacked the idea that the early Ottoman administration was derived from Byzantine influences and argued that the Ottomans had to be studied "within the framework of Turkish history in general," emphasizing the Seljuk influence on Ottoman institutions. This is the same position taken by later Ottoman chroniclers, who cite the Ottomans' Turkish genealogy and Seljuk legitimation.² The reassessment of this relationship by Halil İnalcık seeks to balance the two

¹ H. İnalcık, *The Rise of Ottoman Historiography*, in B. Lewis; P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* 1962, pp. 152–167; Pál Fodor, *Ahmedi's Dasistan as a Source of Early Ottoman History*, in "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae", 38 (1984), pp. 41–54.

² M. F. Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar*, in "Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası" 1 (1931), pp. 165–313, rpt. Istanbul 1980; see also *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, transl. by G. Leiser. Istanbul 1999; cf. Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, pp. 9–73.

influences and provides some insight into administrative development.³ Recent examinations of the Ottomans' rise, however, make only glancing reference to studies of administrative institutions,⁴ pointing to the desirability of piecing together a more complete picture of Ottoman institutional development during the fourteenth century.

The Ottomans arose on the western border of Seljuk Anatolia. The Seljuks were at that time very much under the thumb of the Ilkhanids, and while the Ottoman chroniclers were anxious to legitimize the Ottoman *gaza* by the Seljuks' *futuwwa* trousers in the absence of the caliph, they were doubtless well aware that pagan Mongol sovereignty would invalidate that effort. The chronicle record therefore overplays the Seljuk influence and underplays that of the Ilkhanids. It does not seem possible to dispense with the Ottoman chronicles and to construct a narrative of Ottoman administrative development from other sources, as Colin Imber has done for the conquests.⁵ This paper will therefore do the next best thing; it will superimpose the skimpy documentary record over the chronicle data on institutional development and will bring in information about other *beyliks* and the Ilkhanids for comparison. It will provide only an initial sketch; numerous other sources must be consulted to round out the picture.

The Seljuk-Ilkhanid influence in the borderlands and the Ilkhanid influence over the thirteenth-century Seljuks have been discussed in previous articles, in both cases with special attention to fiscal administration.⁶ By the 1290s all of Seljuk Anatolia had come under the Ilkhanid administrative system, run by bureaucrats from Iran. As Inalcık has noted, the Türkmen tribes of the borderland had been displaced by the Mongols from their central Anatolian pasturelands, and they supplemented mountain pastoralism with raiding the Byzantines.⁷ The fiscal reforms of Ghazan Khan did not take hold until the reign of Oljaytu (1303–1317), by which time the Seljuks were gone and their adminis-

³ H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, London 1973.

⁴ See, e.g., C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley 1995; F. M. Emecen, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası*. İstanbul 2001; H. W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany 2003.

⁵ C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*, İstanbul 1990.

⁶ L. T. Darling, "Persianate Sources on Anatolia and the Early History of the Ottomans," in "Studies on Persianate Societies" 2 (2004/1383), pp. 126–44, and "Prolegomena for a Study of Ottoman Administrative Documents and Ilkhanid Precedents," to be published in a festschrift for Mihail Guboglu in Romania.

⁷ H. Inalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," in "International Journal of Turkish Studies," 2 (1980), pp. 71–79.

tration had been taken over by the Karamanids, who themselves were ousted from Konya in 1314. This series of events was inimical to any direct continuity between Seljuk or Ilkhanid and beylical administration. Any influences were of necessity indirect and came via the new administration's employment of the personnel and scribal handbooks of the old. Late Seljuk-Ilkhanid administration in Anatolia had acquired the heritage of the older Islamic lands, but its main centers, along with the beylical capitals most closely connected with them, were in *beyliks* whose records have disappeared, while the scanty Ottoman records belong to the *beylik* farthest from the older centers and perhaps least likely, in the earliest years, to employ Persian and Arabic speaking officials. We cannot yet follow in detail the indirect and tortuous path through which the Perso-Islamic tradition of state as interpreted by the Seljuks and Ilkhanids became part of the developing Ottoman government described in the few remaining documents and hints in the chronicles. This paper, using mainly well-known data, will trace and attempt to periodize the growth of early Ottoman administration.

Osman and Orhan

The chronicles portray Osman at the head of an army of nomadic warriors. This tight focus on the warrior band obscures, as scholars have noticed, the many non-nomads who came to Anatolia as migrants from Iran and Central Asia or who moved into the borderland from elsewhere in Anatolia, as well as the noncombatants among Osman's followers and the sedentary inhabitants of the areas that became part of his realm.⁸ The administrators and craftsmen who staffed the budding state apparatus came from among the sedentary followers about whom we know so little. This apparatus left few contemporary traces, but there are some. Coins were minted during Osman's reign, for example, and although none of them prove Osman's unqualified sovereignty, they do demonstrate that the Ottomans already employed craftsmen competent to strike coins.⁹

⁸ F. Sümer, *Anadolu'ya Yalnız Göçebe Türkler mi Geldi?*, in "Belleten" 24 (1960), pp. 567–94.

⁹ See Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2000, p. 30 and n. 26.

The most well-known trace of Osman's administration is the Persian *vakfiye* of 1324.¹⁰ Although it was written for Orhan, it strongly suggests that Osman employed Persian-writing scribes, since it is unlikely that a scribe was hired especially to write that document. More likely, it was written by an *'alim* or *katib* already in Ottoman service—probably a *katib*, since an *'alim* would have written in Arabic. The terms of the *vakfiye* are simple, but its format and wording correspond to the canonical requirements, showing that its writer was familiar with proper document composition in the Persianate tradition. During Orhan's reign, the Ottomans copied the Karamanids' use of Turkish in their state documents other than *vakfiyes*.¹¹

The historian Aşıkpaşazade's story of Osman's ignorance of such governing devices as market taxes was clearly exaggerated to make an ideological point about the nomads' piety and simplicity.¹² Osman may have been unwilling to institute such a tax, or unfamiliar with the precise mechanisms of collection and accounting, but (as the story of the conquest of Bilecik indicates) the nomads were certainly acquainted with normal trade practices.¹³ The story of the market tax follows the mention of the conquest of Karacahisar from Germiyan (then the leading frontier state) and involves a Germiyanid tax collector. The story vilifies the Germiyanids as worldly and corrupt compared to the pure Ottoman *gazis*, but inadvertently it also establishes the rough, tough Germiyanids of the frontier as able administrators. By the first half of the fourteenth century, the Germiyanids had an administrative and governing

¹⁰ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi*, in "Belleten", 5 (1941), pp. 277–88 and plates 86–87. Slightly earlier is a Germiyanid *vakfiye* of 1321, but only a later copy survives; Id., *Kütahya Şehri*, İstanbul 1932, p. 43. The 1326 *vakfiye* of an *emir* of Sivas was written in Arabic and Uighur; A. Temir, *Die arabisch-ugurische Vakf-Urkunde von 1326 des Emirs Şeref el-Din Ahmed bin Çakırca von Sivas*, in "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", 56 (1960), pp. 232–40.

¹¹ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı zâde Ali Paşa Vakfiyesi*, 808 H./1405–1406 M., in "Belleten", 5 (1941), pp. 549–576, p. 550.

¹² Inalcık, *Rise of Ottoman Historiography*...cit., p. 155; J. Shinder, *Early Ottoman Administration in the Wilderness*, in "International Journal of Middle East Studies", 9 (1978), pp. 479–517, p. 503. Commercial taxes such as the *taṃṣa* were a staple of Mongol administration but were noncanonical according to Islamic law.

¹³ Aşıkpaşazade, *Ashiqpashazadeh Tarikhi: a History of the Ottoman Empire to A.H. 833 (A.D. 1478)*, İstanbul 1914; rpt. Westmead, Eng. 1970, p. 19. The episode of the market tax is countered by Neşri's account, placed exactly where Aşıkpaşazade places the market tax story, of Osman and a Germiyanid in the Bilecik market, in which Osman forces the Germiyanid to pay for the goods he grabbed even though the seller is a non-Muslim, see Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*...cit., p. 89. Neşri relegates the story of the market tax to a later part of his narrative; *ibid.*, p. 111.

cadre parallel to that of the Seljuks.¹⁴ Moreover, Aşıkpaşazade places this story immediately after the story of Osman's establishing the *hütbe* in his own name and entitles it "Osman Gazi Makes Known His *Kanun* and *Ahkam*." It thus forms part of the historical support for claims of Osman's independence as a ruler. These claims would have been disputed by the Ilkhanids, who kept Orhan on their tax rolls until after 1350,¹⁵ but since they rarely entered the western borderlands, the frontier leaders could make whatever claims they wished for local consumption. The Ottomans presumably had paid taxes while they were still in Seljuk or Ilkhanid territory, but the Ilkhanid finance roll shows the tax demand as a lump sum (amounting to zero by 1350).

The chronicles indicate that Osman's military forces were all horsemen. With these forces he could defeat armies in the field and control the countryside, but only with difficulty could he capture towns or fortresses. It was left to Orhan, a year or two after the conquest of Bursa in 1327, to recruit a troop of footsoldiers (*yaya*) who could mount sieges and reduce fortifications.¹⁶ The idea of the *yayas* is attributed to Candarlı Halil, the representative of the non-nomads and at that point *kadı* of Bilecik. The footsoldiers were originally recruited from the countryside (*ilden*), and peasant youths (presumably Christians) are said to have offered bribes to be enrolled in the troop. Their presence reinforces the impression given by the story of Köse Mihal that the Ottomans were an eclectic group, at least initially. This *yaya* force enabled Orhan to capture towns and fortresses without the decades-long siege that had finally reduced Bursa. The results were immediately apparent: in the years 1331–1337, the towns of Bithynia—Iznik, İzmit, Yenice, Göynük, Mudurnu—all became part of the Ottoman domain.

Paying these *yaya* troops would no doubt have required augmenting the Ottoman administration; war booty may have been sufficient recompense for nomad horsemen, who had income from their flocks, but

¹⁴ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara 1937, p. 201; although Ibn Battuta called them a "troop of brigands"; I. Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, London 1929, p. 128.

¹⁵ A. Z. V. Togan, *Mogollar Devrinde Anadolu'nun İktisadî Vaziyeti*, in "*Türk Hukuk ve İktisadî Tarihi Mecmuası*" 1 (1931), p. 33; see also *Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period* (trans. by G. Leiser), in "*Annales Islamologiques*" 25 (1991), pp. 203–240, p. 233; cf. W. Hinz, *Die Resala-ye falakhiyya des Abdullah Ibn-Mohammad Ibn-Kiya al Mazandarani. Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)*, Wiesbaden 1952.

¹⁶ *Aşıkpaşazade*... cit., p. 40.

footsoldiers taken out of the fields and shops required at least their keep, which meant some kind of tax levy and fiscal system. The chronicles, of course, do not record such a mundane development, and no government documents survive from this period. Thus we cannot tell whether the system of finance bureaus was installed in this period or, as some scholars think, in the reign of Murad I. The last of the Seljuk secretarial handbooks (produced in Kastamonu) and the first of the Ilkhanid finance manuals (from Tebriz) had been written several decades ago, but there is no sign that these manuals had yet influenced Ottoman administration. As Wittek pointed out, there is little resemblance between the simple Turkish of even much later Ottoman documents and the polished Persian *inşa* in the works of El-Hoyi, although the Ottoman documents' similarity to more ordinary Seljuk documents might be greater.¹⁷

The documents that do survive from Osman's and Orhan's reigns are mainly *vakfiyes*, often in the form of copies in later registers.¹⁸ The copies are in Ottoman Turkish, but at least the later documents appear to have been written originally in Arabic.¹⁹ Those from the 1360s are considerably more elaborate than those from 1324 or even 1353. The earlier *vakıfs* (1324, 1333, 1353, 1358) were established in favor of a *zaviye*, *imams*, dervishes, or the poor, while the later ones (1360, 1361) supported entire building complexes with numerous employees and varied functions. The earlier ones dedicated fields in one or two localities; the later ones donated several kinds of revenue sources in multiple locations, urban as well as rural. By the end of Orhan's reign, therefore, the Ottomans' administrative capability must have expanded considerably, both in terms of the complexity of the institutions they could manage and in terms of the intricacy of their documentation. This increased capability was available to be employed in areas other than *evkaf*, such as military organization and taxation. It resulted from the growing employment of sedentary administrators, both local people and eastern immigrants with experience in other realms. The *beyliks* were able to recruit administrators from the vanished Seljuk or the vanishing Ilkha-

¹⁷ P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (IV)*, in "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", 56 (1960), p. 276.

¹⁸ I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Societas Academic Dacoromana, Acta Historica 7. Monachii 1967, docs. 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17.

¹⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı zâde*... cit., p. 550.

nid administrations as well as literate Byzantines.²⁰ The local recruits are usually designated as “conquered people,” but many of them—entire towns as well as individuals—joined the Ottoman enterprise voluntarily (a commentary on the gazi thesis).

Vakıf administration at this time was somewhat decentralized, placed in the hands of the *mütevellîs* (who were often relatives of the ruler or his chief administrators), but military administration was necessarily a state function. The local towns and villages were accustomed to paying taxes to the Byzantine Empire and had long-established collection practices and tax rates which the Ottomans generally did not disturb, although they are reported to have won allegiance by demanding lower taxes than the Byzantines did.²¹ What exactly these taxes were is unclear for Osman’s period. The *vakfiyes* usually refer in a general way to revenue collection on fields being donated, but the 1324 *vakfiye* specifically mentions a tithe (*öşr*) on grainfields.²² The Ottomans therefore must have enforced either the Islamic system derived from the Seljuks, or the Byzantine system, on which the Islamic system was originally based, or some combination of the two. It was certainly not the Mongol system of *qalan* and *qopchur*. We know that the Ilkhanids adjusted the Seljuk fiscal system in 1277, but they probably altered the functioning of the central bureaus more than the taxes being collected. What is most likely is that the Ottomans initially accepted the Byzantine taxes paid by their subjects but that these taxes were later modified by Muslim finance administrators from the Seljuk realm.²³ For the Ottomans to operate such a system required at a minimum the designation of tax collectors and a mechanism for determining the recipients of the various revenues, even if at first the collectors kept their own accounts.

In later periods, revenue collection and allocation were controlled by the *timar* system. *Timars* are mentioned in the chronicles almost from the start of the conquests, as soon as the nomads descended from the hills and began occupying grain-growing villages and towns. These, however, were not the classic *timars* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If the

²⁰ For Byzantine scribes see H. Inalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, p. xvii, 5.

²¹ Ibid., *The Ottoman Empire*...cit., p. 13.

²² Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi*...cit., p. 231.

²³ We know that later the Ottomans accepted local tax rates, modifying the systems to accord with Islamic law, and this practice may well have started with their earliest experiences with Byzantine taxes; see Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*...cit., pp. 13, 71–74, 108.

use of the word is not entirely anachronistic, when it first appears at the beginning of the fourteenth century it refers to entire provinces (*vilayets*) granted by Osman to his family members and military commanders.²⁴ This pattern more closely resembles the decentralized Seljuk and Mongol military *iqta'* system than the centralized *timar* administration of the fifteenth-century Ottoman Empire or the Byzantine *pronoia*.²⁵ According to Köprülü, the Ottoman *timar* system was "merely a continuation of the Seljuk system" as described in the *Siyasetnâme* of Nizam al-Mulk; this system vanished in the central Islamic lands but continued in Anatolia.²⁶ Although the *Siyasetnâme* is insufficiently detailed to be the source of the Ottoman practice, it could have supplemented local experience. The Mongols reinstituted *iqta'*s at the beginning of the fourteenth century as a system of large grants to military commanders for pasturing their warriors' horses and practicing agriculture.²⁷ Both systems were thus available to serve as models. It is also likely that the Byzantine *pronoia* system influenced the changes that the *timar* system underwent to become the classical system of later times. At a minimum, it provided a structure within which *timars* with perhaps dissimilar regulations could be allocated.²⁸

Inside these large grants (*ulu timars*), the early recipients seem to have been free to arrange matters as they saw fit. Osman's own holding was at Yenişehir, where Aşıkpaşazade says he gave villages to each of his gazis.²⁹ It is probable that the other holders of these provincial-sized timars also distributed lands to their own followers as grazing grounds and revenue sources. As an example, when the northern border (*kenar*) was granted to Kara Mürsel as timar, he is said to have brought "timar men" (*timar erleri*) to that border, sharing his newfound wealth with

²⁴ Aşıkpaşazade... cit., pp. 20, 38.

²⁵ The Seljuks had had a form of *iqta'* which was equivalent to provincial governorship; see C. Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, Harlow 2001, pp. 105, 149–55; E. A. Zachariadou, *Histoires et légendes des premiers Ottomans*, in "Turcica", 27 (1995), pp. 45–90, p. 51.

²⁶ Köprülü, *Some Observations*... cit., pp. 80–82, quotation on p. 97. See Nizam al-Mulk, pp. 22–23, 32, 128–29. There is a copy of the *Siyasetname* in Istanbul dated 1330; I. Kafesoğlu, *Büyük Selçuklu Veziri Nizâmü'l-Mülk'un Eseri Siyasetnâme ve Türkçe Tercümesi*, in "Türkiyat Mecmuası", 12 (1955), pp. 231–256, p. 233 n. 9.

²⁷ R. Fazlullah, *Jamî'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Vol. 3, Cambridge 1999, pp. 730–35.

²⁸ Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*... cit., p. 108.

²⁹ Aşıkpaşazade... cit., p. 23.

them.³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade states that “everyone became rich and respected,” suggesting a fairly broad distribution.³¹ These *timars* were apparently heritable.³² The big *timar* holders could also donate some of their land in *vakıf* or serve as administrators and witnesses of the ruler’s *evkaf*. Orhan followed the same practices as Osman, allocating whole provinces (now also called *sancaks*) to his sons and nephew.³³

These large grants would not have required an elaborate bureaucratic mechanism to control them, and the viziers of the time do not seem to have had very big staffs. No scribes, for example, are listed among the witnesses to Orhan’s 1361 *vakfiye*, although a eunuch, a *matbahi*, and a *sekban* appeared there.³⁴ Other documents mention few officials and no scribes. Building up a cadre of literate and educated workers on the frontier was a slow process. Orhan and the other *beys* actively recruited scholars by founding *medreses* where they could be employed. While Orhan was developing Iznik (which had probably declined greatly since its abandonment by the Byzantines in 1261), Menteşe Bey was competing for builders to construct his mosque in Peçin Şehri; by the end of the century, that town had two mosques, two or three medreses, and several baths, fountains, and caravanserais. The Karamanids also began building major mosques in the early fourteenth century.³⁵ Ibn Battuta, who passed through Anatolia in 1332, remarked several times on the

³⁰ Ibid., p. 38; Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*...cit., p. 153. Karesi was given in *timar* by its conqueror, Süleyman Paşa, see ibid., p. 173. In some cases for which Aşıkpaşazade uses the word *timar*, however, Neşri does not, e.g., in Hamid, see ibid., p. 209; the terminology might not reflect contemporary usage but rather Aşıkpaşazade’s own commentary on Mehmed II’s confiscation of *timars*, for which see H. Inalcık, *How to Read Ashık Pasha-zâde’s History*, in C. Heywood; C. Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, Istanbul 1994, pp. 144–47. The use of the term *timar* here may be meant to imply that the large undocumented grants people claimed to have received from the early Ottoman rulers should be subject to the same restrictions on removal as later, better-documented *timars*.

³¹ Aşıkpaşazade...cit., p. 23; Ahmedi ascribes the influx of wealth to Orhan’s time; K. Silay, *Ahmedi’s History of the Ottoman Dynasty*, in “*Journal of Turkish Studies*”, 16 (1992), pp. 129–200, p. 137 (hereafter Ahmedi).

³² Aşıkpaşazade...cit., p. 20; Köprülü, *Some Observations*...cit., p. 89 and n. 213.

³³ Aşıkpaşazade...cit., pp. 43, 45.

³⁴ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit., p. 134.

³⁵ A. Arel, *Menteşe Beyliği Devrinde Peçin Şehri*, in “*Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları*”, 1 (1968), p. 75; I. H. Uzünçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara 1937, pp. 8–9.

fineness of the architecture, and eventually, Ahmedi says, “the learned men came from everywhere.”³⁶

Murad and Bayezid

During Murad’s reign (1360–1389), the trends established in Orhan’s time accelerated greatly. Murad was the first Ottoman ruler to take office after the end of the Ilkhanid regime, with a secure claim to sovereignty if not dominance. The Mongols’ successor states were weakly legitimated and could no longer claim to control Anatolia. The Ottomans’ chief rival, Umur Bey of Aydın, was no more, and the Turks had gained a secure foothold around Gallipoli and no longer needed to fear Byzantine offensives. These circumstances allowed Murad to take the titles of Hünkâr and Sultan. In the years 1366–1376, when Gallipoli had been captured by Amadeus of Savoy and Murad could not cross over to Rumeli, the conquests were continued by the forces already there. By this time there was a clear distinction between the army and the general population that had not existed in Osman’s early days, although it was still relatively easy to move between the two groups. As the frontier expanded in Europe, the conquerors built towns and brought Anatolian settlers in to populate them, establishing mosques, baths, and other marks of civilization.³⁷

Murad seems to have continued to award large-scale grants, labeled *timars*, to military commanders, as Orhan did. It is also recorded of him, however, that when he acquired the *beylik* of Hamid, he confirmed the local *timar* holders in their places, giving them new *berats* in his own name.³⁸ This act contrasts with Orhan’s policy after the conquest of Karesi, when he gave the entire province to his son Süleyman Pasha as a *timar*.³⁹ By Murad’s time, therefore, the *timar* system (or the land tenure system, if the term is anachronistic) was starting to acquire its later configuration as a system in which the state related directly to every holder

³⁶ Ahmedi . . . cit., p. 137; Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire* . . . cit., p. 166; Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa* . . . cit., pp. 126, 130, 134, 141.

³⁷ C. Heywood, *The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths*, in D. Power; N. Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, New York 1999, pp. 228–250, p. 239.

³⁸ Aşıkpaşazade . . . cit., p. 60.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 45–46; Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ* . . . cit., p. 167 uses the term *mansıb*.

rather than only to the commanders.⁴⁰ This change of policy is a clear indication of the state's increasing administrative capacity; it may also be related to the Ottomans' greater legitimacy as rulers by this time, or perhaps the more peaceful nature of their takeover of Hamid. This passage also shows that other *beyliks* had developed *tımar* systems of their own, the older *beyliks* possibly even before the Ottomans.⁴¹

The expansion of Ottoman territory and the desire for tighter control are both reflected in the first appointment of a *beylerbeyi* (of Rumeli) to command one side of the empire while the sultan was on the other. A chronicle reference to *haraç* collection in Macedonia speaks to the regularization of the conquests.⁴² Murad also appointed the first Ottoman *kadıasker* or military judge, Candarlı Halil, who went on campaigns with the army. Whatever the immediate need that prompted this appointment might have been, it marked a stage in the development from raiding bands to a regular army. In 1372 Candarlı Halil became Murad's vizier, succeeding Sinanüddin Yusuf Pasha. According to Uzunçarşılı, viziers up to that point had functioned only as the heads of the scribal administration, as under the Seljuks and Mongols; Candarlı Halil was the first of a new breed of viziers, the military viziers, with responsibility for conquest policy and army management.⁴³ Increased state supervision of military appointments would have demanded some such administrative rapprochement.

The documents provide some hard evidence that along with expanding the realm, Murad (or Candarlı Halil) also built up its administrative organization.⁴⁴ All Murad's *vakfiyes* exhibited the same complexity as the last of Orhan's, donating not single fields or villages but assemblages of lands, villages, and other revenue sources, and not in support of single individuals but of large building complexes with multiple functions

⁴⁰ The Seljuk state had also awarded small *iqta's* to individuals, but these are not attested for the early Ottoman period. Yazıcıoğlu used the term *tımar* anachronistically for the Seljuk *iqta'*; did later writers follow his example? See Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey*... cit., p. 106.

⁴¹ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Öndört ve Onbeşinci Asırlarda Anadolu Beyliklerinde Toprak ve Halk İdaresi*, in "Belleten", 2 (1938), pp. 99–106, p. 101.

⁴² *Aşıkpaşazade*... cit., p. 61.

⁴³ I. H. Uzunçarşılı and E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*. Vol. 1, Ankara 1947, p. 556.

⁴⁴ It is to this point in time that Uzunçarşılı ascribes its inception on the Ilkhanid model; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Maliyesinin Kuruluşu ve Osmanlı Devleti İç Hazinesi*, in "Belleten", 42 (1978), pp. 67–92, p. 69.

supporting groups of religious functionaries and the poor.⁴⁵ Such institutions required able administrators with tax collectors and scribes under them. Documents show that such personnel proliferated; the list of witnesses to Murad's 1385 *vakıf* for the thermal baths in Bursa testifies to a *katib* as well as several *beys*, a *subaşı*, a *naib*, a *mühtesib*, a *fakih*, a eunuch, and the *bevvap*.⁴⁶ This administrative structure reflects both the installation of Islamic services (the *naib* and *mühtesib*) and the development of the military/fiscal organization (the *subaşı* and *katib*).

For Murad's reign there is some additional evidence on the tax system; the confirmation of a 1383 *vakıf* lists *ulak*, *suhra*, and *avarız* as taxes from which the recipients were exempted.⁴⁷ These are not taxes that could be collected by *timar* holders residing in villages and appropriating a fraction of the crop. Although they were assessed simply as so much per household, they required separate personnel who could collect from wide areas and deliver their collections to the proper recipients as well as an increased scribal staff and expanded record-keeping.⁴⁸ It is unclear when these taxes began to be levied. The students of *medreses* founded by Orhan could by this time have entered the Ottoman administration as well as staffing the mosques and *medreses* constructed by Murad.⁴⁹

The last of the Ilkhanid finance manuals had been composed in 1363, and by that time the earlier manuals had probably begun to make their way westward. Copies of the finance manuals ended up in the former Seljuk capital of Konya, controlled by the Karamanids, whose administration, at least in the fifteenth century, was fairly sophisticated.⁵⁰ A Karamanid is supposed to have been responsible for the establishment of the Ottoman *pençik*, the ruler's right to a fifth of all war booty. It was Kara Rüstem, a *danişmend* of Karaman, who reputedly proposed this

⁴⁵ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*... cit., docs. 36, 40, 50. Ahmedi celebrated Murad's construction of shelters, mosques, and mausoleums; Ahmedi, p. 142.

⁴⁶ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*... cit., p. 218.

⁴⁷ Idem., p. 195.

⁴⁸ On early *avarız* assessment see L. T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560–1660*, Leiden, pp. 90, 105–6.

⁴⁹ For Murad's mosques and *medreses* see Y. Oğuzoğlu, *Osmanlı Devlet Anlayışı*, Istanbul 2000, p. 189.

⁵⁰ P. Wittek, *Notes sur la tughra ottomane*, in "Byzantion", 20 (1950), pp. 267–293, pp. 283–84 and plate II. Apparently all the *beys* had their own *tuğras* and forms for document production.

custom to Murad.⁵¹ A significant part of the booty was prisoners of war, young men militarily trained and now enslaved, who were supposedly placed with Turks to learn Turkish and then made into a troop of their own, the “new troop,” *Yeni Çeri*. The story has all the earmarks of an origin myth, but from this point on, the chronicles do describe Murad employing slaves as fortress garrisons.⁵²

Bayezid I's reign (1389–1402) is notorious for institutional development. At this time Germiyanid Kütahya seems to have been the center of culture in western Anatolia, sponsoring authors and translators such as Ahmedi, Şeyhoğlu, Aşıkpaşazade, and Ahmed-i Da'i,⁵³ some of whom later entered Ottoman service with Bayezid's conquest of Germiyan in 1390. As the Ottomans began to conquer the old Seljuk cities still farther east, the centers of the Persianate tradition in Anatolia, they gained possession of their literary and administrative cadres, whose works and techniques spread into the less-urbanized frontier areas. Over time, the influence of the Perso-Islamic tradition in the Ottoman state must therefore have increased.

The chronicles judge Bayezid harshly for his loss to Timur, but their criticisms point to areas of developing administrative ability. They complain, for instance, that the *ulema* of his period are corrupt; they lie and plot mischief and he cannot control them.⁵⁴ These *ulema* joined Ottoman service from other, probably more sophisticated, *beyliks* like Karaman and Kastamonu, or even from the Arab world. While there were *medreses* in the Ottoman domains, they were apparently not yet capable of training top-level *ulema* and would not become so until Mehmed II's reign; prior to that, most high *ulema* were educated in Cairo or one of the older centers. The immigrant *ulema*, who plainly knew a trick or two, represent a larger influx of educated personnel whose knowledge and skills were then at the Ottomans' disposal. According to Ahmedi, Bayezid liked scholars and scientists as well as men of religion.⁵⁵ Such educated immigrants must have staffed the mosques, *medreses*, and *imarets* Bayezid was building, which spread Islamic institutions through the newly conquered territories. Their understanding of Islam appears often

⁵¹ Aşıkpaşazade... cit., p. 54.

⁵² E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 58, 60.

⁵³ Uzünçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*... cit., p. 46.

⁵⁴ Aşıkpaşazade... cit., p. 70; Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*... cit., p. 337.

⁵⁵ Ahmedi... cit., p. 142.

to have been at odds with that of the local Ottoman Muslims.⁵⁶ Countering criticisms of Bayezid, Ahmedi noted that he reformed the corrupt *kadis*; “he made them straighten up,” “called them to account,” and “punished them.”⁵⁷

Another important criticism of Bayezid, cited as the main reason for his defeat by Timur, was his conquest of most of the other western Anatolian *beyliks*. The point of the criticism was to denounce Bayezid’s abandonment of the *gaza* in Rumeli in order to fight with fellow Muslims; his amiable relations with the Serbian king, to whom he scandalously returned a couple of towns conquered by the Muslims; and his marriage to the Serbian king’s daughter, who supposedly taught him to drink wine.⁵⁸ The complaints of the defeated *beys* or their relatives were depicted as inspiring Timur’s invasion.⁵⁹ But to govern these conquests or even to contemplate doing so, the Ottomans’ administrative capacity must have expanded greatly. Some of the other recorded events of his reign suggest that, indeed, that was the case.

The *timar* system continued to expand and develop under Bayezid. The chronicles describe his arrangements after he took Alaşehir from the *bey* of Aydın in the same terms as Murad’s in Hamid: he manned the fortress with his own slaves, had the *hütbe* and *sikke* made in his name, and awarded *timars* with his own *nişan*, here meaning his *tuğra*.⁶⁰ According to Neşri, he did the same in Menteşe.⁶¹ The resulting enhancement of his military forces made it possible for him to defeat the Crusading army at Nicopolis (1396) and to challenge Constantinople. The first documentary allusion to *timars* refers to his reign; it consists of references in fifteenth-century *timar* registers to fourteenth-century *timar* surveys in Albania and Ankara.⁶² It appears that many more documents

⁵⁶ See, for example, H. W. Lowry, *Impropriety and Impiety among the Early Ottoman Sultans (1351–1451)*, in “*Turkish Studies Association Journal*”, 26 (2002), pp. 29–38, where the emotional loading is reversed.

⁵⁷ Ahmedi...cit., p. 143; Inalcık, *Rise of Ottoman Historiography*...cit., p. 161.

⁵⁸ Aşıkpaşazade...cit., p. 69; Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*...cit., pp. 331–33; cf. Lowry, *Impropriety*...cit., pp. 31–32.

⁵⁹ Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*...cit., p. 341.

⁶⁰ Aşıkpaşazade...cit., p. 65. For Bayezid’s *tuğra* see Wittek, *Notes*...cit., plate 1 and p. 271.

⁶¹ Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*...cit., p. 313; cf. Aşıkpaşazade...cit., p. 67.

⁶² See Inalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter*...cit., pp. xv, 103, which speaks of exemption documents (*temessük*) given to surveyed taxpayers by officials who were *beylerbeyis* of Rumeli under Bayezid; H. Inalcık, *Arnavutluk’ta Osmanlı Hâkimiyetinin Yerleşmesi ve Iskenderi Bey İsyanının Menşei*, in “*Fatih ve İstanbul*”, 1, no. 2 (1953), pp. 152–175, pp. 155–56, which speaks of *timar* granted in Bayezid’s time; and idem,

were being written under Bayezid than we have concrete evidence for. Extant documents and registers from the early fifteenth century appear to have been modeled on documents written in Persian by the Seljuks or Ilkhanids; unfortunately, no registers or state documents of the late fourteenth century have survived to make possible comparisons over time.⁶³ Also no longer extant is the first Ottoman accounting textbook, written under Bayezid by Ali b. Hibetullah.

The large amount of construction during Bayezid's reign suggests that the state's resources were expanding. The chronicles list mosques, *medreses*, *imarets*, a *zaviye*, and an *insane* asylum among his constructions.⁶⁴ These buildings were doubtless supported by *evkaf*, but no *vakfiyes* of Bayezid appear to have survived. The documentation for a *vakıf* created by one of his commanders, however, reflects some of the complexity of Murad's and Orhan's *evkaf* after 1360; it explains that Bayezid had granted him part of the conquered area as *mülk* (freehold), and that he in turn had donated a garden, shops, and houses to support a *zaviye* that would serve as a hostel for travelers.⁶⁵

A translation movement began in Anatolia in the later years of Orhan's reign and continued throughout the rest of the century, putting some of the classics of Persian and Arabic literature into Turkish and creating new works in the same genres. Among these were Kalile ve Dimne, the *Kabusname* and *Merzibanname*, the *Hamse* of Nizami, the history of Tabari, the poetry of Attar and Sa'di, and epics celebrating the deeds of Ali, Umar, Abu Muslim, Seyyid Battal, Melik Danişmend, and the Sufi saints of the past as well as those of more recent Anatolian vintage. Numerous copies were made of Necmeddin Daye/Razi's advice work *Mirsadu'l-Ibad*.⁶⁶ This is not to speak of the many religious works written, copied, and/or translated. While this literature did not exhibit great originality, it brought the *beyliks* into touch with the culture of the rest of the Muslim world and provided a foundation for the development

Ottoman Methods of Conquest, in "Studia Islamica", 2 (1954), pp. 103–129, p. 109, which refers to mentions of a survey of Ankara by Timurtaş Paşa, its governor in 1396.

⁶³ I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Analyse de la titulature d'Orhan sur deux inscriptions de Brousse*, in "Turcica", 34 (2002), pp. 223–240, p. 231.

⁶⁴ *Aşıkpaşazade*... cit., pp. 64, 68; Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*... cit., p. 361.

⁶⁵ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*... cit., pp. 246–47.

⁶⁶ M. F. Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul 1926; rpt. İstanbul 1984, pp. 340–50; A. Ateş, *Hicri VI–VIII. (XII–XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça Eserler*, in "Türkiyat Mecmuası", 7–8 (1945), pp. 94–135, p. 111; H. Algar, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, Delmar, NY 1982.

of Ottoman literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It also provided many examples of imperial ideology and organization. Interestingly, while the Karamanids in Konya seem to have suppressed the courtly society created earlier by the Seljuks, by the third quarter of the century the once brigandly Germiyanids had become munificent patrons of the arts under Süleymanşah (1363?–1388?). This role passed to the Ottomans after 1390, and after Bayezid's death, the court of his son Süleyman became a refuge for writers, poets, and musicians.⁶⁷ In addition to providing entertainment, these men became the teachers of the sultans and their courtiers in the knowledge and governing techniques appropriate to a major empire.

Conclusion

In terms of administrative development, there are significant differences between the first half of the fourteenth century and the second. In the first half, while the Ottomans can be shown to be familiar with sedentary forms of organization and their documentation, their use of these tools was simple and straightforward, while after 1360 it became much more complex. The later documents describe *vakıf* institutions with multiple functions and varied personnel, and a complex taxation system with a variety of levies and collection methods. Chronicles and documentary references also testify to a multi-layered provincial system, specialized military forces, and a *timar* system in which all or most participants were managed directly by the state. Adding the evidence of buildings and their remains reveals an expanded educational system and the basis for further architectural and literary development. The taxation system, the architecture, and scribal and military recruitment all indicate that Ottoman culture was formed from an amalgamation between Turkish/Seljukid/Islamic and Byzantine/Christian influences, and that such eclecticism was foundational to its growth. Also central to Ottoman institutional development were the contributions made by people from other *beyliks*; by the second half of the century the "Ottoman" enterprise was really a combined west-Anatolian effort, despite protests from the ex-rulers of the other *beyliks*.

⁶⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri* . . . cit., pp. 45–52, 216–17.

Murad's reign saw a sharper division between the military forces and their leaders in Rumeli, whose Muslim element was reinforced by migration from Anatolia, and the conquered people, who were mostly Christians unused to cohabiting with Turks, than had been true in western Anatolia. This division heightened the religious aspect of the conquests. The eclecticism visible in the first half of the century seems to have given way in the second half to a growth of popular Islam that may have been particularly powerful among the military forces in Europe. Popular religious literature flourished and numerous popular saints emerged. If we are not simply to discard the concept of the Ottoman warriors as *gazis*, then perhaps it was in the second half of the century—not in the days of Osman—that that label became truly appropriate. The likely moment is the decade of Murad's exclusion from the leadership of the conquests by the Savoyard capture of Gallipoli. The absence of the ruler and his staff would have transferred the burden of leadership and motivation to the *uç beys* and the dervish *şeyhs*. An appeal by such leaders to popular religious concepts is not at all unlikely, though it would be for the state. By the Interregnum period, the *gazi* motivation must have been so common on the popular level that it would be assumed to have motivated the initial conquests in Osman's and Orhan's reigns as well, and the entire fourteenth century would be labeled the era of *gaza*, understood as coming to a tragic end in Bayezid's time. It is obvious that in the time of Bayezid, and perhaps earlier as well, the state was less enthusiastic about *gaza* than the common soldiers. A perception of the state as not sharing this popular motivation might have been sufficient for popular Islam to turn anti-state, as it had been already in the Mongol period. In the fifteenth century, although availing themselves of the legitimation of *gaza*, Sufism, and mosque-building, the Ottoman sultans clearly behaved more like traditional Near Eastern emperors, employing all the administrative devices for which Bayezid was condemned. These devices always carried at least a faint negative charge and were projected by historians onto non-Muslims such as the Byzantines, the Mongols, and the Sasanians.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, while the warriors and *uç beys* concentrated on expanding the Ottoman realm, the bureaucrats and officials expanded the governing apparatus and developed the state's direct control over its lands and revenues. Although state control was negatively charged, it was effective enough that even though the empire was dismembered by Timur, Bayezid's sons were able to put the

pieces back together again. Despite their competition for the throne, they not only reconquered the rebellious vassal states but restored Ottoman administration and the *timar* system in all the regained territories and installed it where it had never been before. The hints given in the chronicles and the few extant documents do not sufficiently testify to the central role that imperial administration must have played in the fourteenth-century Ottoman Empire. While this study has attempted not to go beyond what the sources directly indicate or imply, it must conclude that their evidence provides an inadequate picture of what the administration of the Ottoman Empire must have been in its first century.

LA REPENTANCE DE BAYEZID I^{ER} ET D'ÉMIR SÜLEYMAN

IRÈNE BELDICEANU-STEINHERR

Les registres de recensement ottomans sont considérés souvent comme une source d'utilité plutôt restreinte. Ils ont été mis à contribution dans le domaine de l'économie, de la démographie et parfois de la toponymie. Ils ont servi surtout à dresser des statistiques : énumération des villages dans une région donnée, classification des paysans par catégorie, sources de revenus, en l'occurrence produits agricoles, élevage, apiculture, pour ne citer que ceux-là, montant des impôts, pourcentage du revenu par habitant. De ce fait, ceux qui sont réfractaires au jeu des chiffres les ont boudés. Pourtant les informations qu'on peut en tirer réservent parfois des surprises. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'ils furent écrits pour les besoins de l'administration et touchaient de ce fait un nombre restreint de personnes, ce qui permettait une certaine liberté d'expression. Nous avons trouvé dans les registres de recensement deux passages sur un sujet peu commun. Il s'agit de châtiments injustifiés infligés par deux souverains ottomans à l'un de leurs sujets et la réparation des torts commis.

Ces passages vont au-delà de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un fait divers. Il faut essayer de déterminer dans quelles circonstances ces événements se sont déroulés, en dresser le cadre géographique, prendre en compte la sévérité du châtiment, des mutilations qu'aucune mesure ne pouvait effacer, aussi magnanime fût-elle.

Le premier passage concerne Bayezid I^{er} qui régna entre 1389 et 1402, le deuxième, son fils connu sous le nom d'Emir Süleyman.

Textes et traductions

Le premier passage est tiré d'un registre de legs pieux conservé à Istanbul aux Archives de la Présidence du Conseil dans le fonds *tapu ve tahrir defterleri* n° 453 (cité dorénavant TD 453), fol. 113r°. Il ne porte pas de date. L'écriture étant cependant la même que celle du registre 111 appartenant au même fonds (TD 111 de *eva'il muharrem* 928/1^{er}–10 décembre 1521), il fut réalisé à la même époque. Le TD 111 est un registre détaillé des revenus fiscaux alloués aux timariotes du gouvernorat de Hüdavendigâr

dont la capitale était Brousse. Le TD 453 en revanche énumère les legs pieux qui concernent les fondations privées. Il va de soi que celles-ci nécessitaient toujours l'aval de la Porte. Quant aux fondations pieuses des souverains ottomans, elles sont consignées dans le TD 113¹.

TD 453, fol. 113 r^o.

Na'llu Kara Hisarda Halil çavuşun merhum Bayezid Hüdavendigâr gözün çıkardıktan sonra bigünah idüğü ma'lum olduğu üzere istihlal için elinde tasarruf edegeldüğü yerlerini vakf eyleyüb hükm-i şerif vermiş. Andan sonra gelen selatin-i maziye dahi mukarrer tutub nişan-i hümayun vermişler deyü kayd olmuş der defatir. El haletü hazihi zıkr olan Halil çavuşun evladından çavuş Mehmed ve çavuş Süleyman oğulları Mustafa ve İbrahim ve Umur vakfiyet üzere mutasarrıflardır. Elllerinde padişahımız berat[ı] var deyü nakl olunmuş der defter-i köhne. Haliyan mezkur Mustafa evladından Eymir (?) Şah ve Şah Hüseyin ve Şah Mehmed ve mezbur Umur evladından Şah Turhan ve mezkur çavuş Mehmedin oğlu oğlu Şah ve İbrahim mutasarrıflardır.

Mehmed veled-i Aydın; Kabaglu veled-i o; Hasan veled-i o; Pir Ahmed veled-i Mehmed; Mehmed veled-i Ali; Kaya veled-i Sundul; Nasr veled-i o, m[ücerred]; Bekir veled-i Minnet;... birader-i o;... birader-i o, m[ücerred]; Hüseyin veled-i Ramazan; Yusuf veled-i İsmail.

Hane: 10. Hasıl: hınta—7 mudd, şa'ir—8 mudd. Yekun: 850 [akçe].

* * *

Le souverain feu Bayezid a énucléé les yeux² de Halil çavuş³ à Kara Hisar Na'llu. Il s'est avéré [par la suite] qu'il était innocent. En raison de cela [le souverain] a érigé à titre de compensation les terres que [Halil çavuş] détenait à Kara Hisar Na'llu en legs pieux et a délivré un ordre illustre

¹ Sur les trois registres TD 111, TD 113 et TD 453, cf. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *La conquête de la Bithynie maritime, étape décisive dans la fondation de l'État ottoman*, dans K. Belke; F. Hild (éds.), *Byzanz als Raum, Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, Vienne 2000, pp. 21–36, p. 32.

² *Çıkarmak* signifie dans la langue turque « faire sortir ». Par ailleurs on emploie souvent le singulier, même si le sens de la phrase exige le pluriel. Nous penchons plutôt pour la solution radicale, l'aveuglement total, car c'est ce qui se faisait habituellement.

³ Le çavuş était dans l'État ottoman un militaire qui était au service direct du sultan. Il remplissait surtout la fonction de messenger et même d'ambassadeur. Il recevait un *timar* et pouvait être issu du rang des janissaires, mais nous ignorons à partir de quel moment. Plus tard les çavuş servaient au sérail comme huissiers et accompagnaient le sultan pendant ses déplacements: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, t. III, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1967, n° 1055, pp. 35–38; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, t. I, Istanbul 1993, pp. 332–338.

[dans ce sens]⁴. Les sultans qui lui ont succédé l'ont validé en délivrant des actes impériaux. Ceci est inscrit dans les registres. Dans le registre ancien⁵, il est dit que les descendants de Halil *çavuş*, [en l'occurrence] le *çavuş* Mehmed, ainsi que Mustafa, Ibrahim et Umur, les fils du *çavuş* Süleyman, en ont la jouissance à titre de legs pieux et qu'ils possèdent un bérat de notre souverain. À présent Eymir (?) Şah, Şah Hüseyin et Şah Mehmed parmi les fils du susdit Mustafa, Şah Turhan parmi les fils du susdit Umur, de même que Şah et Ibrahim les petit-fils du susdit *çavuş* Mehmed en ont la jouissance.

Mehmed fils d'Aydın; son fils Kabaglu; son fils Hasan; Pir Ahmed fils de Mehmed; Mehmed fils de Ali; Kaya fils de Sundul; son fils Nasr, célibataire; Bekir fils de Minnet;...son frère [frère de Bekir];...un [autre] frère [de Bekir], célibataire; Hüseyin fils de Ramazan; Yusuf fils d'Ismail.

Foyers [imposables]: 10. 7 mudd de blé; 8 mudd d'orge. Total: 850 [akçe].

Le deuxième passage est tiré d'un fragment de registre de legs pieux concernant le district de Sultan Öyüğü appelé par la suite Sultan Önü. Il est conservé à Istanbul aux Archives de la Présidence du Conseil dans le fonds *Haremeyn mukataası kalemi*, *Kamil Kepeci* n° 3358⁶. Le registre ne contient aucune date. Ahmed Refik propose une date antérieure à 877 (8 juin 1472–28 mai 1473) du fait que le prince en vie, cité dans le texte, ne pouvait être que Mustafa, le deuxième fils de Mehmed II⁷. Il mourut

⁴ Le style de ce passage étant très serré—les registres ne se lancent pas dans de longues explications—, le sens en est un peu ambigu et la traduction mot à mot impossible. Est-ce que Halil a subi le châtement au même endroit où se trouvaient les terres dont il avait la jouissance et qui acquièrent par la suite le statut de legs pieux? Cela nous semble la solution la plus probable.

⁵ Le mot *köhne* désigne toujours un registre qui est antérieur au registre précédent qui, lui, est désigné par le mot arabe *'atik*.

⁶ Ce fragment fut publié par A. Refik, *Fatih zamanında Sultan Öyüğü*, dans « *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası* » année 14, n° 3 [ancienne série n° 80] (1340 H/ mai 1924), pp. 129–141. Il n'en donne pas la cote. Le guide des Archives ne permettant pas de la retrouver, Mme Neriman Ersoy-Hacısalihoğlu a bien voulu se charger de cette recherche. Qu'elle reçoive ici mes remerciements. Le passage en question se trouve pp. 134–135 dans l'édition d'Ahmed Refik.

⁷ Refik, *Fatih zamanında*... cit., p. 138 (*Kamil Kepeci* n° 3358, p. 9. Voici le passage: *Sultan-zade-i cihan hazret-i çelebi nişaniyle ve Ishak paşa nişaniyle vakf denilmiş eğer sultanımız müsellemler dütarsa; arz oluna* (On a dit qu'il s'agit d'un legs pieux en vertu d'un document de son excellence, le prince, le sultan du monde, et d'un document d'Ishak pacha si notre sultan considère [le legs pieux] comme concédé; qu'on lui soumette [le cas]).

en juin 1474⁸. Il nous semble cependant qu'on puisse dater le registre d'une façon plus précise, même si on n'a pas la possibilité d'examiner le papier. Il faut avouer que la rédaction du registre est déroutante. Presque tous les registres citent les sultans qui ont confirmé un legs pieux en ordre chronologique, or ici ce n'est pas le cas. D'autre part, on ne cite que le « sultan Murad » sans que nous puissions deviner s'il s'agit de Murad I^{er} ou de Murad II. Tous les autres registres ajoutent une épithète qui permet de les différencier. Il est aussi étonnant que Mehmed I^{er} ne soit pas cité. En tout cas nous savons à présent qu'il y eut trois recensements sous le règne de Mehmed II. Le premier fut réalisé environ deux ans après la conquête de Constantinople, le deuxième autour des années 1467 et le troisième environ trois à quatre ans avant sa mort⁹. Lors du premier recensement, le prince était encore trop jeune pour être *sancakbeyi* et lors du troisième recensement, il ne vivait plus. Le fragment appartient donc au deuxième recensement de Mehmed II¹⁰.

Kamil Kepeci n° 3358, p. 5.

Merhum Emir Süleyman şeyh İbrahim'in elin kesdikden sonra istihlal¹¹ için bir çiftlik yer vakf etmiş. Sonra oğlu Ali ve kızı Selam elinde yazıldı. Murad hünkar, taba serahu, müsellemler dutub mektub vermiş.

* * *

Emir Süleyman, après avoir coupé la main au cheikh Ibrahim, a érigé un terrain de la dimension d'une ferme en legs pieux à titre de compensation.

⁸ F. Babinger, *Mehmed the conqueror and his time*, traduit par R. Manheim, édité par W. C. Hickman. Princeton 1978, p. 331.

⁹ Sur cette question, voir I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Les illusions d'une princesse. Le sort des biens de Mara Branković*, dans S. Prător; Ch. Neumann (éds.), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, Istanbul 2002, pp. 43–60, p. 46, n. 8.

¹⁰ Un croisement avec le registre d'Ankara MAD 9 (Archives de la Présidence du Conseil, fonds *Maliyeden Müdevver defterleri* n° 9) confirme cette datation. Au folio 144v° se trouve inscrit dans le corps du texte un ordre daté de 867 (26 sept. 1462–15 sept. 1463) et au fol. 51 r° on mentionne « notre beylerbeyi Ishak paşa ». Ishak paşa fut nommé *beylerbeyi* d'Anatolie par Mehmed II lors de son deuxième avènement au trône : « *Ishak paşa* », in *Türk Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, t. 22, p. 537. Ishak pacha fils d'Abdullah a apposé sa signature sur le testament de Murad II : H. Inalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*. Ankara 1954, p. 212 et index sous Ishak paşa bin Abdullah. Dans le Kamil Kepeci, n° 3358, Ishak paşa qui cosigne avec le prince un acte de legs pieux (p. 9) est par conséquent le *beylerbeyi* d'Anatolie. Pour le texte voir supra n° 7.

¹¹ Pour le terme qui dérive de la dixième forme du verbe *halla* voir R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2^e éd., t. I, Leyde-Paris 1927, p. 312 : demander pardon à quelqu'un, demander l'absolution, solliciter de quelqu'un la remise de la vengeance qu'il aurait droit d'exiger.

Par la suite [le terrain] a été inscrit comme se trouvant aux mains de son fils Ali et de sa fille Selam. Murad [II], que sa terre soit embaumée, a déclaré que [le terrain] est concédé aux susdits et a délivré un document [dans ce sens].

La localisation des événements

Na'llu Karahisar, aujourd'hui Nallıhan, cité dans le premier passage, était le chef-lieu d'un district de même nom doté d'une forteresse comme l'indique le toponyme. À l'époque, la région faisait partie du gouvernorat de Hüdavendigar¹². Aujourd'hui elle dépend du vilayet d'Ankara¹³. Elle se trouve sur la route qui mène de Mudurnu à Ankara en passant par Beypazarı¹⁴. Nous pensons que cet épisode a pu se dérouler au moment de la campagne de Bayezid I^{er} contre Süleyman Pacha, le maître de Kastamonu, en hiver 1391/1392. On peut proposer aussi sa dernière campagne, celle de 1402, qui finit par sa captivité aux mains de Timur lors de la bataille d'Ankara¹⁵. Il est cependant douteux qu'il eût le temps lors des marches forcées contre Timur de s'apercevoir de son erreur, de faire une donation et de la concrétiser. Il ne faut pas oublier que ce fut pour lui une campagne sans retour qui a plongé l'État dans une guerre fratricide. Les autres campagnes de Bayezid I^{er} avaient été dirigées soit vers les côtes de la mer Égée, soit vers le Sud-Est, c'est-à-dire vers le territoire de l'émir de Karaman. Après la campagne contre Süleyman Pacha de Kastamonu, Bayezid I^{er} a mené des actions en Roumélie. Nous ne sortons évidemment pas du domaine de l'hypothèse.

En ce qui concerne le deuxième passage, le cadre géographique est imprécis puisque la notice omet de mentionner le lieu. Le registre ne concerne qu'une partie du district de Sultan Öyüğü et les legs pieux de la ville d'Eskişehir. Parmi les localités quelques-unes sont repérables sur les cartes comme Karacaşehir, Aşağı Söğüd, İn Önü, Mutalib. On évoque aussi un lieu dans la région de Bilecik, mais pas la ville elle-même. Au nord, la limite de la province formait le Sakarya avec cependant un crochet au-delà du fleuve jusqu'à Gölpazarı. À l'est elle

¹² TD 453, fol. 110 v^o–118 v^o.

¹³ *Türkiye Mülki İdare Bölümleri, Belediyeler köyler*, Ankara 1978, carte p. 77 et p. 79.

¹⁴ K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 4. Vienne 1984, carte historique.

¹⁵ Sur le déplacement de l'armée ottomane: M.-M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, Bucarest 1942, pp. 60–61.

comprenait Sivrihisar, au sud Seyyid Gazi et à l'ouest In Önü¹⁶. On peut supposer que le cheikh était le supérieur d'une zaviye, mais la documentation sur cette région est clairsemée et n'a pas permis de pousser plus loin les investigations.

Les châtiments

Nous ignorons quels étaient les reproches faits d'une part par Bayezid I^{er} à Halil *çavuş* et d'autre part par Emir Süleyman au cheikh Ibrahim. Les châtiments sont en tout cas très cruels. Tel que le récit est construit, il s'agit d'une décision prise à la hâte sans passage par un tribunal et sans une enquête préliminaire sérieuse, car comment expliquer la condamnation injustifiée et par la suite la reconnaissance d'une erreur de la part d'un souverain ?

Après la condamnation à mort, les mutilations étaient les punitions les plus sévères. Elles étaient appliquées dans les cas où l'ordre public était mis en péril et le respect de l'ordre divin bafoué. Il y en avait de toutes sortes, mais l'amputation de la main était la plus fréquente. Elle était appliquée en cas de vol, surtout de vol répété de même en cas de crime. Elle frappait aussi les auteurs de faux documents et les rogneurs de pièces de monnaie¹⁷.

Quant à l'énucléation des yeux, nous en avons trouvé trace dans le récit de Doukas à propos de la révolte d'Andronic IV et de Savcı contre leurs pères respectifs Jean V et Murad I^{er}, événement qui s'est déroulé en 1373, par conséquent environ une quinzaine d'années avant l'incident qui coûta à Halil *çavuş* la vue¹⁸. On la signale aussi à propos de la bataille de Mohács (1526), mais elle ne fut pratiquée alors que sur les

¹⁶ Pour une carte du district de Sultan Öyüğü, aujourd'hui appelé Sultanönü, voir H. Doğru, XVI. Yüzyılda Eskişehir ve Sultanönü Sancağı, Istanbul 1992.

¹⁷ U. Heyd, *Studies in Old ottoman Criminal Law*, édité par V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973, p. 265; cf. les paragraphes 66, 67, 74, 88, 98 du code ottoman.

¹⁸ Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, traduction annotée par H. J. Magoulias, Detroit 1975, chap. XII, p. 79. (Doukas appelle le prince ottoman Kunduz); P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, t. II. Vienne 1977, pp. 304, 307. J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391-1425. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1969, pp. 21-22. Savcı ne survécut point à la punition, quant à Andronic IV et son jeune fils Jean VII, ils purent récupérer, au moins en partie, la vue. Ils avaient été très probablement aveuglé d'une façon superficielle, juste ce qu'il fallait pour donner satisfaction à Murad I.

têtes coupées des ennemis¹⁹. On la trouve dans les sources de l'époque mamelouke. Elle faisait partie d'un ensemble de tortures destinées à provoquer la mort²⁰. En Orient on aveuglait les personnes en passant une tige de fer rougie au feu sur les yeux, acte désigné en turc par l'expression *mil çekmek*²¹. L'aveuglement sans atteinte à la vie avait à l'époque pour but d'écarter une personne du trône, que ce fût à Byzance ou dans l'État ottoman. Les Ottomans privilégiaient cependant l'élimination pure et simple des prétendants au trône²². On interpréta cet acte comme un châtimement frappant des frères rebelles²³. Toutefois cette logique ne tenait point quand il s'agissait de mineurs, voire de nourrissons²⁴. Le cas le plus ancien de la mise à mort des frères d'un souverain ottoman remonte à Murad I^{er}²⁵. Citons, parmi les princes ayant échappé à l'exécution, Orhan, le fils d'Emir Süleyman. Il fut aveuglé par Mehmed I^{er} qui l'installa à Brousse et lui accorda le village de Çardak, dépendant du district de Yenişehir, à titre de *helallik*, c'est-à-dire de compensation²⁶.

¹⁹ B. Lellouch, *Puissance et justice retenue du sultan ottoman. Les massacres sur les fronts iranien et égyptien (1514–1517)*, dans D. El Kenz (éd.), *Le massacre, objet d'histoire*, Saint-Amand 2005, pp. 171–182 (173).

²⁰ M. Espéronnier, *La mort violente à l'époque mamelouke: Le crime et le châtimement*, dans « *Der Islam* », 74 (1997), pp. 137–155, p. 155.

²¹ J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople 1921, p. 2056.

²² N. Vatin et G. Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, La Flèche 2003, pp. 150–157. M. Vatin a consacré un article à ce sujet à paraître dans les *Mélanges H. Inalcık*.

²³ Ahmedi, *İskendername*, édité par I. Ünver, Ankara 1983, fol. 66b, vers 7690–7691. Édition en caractères latins de la partie concernant l'État ottoman: N. Atsız Çiftçioğlu, *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*, Istanbul 1949, p. 15.

²⁴ Vatin et Veinstein, *Le Sérail...* cit., pp. 154–157.

²⁵ I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Le destin des fils d'Orhan*, dans « *Archivum Ottomanicum* », 23 (2005/06), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 105–130.

²⁶ TD 453, fol. 266r. Orhan érigea le village Akhisar dépendant du district d'Inegöl en legs pieux, TD 113, p. 261. Aşıkpaşazade lui consacre un chapitre entier: F. Giese (éd.), *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Aşıkpaşazâde*, Leipzig 1929, §72, pp. 76–77; trad. R. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz-Vienne-Cologne 1959, pp. 124–125. Son sort est évoqué dans plusieurs ouvrages: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, t. I, 3^e éd., Ankara 1972, p. 348; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II...* cit., p. 285; V. Boškov, *Ein Nišan des Prinzen Orhan, Sohn Süleyman Çelebis, aus dem Jahre 1412 im Athoskloster Sankt Paulus*, dans « *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* », 71 (1979), pp. 127–152; Vatin et Veinstein, *Le Sérail...* cit., p. 152. Il a eu probablement la vie sauve grâce à une entente entre Manuel II et Mehmed I^{er}. Pour *helallik* voir n. 11.

Analyse de la situation

Les événements décrits dans les deux passages se situent entre 1389 et 1411, dans un État où le droit islamique était appliqué, mais où le droit coutumier tenait aussi une place importante. Sur le plan juridique, l'islam reconnaissait ce qu'on appelle des limites (*hadd*, pluriel *hudud*), c'est-à-dire un ensemble de restrictions mentionnées dans le coran que l'individu n'avait pas le droit de transgresser. En cas de transgression, on considérait l'acte comme une offense de Dieu²⁷. Les punitions étaient sévères et le pardon en était exclu une fois les faits officiellement établis. Par ailleurs, il y avait des torts causés par une personne à autrui, une situation qui pouvait être réglée devant le tribunal entre l'auteur et la victime ou les proches de celle-ci²⁸. L'appréciation des offenses et de leurs punitions pouvait varier cependant selon les écoles juridiques, l'époque ou encore selon le pays²⁹. Dans notre cas, vu la sévérité des punitions, on peut se poser la question de la catégorie dans laquelle il faudrait classer les méfaits dont furent accusés Halil *çavuş* et le cheikh Ibrahim. Le souverain avait le droit, pour des raisons d'État, de décider des condamnations sans passer par le tribunal³⁰. Ce procédé se vérifie surtout au moment de l'accession au trône d'un souverain, puisqu'il faisait exécuter ses frères afin qu'ils ne puissent pas lui porter ombrage, une pratique qui s'observe dès le règne de Murad I^{er} (1362–1389)³¹. Avec le temps toutefois, on enferma les princes dans une partie du sérail appelée *kafes* (cage)³².

En ce qui concerne la punition infligée par Emir Süleyman au cheikh Ibrahim—il s'agit de l'amputation d'une main—, il faut tenir compte que c'était une époque trouble puisque plusieurs frères se disputaient le pouvoir. Un cheikh était un personnage important qui pouvait exercer une influence sur ses adeptes et perturber l'ordre public. Un vulgaire vol paraît improbable, mais nous n'aurons jamais de certitude.

Le cas de Halil *çavuş* est tellement exceptionnel qu'on se pose des questions. Bayezid I^{er} était solidement établi sur le trône une fois son

²⁷ «*Hadd*» (B. Carra de Vaux; J. Schacht éds.), dans *EI*² t. III, pp. 21–22; «*Had*» (A. Bardakoğlu, éd.), dans *Türk Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, t. XX, pp. 547–551.

²⁸ Sur les différents châtiments, voir Heyd, *Studies in Old ottoman*... cit., pp. 259–311.

²⁹ *Had*... cit., pp. 548–549.

³⁰ Heyd, *Studies in Old ottoman*... cit., pp. 192–195; 227–228.

³¹ Voir *supra* n. 25.

³² Vatin et Veinstein, *Le Sérail*... cit., pp. 72–78.

frère Yakub éliminé³³. La punition, à savoir l'énucléation des yeux d'un individu, avait été, certes, appliquée par son père Murad I^{er} à Savcı pour avoir fomenté un complot³⁴, mais dans le cas de Bayezid I^{er}, nous avons affaire à un militaire de rang moyen. Il s'est d'ailleurs rendu compte par la suite que Halil était innocent et qu'il avait commis une grave erreur. On cherchera d'ailleurs ce genre de punition en vain dans les codes de lois relatifs aux crimes et délits. Peut-être avons-nous tout simplement affaire à une grosse colère subite. Bayezid I^{er}, souverain téméraire et ambitieux, n'était pas un modèle de piété du point de vue de la loi islamique. Il aurait pu ne pas donner suite à son erreur. Nous savons qu'il réunissait le soir, même parti en campagne, des gens de son entourage pour consommer du vin dans des coupes en or, comme l'atteste Manuel II³⁵. Même un Aşıkpaşazade lui fait le reproche de boire du vin, mais il l'excuse aussitôt en jetant la faute sur son épouse chrétienne³⁶. Réaliser tout d'un coup la monstruosité d'un acte irréversible et gratuit envers un innocent a dû le faire réfléchir. Ce souverain orgueilleux qui a affronté avec dédain Timur s'est vu obligé de réparer sa méprise selon la loi islamique en accordant à sa victime un terrain transmissible aux descendants.

Un mot finalement sur Emir Süleyman et le fragment Kamil Kepeci 3358. Il y est mentionné à huit reprises confirmant les legs pieux établis par ses prédécesseurs, actes qui ont été reconnus par les souverains suivants. Il y figure aussi comme donateur. Parmi les fils de Bayezid I^{er}, il est le seul à porter le titre d'émir. On rapporte qu'il avait envoyé un ambassadeur auprès de Timur en lui faisant savoir qu'il le reconnaissait désormais comme son suzerain³⁷. L'intention de Timur était d'ailleurs de démembrer l'État ottoman en reconnaissant les fils de Bayezid I^{er} comme ses vassaux. Cette vassalité s'est traduite dans les monnaies frappées par Süleyman et le futur Mehmed I^{er}. La pièce la plus ancienne de Süleyman date de 805 (1^{er} août 1402–20 juillet 1403)³⁸ et celle de Mehmed I^{er} de 806

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁴ Voir supra n. 18.

³⁵ G. T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, Dumbarton Oaks. Washington 1977, p. 48, lettre n° 20.

³⁶ *Aşıkpaşazade*... cit., § 63, p. 63; trad. R. Kreutel, p. 102.

³⁷ I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, t. I, 3^e éd., Ankara 1972, pp. 326–327.

³⁸ N. Pere, *Osmanlılarda madenî paralar*, Istanbul 1968, p. 60; I. et C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki Islâmî Sikkeler Kataloğu*, t. II, Istanbul 1974, p. 459.

(21 juillet 1403–10 juillet 1404)³⁹. Il y a cependant une différence notable entre les deux frappes. Süleyman a été obligé d'ajouter à son nom le titre d'émir qui dénote clairement son statut de vassal. En revanche il a eu l'astuce de présenter son nom sous forme de *tuğra*, emblème qui figurait à la tête de tout document émis par un souverain ottoman, mais jamais sur une monnaie. Cette pratique ne fut instaurée que beaucoup plus tard⁴⁰. Quant à Mehmed I^{er}, il a exprimé sa vassalité en joignant à son nom celui de Timur, procédé un peu plus humiliant. Emir Süleyman ayant régné non seulement sur la partie européenne de l'État mais aussi sur une bonne partie de l'Anatolie, les Vénitiens l'ont considéré au début comme le successeur de Bayezid I^{er} puisqu'ils l'ont nommé « Imperator Turchorum ».⁴¹ Il fut vaincu par son frère Musa çelebi et mourut le 17 février 1411⁴². Il n'a eu le droit au titre de sultan qu'à titre posthume sur l'inscription tombale de l'un de ses fils⁴³.

Les quelques lignes découvertes au hasard d'une lecture montrent qu'on ne peut avoir une confiance aveugle dans les chroniques ottomanes les plus anciennes qui décrivent les souverains comme des personnes au-dessus de tout soupçon, respectueux envers les lois et combattant sans relâche les impies. C'est au détour d'une simple notice administrative qu'on découvre l'homme, l'homme tel qu'il est avec ses faiblesses et ses vertus.

³⁹ Pere, *Osmanlılarda madenî*... cit., p. 64; Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji*... cit., p. 459.

⁴⁰ Pere, *Osmanlılarda madenî*... cit., p. 39.

⁴¹ E. Zachariadou, *Süleyman çelebi in Rumeli and the Ottoman Chronicles*, dans « *Der Islam* » 60 (1983), pp. 261–296. L'article est consacré essentiellement à l'activité de Süleyman dans la partie européenne de l'État ottoman, mais on y évoque aussi sa présence en Asie Mineure, cf. pp. 290–291.

⁴² Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*... cit., p. 401.

⁴³ Emir Süleyman avait aussi un fils nommé Mehmed qui réussit, on ne sait comment, à échapper au bourreau. Il mourut à Darende et fut enterré à Amasya. L'inscription sur sa tombe porte la date du 5 *muharrem* 825 (30 décembre 1421). Il est désigné curieusement comme Mehmed şah fils du sultan Süleyman : I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Memlûk Sultanları yanına iltica etmiş olan Osmanlı Hanedanına Mensub Şehzadeler*, dans « *Belleten* » XVII (1953), fasc. 68, pp. 519–535, pp. 521–522.

ÜBER URKUNDENFÄLSCHUNG IM OSMANISCHEN REICH

HANS GEORG MAJER

Als die bis 1967 bekannt gewordenen Urkunden der ersten drei osmanischen Sultane Osman (ca. 1300–1324?), Orhan (1324–1362) und Murad I. (1362–1389) von Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr diplomatisch untersucht wurden, stellte sie fest, dass von den 51 überlieferten Stücken in persischer, türkischer, arabischer, griechischer und lateinischer Sprache lediglich zwei Stücke zweifelsfreie Originale sind. Vier Stücke erwiesen sich immerhin noch als Kopien von Originalen, eines als Übersetzung eines Originales, vier weitere als spätere Überarbeitungen von Originalen. Zwei Stücke blieben zweifelhaft. Nicht weniger als 38 Stücke entpuppten sich hingegen als Fälschungen¹. Von den 51 Urkunden dieser Sultane konnten also nur 11 als echt erwiesen werden, das heißt, der Anteil der Fälschungen und fraglichen Stücke beträgt rund 80%, ein Satz, der die Annahme von 50% Fälschungen bei den Merowingerurkunden und 66% bei den für geistliche Empfänger bestimmten Urkunden des europäischen Mittelalters noch in den Schatten zu stellen scheint².

Ganz anders das Bild, wenn wir die Produkte eines einzigen Fälschers abziehen. Auf sein Konto gehen allein 34 der 38 Fälschungen³. Lässt man seine Fälschungen unberücksichtigt, bleiben für diesen Zeitraum lediglich 17 Urkunden übrig. Zwei davon sind nach der erwähnten Studie zweifelhaft, drei unecht. Demnach betrüge die Fälschungsrate (einschließlich der beiden dubiosen Stücke) nur noch rund 30%. Für die Regierungszeiten der späteren Sultane fehlen entsprechende diplomatische Untersuchungen. Andererseits stieg die schriftliche Verwaltungstätigkeit im Osmanenreich gewaltig an. Allein während der sechsvierzig Regierungsjahre Süleymans des Prächtigen (1520–1566) wurden, wie Josef Matuz errechnet hat, etwa 150 000 Sultansurkunden

¹ I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orhan et Murad I.* München 1967, S. 49.

² A. von Brandt, *Werkzeug des Historikers*. 12. Auflage, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1989, S. 98.

³ Zu ersehen aus Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches...cit.*, S. 49 und den einzelnen Urkundenanalysen.

ausgestellt⁴. Fast 1000 von ihnen waren bis 1971 publiziert oder auf irgend eine Weise in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur fassbar geworden⁵. Seither hat sich die Zahl vervielfacht⁶. Dennoch ist meines Wissens bisher nur eine einzige Fälschung wissenschaftlich nachgewiesen worden, eine Fälschung zudem, die man nur bedingt hierher zählen kann⁷. Ein zweites Stück gilt als unsicher⁸. Aus der nachsüleymanischen Zeit scheint es keinen einzigen Fall einer wissenschaftlich nachgewiesenen Fälschung zu geben, wenn man von Propagandaprodukten des christlichen Gegners absieht⁹.

Deuten diese Zahlen tatsächlich auf eine Gesellschaft, in der so gut wie niemand Urkunden fälschte? Das wäre mehr als erstaunlich, blickt man vergleichend auf andere Zeiten und Regionen. Betrachten wir deshalb etwas genauer, was die bisher wissenschaftlich behandelten Fälschungen aus der osmanischen Frühzeit über Fälschungen und Fälscher aussagen. Das erste, was man dabei feststellen kann ist, dass die Fälschungen Ahmed Feriduns von anderer Art sind, als die Fälschungen anderer.

⁴ J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, S. 120.

⁵ Id., *Herrscherurkunden des Osmanensultans Süleymān des Prächtigen. Ein chronologisches Verzeichnis*, Freiburg i. Br. 1971.

⁶ Vor allem: H. Sahillioğlu (Hrsg.), *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, Istanbul 2002 mit 557 amtlichen Urkundenregesten in moderntürkischer Umschrift und einer CD mit dem originalen Text; 3 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (966–968/1558–1560). Bd. 1: Özet ve Transkription, Bd. 2: Tıpkıbasım. Ankara 1993 (= T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın No: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I), mit 1665 amtlichen Urkundenregesten in Faksimile und Umschrift; 5 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (973/1565–1566). 2 Bde, Ankara 1994 (= T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın No: 21, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: II), mit 1989 amtlichen Urkundenregesten in Faksimile und Umschrift.

⁷ B. Atsız, *Über eine Urkunde Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen*, in: *Islamkundliche Abhandlungen aus dem Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients an der Universität München. Hans Joachim Kissling zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern*, München 1974, S. 17–26 dazu N. Beldiceanu in „*Turcica*“, 7 (1975), S. 307, Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit., S. 228–236 und die dort angegebene Literatur.

⁸ K. Holter, *Studien zu Ahmed Feridûn's Münşeât es-Selâtin*, in „*Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*“, 14. Erg. Band (1939), S. 438, 442.

⁹ Zum Beispiel: W. Sturminger (Hrsg.), *Die Türken vor Wien in Augenzeugenberichten*. Düsseldorf 1968, S. 27 und dazu meine Rezension in „*Südost-Forschungen*“ 28 (1969), S. 467–469.

Die Fälschungen Ahmed Feridun Beys

Ahmed Feridun¹⁰ war im Hause des *defterdars* Çivizade herangewachsen, trat nach dessen Tod in die Dienste Sokollu Mehmed Paschas, stieg mit ihm auf, zuerst zum *reisülküttab* und schließlich zum *nişancı* und damit zum Mitglied des großherrlichen *divans*. Ihn interessierte die Geschichte und da ihm die Reichsarchive offen standen, stellte er eine Sammlung von Urkunden und Briefen zusammen, die er *Münşeat es-Selâtin* (Schreiben der Sultane) nannte. Diese Sammlung überreichte der Großwesir Sokollu Mehmed Pascha im Jahre 1575 Sultan Murad III. (1574–1595). Der Begründer der Osmanistik, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, sah in ihr „eine ebenso kostbare als seltene vortreffliche Sammlung von Staatsschreiben“¹¹. Manuskripte finden sich in zahlreichen europäischen und türkischen Bibliotheken¹². Zwei unkritische Drucke erschienen im 19. Jahrhundert¹³.

Die Zuverlässigkeit der *Münşeat es-Selâtin* schien durch ihre Bekanntheit und vielfache gelehrte Benützung verbürgt, als im Jahre 1923 eine Studie des türkischen Gelehrten Mükrimin Halil [Yinanç] erschien, die diese Gewissheit erschütterte¹⁴. Mükrimin Halil wies nach, dass mehrere der frühesten Stücke nichts anderes waren, als Verfälschungen älterer Korrespondenzen, die schon im 12. Jahrhundert unter den Chwarezm-Schahen zusammengetragen worden waren. Feridun Bey hatte lediglich Personen und Ortsnamen aus der osmanischen Geschichte eingesetzt. Später entlarvte Aleksije Olesnicki die Schreiben über die Schlacht auf dem Amselfeld ebenfalls als Fälschungen¹⁵. Danach erkannte Franz Babinger, dass auch die Schreiben über die Eroberung von Sofia gefälscht waren¹⁶ und schließlich bestritt Paul Wittek die Authentizität

¹⁰ Zu seiner Karriere siehe: *Feridun Beg* (J. H. Mordtmann und V. L. Ménage), in *EP*, Bd. 2, S. 881–882.

¹¹ J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Bd. 1, Pest 1827, S. XLI.

¹² Siehe F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, S. 106–108.

¹³ Erste Auflage: 2 Bde, Istanbul 1264/1848–1265/1849; 2. Auflage: 2 Bde, Istanbul 1274/1857–1275/1858.

¹⁴ M. Halil [Yinanç], *Feridun Beg Münşeâtı*, in *Tarih-i 'Osmâni Encümeni Mecmû'ası* Bd. 11–13, 1923, Nr. 63–77, S. 161–168, *Türk Târihi Encümeni Mecmû'ası* Bd. 14, 1924, Nr. 1 (78) S. 37–46, Nr. 2 (79) S. 95–104, Nr. 4 (81) S. 216–226.

¹⁵ A. Olesnicki, *Dva turska falsifikata XVI stoljeća u kosovskom boju*, in *Serta Hoffleriana*, Zagreb 1940, S. 495–512.

¹⁶ F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.–15. Jahrhundert)*, Brunn, München, Wien 1944, S. 68–69.

eines *berats* Murads I. für Gazi Evrenos¹⁷, das der Begründer der wissenschaftlichen Diplomatik Friedrich von Kraelitz-Greifendorst zuvor als echt publiziert hatte¹⁸, allerdings aus einer anonymen Berliner Handschrift ohne Kenntnis des Textes in den *Münşeat es-Selâtin*¹⁹ und einem von Diez veröffentlichten Text²⁰. Der Nachweis, dass alle Schreiben in Feriduns *Münşeat es-Selâtin* vor 1389 Fälschungen sind, gelang schließlich Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr²¹.

Obwohl Franz Babinger unter dem frischen Eindruck der Studie Mükrimin Halils schon 1927 formuliert hatte: „Das Werk wimmelt von Fälschungen vor allem älterer Urkunden, sodass es mit größter Vorsicht herangezogen werden muss“²² und obwohl auch weitere Forschungen in diese Richtung gewiesen hatten, ließen es sich manche Gelehrte doch nicht nehmen, weiterhin aus den *Münşeat es-Selâtin* zu schöpfen, etwa Jan Rypka²³ und Herbert Jansky²⁴. Sie gingen nun allerdings kritisch vor und verwerteten spätere Stücke der Sammlung. Allgemein aber begann sich eine eher hyperkritische Einstellung gegenüber den *Münşeat es-Selâtin* breit zu machen. Da gelang es Kurt Holter durch die Untersuchung einer Gruppe von 22 Urkunden, die alle zur Korrespondenz mit dem Kaiserhof in Wien zwischen den Jahren 1547 und 1659 gehörten, die Echtheit Feridun'scher Stücke nachzuweisen und zwar durch den Vergleich mit acht erhaltenen Urkunden, mit sieben Übersetzungen oder Abschriften sowie durch Parallelurkunden und historische Umstände. Einiger Zweifel blieb bei zwei Stücken, eines erhielt das Prädikat „unsicher“²⁵. Die Echtheit einer Feridun-Urkunde hatte zuvor schon Halil Edhem [Eldem] an Hand einer von ihm aufgefundenen

¹⁷ P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (VI), in „Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes“ (= WZKM), 58 (1962), S. 194–196, siehe dazu auch Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit., S. 228–236.

¹⁸ F. von Kraelitz, *Ilk 'Osmānlı Pādīşāhlarının isdār etmiş oldukları ba'z berâtlar*, in *Tâ'rih-i 'Osmâni Encümeni Mecmûası* Bd 5, 1915, Nr. 28, S. 242–250.

¹⁹ 2. Auflage, Band 1, S. 87

²⁰ Siehe Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (VI)...cit., S. 194.

²¹ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit.

²² Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*...cit., S. 107.

²³ J. Rypka, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II.Bande von Feriduns Münşeāt (Regesten und Chronologie)*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, S. 241–269.

²⁴ H. Jansky, *Die Eroberung Syriens durch Sultan Selīm I.*, in „Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte“ 2 (1923–1926), S. 204, 205, 211.

²⁵ Holter, *Studien*...cit., S. 429–451.

Originalurkunde diskutiert und bejaht²⁶. Auch Paul Wittek hat zu dieser Frage einen Beitrag geleistet²⁷. Schließlich hatte Celalzade Mustafa in sein noch zu Lebzeiten Süleymans des Prächtigen verfasstes Geschichtswerk drei Staatsschreiben aufgenommen, deren Texte sich auch bei Feridun finden²⁸, was ebenfalls auf Authentizität deutet. Ahmed Feridun Bey ist somit beides, ein bedeutender Fälscher und ein verdienstvoller Urkundensammler und Urkundenbewahrer. Was ihn von den anderen Fälschern unterscheidet wird noch deutlich werden.

Die übrigen Fälschungen

Aus der Zeit der ersten drei Sultane, dem Zeitraum zwischen 1300 und 1389, wurden bisher insgesamt vier nicht von Feridun stammende Stücke als Fälschungen diskutiert, dazuzurechnen ist wohl noch eines der zweifelhaften Stücke, das von mehreren Autoren als Fälschung angesehen wird.

Das erste Stück²⁹ gibt vor, eine originale *Vakf*-Urkunde Murads I. zugunsten eines Ahi Musa zu sein, vom Jahr 1366. Paul Wittek kam in einer eingehenden Untersuchung zum Schluss, dass es sich um eine Fälschung aus der Zeit um 1500 handle, der aber eine echte Urkunde (*biti*) Murads I. von 1366 zugrunde liege. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr bestreitet aus historischen Gründen auch die Echtheit des *Biti*³⁰. Nedim Filipović hingegen erschütterte dieses negative Urteil durch eine Stelle bei Konstantin dem Philosophen³¹. Vančo Boškov, der inzwischen in Klosterarchiven des Heiligen Berges Athos mehrerer frühosmanische Originale entdeckt hatte³², gelang es schließlich dank der von ihm und

²⁶ H. Edhem [Eldem], *Mısır Fethi Mukaddemâtına Aid Mühim Bir Vesika*, in „*Türk Ta'rih Encümeni Mecmû'ası*“, 17–18 Nr. 19 (96) (1928), S. 30–36.

²⁷ Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (VII)*...cit., in „WZKM“, 59–60 (1963–1964), S. 222–223.

²⁸ Siehe P. Kappert (Hrsg.), *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kânûn's von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabakât ül-Memâlik ve Derecât ül-Mesâlik von Celâlzâde Mustafâ genannt Koca Nişancı*, Wiesbaden 1981, S. 181.

²⁹ Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (VI)*...cit., S. 165–192.

³⁰ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit., S. 171–176.

³¹ N. Filipović, *Wittekova emendacija Vakifname Murata i Ahi Musi i jedna vijest kod Konstantina Filozofa*, in *Radovi Knjiga L (Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine) Odjeljenje Društvenih Nauka, Knjiga 17*, Sarajevo 1974, S. 145–188.

³² V. Boškov, *Jedno originalno pismo-naredba (Biti) Murata II za Svetu Goru*, in „*Hilandarski Zbornik*“, 4 (1978), S. 131–136; id., *Ein Nişân des Prinzen Orhan, Sohn Süleyman Çelebis, aus dem Jahre 1412 im Athoskloster Sankt Paulus*, in „WZKM“, 71

anderen erweiterten Vergleichsbasis, diese Urkunde als echtes und originales Stück zu erweisen³³.

Das zweite Stück, in griechischer Übersetzung erhalten, ist ein *ferman* Murads I. von 1372, in welchem er dem Kloster St. Johannes Podromos bei Serres Schutz gewährt. Aus historischen Gründen, weil nämlich Serres erst 1383 erobert wurde und weil Murad I. nicht vor 1376 nach Rumelien habe übersetzen können, hält Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr den *ferman* für gefälscht³⁴. Anders Elizabeth Zachariadou-Oikonomidis³⁵: Sie untersuchte die Urkunde im Zusammenhang mit den griechischen Texten dreier ebenfalls früher Urkunden für das Kloster, die sie als griechische Übersetzungen osmanischer Originale des Prinzen Musa, Mehmeds I. und Mehmeds II. erweist. In diesen wird auf eine vorausgehende Urkunde Murads I. Bezug genommen. Die Untersuchungen Elizabeth Zachariadous wurden, wie Vančo Boškov zeigt³⁶, glänzend bestätigt durch Boris Nedkovs Publikation der originalen osmanischen Urkunde Mehmeds I.³⁷ Auch diese Urkunde ist also keine Fälschung.

In einem Kloster des Heiligen Berges Athos spürte Vančo Boškov eine weitere Urkunde Murads I. auf, die er unter dem Titel „*Ein originaler Nišan Murads I. vom Jahre 1386 aus dem Athos-Kloster St. Paul*“³⁸ mit einer ausführlichen diplomatischen und historischen Analyse 1979 veröffentlichte. Wenig später erklärten Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr und Nicoară Beldiceanu diese Urkunde für gefälscht³⁹. Sechs Argumente hatten sie zu diesem Urteil geführt. Diese sechs Argumente konnte ich

(1979), S. 127–152 mit einem Faksimile; id., *Jedan originalan nišan Murata I iz 1386. godine u manastiru Svetog Pavla na Svetoj Gori*, in „*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*“, 27 (1977), S. 225–246.

³³ V. Boškov, *Zur Frage der Originalität und Authentizität einiger frühosmanischer Urkunden*, S. 2–6. Vančo Boškov hat mir einige Zeit vor seinem plötzlichen Tode im Jahre 1984 einen maschinenschriftlichen Text dieses Aufsatzes gegeben. Nach der „*Bibliografija radova Dr. Vanče Boškova*“ von Snježana Buzov in „*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*“, 34 (1984), S. 201–211 scheint er nicht gedruckt worden zu sein.

³⁴ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches* ... cit., S. 180–182.

³⁵ E. A. Zachariadou, *Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)*, in „*Südost-Forschungen*“, 28 (1969), S. 1–12.

³⁶ Boškov, *Zur Frage der Originalität* ... cit., S. 6–7.

³⁷ B. Nedkov, *Osmano-turska diplomatika i paleografija*. Bd. 2, Sofia 1972, S. 14–16, 236 (Faksimile).

³⁸ V. Boškov, *Jedan originalan nišan Murata I. iz 1386. godine u Manastiru Svetog Pavla na Svetoj Gori*, in „*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*“, 27 (1977), S. 225–246.

³⁹ N. Beldiceanu et I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Un faux document Ottoman concernant Radoslav Sampias*, in „*Turcica*“, 12 (1980), S. 161–168.

widerlegen⁴⁰, sodass das Untersuchungsergebnis Vančo Boškova bestätigt wurde. Wiederum hat sich eine vermeintliche gefälschte frühosmanische Urkunde als echt erwiesen.

Das vierte Stück betrifft die Gewährung von Schutz und Steuerbefreiung der beiden Söhne eines Seyyid Büzürg Ali durch Murad I. Hier plädieren Wittek⁴¹ und Beldiceanu-Steinherr⁴² übereinstimmend für Fälschung. Dasselbe gilt für das vierte Stück, eine eher literarische „Urkunde“ Murads I. für Gazi Evrenos⁴³.

Von den beiden Stücken Orhans, die Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr als zweifelhaft annimmt⁴⁴, war eines, die Bestätigung eines *Vakıf*, von Wittek zuvor als echt betrachtet⁴⁵, das zweite, eine Schenkungsurkunde, von İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı⁴⁶ als echt angesehen, von Wittek und Scheel aber als Fälschung verworfen worden⁴⁷. Hier ist das abschließende Urteil noch nicht gesprochen.

Soweit die Fälschungen aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, der einzigen Periode der osmanischen Geschichte, deren Urkunden bisher im Zusammenhang und eingehend untersucht worden sind. Als Fälschung zu werten sind heute, abgesehen von Feridun's Texten, nur noch zwei Urkunden. Zwei weitere bleiben zweifelhaft.

Die Zahl der erhaltenen Urkunden aus dem 15. Jahrhundert ist bereits deutlich höher. Wie steht es aber mit der Diskussion bzw. dem Nachweis von Fälschungen?

⁴⁰ H. G. Majer, *Some Remarks on the Document of Murad I From the Monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos* (1386), in *Mount Athos in the 14th–16th Centuries*, Athen 1997, S. 33–39.

⁴¹ Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (IV), in „WZKM“, 56 (1960), S. 277 Anm. 53; Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (VI) ...cit., S. 192–194.

⁴² Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches* ...cit., S. 201–212.

⁴³ Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (II) ...cit., in „WZKM“, 54 (1958), S. 244 Anm. 9; id., *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (VI) ...cit., S. 194–196, Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches* ...cit., S. 228–236.

⁴⁴ Ibid., S. 113–114, 106–110.

⁴⁵ Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (I) ...cit., in „WZKM“, 53 (1957), S. 306–309.

⁴⁶ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Yeni Bir Vesikanın Ehemmiyeti ve İzahı ve bu Münasebetle Osmanlılarda İlk Vesirlere Dair Mütalaa*, in „Belleten“, 3 (1939), S. 99–106; id., *Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi*, in „Belleten“, 5 (1941), S. 277–279.

⁴⁷ P. Lemerle und P. Wittek, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athoïtes sous la domination turque*, in „Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental“, 3 (1948), S. 420–421 Anmerkung; P. Wittek, *Les archives de Turquie*, in „Byzantion“, 13 (1938), S. 697; H. Scheel, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der ökumenischen Kirchenfürsten in der alten Türkei. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Verfassung und Verwaltung*, Berlin 1943, S. 4 Anm. 1.

Umstritten ist die Echtheit des häufig erwähnten *ahdname* Mehmeds II. für die bosnischen Franziskaner. Das „Original“ dieser Urkunde im Kloster Fojnica ist gewiss nicht echt, was Hazim Šabanović schon vor Jahren nachgewiesen hat⁴⁸. Unter anderem stellte er fest, die *tuğra* ähnele nicht den bekannten *tuğras* Mehmeds II. Kein Wunder, es ist die seines Nachfolgers Bayezid II., obwohl es im Text heißt: „*Ben, ki Sultan Mehmed Han'im*“ (Ich, der ich Sultan Mehmed Han bin). Zahlreiche seit dem 17. Jahrhundert hergestellte und von *kadis* beglaubigte Abschriften zeigen indes, dass der Inhalt des Vertrages zu dieser Zeit für echt angesehen wurde. Ob er es wirklich ist? Šabanović und andere plädieren jedenfalls für die Echtheit des Vertragstextes. In einer eingehenden Analyse kommt Vančo Boškov zu einem differenzierteren Ergebnis⁴⁹: Demnach ist das originale *ahdname* Mehmeds II. von 1463 verloren, sein Text jedoch in der *Narratio* einer Urkunde erhalten, in der Bayezid II. 1483 das *ahdname* des Vaters bestätigte. Auf der Grundlage dieses Textes und der Kenntnis von *ahdnames* des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde das „Original“ wieder hergestellt. Das *ahdname* in Fojnica und seine Abschriften sind daher nicht authentisch, der Textteil über die Privilegien jedoch ist es. Was im Westen so häufig ist, treffen wir auch hier einmal im Osmanischen Reich, Mönche rekonstruierten den verloren gegangenen Beweis für ein echtes Privileg.

Franz Babinger hat gegenüber einem lateinisch geschriebenen Gnadenbrief Mehmeds II. für Gentile Bellini, der sich in einer Abschrift in Innsbruck erhalten hat, vor allem aus inneren Gründen Bedenken angemeldet, ohne aber ein abschließendes Urteil über das „seltsame Schriftmal“ zu fällen⁵⁰. Eine Urkunde Mehmeds II. von 1473 für das Kloster Sulu Monastir in Istanbul⁵¹, wurde, nachdem Wittek darauf aufmerksam gemacht hatte, dass es sich dabei in Wirklichkeit um eine

⁴⁸ H. Šabanović, *Turski dokumenti u Bosni iz druge polovine XV stoljeća*, in „*Istorisko-Pravni Zbornik*“, 2 (1949), S. 200–208 und Tafel X.

⁴⁹ V. Boškov, *Pitanje autentičnosti fojničke ahd-name Mehmeda II iz 1463. godine*, in „*Godišnjak Društva Istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*“, 28–30, (1977–1979), S. 87–104 mit deutscher Zusammenfassung S. 104 und einem Facsimile.

⁵⁰ F. Babinger, *Ein vorgeblicher Gnadenbrief Mehmeds II. für Gentile Bellini (15. Jänner 1481)*, in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 5 (1962), S. 85–101 nachgedruckt in Id., *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante III*, München 1976, S. 164–180.

⁵¹ Id., *Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir unter Mehmed II. (1473)*, in *Charisteria Orientalia. Festschrift für Jan Rypka zum 70. Geburtstag*, Prag 1956, S. 29–37, nachgedruckt in id., *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen I...cit.*, S. 109–123 mit Ergänzungen.

Urkunde Selims II. von 1570 handle,⁵² von Nicoară Beldiceanu als Fälschung bezeichnet⁵³. Die Wittek'sche Zuschreibung an Selim II. bezweifelte Beldiceanu nicht. Doch Babingers Lesung eines Datums innerhalb des Textes nahm er als gegeben hin und da dies so historisch nicht passte, schloss er auf eine Fälschung. Liest man aber dieses Datum neu, so stimmen die Fakten. Es handelt sich tatsächlich um eine echte Urkunde Selims II., die eine frühere seines Vaters Süleyman in der gleichen Sache bestätigt. Babinger hatte sich bei *tuğra* und bei beiden Daten versehen⁵⁴. Ein Echtheitsproblem stellt sich damit nicht.

Der vorläufige Befund für das 15. Jahrhundert lautet also: wissenschaftlich nachgewiesen worden sind eine Verfälschung und eine falsche Zuschreibung, eine Urkunde blieb zweifelhaft.

Aus der Zeit Süleymans des Prächtigen ist, wenn man so will, ein Text als Fälschung erwiesen. Darin wurden vom Sultan in Form einer Urkunde einem Balı Beg moralische Ratschläge erteilt⁵⁵. Ein ähnlicher Text⁵⁶ bezeichnet sich als Schreiben Murads I. an Gazi Evrenos. Davon war oben schon die Rede. Hier könnte man eher von moralisierenden, literarischen Texten sprechen als von regelrechten Urkundenfälschungen, auch wenn sie in Urkundenform gegossen sind.

Von den Osmanen ertappte Urkundenfälscher

Weitere wissenschaftlich nachgewiesene Fälschungen sind mir bisher nicht bekannt geworden. Die Osmanen selbst jedoch müssen zahlreiche Fälschungen aufgedeckt haben. Nur so lässt sich erklären, warum in das *kanunname* Süleymans des Prächtigen ein diesbezüglicher

⁵² P. Wittek, Rezension zu F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*. München 1953, in „*Bibliotheca Orientalis*“, 14, 5/6 (September–November 1957), S. 262.

⁵³ N. Beldiceanu, *La Moldavie Ottomane à la fin du XV^e siècle et au début du XVI^e siècle*, in „*Revue des Études Islamiques*“, 2 (1969), S. 247–248.

⁵⁴ In den Nachdruck des Aufsatzes fügte Babinger eine Anmerkung ein (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* I, S. 110 Anmerkung 4), in der er zugestand, dass die Urkunde die *tuğra* Selims II. trägt. Doch die Urkunde selbst hielt er noch immer für eine Urkunde Mehmeds II. wenn auch „eben für eine spätere, im 16. Jhdt. gefertigte Abschrift“!

⁵⁵ B. Atsız, *Über eine Urkunde Sultan Süleymans*...cit., S. 17–28.

⁵⁶ Siehe dazu Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (II)*, S. 244 Anm. 9; id., *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (VI)*, S. 194–196, Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*...cit., S. 228–236.

Passus aufgenommen wurde⁵⁷, der sich in den früheren *kanunnames* Mehmeds II. und Bayezids II. jedoch noch nicht findet⁵⁸. Er lautet: „Furthermore, a person who bears false testimony or gives a forged legal certificate (*hüccet*) or makes active use of such shall be severely punished... And a person who forges a decree (*hüküm*) or legal certificate shall, if he does this habitually, have his hand cut off; if he does not, he shall be severely punished“. Auch spezielle *kanune* der Marktaufseher (*ihtisab kanunlari*) enthalten Strafvorschriften für Urkundenfälschung⁵⁹. Diese Vorschriften blieben auch keineswegs auf dem Papier. In einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen *kadiasker* und *şeyhülislam* über die Bestrafung eines *tuğra*-Fälschers im frühen 17. Jahrhundert schlug der *kadiasker* dem Sultan die Verbannung nach Zypern vor, der *şeyhülislam* forderte die strengere Bestrafung gemäß dem *kanun*⁶⁰.

Tatsächlich stößt man in Urkundenregistern der Zentralverwaltung, etwa den *mühimme defterleri*, den *şikayet defterleri* und anderen *deftern* ebenso auf Fälle von Urkundenfälschung wie in den Protokollbüchern der Kadiämter, den *sicill*. Auf solchen Hinweisen beruhen die Abschnitte, die Mübahat Kütükoğlu in ihrer umfassenden osmanischen Diplomatik der Fälschung von *fermanen* und *beraten* widmet⁶¹. Besondere Fälle wurden sogar in diplomatischen Kreisen bekannt. So trug im Februar 1576 der kaiserliche Gesandtschaftspredigers Stephan Gerlach in sein Tagebuch ein, dass „der Oberste Cantzler/weil er falsche Briefe gemacht/abgesetzt worden“⁶².

Die Geschichtsschreibung registrierte aufsehererregende Fälle, besonders wenn sie in prominenten Kreisen spielten. Einige Beispiele: Ich beginne mit einer Gruppe von Fälschern, die unserer Jubilarin Suraiya Faroqhi schon früh, nämlich in ihrer Dissertation begegnet ist. Sie brachte dort einen der von ihr bearbeiteten *telhise* zusammen mit einer Stelle in der Chronik des Selânîkî. Einige Sekretäre des *divan* hatten gefälschte Berate und *tezakir* ausgestellt. Außerdem waren für den

⁵⁷ U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1973, S. 83 Nr. 98 (osmanisch), S. 121 (englisch).

⁵⁸ Ibid., S. 30.

⁵⁹ Ibid., S. 230. R. Mantran, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans: la police des marchés de Stamboul au début du XV^e siècle*, in „*Cahiers de Tunisie*“, 14 (1956), S. 240 Nr. 50; nachgedruckt in id., *L'empire ottoman du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle. Administration, économie, société*, London 1984, Nr. I.

⁶⁰ Heyd, *Studies*... cit., S. 183.

⁶¹ M. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)*, Istanbul 1994, S. 122–124, 144–145.

⁶² S. Gerlachs *des Älteren Tage-Buch*, Franckfurth am Mayn 1674, S. 160.

Feldherrn des Ostfeldzuges bestimmte, mit *tuğra* versehene Blanko-Befehle in ihre Hände gelangt. Sie trugen darauf ein, was sie wollten und brachten Unordnung in die Staatsangelegenheiten. Außerdem hatten sie eine Art Tinte eingesetzt, die alles Geschriebene vom Papier verschwinden ließ, sie trugen dann ein, was immer ihnen beliebte. Schließlich wurden ihre Untaten kund. Zwei namentlich genannte Sekretäre wurden festgenommen. Eine Untersuchung ergab ihre Schuld und sie wurden gehenkt. Sechs weiteren Sekretären wurde eine Hand abgehackt, weitere sieben wurden auf die Galeeren geschickt, darüber hinaus verloren einige ihre Ämter im *divan*⁶³. Der Geschichtsschreiber Uşakîzade Seyyid Ibrahim Efendi berichtet von einem *kadı*, Hicazîzade Seyyid Abdullah (erschlagen im April 1684), der die meiste Zeit mit List und Trug zugebracht hatte, indem er beispielsweise kaiserliche Befehle (*tevkîat-i sultaniye*) nachmachte, in *Divanî-Schrift* Ernennungsurkunden (*menasib fermanları*) schrieb, und, die Unterschriften der *kadis* seiner Zeit nachahmend, in jeder Sache, die er wollte, Gerichtsurkunden (*hüccet*) ausstellte⁶⁴. Leider fehlen konkretere Details. Im April 1698 sorgte ein Celeng Mustafa in Anatolien für Unruhe. Er gab sich als *kapıcıbaşı* aus, bedrückte mit gefälschten *fermanen* Beys in Anatolien, zog ihre Besitztümer für sich ein und vergoss viel unnötiges Blut. Als dies dem Sultan zu Ohren kam, ließ er ihn fassen und in Edirne, vor der *Üç Şerefeli* Moschee hinrichten. Dem Schreiber, der die falschen *fermane* fabriziert hatte, ließ er die Hand abhacken⁶⁵. Im Jahre 1725 hatte der *defterdar* von Kreta, der frühere *şehir emini* Osman Efendi, ein geld- und machtgieriger Bedrücker, vier *fermane* gefälscht und sich selbst die Stellung des *mütesellim* gewährt. Die Fälschung wurde ruchbar, als einige Notabeln (*ayan*) die Urkunden lasen und feststellten, dass der Inhalt grobherrlichen Schreiben nicht entsprach, worauf sämtliche Amtsinhaber vor Gericht zogen und einen Prozess gegen ihn anstrebten. Vor Gericht wurde bewiesen, dass er Schrift, *tuğra* und Kanzleivermerke gefälscht

⁶³ S. Faroqhi, *Die Vorlagen (telhise) des Großwesirs Sinân paşa an Sultan Murâd III.* Diss. Phil. Hamburg, Hamburg 1970, S. 33–34 und M. Selânikî, *Ta'rih-i Selânikî. Die Chronik des Selânikî*, Freiburg 1970 (= Nachdruck der Ausgabe Istanbul 1281/1864), S. 271–272.

⁶⁴ H. J. Kissling (Hrsg.), *‘Uşâqîzâde’s Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Zeyl-i Şaqâ’iq)*, Wiesbaden 1965, S. 527; danach wörtlich auch in A. Özcan (Hrsg.), *Şakaik-ı Nu’maniye ve Zeyilleri: Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, Vekayîü’l-Fudala*. Bd. I, Istanbul 1989, S. 522.

⁶⁵ Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme. Sadeleşiren İsmet Parmaksızoglu*. Bd. 1, Istanbul 1962, S. 341.

hatte. Berichte an die Pforte forderten seine Bestrafung. Er büßte aufgrund einer allerhöchsten, eigenhändigen Verfügung des Sultans (*hatt-ı hümayun*) und eines daraufhin erlassenen *ferman* mit dem Leben⁶⁶. Im Jahre 1749 kam Ibrahim Bey, ein kurdischer Emir in die Hauptstadt, und weil er dort nichts erreichte, beschaffte er sich die Ernennung zum *san-cakbeyi* von Baba durch einen gefälschten *ferman*, die gefälschte *tuğra* und ein gefälschtes Wesirschreiben (*vezir mektubu*) Ömer Efendis, eines Schreibers aus dem Hofe [der Moschee] Sultan Mehmeds. Mit dreißig Gefolgsleuten zog Ibrahim Bey nach Anatolien und schmückte sich mit dem Titel Pascha. Ein Bericht in die Hauptstadt führte auf Grund eines Sultansbefehls in Izmir zu seiner Verhaftung und Inhaftierung. Die gefälschten Papiere wurden eingesandt und der Fälscher Ömer Efendi daraufhin festgenommen und hingerichtet, wie dann auch sein Auftraggeber Ibrahim Bey in Izmir. Zur Warnung wurde dessen Kopf in der Hauptstadt zur Schau gestellt⁶⁷. Ums Jahr 1770 bemächtigte sich der *şeyhülbeled* von Kairo Ali Bey⁶⁸, der die osmanische Herrschaft gering achtete, gewaltsam der Hafenstadt Yanbu', tötete mehrere Bewohner, setzte unter Verwendung gefälschter *fermane* den Scherifen von Mekka ab und in Dschidda auf seine Rechnung einen Mauteinnehmer ein⁶⁹. Eine Strafe erreichte diesen mächtigen Regionalherrscher nicht.

Die meisten Hinweise auf ertappte Fälscher finden wir jedoch, wie schon angedeutete, in Urkundenregistern der osmanischen Verwaltung und anderen Archivalien.

Ein *kıptî* (Zigeuner) namens Mustafa bin Abdullah wies einen großherrlichen Befehl (*hüküm*) vor, der ihn zum *mehterbaşı* ernannte, sich aber als gefälscht erwies. Vor Gericht befragt, von wem er ihn erhalten habe, gestand er, dass er ihn durch Vermittlung Kasım Paplas, einem Mann aus seiner Sippe (*cemaat*), um 300 *Akçe* vom Schreiber Hüseyin

⁶⁶ Küçükçelebizâde, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1282/1865, S. 388–389, danach stark verkürzt bei Hammer, *Geschichte*...cit., VII, S. 375. Aus der Stelle bei Hammer folgerte Babinger „Auf unbefugtes Schreiben der Tughra wurde die Todesstrafe gesetzt“ (*Die grossherrliche Tughra*, Nachdruck in: Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen II*...cit., S. 108). Dies ergibt sich jedoch keineswegs aus der Stelle bei Küçükçelebizâde.

⁶⁷ M. Münir Aktepe (Hrsg.), *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi Mür'î't-Tevârih*. Bd. 1, Istanbul 1976, S. 146.

⁶⁸ Über 'Ali Bey siehe: 'Alî Bey (G. Wiet ed.), in *EI*² Bd. 1, S. 391–392; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1512–1922. A Political History*, London 1966, S. 93–98. Zum Şeyhülbeled siehe: „*Shaykh al-Balad*“ (M. Winter ed.), in *EI*², Bd. 9, S. 398.

⁶⁹ Väsîf, *Ta'rih*. Bd. 2, Istanbul 1219/1804, S. 214–215, danach auch kurz bei Hammer, *Geschichte*...cit., VIII 418.

Çelebi erhalten habe. Dies wurde ins Register des Kadiamtes (*sicill*) eingetragen. Der *kadı* sandte einen Bericht an die Pforte. Von dort erging im September 1565 der Befehl, die drei Männer gebunden und von zuverlässigen Männern bewacht in die Hauptstadt zu überstellen⁷⁰. Einem anderen Fälscher begegnet man im Sicill von Ankara: ein angeblicher *sipahi* war dort aufgetreten und hatte von jeder Werkstätte (*tezgâh*) drei *şahi* eingezogen indem er behauptete, er besitze einen entsprechenden Sultansbefehl (*emir*). Die Reaktion der Pforte war scharf. Man solle ihn auf welche Weise auch immer fassen und in Fesseln in die Hauptstadt schicken. Wenn man einen entsprechenden Sultansbefehl bei ihm fände, solle er ihm weggenommen, in einen Beutel gesteckt und versiegelt werden und er selbst solle unter allerstrengster Bewachung von zuverlässigen Leuten, denen ihr Auftrag strengstens einzuschärfen sei, herbeigeschafft werden⁷¹. In einem *telhis* an Sultan Mehmed III. (1595–1603) wies Derwisch Pascha, Großwesir 1606, darauf hin, dass er seit er im Amt sei, schon viele Übeltäter gefasst und ihrer Strafe zugeführt habe, die entweder die kaiserliche *tuğra* oder großherrliche Münzen gefälscht hatten. Es habe keinen Tag gegeben, an dem nicht mehrere von ihnen hingerichtet worden seien⁷². Im Dezember 1695 erging der Befehl, Çelebi Osman, der in Erzurum mit falschen Papieren gefasst worden war und mit falschen *beraten* ein *sancak* an sich gebracht hatte, in der Hauptstadt vorzuführen⁷³. Im Mai 1696 erging ein Befehl, Hab und Gut von vier namentlich genannten Männern aus der *kaza* Peremedi, die im *sancak* Avlonya *cizye* Bescheinigungen ausgestellt und mit einem falschen Siegel versehen und damit eine Störung des Fiskus verursacht hatten, gerichtlich zu erfassen, in einem *Defter* zu verzeichnen, und sie selbst in Fesseln durch den dazu als *mübaşir* beauftragten *kapıcıbaşı* Zülfikar im Heer vorzuführen. Die Aktion war durch einen Brief des *mütesellim* des *sancak* Avlonya ausgelöst worden. Nur einer der drei konnte allerdings gefasst werden. Ein weiterer *ferman* gebot, ihn in der Festung Niš einzukerkern und streng zu bewachen⁷⁴. Nachdem gefälschte Sultansbefehle (*emir*), sowie einige gefälschte Bittschriften (*arz*) und *rüüs* aufgetaucht

⁷⁰ 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 152 Nr. 358, Özet ve İndeks S. 66; G. Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva Mühimme defteri*, Belgrad 1951, S. 253 Nr. 416.

⁷¹ Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın İki Numaralı Şer'îye Sicilli.1 Muharrem 997–8 Ramazan 998 (20 Kasım 1588–11 Temmuz 1590)*. Ankara 1974, S. 107 Nr. 1393.

⁷² C. Orhonlu, *Telhisler (1597–1607)*, Istanbul 1970, S. 126 Nr. 163.

⁷³ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Mühimme Defteri 106, S. 374 Nr. 2 (1107/1696).

⁷⁴ Mühimme Defteri 108, S. 277/3 (1107/1696), S. 368/ 3 (1107/1696).

waren, wurden Seyyid Mehmed und sein Gefährte Mustafa, da sie der Ordnung des Staates Schaden zugefügt hatten, zusammen mit dem früheren Hassa Müezzín Arab Abdülbaki, in dessen Haus sich Seyyid Mehmed geflüchtet hatte, im August 1697 in der Festung Seddülbahır eingekerkert. Der *müezzín* wurde allerdings schon einen Monat später, die beiden anderen drei Monate später wieder freigelassen und zwar auf Bitten von Seyyid Mehmeds Mutter, Seyyide Mü'mine⁷⁵. Wie Erzbischof und Synaxis des Sinai-Klosters gemeldet hatten, hatte sich der *zimmi* Konstantin, ein Blumenhändler (*çicekçi*), der sich als Kaufmann (*bazirgân*) eingekleidet hatte, mit gefälschten Urkundenkopien als Händler des Sinaiklosters ausgegeben und sich damit Steuer- und Zollerleichterungen verschafft. Dadurch sei sowohl der Staatskasse als auch dem Ansehen des Sinai-Klosters großer Schaden entstanden. Der genannte Betrüger habe ungefähre Kenntnis von den Bestimmungen des Vertragsschreibens der Sinaiten gehabt und mit gefälschten Siegeln Kopien hergestellt. Diese falschen Kopien habe er in den *kadı*-Ämtern registrieren lassen. Den ihm bekannten Bestimmungen des Vertragsschreibens habe er dabei noch selbst erfundene, den wirklichen Privilegien der Sinaiten widersprechende Handelsrechte hinzugefügt. Als es sich herausstellte, dass es sich um Fälschungen handelte, wurde er gefasst und zur Galeerenstrafe verurteilt. Nachdem der Inhalt des Vertragsschreibens (*ahdname*) in den im großherrlichen Schatz verwahrten *Piskopos Mukataası Defterleri* eingesehen worden war, erging im August 1804 der *ferman*, der die echten Privilegien bestätigte und streng befahl, weitere Exemplare der gefälschten Urkundenkopien, in wessen Händen sie sich auch immer befänden, zu beschlagnahmen und ungültig zu machen⁷⁶.

Diese Fälle mögen genügen um zu belegen, dass im Osmanischen Reich auch nach der Frühzeit einfallsreich und munter gefälscht wurde. Wie aber kam man den Fälschern auf die Schliche, was war ihr sozialer Hintergrund, welche Art von Urkunden fälschten sie auf welche Weise und aus welchen Motiven und wie wurden sie bestraft?

⁷⁵ *Mühimme Defteri* 109, S. 17 Nr. 2, S. 27 Nr. 5.

⁷⁶ K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, S. 174–175 (Regest); mit Textedition (Faksimile, Umschrift und Übersetzung) eingehend behandelt in Z. Veselá-Přenosilová, *A propos d'une falsification des documents ottomans en 1804*, in „*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*“, 22–23 (1972–73), S. 149–162.

Wie wurden Fälschungen aufgedeckt?

Die moderne wissenschaftliche Methode der Entlarvung durch äußere und innere Kritik hat, ganz auf die frühosmanische Zeit konzentriert, bisher nur wenige eindeutige und bleibende Resultate vorzuweisen. Das liegt einmal daran, dass lange Zeit nur allzu wenige Originale bekannt waren und dass darüber hinaus den Forschern häufig nur Faksimiles erreichbar waren. Verlässliche Kriterien der Echtheit herauszuarbeiten wurde dadurch erschwert. Die Situation hat sich aber in letzter Zeit gebessert. Da zudem viele der bisher auf Echtheit untersuchten Stücke Abschriften oder Übersetzungen waren, kam der inneren Kritik, die stärker als die äußere Kritik vom Stand der Wissenschaft abhängig ist und auch eher von subjektiven Einschätzungen bestimmt sein kann, eine Hauptrolle zu. Dies ist misslich, weil gerade die frühosmanische Geschichte fast zu viele ungelöste Probleme hat. Auf viele Fragen, die eine Urkunde stellt, ließen und lassen sich oft keine oder nur unscharfe oder widersprüchliche Antworten finden. Folge ist, dass verschiedene Stücke von den einen für echt, von anderen für gefälscht befunden worden sind. Insgesamt aber bietet der inzwischen erreichte Stand der osmanischen Diplomatie eine solide Grundlage für die weitere Arbeit.

Wie deckten die Osmanen selbst aber Fälschungen auf? Soweit die Quellen Angaben machen, wurden die Fälscher häufig von den Geschädigten angezeigt. Dies konnten einzelne Personen, Personengruppen, aber auch die Bewohner ganzer Ortschaften oder Gerichtssprengel sein. Dafür konnte man im Einzelfalle sogar belohnt werden⁷⁷. Die Mönche des Sinai klagten gegen Konstantin, der ihre Privilegien missbrauchte, der Staat ging gegen Fälscher von Kopfsteuerbescheinigungen (*cizye kağıtları*) vor, weil sie dem Fiskus Schaden zufügten. In der Regel wandten sich Kläger an das Scheriatgericht, manchmal auch direkt an die Reichsspitze. Die *kadis* oder ihre Stellvertreter (*naib*) unterbreiteten den Fall üblicherweise schriftlich der Pforte, die dann in der Regel befahl, die Fälscher gefesselt vor den *divan* zu bringen, die gefälschten Papiere sicherzustellen, das Vermögen der Fälscher in einem *defter* zu verzeichnen, und das *defter* mit einzusenden⁷⁸. In anderen Fällen schöpften Amtsträger Verdacht und schickten die verdächtigen Stücke zur Überprüfung in die Hauptstadt. So erregten im Februar 1566 in Van *tuğra*

⁷⁷ 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 470 Nr. 1265, Özet ve İndeks S. 205.

⁷⁸ Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva*...cit., S. 178 Nr. 1187 nach *Mühimme Defteri* 6, S. 564.

und Schrift eines Sultansbefehls (*hükiim*) Verdacht, wurden eingesandt und als gefälscht bestätigt⁷⁹. In der Hauptstadt nämlich konnten Fachleute die *tuğra* prüfen, Siegel an Hand von Listen vergleichen⁸⁰ und feststellen, ob die Echtheit einer Urkunde durch den entsprechenden Eintrag in einem Register bestätigt wurde oder nicht⁸¹. Der Gesandtschaftsprediger Stephan Gerlach hat dieses Verfahren schon 1577 beobachtet: „Und wann einer dieses Zeichen schon wollte nachmahlen/und falsche Brieffe/in deß Kaysers Namen schreiben/kann man den Betrug doch gleich innewerden/wann nehmlich solches Schreiben nit in dem Hauptbuch stehet. Dann was für Schreiben und Befelch vom dem Kayser oder Bassa außgehet/die werden alle zusammen in ein Hauptbuch eingeschrieben/daß man nachschlagen und alle Handlungen leichtlich finden kann. Vor wenig Jahren hab einer dieses Zeichen nachgemahlet/und ihm selbst ein Schreiben wegen eines Tinars oder Zehendens/ im Nahmen deß Kaysers/gestellet aber durch dieses Buch verrathen und gleich gehengt worden“⁸².

Osmanische Urkundenfälscher finden sich in den verschiedensten Bereichen der Gesellschaft. Zur Fälschung von Urkunden waren natürlich jene am besten geeignet, die auch die echten Urkunden herstellten, die Sekretäre und Schreiber der zentralen Reichskanzleien (*divan* und *maliye*)⁸³, oder auch der provinziellen und lokalen Behörden, im weiteren alle, die gewohnt waren zu schreiben. Die Osmanen waren sich aber sehr wohl bewusst, dass zu den Urkundenfälschern nicht nur die zu zählen waren, die eine falsche Urkunde produzierten, sondern auch die, die sie in Auftrag gaben oder für ihr Zwecke einsetzten. Die Strafverfolgung war deshalb auch ausdrücklich bemüht, die Mittäter aufzuspüren und zu bestrafen⁸⁴. Die hohe Qualifikation vieler Täter macht es nicht gerade leicht, eine Fälschung festzustellen. So wurde 1842 die Fälschung, die ein Sekretär (*katib*) mit vierzigjähriger Dienstzeit für

⁷⁹ 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 413 Nr. 1096, Özet ve İndeks S. 179–180. Siehe auch Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*, S. 122 nach 3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 153 Nr. 410, Özet ve İndeks S. 185, S. 344 Nr. 1014, Özet ve İndeks S. 452.

⁸⁰ Solche Siegellisten aus der osmanischen Kanzlei sind abgebildet bei Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 428–430.

⁸¹ 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 470 Nr. 1265, Özet ve İndeks S. 205.

⁸² Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*...cit., S. 375–376.

⁸³ Ein *katib* des *kazasker* von Anatolien fälschte *hüküms* und *tuğras* sowie *hüccets*. Ihm wurde die Hand abgehackt, *Mühimme Defteri* 25, S. 158.

⁸⁴ 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, Tıpkıbasım S. 413 Nr. 1096, Özet ve İndeks S. 179–180, siehe dazu auch Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 122.

einen privaten Interessenten herstellte, erst offenbar, als der *ferman* zum *bâbîâli* gebracht wurde, um mit der *tuğra* versehen zu werden⁸⁵. Aus der zentralen Reichsverwaltung finden sich unter den Fälschern außer Sekretären auch ein *nişancı* und ein *reisülküttab*. Es folgen Provinzwürdenträger, ein *şeyhülbeled* von Kairo, ein kurdischer Emir, ein Provinzdefterdar, aber auch *ulema* und kleinere Religionsdiener etwa ein *molla*, ein *kadı*, ein *kadı*-Stellvertreter (*naib*)⁸⁶, ein *imam*⁸⁷, Stiftungsverwalter (*mütevelli*) und Stiftungsaufseher (*nazır*), sowie lokale oder lokal auftretende Personen darunter ein selbsternannter *kapıcıbaşı*, dann auch *tımar*-Inhaber, Kopfsteuereinnahmer (*cizyedar*)⁸⁸ und ihre Vertreter, ein Schiffskapitän, der Getreide ausführen wollte⁸⁹, *zimmis*, etwa der Händler Konstantin, ein Zigeuner, ein Hacı Mustafa, der sich mit Hilfe eines gefälschten *hüccet* einen fremden Nachlass aneignen wollte⁹⁰, usw. usw. Ein logischer Befund: die Fälscher rekrutierten sich entweder selbst aus Schreiberberufen oder sie gehörten zum Militär und der Provinzverwaltung. Aber auch einfache Leute, Muslime und Nichtmuslime, fehlen nicht. Diese wenig schreibgewohnten Gruppen ließen ihre Fälschungen von schreibkundigen Handlangern herstellen.

Nicht nur die Zahl, auch die Art seiner Fälschungen gibt dem *nişancı* Ahmed Feridun Bey eine Sonderstellung. In erster Linie fälschte er nämlich Korrespondenzen, Briefe und Antworten, keine eigentlichen Urkunden. Aber auch im Falle von Urkunden zielen seine Fälschungen nicht auf den eigenen materiellen Vorteil. Keine einzige Fälschung für eigene Zwecke kann ihm nachgewiesen werden. Ihm ging es darum, die wohl einst existierenden, aber nicht erhaltenen Korrespondenzen der ersten Sultane in ein Werk einzubringen, das für spätere Zeiten dichtes Material hatte, aber eben vollständig sein und bis in die frühesten Zeiten des Reiches zurückreichen sollte. Feridun Bey verstand sich bei dieser Tätigkeit wohl eher als schöpferischer Rekonstrukteur, denn als Fälscher. Er ging mit Verantwortung ans Werk, suchte nach alten Vorlagen,

⁸⁵ Ibid., S. 122–123.

⁸⁶ Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva*... cit., S. 73 Nr. 309 nach *Mühimme Defteri* 6, S. 148.

⁸⁷ *Mühimme Defteri* 108, S. 271/4 (1107/1696).

⁸⁸ *Mühimme Defteri* 108, S. 272/3 (1107/1696).

⁸⁹ Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva*... cit., S. 135 Nr. 829 nach *Mühimme Defteri* 6, S. 404.

⁹⁰ H. G. Majer (Hrsg.), *Das osmanische „Registerbuch der Beschwerden“ (Şikāyet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. mixt. 683. Bd. 1*, Wien 1984, fol. 210v / 7.

denen jene Schreiben geähnelt haben könnten. Die Briefe mussten inhaltlich zur bekannten osmanischen Geschichte stimmen, sie mussten aber auch stilistisch musterhaft sein, denn das Briefschreiben galt als Kunst, die Briefsteller, *inşa*-Werke genannt, hatten stets auch literarischen Charakter. Moralisch mag ihn all das entlasten, diplomatisch bleibt er ein Fälscher. Seine Fälschungen liefern der osmanischen Diplomatie nun aber den wertvollen Hinweis, wie sich ein gebildeter Osmane des 16. Jahrhunderts die osmanische Frühzeit vorstellte. Zudem zeigen sie, dass schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in den osmanischen Archiven Briefe und Urkunden der Frühzeit kaum noch oder nicht mehr aufzufinden waren.

„Brieffe“, *fermane*, *berate*, *vezir mektubu*, *arz*, *cizye kağıtları*, *mülâzemet kağıdı*, *mahzar*, *rüüs*, *temessük*⁹¹, *tezakir*, *hüccet*⁹² und *suret* sind die Produkte⁹³ der übrigen Fälscher, die mir bisher bekannt geworden sind. Einige davon sind schon oben in den Beispielen erwähnt worden. Die „Brieffe“ darf man als staatliche Schreiben, also in erster Linie *fermane* und *berate* verstehen, die ein „Cantzler“ (*reisülküttab*) fälschte. *fermane* als allgemeine Sultansbefehle, auch *hüküm* oder *emir* genannt, besonders aber die *berate* als Urkunden, mit denen Ämter und Würden verliehen wurden, waren besonders fälschungsanfällig, da sie Stellung, Einkommen und Privilegien begründen, verbessern oder sichern konnten, besonders im Bereich des Stiftungswesens und in dem des *timar*-Systems⁹⁴. Eine raffiniertere Methode sich ein *berat* zu verschaffen bestand darin, es sich nicht von der eigentlich zuständigen Stelle (*kalem*) sondern von einer anderen ausstellen zu lassen. Dies führte dann zu Streit zwischen einem rechtmäßigen und einem falschen Berechtigten, der aber durch das Einsehen der *defter* in der Hauptstadt entschieden werden konnte⁹⁵. In der spätesten Phase des Osmanischen Reiches wurden mit *beraten* vor allem Orden (*nişan*) und Medailen (*madalya*) verliehen, was in den Zeitungen als zusätzliche Ehrung auch noch veröffentlicht wurde. 1904 wurde eine Bande ausgehoben, die nicht nur solche *berate* gefälscht hatte, sondern auch noch unbe-

⁹¹ *Mühimme Zeyl Defteri* 11, S. 105/1 (1108/1696).

⁹² *Mühimme Defteri* 25, S. 158; *Mühimme Defteri* 110, S. 75/3 (1108/1697).

⁹³ Über diese Urkundentypen informiert Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 99–124 (*ferman*), S. 124–145 (*berat*), S. 217–220 (*arz*), S. 221–228 (*mektub*), S. 259–260 (*cizye kağıdı*), S. 368–369 (*suret*), S. 350–358 (*hüccet*), S. 315–321 (*mahzar*), S. 245–275 (*tezkiye*, Singular von *tezakir*), S. 255–25 (*ruus tezkiresi*).

⁹⁴ Einige Belege dazu bei Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 144.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 144.

denklich die Verleihung in einer Zeitung verkündet hatten⁹⁶. Ein *arz* des *kadı* wird durch sein Siegel beglaubigt. Mit einem echten Siegel lässt sich leichter fälschen, dachten wohl die Männer, die die Witwe eines verstorbenen *kadı* bestachen, um von ihr sein Siegel zu erhalten⁹⁷. Ein *mülâzemet kağıdı* begründete die Anwartschaft auf eine Stelle innerhalb der staatlichen Institution von Religion und Recht (*ilmiye*). Hier fälschte ein Molla Hüseyin⁹⁸. Mit einem gefälschten Tezkere wollte ein Mehmed in Prizren sich die Stelle des *naib* verschaffen⁹⁹. Stiftungsbesitz wurde im Osten, wie im Westen durch falsche oder verfälschte Urkunden gestützt und geschützt, aber auch die Verfügbarkeit über Mittel und Stellen¹⁰⁰. Kopfsteuer Bescheinigungen wurden häufig gefälscht, waren sie doch in der Hand der richtigen Leute so gut wie Bargeld¹⁰¹. Wer aber wie Ali, der *cizyedar* von Sofia als *cizye kâğıdları* Bescheinigungen ausstellte ohne Form und Siegel, genoss das nicht lange¹⁰². Sehr einträglich konnten auch steuerliche Privilegien sein, und sie waren in Form von beglaubigten Abschriften großherrlicher Urkunden (*suret*) verhältnismäßig leicht zu fälschen und vorzulegen. Dies war der Trick des findigen Konstantin, der frech genug war, seine Fälschungen auch noch bei *kadı*-Ämtern vorzulegen und im Protokollbuch (*sicill*) registrieren zu lassen.

Die Gruppe wird geeint durch das unverblümte Ziel fast aller Fälschungen: sich materielle Vorteile zu erschleichen, materielle Vorteile allerdings der unterschiedlichsten Art: Macht, Rang, Status, Privilegien, Besitz, Einkommen, Handelsvorteile, Geld, Ehrungen. In manchen Fällen verbanden sich Fälschungen mit dem Einsatz von Gewalt. Auch bei den Frommen Stiftungen (*vakıf*) ging es nicht selten vorwiegend um materielle Interessen, vor allem wenn es sich um eine Familienstiftung (*evladlık vakfi*) handelte, die einer bestimmten Familie auf Dauer ein sicheres Einkommen gewähren sollte. Und wie im abendländischen Mittelalter kann man auch hier einen Fall finden, bei dem ein christliches Kloster zur „*pia fraus*“ einer Fälschung griff, um einen

⁹⁶ Ibid., S. 145.

⁹⁷ Majer, *Das osmanische „Registerbuch der Beschwerden“* ... cit., fol. 191/2.

⁹⁸ *Mühimme Defteri* 114, S. 242/3.

⁹⁹ *Mühimme Zeyl Defteri* 11, S. 75/2 (1108/1696).

¹⁰⁰ *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, Tıpkıbasım S. 171 Nr. 415, Özet ve İndeks S. 76.

¹⁰¹ *Mühimme Defteri* 106, S. 294/3–4 (1107/1695); 108, S. 272/3 (1107/1696); 108, S. 277/3 (1107/1696); 108, S. 368/3 (1107/1696); 113, S. 3/4 (1113/1702); 114, S. 17/4 (1114/1702).

¹⁰² *Mühimme Defteri* ... cit., 108, S. 420/4 (1108/1696).

kirchlich-religiösen Zweck zu fördern, von dessen Richtigkeit man subjektiv überzeugt war¹⁰³.

Dass eine schriftliche Verwaltung Streit und Missbrauch einschränken kann, war den Osmanen bewusst. So hatte schon Bayezid II. 1486 einen Befehl erlassen, in dem er bestätigte, was schon zu Zeiten seines Vaters eingeführt worden war, dass nämlich „damit später kein Streit entstehe“, alle Geschäfte mit den Ragusanern vom *kadı* durch gerichtliche Urkunden bescheinigt und durch einen Eintrag in sein Protokollbuch gesichert werden sollten. Klagen allein mit Zeugen sollten nicht gehört werden¹⁰⁴. Hier folgte die osmanische Verwaltung alter islamischer Praxis, gegen den von der juristischen Theorie geforderten Beweis durch Zeugen¹⁰⁵. Immer und immer wieder wird in unterschiedlichsten Zusammenhängen befohlen, das vorgeschriebene bürokratische Verfahren einzuhalten¹⁰⁶.

Strafverfahren und Strafen

Nach dem *kanunname* Süleymans des Prächtigen wurde, wie schon erwähnt, die Fälschung von gerichtlichen Urkunden (*hüccet*) und Sultansbefehlen (*hüküm*), sofern sie gewohnheitsmäßig erfolgte, durch das Abhacken einer Hand geahndet, sofern sie nicht gewohnheitsmäßig erfolgte, wurde eine etwas vagere Strafe angedroht (*muhkem hakkından gelmek*), die gewöhnlich als Bastonade zu verstehen ist¹⁰⁷. Soweit die Norm. Wie aber sieht es in der Wirklichkeit aus? In vielen Fällen erfahren wir nur, dass die Urkundenfälscher gefasst, gebunden, bewacht und mit dem Beweismaterial in die Hauptstadt oder, während der Zeit eines Feldzuges, ins Heer verbracht werden sollen. Offenbar wertete die Reichsspitze solche Fälle als schwerwiegend, zog sie in der Regel an sich und bestimmte auch selbst im *divan* unter Mitwirkung der *kazasker* die Strafe. Dürfen wir für die in der Hauptstadt und im Heer Vorge-

¹⁰³ A. v. Brandt, *Werkzeug des Historikers*... cit., S. 99; siehe dazu oben Text zu Anm. 48–49.

¹⁰⁴ F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatie*, Wien 1921, S. 68–69 und Tafel VIIa.

¹⁰⁵ Siehe J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, S. 82–83, 192–195.

¹⁰⁶ Beispielsweise: Sahillioğlu (Hrsg.), *Mühimme Defteri [von 951–952/1544–1545]*... cit., S. 241 Nr. 321; *Mühimme Defteri* 108, S. 290/1 (1106/1696); 109, erste Seite ohne Zählung (1109/1697).

¹⁰⁷ Heyd, *Studies*... cit., S. 271.

führten dann die im *kanun* angedrohten Strafen automatisch erwarten? Wie die oben geschilderten Fälle zeigen, ist das kaum möglich. Denn schon im Falle der fälschenden *divan*-Sekretäre gab es vier verschiedene Strafen: die Todesstrafe, das Handabhacken, die Galeerenstrafe und die Entlassung aus dem Dienst. In anderen Fällen wurden auch Gefängnis, Festungshaft und Verbannung verhängt, dabei ist festzustellen, dass auf die Bitten von Fürsprechern und nach Ablauf einiger Zeit durchaus auch begnadigt wurde¹⁰⁸. Zur Todesstrafe scheint es nur in besonders gravierenden Fällen gekommen zu sein, besonders dann, wenn neben der Urkundenfälschung weitere gegen die staatliche Ordnung verstößende Gewalttaten zu sühnen waren. Das Handabhacken dürfte gemäß dem *kanun* auf die gewohnheitsmäßigen Fälscher beschränkt gewesen sein. Die weiteren Strafen sind wohl als erweiterte Anwendungen des „*hakkından gelmek*“ zu verstehen¹⁰⁹. So hatte Ali, der Stellvertreter des Kopfsteuereintnehmers von Trnovo im Jahre 1695 gefälschte Kopfsteuerbescheinigungen verkauft. Er wurde durch Sultansbefehl unbefristet auf die Galeeren geschickt¹¹⁰. Überhaupt war die Galeerenstrafe recht häufig. Schon aus der Zeit Süleymans des Prächtigen verzeichnen beispielsweise drei *defter* zur Galeerenstrafe verurteilte Delinquenten¹¹¹, darunter Fälscher. Ebenso gibt es Belege aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts¹¹². Und noch aus der Zeit Sultan Ahmeds III. (1703–1730) sind weitere Verzeichnisse von Galeerensklaven erhalten, unter ihnen wiederum Urkundenfälscher¹¹³. Auch die *mühimme defterleri* zeigen durch die Jahrhunderte entsprechende Einträge. Es wäre erhellend, festzustellen, ob diese Art der Strafe etwas mit den Bedürfnissen der Flotte in Kriegszeiten zu tun hatte. Milde und menschliches Verständnis zeigt hingegen der Fall eines 1842 ertappten Fälschers, dessen Vergehen man nicht als schwer einstufte, sodass man ihm eine goldene Brücke

¹⁰⁸ *Mühimme Defteri* 114, S. 242/3 (1115/1703).

¹⁰⁹ M. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*... cit., S.123 führt aus, die Strafen hätten sich danach gerichtet, ob gefälschte *fermane* zu den „*evâmir-i mühimme*“, also Staatsangelegenheiten betreffenden *fermanen* zu rechnen seien, auf die schweren Strafen wie Hinrichtung, Galeere und Handabhacken standen, oder zu den „*husûsât-ı âdiye*“, den weniger wichtigen und Personen betreffende *fermanen* zu rechnen seien, bei denen schwere Strafen eher gemieden worden seien und man sogar sagen könne, dass nach mildernden Umständen gesucht worden sei.

¹¹⁰ *Mühimme Defteri* 106, S. 294 Nr. 3, 3. Dekade Rebiyülahir 1107.

¹¹¹ Heyd, *Studies*... cit., S. 305.

¹¹² M. İpşirli, XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler, in „*Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*“, 12 (1981–1982), S. 203–248, besonders S. 211, 213, 217, 229.

¹¹³ Heyd, *Studies*... cit., S. 305.

baute. Er wurde zwar aus dem Amt entfernt. Um aber zu verhindern, dass seine Familie in Elend und Verzweiflung gestürzt würde, gab man vor, sein geistiges Gleichgewicht sei gestört und zahlte ihm das Gehalt weiterhin aus¹¹⁴.

Das osmanische Verfahren reichte zur Entdeckung von Fälschungen aus, soweit sie relativ aktuell waren. Datierte eine Fälschung aber erheblich weiter in die Vergangenheit zurück, so musste das bürokratische Prüfungsverfahren versagen, sobald die Kenntnis der Kanzlisten endete und die Archivbestände lückenhaft, unzugänglich oder ungeordnet waren. Obwohl nicht direkt vermerkt, dürften alle bisher von mir erfassten Fälschungsaufdeckungen der Osmanen jeweils zeitgenössische Fälschungen betroffen haben. Zurückdatierte Stücke als Fälschungen zu entlarven gelang möglicherweise erst der modernen Wissenschaft. Da aber das Osmanische Reich ganz besonders das Herkommen, den alten Brauch, das alte Recht achtete und anerkannte, auch von Vorläufern häufig übernahm, konnte es für potentielle Fälscher ganz besonders notwendig oder nützlich sein, alte Rechtsansprüche vorzulegen, ganz besonders im weiten Bereich der Privilegien Einzelner, von Gruppen und besonders von Derwischkonventen. Den angeblichen Vertrag des Propheten Muhammad für die Mönche des Sinai¹¹⁵ haben weder die Fatimiden, noch die Ayyubiden, Mamluken oder Osmanen je ernsthaft beanstandet. Umso mehr muss man auch mit einer größeren Zahl von unentdeckten innerosmanischen Fälschungen rechnen.

Am schnellsten ließe sich eine Fälschung auch heute noch mit dem Verfahren der osmanischen Verwaltung feststellen: dem Prüfen von *tuğra* bzw. *pençe* und Siegel, sowie der Registereinsicht. Die Register können allerdings in den meisten Fällen nur im Archiv eingesehen werden, denn erst wenige sind publiziert worden. Um Siegel und Unterschriften systematisch vergleichen zu können, müsste die osmanischen Sphragistik besser erschlossen sein¹¹⁶. Die Kenntnis der *tuğra* hingegen ist heute so vorangeschritten¹¹⁷, dass jede *tuğra* hier und heute geprüft werden kann. Eine solche Prüfung könnte erste Hinweise geben, die eine eingehendere diplomatische Prüfung notwendig erscheinen lassen.

¹¹⁴ Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 123.

¹¹⁵ Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*...cit., S. 6–8.

¹¹⁶ Einen Überblick über die Typen und die Verwendung von Siegeln gibt Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*...cit., S. 83–97. Eine wichtige Gruppe von Siegeln erschließen: G. Kut und N. Bayraktar, *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri*, Ankara 1984.

¹¹⁷ Das umfassendste Werk zur *tuğra* ist: S. Umur, *Osmanlı Padişah Tuğraları*, Istanbul 1980.

So erregt beispielsweise die *tuğra* auf einer bereits zwei Mal publizierten Urkunde Mehmeds II. aus dem Archiv des Patriarchats in Istanbul¹¹⁸ einen solchen Anfangsverdacht. Dasselbe gilt für mehrere der von Klaus Schwarz veröffentlichten Urkunden Murads III. (1574–1595)¹¹⁹. In einem anderen Fall wird eine Urkunde mit illuminierte *tuğra* Süleyman II. (1687–1691) zugeschrieben und tatsächlich entspricht dies der Datierung, doch die prächtige *tuğra* ist in Wirklichkeit die Mustafas II. (1695–1703)¹²⁰! Wieder also ein Problemfall, auf den allein schon das Studium der *tuğra* hingeführt hat. Doch ist es nicht möglich, diese und andere Fälle an dieser Stelle weiter zu verfolgen.

Gelegentlich werden von Wissenschaftlern *tuğras* auch falsch gelesen und zugeschrieben. Das sind zwar bloße Versehen. Für die Forschung wird sich ein solches Versehen aber wie eine Fälschung auswirken, sobald die derart zugeordnete Urkunde als Quelle verwertet wird. In einem solchen Fall drückt der Inhalt der Urkunde nicht den Willen des fälschlich identifizierten Ausstellers aus, womit die diplomatische Definition einer Fälschung erfüllt wäre¹²¹. Ein Befehl Selims II., dessen Inhalt in die Zeit Mehmeds II. verlegt wird, ist für das historische Verständnis der Zeit Mehmeds II. so falsch wie das Phantasieprodukt eines Fälschers¹²². In einer Studie über die osmanische Diplomatie findet sich beispielsweise eine Urkunde abgebildet, die Bayezid II. (1481–1512) zugeschrieben wird, die in Wirklichkeit aber Tuğra und Siegel seines Sohnes, des Prinzen Ahmed trägt¹²³. In einer Publikation von Urkunden Süleymans des Prächtigen entdeckt man bei genauerem Hinsehen eine Urkunde, die die *tuğra* Murads III trägt. Da ihr Datum jedoch in die Zeit

¹¹⁸ F. Babinger, *Ein Freibrief Mehmeds II., des Eroberers für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki, Eigentum der Sultanin Mara (1459)*, in „Byzantinische Zeitschrift“, 44 (1951), S. 11–20 nachgedruckt in id., *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, S. 97–106. Darin auf Tafel II die in Frage stehende Schenkungsurkunde Mehmeds II. für die Mutter des Großwesirs Mahmud Pascha. VL. Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed II devrine ait tarihi vesikalar*, Istanbul 1945, S. 92–93 (War mir nicht zugänglich). Erwähnt wird diese Urkunde auch in T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*; Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001, S. 92–93.

¹¹⁹ K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden. Untersuchungen zur Einstellung und Besoldung osmanischer Militärs in der Zeit Murāds III.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Claudia Römer. Stuttgart 1997, etwa S. 374 Nr. 94, 378 Nr. 97, 384 Nr. 103, 386 Nr. 105, 387 Nr. 106, 388 Nr. 107 und besonders S. 311 Nr. 31.

¹²⁰ *Osmanlı Fermanları—Ottoman Fermans*, Ankara 1994, S. 8–9.

¹²¹ A. v. Brandt, *Werkzeug des Historikers*... cit., S. 101.

¹²² Siehe oben Text zu Anm. 52–54.

¹²³ Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerin Dili*... cit., S. 449.

Süleymans zu weisen scheint¹²⁴, erheben sich Zweifel auch an der Echtheit. Ein als Urkunde Selims II. von 977/1562 identifiziertes Faksimile in einer osmanischen Diplomatik entpuppt sich bei näherer Prüfung als eine Urkunde Süleymans des Prächtigen von 969/1562¹²⁵ und ein als *ferman* Murads III. aufgefasstes Bruchstück trägt die *tuğra* Süleymans des Prächtigen¹²⁶.

Schließlich sind in den letzten Jahren häufig gefälschte Sultansurkunden auf dem Istanbuler Markt aufgetaucht. Kennzeichnend sind mehr oder weniger bunt und schrill über beliebige handschriftliche, osmanische Texte gemalte *tuğras* irgendeines Sultans. Häufig sind es Gerichtsurkunden, sogar echte Gerichtsurkunden, die auf diese Weise marktgerecht zugerichtet und an ahnungslose Touristen verkauft werden. Offenbar sind die echten, meist spätosmanischen und in Familienbesitz befindlichen Sultansurkunden, die in früheren Jahren oft angeboten worden sind, inzwischen rar geworden, sodass Gerichtsurkunden und moderne Fälscher von *tuğras* einspringen mussten.

Als Resultat können wir festhalten: die geringe Zahl der wissenschaftlich nachgewiesenen Urkundenfälschungen in der osmanischen Diplomatik beruht nicht darauf, dass es keine Fälschungen gegeben hätte. Sie ist nur so zu erklären, dass die Osmanisten den Anschein der Echtheit oft schon für den wissenschaftlichen Befund halten und sich daher meist nicht weiter um die Echtheitsfrage kümmern¹²⁷. Die Annahme der Echtheit dürfte in sehr vielen Fällen auch nicht trügen. Doch schon die Osmanen blieben aufmerksam und kritisch und so sollte es auch die Wissenschaft halten. Wir haben am Beispiel des *zimmi* Konstantin sogar gesehen, dass nicht einmal amtliche Register, wie die Protokollbücher der *kadıs* (*sicill*) immer nur echtes Material enthalten müssen. Selbst die Archivalien, die kaum je verdächtigt werden, dürfen nicht von vornherein ausgespart bleiben. Mussten doch gefälschte Urkunden wie mehrfach erwähnt, an die Pforte geschickt werden. Ob sie dort vernichtet oder nur abgelegt wurden? Zudem dürften bisher unentdeckte Fälschungen auf vielerlei Weise in die Archive gelangt sein. Zwar ist das Gros der osmanischen Urkunden und übrigen Archivalien sicherlich

¹²⁴ J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, S. 143–144, Tafel XIII.

¹²⁵ M. Guboglu, *Paleografia și Diplomatica Turco-Osmană. Studiu și Album*. Bukarest 1958, S. 134 Nr. 11 und Faksimile 11.

¹²⁶ Guboglu, *Paleografia*... cit., S. 134 Nr. 13 und Facsimile 13.

¹²⁷ Ähnlich sieht dies auch Vesela-Prenosilová, *A propos d'une falsification*... cit., S. 149–151.

unverdächtig und etwa bei statistischer Verwertung dürften die Fälschungen kaum ins Gewicht fallen, doch wo es thematisch auch um das Individuelle, das Detail geht, ist die Frage ob echt oder gefälscht nach wie vor von entscheidender Bedeutung. Überdies kann der Quellenwert einer Fälschung oder Verfälschung, wenn richtig befragt, durchaus bedeutend, ja sogar höher sein, als der eines echten Stückes.

Somit steht, nicht nur um Fälschungen besser erkennen zu lernen, die intensive Weiterentwicklung der Diplomatik, der Paläographie, der Sphragistik, der Filigranologie und des Kanzleiwesens als wichtige und lohnende Aufgabe vor der Osmanistik. Die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen wurden auf vielen Teilgebieten schon gelegt¹²⁸ und sind in den letzten Jahren weiter vorangebracht worden. Im Bereich der Fälschungsproblematik geht es unter anderem allmählich darum, Schreiberhände innerhalb der Kanzleien zu unterscheiden, vor allem aber bei Verdacht den Wittek'schen Ansatz der detaillierten vergleichenden Untersuchung und Echtheitsprüfung auch für die Zeit nach dem 15. Jahrhundert nicht aus dem Blickfeld zu verlieren, ihn zu vervollkommen und über die bisher fast ausschließlich untersuchte Sultansurkunde hinaus auf die anderen Urkundentypen auszuweiten.

¹²⁸ Siehe dazu V. Stojanow, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie und Diplomatik*, Berlin 1983.

LES CAPITULATIONS FRANCO-OTTOMANES DE 1536 SONT-ELLES ENCORE CONTROVERSABLES ?

GILLES VEINSTEIN

Valides, invalides, controversables ?

La question de la validité des premières capitulations françaises, accordées par Soliman le Magnifique à François 1^{er}, en 1536, par l'intermédiaire de l'ambassadeur Jean de la Forest, a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, et depuis longtemps¹. Pourquoi y revenir une fois de plus ici ? Deux raisons m'y conduisent. La première et la plus décisive tient à cette constatation un peu désespérante : en dépit d'une succession d'études qui a commencé avec N. Iorga en 1925 et qui a culminé avec la savante mise au point, prudente mais puissamment argumentée de J.-P. Laurent en 1972, on continue à affirmer couramment la réalité de ces capitulations, sans tenir compte de toutes les raisons qu'on a de la nier, soit qu'on les ignore (la publication de J.-P. Laurent est rarement citée, surtout hors de France), soit qu'on en minimise la portée véritable. Cela n'est pas vrai seulement d'ouvrages historiques généraux—il n'y aurait pas lieu d'en être trop surpris—, mais aussi, plus anormalement, de travaux d'histoire ottomane, voire d'études spécialement consacrées aux relations franco-turques. Le plus déconcertant en ce sens est de voir dans un livre—par ailleurs très informé et novateur—paru en 2005 et précisément consacré aux capitulations (bien que centré, il est vrai, sur la situation au XVIII^e siècle et plus particulièrement sur le cas d'Alep), ces premières capitulations françaises présentées comme « controversial ». Le dire ainsi n'est,

¹ Cf. N. Iorga, *Points de vue sur l'histoire du commerce de l'Orient à l'époque moderne*, Paris, 1925, pp. 27–55 ; G. Zeller, *Une légende qui a la vie dure : les Capitulations de 1535*, dans « *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* », t. 2, 1955, pp. 127–132 ; M.E[merit], *Les capitulations de 1535 ne sont pas une légende*, dans « *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* », XIX (1964), p. 362 ; N. Steensgaard, *The first French Capitulations, 1536 or 1569?*, dans « *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* » XVI (1968), pp. 168–170 ; « *Imtiyâzât* », in *EF*, (éd. H. Inalcık), pp. 1208–1218 ; J.-P. Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536 : la transmission de leur texte ; leur caractère*, dans *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François 1^{er}*, t. VIII, 1536–1537, Paris 1963–1972, pp. 503–574 ; J. Matuz, *A propos de la validité des capitulations de 1536 entre l'Empire ottoman et la France*, dans « *Turcica, Revue d'études turques* » 24 (1992), pp. 183–192.

assurément, pas une façon d'affirmer leur validité, mais c'en est cependant une de ne pas l'exclure tout à fait, de considérer en somme que la question reste ouverte et que les arguments avancés à l'encontre de la validité ne sont pas nécessairement décisifs².

Il peut paraître vain de rappeler dans les lignes qui suivent ces différents arguments puisqu'on ne voit pas pourquoi ils seraient mieux entendus dans ce cadre qu'ils ne l'ont été, on le voit, dans plusieurs études antérieures, de qualité assurément supérieure, sauf pourtant à caresser cet espoir : une étude dédiée à notre collègue et amie Suraiya Faroqhi et recueillant de ce fait une parcelle du rayonnement incomparable de ce nom dans les milieux ottomanistes internationaux, n'augmente-t-elle pas sensiblement ses chances de trouver un écho chez nos collègues ?

Il y a, en outre, une seconde raison de reprendre cette question ancienne : dans les dernières décennies, et, notamment, depuis la mise au point de J.-P. Laurent—lequel, au demeurant n'était pas et ne prétendait nullement être un ottomaniste—, l'étude des *ahdnâme* ottomans a considérablement progressé, grâce à un plus large recours aux textes originaux et à la documentation ottomane en générale, en particulier sur

² Cf. M. H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System. Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the 18th Century*, Leiden 2005, p. 10, n. 18. L'auteur reproche avec raison à l'ouvrage antérieur de Y. Shalit, *Nicht-Muslime und Fremde in Aleppo und Damaskus im 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1996, de prendre les articles de 1536 comme base du droit des étrangers dans la Syrie des XVIII^e–XIX^e ss., en rappelant que ces articles étaient controversables, sans aller plus loin et sans en dire plus. Cette présentation est d'autant plus insatisfaisante que l'auteur se contente de renvoyer sur la controverse à l'article du regretté J. Matuz, cité dans la note précédente, article dont l'objet n'est nullement de fournir les divers éléments de la controverse, ni même d'en dresser une bibliographie tant soit peu complète, mais au contraire de faire abstraction des différents arguments contre la validité, « quelle qu'[en] soit la valeur », pour les remettre globalement en question, en introduisant un élément extérieur, une sorte de *deus ex machina* : des allusions à cette capitulation dans des firmans ultérieurs. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur le crédit qui nous semble devoir être apporté à cette tentative. Notons que dans une autre mise au point récente, généralement très informée, les capitulations de 1536 sont au contraire entièrement ignorées, l'auteur passant sans transition, dans son historique, des capitulations « égyptiennes » de 1517 et 1528 (sur lesquelles nous reviendrons) à celles de 1569, comme s'il n'avait jamais été question de capitulation de 1536. C'est assurément cette fois, une manière de nier leur validité, mais, pour le coup, un peu trop radicale, puisque l'existence de la polémique est, à tout le moins, une réalité historiographique et qu'en outre, le mythe, comme nous le verrons, n'a pas eu moins de réalité historique qu'un fait authentique ; cf. A. H. De Groot, *The historical development of the capitulatory regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the fifteenth to the nineteenth Centuries*, dans M. H. van den Boogert et K. Fleet (éds), *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, dans « *Oriente Moderno* » XXII (LXXXIII) (2003), pp. 575–604, p. 596.

deux points : la diplomatique des *ahdnâme*³ ; le rôle et la place des *ahdnâme*—bien moins exclusifs que ne le croyaient les anciens historiens de la question—dans l'ensemble des instruments juridiques réglant la présence et les activités des marchands étrangers dans l'Empire ottoman⁴.

Les raisons de ne pas croire

Commençons par rappeler les principaux arguments à l'encontre de la validité des capitulations de 1536⁵.

Mentionnons d'abord deux arguments *ab absentia* qui, comme tels, ne sauraient avoir une valeur absolue : si on possède bien une copie du XVI^e siècle, en italien, suivie d'une traduction française⁶, on n'a jamais

³ Cf. S. Skilitter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1576–1582. A Documentary Study of the first Anglo-Ottoman Relations*, Londres 1977 ; H. Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: the 'Ahd-Names. The Historical Backgrounds and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of relevant Documents*, <http://www.let.uu.nl:oosters/EJOS/eJOS-1.html> ; D. Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th c.). An annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*, Leyde 2000.

⁴ Cf. notamment, N. Steensgard, *Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650*, dans "The Scandinavian Economic History Review" XV, 1–2 (1967), pp. 13–54, p. 17 ; S. Faroqhi, *The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–30*, dans H. Islamoğlu-Inan (éd.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Cambridge-Paris 1987, pp. 311–344, p. 336 ; G. Poumarède, *Négociier près de la Sublime Porte. Jalons pour une nouvelle histoire des capitulations franco-ottomanes*, dans L-Bély (éd.), *L'invention de la diplomatie*, Paris 1998, pp. 71–85.

G. Veinstein, Marchands vénitiens et droit ottoman, à travers quelques cas des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, à paraître dans les *Mélanges en l'honneur de Halil İnalcık*, éditions Eren.

⁵ Rappelons que la divergence dans les dates attribuées à ce document, tantôt février 1535, tantôt février 1536, tient seulement à une différence dans le décompte des années selon que l'on fait commencer l'année à Noël ou à Pâques ("ancien style") ou, comme c'est l'usage officiel depuis 1567, au 1^{er} janvier (« nouveau style »). La date de 1536 correspond à la conversion de la date antérieure dans le « nouveau style ».

⁶ Cette copie figure dans la dernière partie (intitulée "Recueil des traités faitz entre les Roys de France et les Grands Seigneurs empereurs des Turcs") du registre établi par Sébastien de Juyé, secrétaire de l'ambassadeur Gilles de Noailles et ayant assuré l'interim de l'ambassade entre le départ du précédent et l'arrivée de son successeur Jacques de Germigny, soit du 13 février 1578 au 10 septembre 1579 ; BNF, ms fr. 3954. Cette copie a servi de source à l'édition du texte par E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant* t. I, Paris 1848, pp. 285–294. Une première édition intégrale du même texte, moins satisfaisante, avait été donnée précédemment, d'après une autre source, dans le second tome du *Recueil de traités de commerce et de navigation de la France*, publié en 1835 par le comte d'Hauterive et F. de Cussy ; cf. J.-P. Laurent, art. cit., p. 508 et 544. Laurent a dressé la liste d'une vingtaine d'autres copies, postérieures à celle de Juyé, qu'il analyse et dont il établit qu'elles sont toutes issues de la copie de Juyé. Réédition annotée de la traduction française de la copie de Juyé dans *Ordonnances des rois de France... cit.*, VIII, pp. 29–37.

retrouvé, ni dans les fonds français, ni dans les fonds ottomans une version ottomane, de quelque nature que ce soit, de ce même document.

De même, alors que toutes les tractations entre le roi de France et le sultan étaient épiées avec la plus grande attention par les diplomates étrangers et que, par exemple, la trêve « marchande » conclue en 1534 à Alep entre le grand vizir Ibrâhîm pacha et l'envoyé du roi, Serafin de Gozo, avait été immédiatement répercutée par les correspondances diplomatiques⁷, on ne constate rien de tel pour les articles de 1536. Personne ne signale la conclusion d'un accord pourtant aussi notable.

Troisième argument, déjà plus positif: le texte de 1536, s'il était authentique représenterait une monstruosité diplomatique. Cette capitulation revêt, en effet, une forme totalement inusitée, sans équivalent dans l'histoire des capitulations, puisqu'elle ne se présente pas comme un acte unilatéral, une concession gracieuse du sultan, mais bien comme un traité bilatéral, négocié entre les deux parties agissant à égalité et devant être ratifié par elles; les différents articles étant en outre assortis, de façon appuyée, d'un caractère de réciprocité.

Tout à fait concluante enfin, puisque qu'il s'agit cette fois d'un témoignage direct, ne laissant plus de place aux interprétations et aux hypothèses, me paraît être la lettre adressée par Rincon, successeur de Jean de la Forest, au secrétaire d'Etat, Simon Fizes, Sr. de Sauve, le 20 septembre 1539. Eu égard à son importance, je la cite, après plusieurs autres, dans ses passages essentiels:

V.E. m'ayant escrit l'annee passee sur ceste mesme matiere, je rescrivis par mes lettres du 26 decembre dernier passé que j'avois auprès de moy un double des articles et capitulations qu'autrefois⁸ du vivant d'Ibrahim Pascha, le feu de La Forest avoit faictes et proposees touchant le susdit affaire, dont je crois avoir mandé pardela au Roy la copie et suppliyai Sa Majesté qu'il luy plust de faire veoir et consulter si iceulx articles estoient suffisans ou s'il falloit muer ou adjouster ou lever quelque chose et que, selon son intention et vouloir, je mettrois peine de solliciter et poursuivre l'arrest et conclusion auprès des baschas en la meilleure maniere et forme qu'il me seroit possible; sur quoy jamais ne m'est venue la responce...⁹

⁷ Ibid., pp. 560-561.

⁸ Ce terme semble impliquer, notons-le, que des faits qui ne remontent que quelque trois ans et demi avant semblent déjà lointains à Rincon.

⁹ Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., I, p. 414; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., p. 568; Inalcık, « İmtiyâzât »... cit.

Beaucoup est dit dans ces phrases. Elles permettent de penser que le texte dont nous disposons correspond à des propositions faites par La Forest, à un projet établi par ce dernier, peut-être à la lumière de premières négociations préalables et qui pouvait être lui-même sujet à discussion. L'origine du texte explique, peut-être, comme le supposait M. Laurent, les erreurs et incertitudes sur la conversion de la date chrétienne en date hégirienne¹⁰. Elle explique aussi qu'il ait été rédigé en italien, la langue habituellement utilisée pour les textes soumis à la traduction en ottoman par les drogmans du divan.¹¹ D'autre part, Rincon indique, sans la moindre ambiguïté que l'affaire n'avait pas été conclue du temps d'Ibrahim et de La Forest, qu'elle était restée en suspens.

Dans ces conditions, le texte des capitulations de 1536 dont nous disposons, n'est pas un faux, mais il correspond à une étape d'un processus non abouti. En particulier, les confirmations dans les six mois, par le Grand Seigneur et le Roy de France, prévues à l'article XVII du projet de La Forest, ne sont jamais intervenues. En conséquence, non ratifié par qui de droit, le texte de 1536 n'eut jamais la moindre validité.

Halil Inalcık avait mis cette suspension du processus en relation avec la disgrâce et l'exécution, le 15 mars 1536, de celui qui, comme l'énonçait expressément le préambule du texte, devait négocier avec La Forest, au nom du sultan : le grand vizir İbrâhîm pacha¹². M. Laurent juge l'explication séduisante mais non suffisante : la disparition du vizir, observe-t-il, « n'a guère modifié, cependant, la politique étrangère du sultan »¹³. On rétorquera que même si la ligne politique générale reste en effet la même, on ne doit pas sous-estimer les conséquences du changement des hommes : suivant de peu son illustre interlocuteur, La Forest lui-même était mort au début de septembre 1537 et l'on voit bien, pour s'en tenir à la partie française, que Rincon n'enterine pas tel quel le travail de son prédécesseur. Au surplus, comme le suggère M. Laurent, il est plus que douteux que le sultan ait jamais accepté de ratifier, sinon le contenu des articles qui, pour la plupart, ne faisaient que s'inscrire dans la tradition antérieure des capitulations, du moins cette forme synallagmatique que La Forest leur avait donnée, et qui était si manifestement contraire aux principes et aux usages du sultanat. Quant à la forme unilatérale que la

¹⁰ Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536...* cit., p. 569.

¹¹ Cf. notamment les remarques-en l'occurrence acerbes-, de l'ambassadeur de la Vigne à ce sujet ; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant...* cit., t. II, p. 470.

¹² Inalcık, "İmtiyâzât" ... cit., p. 1213.

¹³ Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536...* cit., p. 567.

Porte aurait vraisemblablement voulu y substituer, on sait par les débats suscités aussi bien par l'acte de 1569 que par le renouvellement de 1581, qu'elle suscitait à son tour, de vives réserves du côté français, ce qui est d'ailleurs une des explications possibles au silence opposé par le roi aux interrogations pressantes de Rincon à ce sujet.

Les véritables premières capitulations: 1569

Rappelons en effet que les capitulations du 18 octobre 1569 avaient été obtenues en quelque sorte par surprise par un envoyé français, Claude du Bourg de Guerinnes qui n'était même pas l'ambassadeur en titre et qui, de surcroît, était en conflit ouvert avec ce dernier, Guillaume Grantrie de Grandchamp. Envoyé pour tenter de régler la crise ouverte par la saisie à Alexandrie du chargement de vaisseaux français, sur la demande de Joseph Nasi qui prétendait détenir des créances impayées de longue date sur le roi de France, du Bourg, joua d'audace et, tirant profit de l'hostilité du grand vizir, Sokollu Mehmed pacha, à l'encontre de Grantrie de Grandchamp, il saisit l'occasion pour faire mettre par écrit les garanties et privilèges des marchands français. Le document ainsi obtenu¹⁴, en conséquence des considérations qui précèdent, peut être tenu pour les premières capitulations françaises. Ce sont bien des capitulations dans la mesure où le texte fait en effet se succéder 18 articles ou *capitula*. Pour autant, ce n'est pas un *ahdnâme* au sens strict puisqu'il ne comporte pas—à la différence des capitulations vénitiennes ou polonaises, par exemple—l'énoncée du serment du sultan s'engageant à en respecter les clauses. Du point de vue de la diplomatie, ce n'est pas non plus, un *berât* comme on l'a prétendu.¹⁵ Le texte se présente plutôt comme une lettre impériale (*nâme-i şerîf* ou *nâme-i hümayûn*) adressée au roi Charles IX, avec *intitulatio* et *inscriptio*. Il reste qu'il s'agit, à l'instar des *ahdnâme*, d'un acte purement unilatéral du sultan, ce que Grantrie de

¹⁴ Charrière ne donne que le préambule de la lettre; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, pp. 65–67, en note; texte français intégral dans Baron I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, t. I, Paris 1864, pp. 91–96; G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire ottoman*, t. I, 1300–1789, Paris 1897, pp. 88–93; texte ottoman inédit dans British Museum, Londres, Ms. Or. 9053, fol. 252–255; BNF, Paris, Ms. Or., ancien fonds turc, n° 130, fol. 2–8.

¹⁵ Cf. Skilitter, *William Harborne*... cit., p. 3 et 92.

Grandchamp ne se prive pas de critiquer dans sa lettre à Catherine de Médicis du 16 octobre 1569 :

« Du Bourg a tiré des capitulations comme celles des Vénitiens, chose que mes prédécesseurs ny moy n'avons jamais voullu pansser pour estre un trop grand tord faict à vostre grandeur, d'autant que voz magestes ne se sont ny ne doivent jamais moins s'estimer que le grand-seigneur... »¹⁶. Un ambassadeur ultérieur, Gilles de Noaille caractérisera bien l'acte en question en n'y voyant « qu'un commandement favorable et volontaire et non traité de prince à prince... »¹⁷ »

Une nouvelle raison de croire ?

Conscient de l'existence et de la valeurs des arguments opposables à la validité des capitulations de 1536, J. Matuz, dans un article déjà évoqué plus haut, pensait relancer la question et montrer qu'elles étaient au contraire « valides au plus haut point », non pas en entreprenant de démontrer les arguments contraires, mais en leur opposant une évidence extérieure qui en établissait a priori la fausseté : deux firmans de Soliman le Magnifique adressés au *sancakbeyi* et au *cadi* de Jérusalem, respectivement des 10–19 juillet 1536 et 29 avril–8 mai 1549. Matuz relève que dans ces deux ordres émis en faveur des moines latins de Jérusalem, le sultan évoque bel et bien son « traité auguste » (*ahdnâme-i hümmâyûnum*). Reprenons ces deux documents : dans le premier, émis à la demande du baile de Venise et concernant des moines vénitiens, comme Matuz le constate, le *ahdnâme* concerné est de toute évidence celui accordé par Soliman à Venise en 1521 et non comme le croit l'auteur, celui qui aurait été accordé à la France quelques mois auparavant. Matuz a été trompé par son postulat, de toute évidence erroné, que Venise n'aurait pas obtenu de capitulation propre avant 1540¹⁸.

Le second document n'est pas concluant non plus. L'ambassadeur de France est bien mentionné cette fois, mais il n'est crédité que de l'obtention d'un « ordre sacré » (*hükm-i şerîfim*) portant sur l'interdiction faite au *beyt ul-mâlcı* d'intervenir dans les successions des Français morts sur les lieux de pèlerinage. Les moines de Jérusalem ont rapporté qu'une

¹⁶ Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 91.

¹⁷ Gilles de Noaille, abbé de l'Isle au secrétaire d'Etat, Simon Fizes, Sr de Sauve, 20 mai 1577 ; *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 695 ; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., p. 546.

¹⁸ Matuz, *A propos de la validité des capitulations de 1536*... cit., p. 184.

telle disposition existait par ailleurs dans un *ahdnâme* du même sultan, mais ils ont bien précisé qu'elle s'appliquait dans ce dernier cas, non plus cette fois aux Français spécifiquement (*França ta'ifesi*), mais plus largement aux « Francs » en général (*Frenk ta'ifesi*). Dès lors, il peut s'agir de n'importe quel *ahdnâme* émis par Soliman, pris à titre comparatif, concernant, par exemple, de nouveau Venise, cette disposition constituant un article fondamental des capitulations en général. Rien ne permet donc d'affirmer que les moines visaient précisément les articles de 1536.

Les enseignements contrastés des nâme-i hümayûn

Néanmoins, nous avons été curieux de poursuivre l'enquête en adoptant une approche analogue à celle de J. Matuz. Nous avons en effet convoqué dans ce procès des témoins que l'on n'avait pas songé à entendre jusqu'ici, les lettres adressées par les sultans aux rois de France dans la période entre 1536 et 1569.

L'enquête commence bien pour les adversaires de la validité des capitulations de 1536 puisqu' elle leur apporte au départ une confirmation sans ambiguïté de leur thèse. La lettre de Soliman à François 1^{er} de février 1545 est parfaitement significative à cet égard¹⁹ on y lit notamment :

Le lieutenant de l'ambassadeur susdit²⁰ a également indiqué que votre souhait était que les marchands et négociants de votre pays puissent continuer à aller et venir dans mes pays-bien-gardés comme ils l'ont fait jusqu'à présent. Or, conformément à l'affection et l'amitié qui ont existé entre nous dans le passé et jusqu'à maintenant, de la même façon que vos marchands ont eu l'habitude d'aller et venir dans mes pays-bien-gardés, dorénavant aussi personne ne devra les opprimer ni les molester davantage. Au contraire, en accord avec l'amitié, ils doivent pouvoir aller et venir et pratiquer leur commerce en toute sûreté et sécurité. Pour répondre à vos souhaits à ce sujet, des ordres sacrés ont été rédigés à l'intention des *beylerbeyi* d'Egypte et de Syrie, de même que de tous les beys et cadis des mes pays-bien-gardés, de sorte qu'aucun des marchands venant de votre pays ne soit opprimé ni molesté dans ses allées et venues, tant sur mer que sur terre.

¹⁹ Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapi, Istanbul, E. 12321, fol. 98r, n° 226 dans H. Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arsivi H. 951-952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*. Istanbul 2002, pp. 179-180.

²⁰ Il s'agit de Gabriel d'Aramon, substitut de l'ambassadeur en titre, le capitaine Polin pendant l'absence d'Istanbul de ce dernier.

Des avertissements leur ont été donnés afin qu'ils [les marchands] continuent à l'avenir à aller et venir en toute sécurité, ainsi qu'ils l'ont fait jusqu'à présent, comme le commande l'amitié. Les ordres sacrés ainsi rédigés ont été également remis à votre homme susdit[d'Aramon]...

On voit que dans ce texte redondant, que nous avons traduit littéralement, il est bien question de l'amitié et de l'affection, anciennes et toujours en vigueur, mais aucunement d'un *ahdnâme* du Grand Seigneur, auquel le contexte aurait au contraire commandé de se référer, si un tel acte avait alors existé.

De même dans une lettre à François II, de février 1560, qui répète une lettre précédente envoyée à son père, Henri II, Soliman fait au roi une demande qui aurait dû tout naturellement entrer dans le cadre de l'application des capitulations. Il s'agit en effet du produit de la vente d'un chargement expédié en France par un marchand *zimmi* de Galata, un nommé Jorji, décédé depuis lors. Le roi est invité à remettre le produit de cette vente au représentant des héritiers du défunt, un nommé Pavlo. A l'appui de sa demande, le sultan invoque, cette fois encore, les relations amicales et sincères existant depuis longtemps entre les deux dynasties, mais il n'est pas fait état des obligations réciproques induites par les capitulations²¹, comme il aurait été normal si les articles de la Forest avaient été en vigueur²².

S'il n'est pas fait mention de capitulations dans les premières décennies suivant 1536, c'est-à-dire au moment où on l'aurait attendu le plus si les articles de La Forest avaient été mis en vigueur, il est vrai que, paradoxalement, les choses changent par la suite, à l'extrême fin du règne de Soliman et au tout début du règne de Selim II, dès avant 1569. Il arrive alors que le sultan ne fasse plus seulement état de son amitié mais aussi, conjointement, de son *ahdnâme*.

Voici, par exemple, une lettre adressée par Soliman à Charles IX, le 8 juillet 1565, pendant la campagne de Malte. Elle fait suite à une plainte de l'ambassadeur de France au sujet des dommages subis en mer par des marchands de Marseille qui se rendaient à Alexandrie. Leur bateau avait été attaqué par « trois galères des armées de l'islam basées à Djerba » ; ils

²¹ T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, n° 12, Divân-i hümayûn Sicilleri Dizisi, n° 1, 3 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (966-968/1558-1560). Ankara 1993, n° 805, pp. 364-365.

²² Le sultan ne fait que demander la réciprocité de l'article de 1536 concernant les biens des marchands français décédés dans l'Empire ottoman ; Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux*... cit., p. 85.

avaient été capturés et leur cargaison dérobée. La protestation du roi se fonde sur le lien existant entre les deux pays :

Vous faites également savoir par votre lettre que, conformément à l'amitié ancienne que vous portez à notre Seuil sublime depuis les jours passés et les années écoulées, vous avez toujours assuré scrupuleusement la protection de nos hommes et de nos marchands passant par des lieux dépendant de votre gouvernement et que vous êtes dans des sentiments d'attachement et d'affection parfaits à l'égard de notre Seuil sublime.

Soliman donne ensuite sa réaction à un tel comportement :

Or ceux qui sont liés d'amitié avec notre dynastie marquée du signe de la félicité, pour autant qu'ils respectent les conditions de l'amitié et le contenu accompagné de justice de l'engagement mutuel qui existe entre nous (*mâbeynde vâki' olan mu'âhede-i hümayûnumuz*), et qu'ils font preuve d'attention sur certains sujets qui sont de nature à renforcer les bases de l'affection, à ceux-là, en accord avec les usages de notre auguste sultanat, la manifestation de nos subtiles faveurs impériales à leur égard n'est pas refusée, et nous ne donnons en aucun cas notre consentement sacré à ce qu'aucune agression soit commise à l'encontre de leurs sujets et de leurs marchands qui vont et viennent pour leur commerce, sur terre comme sur mer, placés sous l'égide de notre justice et l'aile de notre protection.

Le sultan mentionne ensuite les instructions qu'il a données au *beylerbeyi* de Tripoli, Turgut

« qui se trouve avec notre flotte victorieuse dans les parages de Malte », de régler l' affaire, d'identifier les auteurs de l'exaction, de renvoyer les victimes et leurs biens à Marseille et « de châtier ceux qui ont commis des violences et des actions scélérates en infraction à notre auguste traité » (*'ahdnâme-i hümayûnumuza muhâlif fesâd u Õena'at idenlerün...*)²³

Il n'est pas envisageable que les références à un *mu'âhede* ou un *ahdnâme* qui apparaissent désormais renvoient à un document précis qui n'aurait pas existé en 1545 ou 1560, mais qui aurait été émis dans la suite du règne de Soliman. Nous n'avons en effet aucune trace d'un tel événement. Que conclure, sinon que dans la rhétorique dont nous venons de donner un échantillon, ces termes ne s'appliquent pas à un texte concret (malgré la présence du vocable *nâme*) ? Ils désignent une disposition d'esprit, un *engagement* (ce qui est le sens littéral du terme *ahd*) qui n'a

²³ Divân-i hümayûn Sicilleri Dizi: III, 6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564–1565), II, n° 1359, pp. 300–301 ; voir aussi les ordres au *beylerbeyi* de Tripoli et au vizir Mustafa pacha, n° 1361 et 1362.

pas nécessairement été consigné dans un document en bonne et due forme, mais qui est au demeurant à la source des nombreux ordres particuliers que Soliman (comme le fera son successeur Selim II) a pu émettre au bénéfice des Français. Dans cette perspective engagement et amitié sont deux notions indissociables. L'amitié entre deux souverains signifie dans la pratique que chacun d'eux assure aux ressortissants de l'autre ces garanties « sur certains sujets qui sont de nature à renforcer les bases de l'affection », qui sont précisément celles qu'on trouve mises par écrit dans les *ahdnâme* concrets. En d'autres termes, dans la mesure où l'amitié existe, le *ahd* existe également, ne serait-ce qu'implicitement.

Dans d'autres cas, néanmoins, la référence se fait au contraire explicite et une interprétation de cet ordre n'est plus suffisante.

Il en va ainsi de la mention figurant dans le préambule des capitulations accordées par Selim II à Claude du Bourg en 1569, dans les conditions que nous avons rappelées plus haut. Il y est question non seulement de divers ordres particuliers accordés par Soliman en faveur des Français mais aussi, assez nettement, d'une capitulation initiale émise par ce même sultan, distincte de tous les commandements qui ont suivi. Selim se réfère en effet aux

très haultes capitulations et commandemens nouveauz que du temps de feu mon père, sultan Soliman roy, auquel Dieu pardonne et fasse miséricorde et colloque en Paradis furent concédés aux ambassadeurs de l'empereur de France et à ses consulz et à leurs dragomans, et à leurs marchans, et à leurs autres subjectz affin qu'ilz soient observés...²⁴

Le ahdnâme de Sultan Ghawrî

Halil Inalcık qui, comme nous l'avons vu, estimait que les articles de 1536 n'avaient pas pu être ratifiés, a cherché une explication à cette contradiction. Il a conclu que l'allusion se rapportait aux anciennes capitulations mameloukes concernant les marchands français et Catalans d'Alexandrie, qui avaient été renouvelées par Soliman, « de manière, écrivait-il, à couvrir tout l'empire ». Il s'agit de ce que les historiens du XIX^e siècle désigneront, non sans anachronisme, comme le *hatt-ı şerif* de 1528²⁵.

²⁴ Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 66, n.

²⁵ Ce texte était connu dans des versions italienne et française défectueuses, publiées notamment par Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., I, pp. 122-129 d'après le recueil, de documents, déjà mentionné, établi par Sébastien de Juyé. Le texte se retrouve dans un français partiellement modernisé chez Testa, *Recueil des traités de*

Revenons sur ce document pour montrer en quoi cette hypothèse ne nous paraît pas très convaincante.

Par ce document, Soliman le Magnifique renouvelle, comme il est écrit dans le préambule, « un décret de Ghawri (le sultan mamelouk Qansawh al-Ghawri, 1501–1516) attestant de conditions prises en faveur de la communauté des Francs français et catalans suivies depuis les temps d'al-Ashraf al-Ghawri jusqu'à nos jours ».

Il n'est nulle part fait mention dans le texte que, comme on le prétend généralement, ce décret aurait déjà été renouvelé par Selîm 1^{er}, lors de son séjour en Egypte en 1517²⁶.

Sans doute ce texte est-il bien une capitulation dans la mesure où il aligne toute une série de privilèges et de garanties dont beaucoup se retrouveront dans les capitulations proprement ottomanes ultérieures, ce qui, soit dit en passant, montre combien ces dernières étaient tributaires d'un droit élaboré bien avant l'époque ottomane. Cependant, il ne revêt aucune des formes diplomatiques caractéristiques de ces actes (ce n'est pas un *nişân*; il ne comporte pas de serment). Ce n'est qu'un commandement du sultan adressé aux autorités du port d'Alexandrie. Ce commandement ne vaut pas que pour les Français, il doit bénéficier également aux Catalans (les deux nations ayant alors un consul commun), mais par ailleurs, il concerne essentiellement Alexandrie. Il est vrai que certains passages envisagent une application plus large :

la Porte ottomane... cit., pp. 22–26. Plus récemment, Madame Dilek Desève a retrouvé une version originale (portant la *tuğra* de Soliman le Magnifique), en arabe, aux archives départementales de l'Yonne, parmi les papiers déposés par les descendants de l'ambassadeur Savary de Brèves (1584–1591), qui possédaient un château dans la région. M. Michel Tuchscherer prépare une traduction de ce document, accompagné d'une étude historique. Je lui suis très reconnaissant de m'avoir communiqué l'état actuel de cet important travail.

²⁶ Ce renouvellement par Selîm 1^{er} en 1517 est attesté pour les Vénitiens; cf. B. Moritz, *Ein Firman für die Venetianer*, dans G. Weil (éd.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*. Berlin 1915, pp. 422–443; mais il ne semble pas l'être pour les Français et les Catalans, malgré l'affirmation contraire de Juyé qui écrit dans l'avertissement précédant ce texte dans le recueil cité ci-dessus: Despuys, Sultan Selim, pere dudit Sultan Soliman, après avoir subjugué a soy toute l'Egipe, leur confirma ce privilege et seurté de traffiq audit pays, tout ainsin qu'ilz avoient et usoient du temps desd. soldans»; cité par Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., p. 518. Cette même assertion a été reprise par Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane*... cit., p. 23 et se retrouve, entre autres, chez Inalcik, « *Imtiyâzât* »... cit., p. 1212 et de Groot, *The historical development*... cit., pp. 595–596. Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane*... cit., p. 23, mentionne également, d'après le recueil de Juyé un renouvellement du même acte par Murâd III dans la dernière décade de *Rebi'* II 983 (28 juillet-6 août 1575).

« dans les contrées d’Égypte, dans les ports, sur les côtes et dans le port d’Alexandrie » ou, plus généralement, « dans les nobles domaines [existant] actuellement, comme dans ceux que Dieu y a jouera par la main de la noble et victorieuse dynastie ». Cependant ces perspectives restent vagues et auraient besoin d’être précisées pour donner naissance à de véritables bases juridiques.

En outre, une autre donnée fondamentale nous paraît confirmer le particularisme alexandrin de ce document : on lui a entièrement conservé son caractère mamelouke sans aucunement chercher à l’« ottomaniser ». Le *ferman* est resté en arabe. Il est constitué pour l’essentiel de la simple reproduction du décret mamelouk. Il se termine par la mention de la date de ce décret. Il conserve cette clause qui n’a rien d’ottoman que le décret, émis « durant la noble époque d’al-Ghawri » sera « valable jusqu’à la fin des temps ». Quant au préambule ajouté au texte initial pour indiquer que Soliman a renouvelé cet acte et rappeler les raisons de ce renouvellement, non seulement il est en arabe comme le reste, mais il ne suit pas le protocole initial ordinaire d’un firman ottoman de l’époque, notamment pour les destinataires cités, qui sont ici « les cadis, secrétaires, écrivains, adjudicataires, porte-parole, gouverneurs et détenteurs de l’autorité dans le port d’Alexandrie... ».

Si nous avons donc bien à faire à un commandement de Soliman, marqué du signe de sa *tuğra*, il est difficile de reconnaître dans ce texte les « très hautes capitulations » accordées par ce sultan. Une note en arabe, inscrite au verso de l’exemplaire d’Auxerre, est instructive à cet égard : elle dit bien qu’il s’agit de la copie d’un ‘*ahdnâme*, mais du ‘*ahdnâme* « accordé par le sultan Ghawrî à la nation des Infidèles » : il n’est pas devenu le ‘*ahdnâme* de Soliman. Quant à la mention des « ambassadeurs des empereurs de France » auxquels ces « très hautes capitulations » du grand sultan, auraient été accordées, selon le préambule de 1569, elle ne correspond pas davantage à l’acte de 1528, puisqu’à cette date François 1^{er} n’avait pas encore d’ambassadeur à Constantinople et que, surtout, le roi lui-même est totalement absent du texte considéré. On serait évidemment tenté de mettre le renouvellement de 1528 en rapport avec les débuts de l’amitié franco-ottomane, aux lendemains de la bataille de Pavie, et cette hypothèse devient encore plus vraisemblable, dès lors qu’on met en doute le premier renouvellement par Selîm 1^{er} en 1517, généralement allégué. C’est la même année que Soliman adresse sa deuxième lettre à François 1^{er} qui exprime, certes, un refus—celui de restituer aux moines catholiques l’église du Mont-Sion qui avait été

transformée en mosquée—, mais ce refus n'en reste pas moins exprimé avec beaucoup de courtoisie et de bienveillance, et l'amitié et l'affection unissant le sultan au roi sont déjà expressément mentionnées²⁷. Pourtant, le «hatt-ı şerif» ne fait pas la moindre allusion à l'amitié naissante entre les deux souverains—au contraire de tous les *'ahdnâme* réels ou potentiels (comme le texte de La Forest) qui suivront. La démarche reste au contraire rigoureusement cantonnée au niveau subalterne du consul qui seul est cité, et seule l'amitié avec ce dernier (et non avec une des deux nations qu'il représente ou avec le roi). est invoquée dans la circonstance par le sultan : «l'honoré et respecté consul Jean Benette fils de Pierre Benette, consul des Catalans et des Français a comparu devant nos sublimes portes... et il a demandé de notre généreuse amitié le renouvellement d'un généreux commandement...²⁸» Le rapprochement interétatique, si clairement affirmé au même moment dans la lettre sur l'église du Mont-Sion n'est pas pris en compte—du moins pas explicitement—dans l'ordre aux autorités d'Alexandrie²⁹.

De l'oubli à la croyance

Pour ces différentes raisons, nous estimons qu'il faut chercher ailleurs l'explication de l'allusion à une capitulation antérieure contenue dans le préambule du texte de 1569. Dans la piste que nous proposons à cet effet, il ne s'agit plus pour l'historien de savoir si les capitulations de

²⁷ Paris, Musée des Archives, Documents étrangers AE III, n° 205 (J.937 II, n° 10); trad. française dans J. de Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, trad. J.-J. Hellert, t. V, pp. 152–153; texte ottoman et trad. française dans Charrière, op. cit., I, pp. 129–132; notice dans le Catalogue de l'exposition Soliman le Magnifique, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1990, n° 19.

²⁸ Emprunt à la traduction nouvelle de M. Michel Tuchscherer.

²⁹ On ne peut exclure que ce renouvellement ait eu des motifs purement commerciaux, comme la formulation le suggère, et n'ait donc pas correspondu à ce cocktail de politique et de commerce caractéristique des capitulations ottomanes. Lors de l'embargo sur les vaisseaux marseillais à Alexandrie qui a été mentionné ci-dessus—à l'occasion duquel le «hatt-ı şerif» de 1528 ne semble pas avoir été brandi—la population d'Alexandrie se serait plainte du tort qui était causé à un commerce vital pour le pays et le *beylerbeyi* du Caire se serait fait l'interprète de ces plaintes. C'est ce qui ressort d'une lettre de Grantrie de Grandchamp à Charles IX du 14 mars 1569 : «Juesque icy l'occasion pourquoy ils ont rendu les marchandises aux estrangers [qui naviguaient sous pavillon français] a esté pour les infinies requestes et plaintes que le peuple du pays faisoit, et que l'on gastoit l'escalle et le commerce, et que cette escalle estoit libre depuis le temps des mammelucz à toutes les nations du monde; et que c'estoit le moyen de quoy ils pouvoient vivre et payer le tribut au G.S., et que si cela leur estoit tollu, ils ne pouvoient plus»; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 61.

1536 avaient été valides ou non—il n'y a guère de doute à conserver sur ce point—, mais de s'interroger sur les croyances qui ont pu s'établir à ce sujet dans les générations ultérieures d'acteurs politiques, de part et d'autre. En d'autres termes, la question posée est celle de la mémoire bureaucratique dans chacun des deux Etats.

Nous avons vu qu'en 1539 encore, Rincon savait très bien à quoi s'en tenir sur le fait que les capitulations de La Forest n'avaient jamais été ratifiées. En revanche, cette réalité sera perdue de vue par la suite. On le constate en 1577, quand, à propos d'un manquement ottoman, à cette date, au droit de pavillon dont la France prétend disposer, on voit l'ambassadeur Gilles de Noailles faire rechercher partout, dans l'Empire ottoman et en France, l'original de « l'antienne et premiere cappitulation faicte avecq Sultan Soliman » pour y retrouver la justification des prétentions françaises, le texte obtenu de Selîm II par Du Bourg en 1569, ne suffisant pas sur ce point. La quête, bien entendu vaine, de Noailles, atteste à la fois qu'il a connaissance de l'existence d'une capitulation de Soliman—dont le texte original reste simplement introuvable—et qu'il ignore désormais que le processus de ratification n'avait pas abouti³⁰. Son successeur, Germigny, sera dans les mêmes dispositions et reprendra à son tour les investigations qu'il fait poursuivre jusque dans le *defterhane* du Palais. Comme il l'écrit à Henri III dans sa dépêche du 2 juin 1580 :

J'ay fait instance de faire cercher aulx registres de ceste Porte une ancienne et tres avantageuse capitulation faitte du temps de Mons. De la Forest, vostre ambassadeur en icelle, l'an MVeXXXV. Dont pour n'avoir esté trouvé l'original en turc parmy les papiers de ceste ambassade, doubtant aussi que ces gens, informez du contenu en icelle, mesme le Nissangi bassi ou chancelier, alleguent de ne la trouver ainsi qu'ilz ont fait aultrefois, j'envoye coppie de la traduction cy incluse...³¹

Quelques jours plus tard, dans sa dépêche au roi du 10 juin, Germigny donne les résultats négatifs de l'investigation, apportant d'ailleurs à cette occasion une pièce au dossier des « pré-*mühimme defteri* » :

³⁰ Cf. la lettre déjà citée de Gilles de Noailles à Simon Fizes, Sr. De Sauve du 20 mai 1577 ; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 695 ; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., p. 546.

³¹ Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*... cit., III, p. 912 ; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., pp. 546–547.

Les capitulations anciennes de V. M. ont este diligemment ont esté diligemment cerchees tous ces divans passez parmi les registres de ceste Porte des années VcXXX jusque a XLV, non trouvees toutesfoys...³²

On notera que rien ne laisse penser dans ce témoignage que les Ottomans auraient eu assez de foi dans la qualité de leurs archives pour conclure du fait qu'un document y restait introuvable, qu'il n'avait tout simplement pas existé³³.

Non seulement Germigny ne doutait pas de la réalité des capitulations de 1536, mais il avait tendance à en idéaliser les avantages (comme pouvait être rétrospectivement idéalisée la phase initiale de l'alliance dont elles étaient le fruit), jusqu'à soupçonner les gouvernants ottomans de feindre de ne pas les retrouver pour ne pas avoir à honorer les concessions qu'elles leur imposaient.

Toutefois, il ne semble pas que cette croyance dans la capitulation de Soliman, se soit indéfiniment maintenue sans vaciller par la suite, face à l'impossibilité d'en retrouver nulle part le texte original.

On lit ainsi, sous la plume d'un ambassadeur ultérieur, Savary de Brèves, dans un mémoire que M. Laurent date de 1618 :

il ne se trouve point de capitulation du temps de Sultan Soliman, mais seulement de Sultan Selim, son filz, du sultan Amurat, filz de Selim, du sultan Mehémuet, filz d'Amurat, et du sultan Amat, fils de Mehemet³⁴.

Quoiqu'il en fût des doutes qui avaient pu naître chez certains, on constate que Louis XIV et Colbert ont fait de la réalité des capitulations de 1536 une vérité officielle. On lit ainsi dans les instructions complémentaires concernant le commerce, remises en 1665 à La Haye-Ventelet, avant son départ pour Constantinople :

³² Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*...cit., IV, p. 55 ; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*...cit., p. 548.

³³ Rappelons que les capitulations de 1569 ne figurent pas davantage dans les *Mühimme defteri*.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 550-551. Dans la même veine, mais de façon encore beaucoup plus restrictive encore—et non sans exagération—le marquis de Bonnac écrira de son côté : « Les François ne firent leur premier établissement et leur premier commerce qu'en vertu de quelques commandements ou ordres que les ambassadeurs obtenoient à mesure qu'ils en avoient besoin, ou, s'il y a quelque traité pour cela, il n'est pas venu jusqu'à nous. Les premières capitulations furent négociées en 1597 avec Mahomet 3^e et M. de Brèves fit les secondes en 1604 » ; cité par P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1897, p. XII ; Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*...cit., p. 512.

Il est bon de sçavoir qu'avant l'année 1535 aucun prince chrétien n'avoit ny traité ni capitulation avec la Porte, qu'en cette année là François premier fit les premiers traités ou capitulations avec sultan Soliman, empereur des Turcs, par l'entremise du sieur de la Forest³⁵.

On ne saurait déterminer dans quelle mesure les gouvernants français étaient de bonne foi quand ils énonçaient ces deux contre-vérités historiques (que des capitulations aient été accordées en 1535/1536 et que la France ait été le premier Etat chrétien à s'en voir accorder), mais on comprend bien quel avantage politique ils en tiraient : donner aux prérogatives françaises le fondement le plus incontestable, celui de l'antériorité chronologique absolue. La foi dans les articles de 1536 relevait en quelque sorte de la raison d'Etat.

Soulignons, pour finir, que du côté ottoman également, un même flou sur ce qu'il était advenu du temps de La Forest et d'Ibrâhîm pacha et une même croyance dans l'aboutissement de leur accord, s'étaient établis avec le temps. On en a, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, des attestations pour 1577 et 1580, dans les réponses fournies aux demandes de Noailles et de Germigny par les grands vizirs respectifs, Sokollu Mehmed pacha et Lala Mustafa pacha. Selon le témoignage de leurs interlocuteurs, aucun des deux ne nie l'existence d'une capitulation de Soliman et le premier prétend même savoir ce qui s'y trouve ou plus exactement ce qui ne s'y trouve pas, puisqu'il exclut qu'un droit de pavillon accordé à la France puisse y figurer. De fait, il n'a pas besoin de connaître vraiment ce qu'avait proposé La Forest pour savoir à la lumière de ce qu'il sait des *'ahdnâme* en général, que la Porte n'avait jamais fait une concession de cet ordre. Il ne s'avance donc pas beaucoup quand « il dict toujours que cela n'est selon l'antienne et premiere cappitulation faicte avecq Sultan Soliman ». Quant à Lala Mustafa pacha, il n'objecte pas à Germigny qu'il est inutile de rechercher dans les registres des années correspondantes une capitulation qui n'aurait aucune chance d'y figurer. Il les fait rechercher et s'il déclare ne pas les avoir retrouvées, il n'y pas lieu de suspecter sa bonne foi, comme le fait Germigny qui suppose, comme nous l'avons dit, que la Porte chercherait à revenir sur ces avantages antérieurement accordés, en les dissimulant. Il apparaît ainsi que les Ottomans n'ont pas moins oublié que les Français, à une date que nous ignorons mais qui

³⁵ P. Duparc, *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution française*, t. XXIX, Turquie, Paris 1969, p. 26.

avait même pu précéder la mort de Soliman en 1566, à en juger par ce que sera quelques années plus tard le comportement de celui qui avait été le dernier grand vizir de ce sultan, ce qui s'était réellement passé lors de l'ambassade de La Forest. Pas plus que leurs interlocuteurs français, ils ne mettaient en doute l'existence des capitulations de Soliman. Il est possible que cette croyance ait été favorisée chez eux par les affirmations insistantes des Français, qui devaient leur paraître d'autant plus vraisemblable que l'idée s'était, comme nous l'avons vu, imposée avec le temps d'un lien indissociable entre entente politique et octroi de garanties commerciales. Dans ces conditions, on imagine sans peine que Claude du Bourg et Sokollu Mehmed pacha aient pu se mettre d'accord pour faire figurer dans le préambule des capitulations de 1569 une allusion aux très hautes capitulations de Soliman. A cette date, 33 ans après les faits, ils étaient probablement passés tous deux de l'oubli du vrai à la croyance dans le vraisemblable.

Tout naturellement, cette allusion à ce qui apparaissait comme un précédent fondateur et prestigieux, fut reprise dans les capitulations renouvelées de 1597 et de 1604.

En outre, ces pseudo-capitulations de Soliman étaient un moyen de réfréner les exigences nouvelles des Français en les ramenant comme à un étalon aux articles initiaux revêtus de l'autorité supérieure du plus illustre des sultans³⁶. C'est ce qui ressort, par exemple, d'un mémoire de 1618 retrouvé dans les papiers de l'ambassadeur Harlay de Césy: « on a plusieurs fois menacé, y est-il écrit, tous les ambassadeurs icy résidents qu'on ne vouloit observer de nos capitulations que ce qui y estoit inséré du temps de sultan Soliman »³⁷.

Les capitulations de 1536 auraient-elles été authentiques qu'on n'aurait pas pu rêver pour elles une plus belle postérité !

³⁶ Par une démarche analogue, quoique inverse, les Vénitiens faisaient des capitulations que leur avait accordées (effectivement cette fois) Soliman le Magnifique, la référence absolue, par rapport à laquelle les autorités ottomanes ne devaient plus formuler aucune exigence nouvelle; Faroqhi, *The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire*... cit., p. 336.

³⁷ Cité d'après Bibl. nat., ms.fr. 16149, par Laurent, *Les articles franco-ottomans de février 1536*... cit., p. 550, n. 2.

METROPOLIS AND NECROPOLIS: THE CULTIVATION OF SOCIAL STATUS AMONG THE JEWS OF ISTANBUL IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

MINNA ROZEN

Although Istanbul Jewish community of today is about 25% of its size at the last years of the Ottoman period, the city of Istanbul is still the house of several monumental remnants of this community's past. The most striking among these are three cemeteries in which burial had started in the 16th through 17th centuries, and continued without interruptions way into the 20th century—the cemeteries of Hasköy, Ortaköy and Kuzguncuk. Although damaged by the teeth of passing time, road building, and vandalism, all three of them still contain thousand of stones, and great parts of them still display quite large and intact original burial plots. During the years 1987–1991 I was able to document some 36,000 tombstones in these cemeteries, and a costume made computer program has enabled me to use a great part of the data in order to rebuild Jewish social life from the late 16th century until the beginning of the 19th century, in a very unique way.¹ The cemeteries became a mirror of the neighborhoods whose residents were buried in them. The systematic analysis of vast burial plots enabled to rebuild the social stratification of the society that had built them, its family trajectories, longevity, age at marriage, number of children per family, attitudes towards children, attitude towards male children as opposed to female children, and attitudes towards the elderly, women, and slaves. Such analysis portrayed the prevalence of polygamy, the values this society considered most, fluctuations in its general economic and political status, fluctuations in the status of particular families, and society's relations with neighboring cultures.² The cemetery became the world of the living's mirror.

¹ On this project see M. Rozen, *A Survey of Jewish Cemeteries in Western Turkey*, in "Jewish Quarterly Revue," LXXXIII (1992), pp. 71–125; idem, *Hasköy Cemetery: Typology of Stones*, Tel Aviv 1994.

² See for example M. Rozen, *The Cycle of Life and the meaning of Old Age in the Ottoman Period*, in Daniel Carpi Jubilee Book, in Id., A. Shapira and D. Porat (eds.), Tel Aviv 1996, pp. 109–179; idem, *Classical Echoes in Ottoman Istanbul*, in A. Ovadiah, (ed.), *Hellenic and Jewish Arts*, Tel Aviv 1998, pp. 393–430; idem, *Boatmen and Fishermen's*

In this paper will be displayed one facet of the way the social structure of the living is reflected through the cemetery, and at the same time will be shown how the living used the cemetery as an additional arena to others in which they construct their own world. In other words, the cemetery should not be looked at as a simple mirror, but rather as a mirror set up opposite another mirror, so that infinite reflections of reality look out at one another from within them. For example, a concentration of family tombstones, or monuments, that exhibit a certain character, such as unusually large size and expensive ornamentation, brings to mind the immediate inference that here we have a family of means and financial power that testify to its economic and social status in the community. According to the idea presented here, the expenditure is not always the product of the family's exalted status; sometimes it is an investment toward achieving such status. The investment is not necessarily a picture of reality, but a picture of a reality as the mourners are trying to create. Moreover, in some cases one can see investment in the culture of death not merely as an expression of the social and financial status of the deceased, but as an effort to establish, to maintain, and to enhance the social status of the living.

One of the families that drew my attention to the phenomenon of cultivating social status through the culture of burial is the Tsontsin family. The family name, which is spelled in Hebrew with two *tsadi*'s, is a slight corruption of the Italian name 'Soncino'—the name of a town in northern Italy, from which came the famous family of printers, which we mistakenly call 'Shontsino'. The Hebrew *shin* should be pronounced as a *sin*. The family originated in the city of Fürth, near Nuremberg; from there, two members of the family migrated to Soncino in May of 1454. Around the year 1482, one of their descendants, Yehoshu'a Shelomoh, established a printing press in the town of Soncino, and thus initiated an impressive tradition of printing books in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Italian, in various cities in Italy, primarily in the Veneto, and immortalized the family's name. Yehoshu'a's grandsons, Gershom and Mosheh, continued in the art of printing. Mosheh was the first one to print books in the Ottoman Empire. He printed several books in Salonika in 1521–1527. Gershom was certainly the greatest Hebrew printer, not only in his generation,

Guilds in 19th Century Istanbul, in "Mediterranean Historical Review", 15 (2000), pp. 72–93; idem, *A Pound of Flesh: Meat Trade and Social Conflict among the Jews of Istanbul, 1700–1923* in S. Faroqi and R. Deguilhem (eds.) *Crafts and Craftsmen in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005, pp. 195–234.

but also in the succeeding generations. In the year 1526, he moved with his son Eli'ezer and with his printing press to Salonika, where he printed several books. In the year 1530, they both moved to Istanbul. Gershom lived in Istanbul only four years, and printed fourteen books there. His son Eli'ezer inherited the printing press and continued in the business until 1547, during which time he printed at least twenty-eight books. Eli'ezer ben Gershom Soncino passed away in Istanbul in the year 1558. The printing press fell to one of his workers, Mosheh ben Ele'azar of the house of Parnas. One of the grandsons of Eli'ezer, Gershom Soncino, printed two books in Cairo in the year 1557.³ The connection with Cairo gains some significance if we consider the information provided by Sason Hai of the house of Qastiel, an Istanbulu adventurer, who traveled between Ceylon, Burma, India, Afganistan, the Mediterranean and Western Europe at the end of the 17th century and the first decade of the 18th century, trading in diamonds, rubies, and pearls. He relates that in the days of the Ari (Rabbi Yitzhaq Luria Ashkenazi, the founder of the Lurianic Kabbalist school of Safed)—we may assume around 1570—a new Pasha was sent to Egypt; this new governor had Jewish advisors whom he brought with him from Istanbul. Among these was “a man of wisdom and understanding named Ya'aqov, and his father's name was Rabbi Yitzhaq Soncino, all of them perfectly wise in all matters.”⁴ Qastiel is not especially known for accuracy, and has a tendency to exaggerate; but the fact that the governors sent by the Porte to Egypt used to bring with them advisors and assistants from Istanbul, among them Jews, is known to us from other sources as well.⁵ So we have no reason to reject this information. At the same time, I have not been able to identify this scion of the Soncino family or to verify the connection between him and Gershom, the first printer to settle in Istanbul. He might have been the son of Mosheh (d. 1527) or of Eliezer (d. 1547). Gershom Soncino was

³ A. M. Haberman, *Ha-Madpisim Benei Soncino* (The Printers of the Soncino House), Vienna, 1933; A. Ya'ari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Qushta* (The Hebrew Press in Istanbul), Jerusalem 1967, pp. 21–24.

⁴ Y. Ben Zvi, *Mas'ot Sason Hai Le-Vet Qastiel* (The Travels of Sason Hai from the House of Qastiel) in idem, *Mehqarim u-Meqorot* (Studies and Documents), Jerusalem 1966, p. 469, n. 218.

⁵ See for example the *responsum* written by Raphael Yehoshu'a Benveniste to the wealthy brothers Ibn Vileisid from Istanbul (1651) on account of their dispute with another powerful Istanbuli Jew, Aharon Hamon. The latter caused the Governor of Egypt who brought one of the brothers to Cairo to serve as his *sarraf*, to fire him and take one of Hamon's men (*Responsa Sha'ar Yehoshu'a, Hoshen Mishpat*, Jerusalem, 1982, # 27; Mosheh Benveniste, *Responsa Penei Mosheh*, vol 3, Istanbul, 1719, # 28).

apparently the father of Yehoshu'a Soncino (d. 1569) as well. It should be noted however, that this fact had not been clearly expressed in any document mentioning Yehoshu'a's name. Yehoshu'a Soncino, or as he is better known as Tzontzin, was the *Hakham* (congregational rabbinic authority) of a Sephardic congregation, most probably *Qahal Mayor*.⁶ His status in the Istanbul community is well attested by his firm opposition to the plan designed by the Nasi family to boycott the port of Ancona on account of the 24 conversos who were burnt on the stake in the city (1555).⁷ The status of the Soncino family at the end of the 16th century through the first half of the 17th century is well portrayed in their family connections and their assets. Rabbi Yehoshu'a Soncino's daughter married Mosheh Benveniste who was the court physician of Murad III (1574–1595) and a protégé of the Grand Vizier Siavuş Paşa.⁸ His ties with Siavuş Paşa and with Esther Kira⁹ led, in the final analysis, to his exile to Rhodes, where he died.¹⁰ Mosheh Benveniste is described by his grandson as: "The righteous prince, the flawless sage, the renowned scholar, who devoted his whole life to helping Jews everywhere, opposite ministers and judges of the highest rank"¹¹ Esteropoula, the daughter of the *Hakham* Shemuel Soncino married the son of the "rich man" (*gevir*) Shelomoh Alaman (i.e. "the German" = Ashkenazi). This "German" is most probably the famous Venetian physician who

⁶ See Yehoshu'a Tzontzin, *Responsa Nahalah li-Yhoshu'a*, Istanbul 1731, #40, p. 47a.

⁷ On his activities in this matter and other communal matters see M. Rozen, *The Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years 1543–1566*, Leiden 2004, pp. 44, 79, 91, 98, 213, 221.

⁸ Held office as Grand Vizier three times (1582–1586, 1584–1592, 1589–1593).

⁹ A Jewish businesswoman who mediated between the women of the harem and the outside world. The enormous wealth and power she accumulated made her an object of envy and hatred. Esther Kira was murdered on 1 April 1600 by mutinous, sword-wielding soldiers on the staircase of the house of Halil Paşa, the *kaymakam* of Istanbul. See M. Rozen, *The Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years 1543–1566*, Leiden 2004, pp. 204–207.

¹⁰ M. Benayahu *Rofe He-Hatzer Rav Mosheh Benveniste: Shir 'al haglayato le-Rodos* (R. Mosheh Benveniste, Court Physician: Elegy on his Exile to Rhodes), in "Sefunot" 14 (5730–5733 [1970–1973]), pp. 130–131. On the Benveniste family, its pedigree and connections, see the entire article, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–135. The British merchant, John Sanderson, bequeathed to his cousin, Samuel Sanderson, several oil paintings of his Istanbul friends, which he apparently commissioned from an artist in the Great Bazaar of Istanbul during his stay in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. One of these was of the "Jewish Physician Dr. Benveniste." John Sanderson (ed. W. Foster), *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584–1602*, (London 1931) p. 35, ref. 2. See also Benveniste's involvement in the execution of Ester Kira, *ibid.*, p. 201.

¹¹ See introduction to Vol. I of *Penei Mosheh*, Mosheh Benveniste's *Responsa*, printed in Istanbul in 1669.

mediated between the Venetian bailo in Istanbul Marc'Antonio Barbaro and the Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu during the war between the two countries, and eventually saved the Jewish community of Venice from the expulsion they were threatened with by the Venetian authorities decision of 18 December 1571.¹² Shemuel Soncino's other daughter married a famous rabbinical scholar, Rabbi Yitzhaq Don Don. Their grandson, rabbi Yitzhaq Ibn Faraj, married the daughter of the Leading Rabbi of the Romaniot congregations in Istanbul, who was at the same time the *Hakham* of *Neveh Shalom* congregation, Rabbi Eliyahu Ibn Hayim.¹³ Ibn Hayim's second daughter married the physician Nisim Benveniste (1583–1621), the grandson of Yehoshu'a Soncino (d. 1569). This is just a limited picture covering just seventy years of the intricate marriage network the Soncino's (and other well off Istanbuli families) developed in order to maintain and fortify their dynasty.¹⁴

Qastiel describes at length the influence of the Jews of Istanbul on political life of the Ottoman Empire, and notes that most of its governors and noblemen “are being nominated by the advise of wealthy men, the most distinguished of those who sit first in the kingdom, and these are from four families: Hamon, ‘Uziel, Rozales, and Soncino—these are the four wealthiest families in the city of Istanbul, who see the king's face, and they buy [merchandise] from these kingdoms[i.e. provinces of the empire] and send as king to whoever their heart desires, by the word of the Sultan (Hunkar); and according to what comes out of the mouth of the Jews, so the Sultan does.”¹⁵

Let us forget, for the moment, the many exaggerations in Qastiel's description, and let us focus on the remainder. Less than two decades after the Soncino family disappears as a family of printers, it reappears as an affluent family, influential in the politics of Istanbul. Moreover, around that same period, we witness the emergence of an important family of rabbis and wealthy men, named Tsontsin, that continues its activity until the nineteenth century.

¹² On Shelomoh Ashkenazi and his career see B. Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 1995, pp. 55–94.

¹³ On the office of the Leading Rabbi see Rozen, *The Jewish Community...* cit., pp. 66–77. Ibn Hayim was the last Leading Rabbi we know of, and interestingly, although leading the Romaniots, he was a Sephardi and a *Hakham* of a Sephardi congregation!

¹⁴ For this part of the Soncino dynasty see Table 1, “*The Soncino Family—Spire-Fürth-Venice-Salonika-Istanbul-Cairo*”.

¹⁵ Ben Zvi, *Travels...* cit., p. 469.

Soncino the printers, Soncino the favorites of kings, and Tsontsin the rabbis are all one and the same. The likelihood that we are not dealing with one family is very small. The name ‘Soncino’ is very rare among the Jews of Italy, and the likelihood that two different families with this name settled in Istanbul is almost nil. We are dealing with branches and descendants of the same family. The form ‘Tsontsin’ is, on the one hand, a mistake due to the inability to find a written equivalent of the [Italian] ‘c’ [pronounced like the English ‘ch’ in ‘chair’] and the difficulty of pronouncing a [Hebrew] ‘*samekh*’ followed by a ‘*tzadi*’. On the other hand, the shortened form ‘Tsontsin’ [without the final ‘o’] is the result of the prevalent custom in the Veneto, where the family was active for about a hundred years, to omit the final ‘o’ in surnames ending with “no”—as, for example, in the names Riccomino-Riccomin, Bragadino-Bragadin, Delfino-Delfin, etc.; so also ‘Soncino’ became ‘Tsontsin’. Further evidence for this can be seen on the tombstone of Vidah Khursi, the widow of Hayim Tsontsin; on her tombstone three options appear: ‘Tsontsin’, ‘Tsontsino’, and ‘Sonsino’. Lady Vida passed away on September 23rd, 1948.¹⁶ Another example for the usage to abbreviate the name Soncino can be seen in the opening page of Shelomoh Ibn Gevirol’s book *Mivhar Peninim* (Selected Pearls), printed in 1484 in Soncino, in the “printing press of Yehoshu’a ben Israel Natan a man from Soncin.”¹⁷ In fact, the name Soncin was written in Hebrew with a “shin”, and only Italophones would know that it is actually a “sin”.

The question that remains unanswered is how did the Soncinos acquire their wealth? Printing was an honorable profession, but never one to make its practitioners exceptionally wealthy. The Soncinos were the only printers I know of whose name is associated with money. There are three possibilities: one is that Gershom Soncino (d. 1534), a great printer that he was, excelled in his business as nobody else did before him or after. The second one is that when the printing press passed to Mosheh ben Eli’ezer Parnas, someone in the family knew how to parlay the transfer of the business, into a great fortune, a fortune that justified the appellation “wealthy men” as applied to several family members; or,

¹⁶ *The Turkish and Balkan Jewry Documentation Project*, Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, Collection of Turkish Cemeteries (hereafter *Turkish Collection*), Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # M-9, stone # 21, film # 106*, 28 February 1989.

¹⁷ A. M. Haberman, *Ha-Madpisim Benei Soncino* (The Printers of the Soncino House), Vienna, 1933, rp. In id. *Peraqim be-Toledot ha-Madpisim ha-Ivriyim* (Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Printers), Jerusalem 1978, p. 26.

the last possibility is that at some time a family member who was *not* in the printing business made the family wealthy and prominent. The granddaughters of Gershom (d. 1534) through both his sons, Shemuel and Yehoshu'a (d. 1569) married into important families, in fact, may be two of the best families in the capital, which implies that he himself was the one, who already during his lifetime managed to create a great fortune, either through printing, or by diverting his efforts into different avenues than printing as well.

Marriage of wealthy families into families of scholars was still prevalent in Istanbul Jewish society of this period (this had changed in future generations), which would explain the marriages of Rabbi Yehoshu'a Soncino's daughters, however, Shemuel was not a famous scholar, and the only reason why his daughter Esteropoula married into the Ashkenazi family could have been the wealth of her father. One more allusion to the fact that Gershom's sons were already rich people is found in the sermon made by Rabbi Mosheh Almosnino from Salonika, who stayed in Istanbul in the years 1565–1567 as an ambassador of sorts, nominated by his community to achieve at the Sublime Porte a better tax arrangement for them.¹⁸ Almosnino's sermon, given on the 10th day of the Hebrew moon of Nisan 5329 (28 March 1569) revolves around the theme of money being used for the benefit of the nation, for achieving worthy aims. The allusion is to the way Tzontzin had used his own money.¹⁹

An overview of the tombstones which the Soncino family had left in the cemeteries of Istanbul, provides us with interesting insights as to the strategy they adopted over the generations, of using the family graves to foster the impression of greatness in Torah, power, and wealth, and to enhance their status.

¹⁸ On Almosnino and his mission to Istanbul see M. Rozen, *The Corvée of Operating the Mines in Siderakapısı and Its Effects on the Jewish Community in Thessaloniki in the 16th Century* in Id. (ed.), *Yemei ha-Sahar—Peraqim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim ba-Imperiyah ha-'Otmanit* (The Days of the Crescent—Chapters in the History of the Jews in the Ottoman Period), Tel Aviv 1996, pp. 13–38; M. Z. Benayah, *Mosheh Almosnino mi-Saloniqi: Hayav vi-Ytzirato* (Mosheh Almosnino of Salonika. His Life and Work), Tel Aviv 1996. On the social and political strife in Salonika, and the role played by Almosnino in these events, see M. Rozen, *Individual and Community in Jewish Society of the Ottoman Empire: Salonika in the 16th Century*, in A. Levi (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton NJ. 1994, pp. 215–73, and especially 253–60.

¹⁹ Mosheh Almosnino, *Sefer Meametz Koah, Sermons* (in Hebrew), Venice 1588, pp. 62b–74b.

A tour of the cemeteries of Istanbul shows that members of the family were buried in three cemeteries in the city: those of Hasköy, Kuzguncuk and of Ortaköy. In Hasköy cemetery, situated on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, were found only eight tombstones of the family, the earliest dating from 1697 and the latest from 1944. The reason why there are so few family tombstones in this cemetery is twofold. Most of the tombstones from the nineteenth century were destroyed in the course of building the highway that encircles Istanbul (Çevre Yolu); and also, as we shall see below, Hasköy was not the favored neighborhood of the Soncinos in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to say where the Soncinos lived before 1697. It is possible that they lived in Hasköy before that date as well, and their tombstones were simply destroyed; however, we have an impressive number of tombstones dating from between the founding of the cemetery and 1697, and I would have expected a larger number of tombstones of the Soncino family in the cemetery, if they had lived in Hasköy long before 1697. Therefore I suggest that until 1660—the year of the great fire in Eminonu, which brought about the uprooting of most of the Jews of the Old Jewish Quarter and their resettlement in Hasköy—the Soncino family also lived in the old Quarter, and only then moved elsewhere. It is important to note that the two tombstones found in Hasköy, dating from 1893 and 1944 are very simple and cheap certainly attesting to the real situation of the family at the last chapter of this family's history in the city. The eighteenth century stones are mostly expensive and lavishly invested, judging from the workmanship and the inscriptions, as befitting the kind of family described by Qastiel. However, not all of them answer to this description: the young maiden Qalo who was already betrothed to be married, that is between the age of 12 years and that of 12 years and six months, who passed away on 15 August 1751 won a simple coffin-like stone, poorly decorated, and succinctly inscribed.²⁰ The reason for this thrift could be the fact that her whole personality depended on her future role as a wife and a mother, once she is dead before achieving any of these goals there is no point in investing in her tombstone. The passerby would not add her to the dynastic account of her family, there are others much more worthy of investment than her. The tombstone that is most interesting of all—and this one deserves special attention, in that it mentions the Tsontsin

²⁰ *Turkish Collection*...cit., Hasköy cemetery, plot 5–11, stone # 48MA, film # 63*, 8 November 1988.



Photograph 1. *The tombstone of the lady Esther, wife of honorable Rabbi Shelomoh Istamti.*

family only indirectly—is the tombstone of “The Lady Esther, wife of the honorable Rabbi Shelomoh Istamti, and of the house of the wealthy and wise and exalted honorable rabbi Mosheh Tsontsin,”²¹ (photograph 1) who passed away on the 11th of November, 1738.

This extremely beautiful monument, more impressive than those of the Soncino family itself, was erected for her by her grieving husband, who thought it proper to note—besides her lofty virtues, which found expression in her assistance of the poor—the fact that she was a proselyte, and that she was from the house of Mosheh Tsontsin. The meaning of these facts is that she was a non-Jewish slave who converted to Judaism. In other words, both the fact that the woman converted to Judaism and the fact that she served in the house of this wealthy man until her marriage seemed to her grieving husband to be facts that would do her honor, and also indirectly enhance the status of the mourners. The great monetary investment in the monument expresses not only

²¹ *Turkish Collection*...cit., Hasköy cemetery, plot 1–11, stone # 131, film # 536, 15 January, 1989.

her husband's love for her, but also the aspiration to emulate the wealthy family with which she was associated.

Fourteen stones of the Soncinos were found in the Kuzguncuk cemetery. The first among them from 1735, the last from 1909. During the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century Kuzguncuk was the residence of well off Jewish, Muslim, Armenian as well as Greek families. Among them were rich merchants, suppliers of the court and the army, Ottoman dignitaries and functionaries, and last but not least, the chief rabbi of Istanbul.²² In the second half of the nineteenth century this beautiful residence started to lose its glamour in favor of Galata that became a symbol of modernity and westernization. Unless for one tombstone, that of Rahel, wife of the rich and illustrious Menahem Soncino (d. 1742), I was unable to accurately connect the rest of the burials in Kuzguncuk to the family tree created through the Hasköy and Ortaköy burials, that is why they do not appear in the family tree provided here. Out of the fourteen stones, only two display very short and concise epitaphs, and typically, one of them is that of a female child, "the pleasant child, beautiful as the moon, flawless as the sun, Sarah daughter of the honorable and distinguished Nisim Tzontzin" who died 24 August, 1778.²³ The second stone that was incised very minimally is that of a very old man, Eli'ezer Tzontzin, who passed away on 27 March 1803.²⁴ A child means an enfant less than four or five years old, while a very old man should be considered a person over seventy.²⁵ The death of an enfant or a very old person does not create a huge palpable gap in the everyday life of society, and thus, the common rule is that they never get a heavily invested tombstone. However, in the case of the Soncino family the frugality expressed in the case of Eli'ezer Tzontzin calls for further consideration. Given the fact that there is no mention of children, grandchildren or wife who outlived him, the stone must have been ordered by a distant relative who did not particularly grieve his death, and moreover, he did not see any dynastic gains from investing in the stone. All the rest of the Kuzguncuk stones are incised with

²² See M. Rozen, *Boatmen and Fishermen's Guilds in 19th Century Istanbul*, in "Mediterranean Historical Review", 15 (2000), pp. 78–80.

²³ *Turkish Collection*... cit., Kuzguncuk cemetery, plot G-3, stone # 8, film # 60, 7 April, 1989.

²⁴ Op. cit., plot G-12, stone # 48, film # 217, June 1, 1989.

²⁵ See M. Rozen, *The Cycle of Life and the Meaning of Old Age in the Ottoman Period*, in Id., A. Shapira, and D. Porat (eds.), *Daniel Carpi Jubilee Book*, Tel Aviv 1996, pp. 109–179.



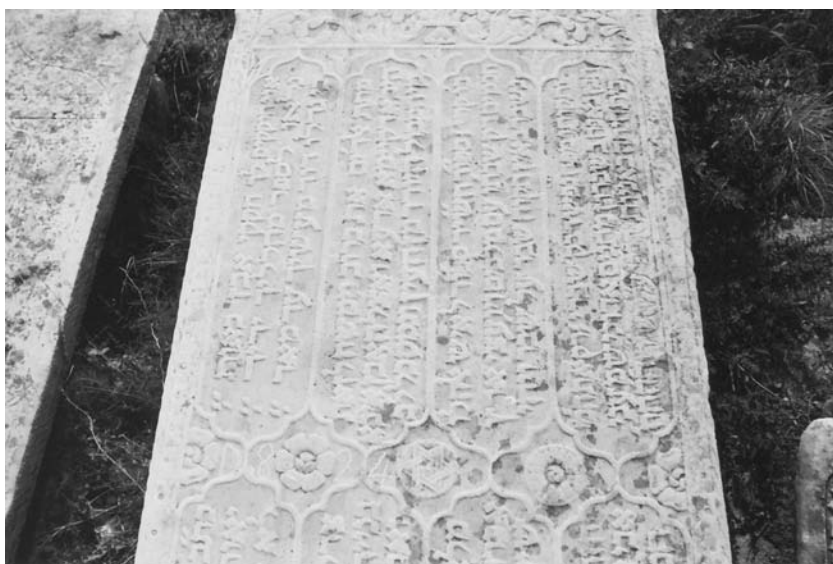
Photograph 2. *The tombstone of the lady Sarah wife of Yehoshu'a Soncino.*

an elaborate epitaph relating in great detail the virtues of the deceased and his or her important place in society, as well as the hollowness his or her death would leave in the life of those who depended or loved the deceased. Given the fact that education was a common norm among the Soncinos, the intricate and elaborate epitaphs should not surprise us, however, they are surprising when inscribed on relatively simple monuments.

Sarah, the wife of Yehoshu'a Soncino who died on September 14, 1735 in the plague, received from her husband a nice pentagonal coffin-like stone, made of Marmara marble, all inscribed with a beautiful poem befitting a distinguished lady who belongs to an important family, but the stone itself, though of good quality and nice cutting (photograph 2),²⁶ is rather plain in comparison to the monuments erected on the burials of people such as Matatyah Pedrosa (photographs 3–4), or the young David Zonah²⁷ (photograph 5).

²⁶ *Turkish Collection...* cit., Kuzguncuk cemetery, plot D-8, stone # 99, film # *457, 3, August 1989.

²⁷ The Zonah family were rich merchants who took a central role in the leadership of the community at least from the 1730ies until the end of the Ottoman period. David Zonah is mentioned in 1746 as one of the seven “officials for Palestine in Istanbul”, a



Photographs 3-4. *The tombstone of Matatyah Pedrosa, d.8 March, 1730, Turkish Collection...cit., Kuzguncuk Cemetery, plot # D-8, stone # 24, film # *345, 20 June 1989, general view and detail.*



Photograph 5. *The tombstone of David Zonarah d.10 August 1746, Turkish Collection...cit., Kuzguncuk Cemetery, plot # D-6, stone # 117, film # *152, 28 August 1989.*

This combination of an elaborate inscription and a medium level of investment in the artwork of the stone repeats itself in the rest of the Tzontzin stones in Kuzguncuk, while the most recent stones display the smallest investment, exactly as it is in Hasköy. One explanation of this phenomenon would be that the Soncino family did not attach the same importance to ostentatious status symbols as other Istanbuli families attached to it in the 18th century. However, another explanation should be taken into account as well; the Soncino family was an important family, but not as rich as the other members of the Istanbuli Jewish elite of this period, like the Zonarah, Ajiman, Qamhi, Aluf or De Medinah, who invested both in epitaphs and in artwork, not to mention the quality of stones they used for their families' tombs. Consequently, the Soncinos displayed their "good name" and value especially through intricate epitaphs, a commodity they were able to get inside the family.

very prestigious office (J. Barnai, *The Jews in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century Under the Patronage of the Istanbul Committee of Officials for Palestine*, Tuscaloosa Alabama 1992, p. 87). See also op. cit., pp. 95, 122, 243, notes 10,13. On their role in the community's political life in the 19th century see M. Rozen, *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews of Turkey and the Balkans, 1808–1945*, vol. 1, Tel Aviv 2005, pp. 89–90, 93–94, 96–97, 108–109.

Forty seven stones of the Soncino family are found in the Ortaköy cemetery. This particular cemetery is not well preserved especially because of its proximity to the *Istanbul Merkez Komutanlığı*, the borders of which overlap the cemetery's plots.²⁸ Given this fact, the natural inference is that most of the family members lived in Ortaköy, at least from the end of the seventeenth century.

Ortaköy was, until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a summer resort for the residents of Istanbul. Jews, as well as Muslims, Greeks, and Armenians, used to rent summer houses there from the Ottoman dignitaries who owned much real estate on the shores of the Bosphorus. Around that time, Jews began to build permanent houses in the resort village, which became a stylish neighborhood, where wealthy people of three faiths lived side by side in seaside villas (*yalı*) that touched the waters of the strait.²⁹ These seaside villas, or shore palaces, resembled the one that Sason Hai ben Qastiel had built for himself before his final journey to Southeast Asia that ended in Afganistan, a palace he describes in the account of his journeys.³⁰

The first Soncino grave in Ortaköy that we found dates from 1695, the stone of Yehoshu'a son of Meir Tzontzin (photograph 6), and the last is that of Vida Khursi, which we have already mentioned (d. 1948).

Here also the poorest stones are the most recent, that of the said Vida Khursi, and the stone of Sultanah, wife of Raphael Tzontzin, who passed away on 28 June 1898. As for the rest, as in the other cemeteries, most of them climb up in quality and quantity of material as well as in ornamentation as time goes backwards towards the end of the 17th century. Most stones dating from 1695 until approximately 1810 are very expensive, both with respect to the materials and with respect to the physical labor and the inscriptions. All of them are made of large blocks of Marmara

²⁸ It should be mentioned here that in spite of the delicate nature of this neighbor I was given by the authorities in charge a free hand in photographing all the plots until the very barb of the camp, for which I am indebted.

²⁹ See the will of Hayim Sulam, made in 1619 on his deathbed in Ortaköy, mentioning a big house with the legal status of *mülk* (private property); the neighbors were another Jew, Mosheh Ibn Ya'ish, and a Greek named Kostanda (Rabbi Yehiel Bassan, *Responsa* 82:54a). On a congregation at a summer resort, see Rabbi Eliyahu Ibn Hayim, *Responsa Mayim 'Amukim*, Venice 1657, 70:119b; Evliya Çelebi lists the *yalı* of Şekerci Yahudi (the Jewish sugar dealer) and that of the Jew Yitzhaq among the shore palaces of Ottoman dignitaries in the seventeenth century (*Seyahatname*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1896, p. 451).

³⁰ Ben Zvi, *Travels*... cit., pp. 449–451.



Photograph 6. *The tombstone of Yehoshu'a son of Meir Tzontzin, d. 15 January 1695, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortakoy Cemetery, plot # D-6, stone # 45, film # 72, 7 February 1989.*

marble, most of them are adorned with rich ornamentation in the Turkish Baroque style. Most of the 19th century stones are still incised with intricate and long epitaphs, but these are usually plain horizontal slabs, and the artwork disappears altogether. Generally, the inscriptions on 19th century monuments in all three cemeteries of Istanbul are brief, in comparison with the lengthy poems that were composed for the monuments of the Soncino family. Normally, rich epitaphs come together with a richly decorated stone. The Soncinos seem to make a desperate effort to save face in a period of relative depression in their history.

The effort made towards maintaining a façade of nobility and high status, in Ortaköy as well as in the other cemeteries, calls for further consideration. Besides the usual praises of the dead, there are in the inscriptions of the Tsontsin family passages that are intended not for the One who is supposed to allocate the portion of the deceased in the World to Come, but to one who comes to assess the family in this world. For example, on the monument of Yeudah ben Yehoshu'a Tsontsin, who passed away in 1742, is written:



Photograph 7. *The tombstone of Yeuda, son of Yehoshu'a Tsontsin, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # C-3, stone # 14, film # 115*, 6 March 1989.*

And in accordance with his few years, he wore crimson with refined cloth,³¹ and he was a son of kings and noblemen, he was the pleasing student, who was called at a young age, Rabbi Yeuda, son of the wealthy and exalted Yehoshu'a Tsontsin, may his Rock keep him and redeem him... (photograph 7)

The name Yehoshu'a is the most prevalent in the Soncino family tree, apparently due to the first Yehoshu'a Tsontsin (d.~ 1493), the founder of the printing press in the town of Soncino in Italy.

Therefore, besides the wealthy Yehoshu'a (photograph 7), we find also an eighteenth century judge bearing the same name. He apparently was a grandson of Abraham Tsontsin, whose idea it was to print his great-grandfather's, Yehoshu'a Tsontsin's, first book, *Nahalal li-Yhoshu'a* (see table 2 "*The Soncino Family in Istanbul*"). Abraham Tsontsin is described in the book's Introduction as "the crown of the elders and the beauty of the children, the glory of our exile, the jewel in the crown, he is the ven-

³¹ It is possible that this expression "And in accordance with his few years, he wore crimson with refined cloth" is meant to say the opposite, i.e., that in spite of his young age he was dressed in crimson and refined cloth, because he was a son of kings.



Photograph 8. *The tombstone of Avraham Tzontzin, d. 23 March 1732, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # C-3, stone # 89, film # 116 *, 6 March, 1989.*

erable master and great one of the Jews.” His monument is somewhat deteriorated, but one can still read on it the words “the grave of the venerable and honored, faithful, wise, and exalted man” (photograph 8).

Levi, the son of the said judge Yehoshu‘a Tsontsin, and grandson of Avraham, was born apparently in his father’s old age, and after his father’s death, he died tragically in a plague on his wedding day. On his monument is written, *inter alia*:

Son of the saint who was in the early days savior and prince and commander of nations; he judged Israel as a shepherd keeps his flock. (photograph 9)

The central idea is to glorify the family of the deceased by stressing his descent from noble ancestors.

In the year 1751, Istanbul was ravaged by a plague that left many dead, and thus many gravestones. Despite the large number of deaths, there was no diminution in the quality of the monuments or in the expenditure on ornamentation and inscriptions—not in families whose status was important to them.

Qalo, wife of the wealthy and distinguished Ya‘aqov Tsontsin, merited a very lengthy inscription when she died in 1751. Besides the expressions of sorrow of her husband and children, and the noble virtues that



Photograph 9. *The tombstone of Levi son of Yehoshu'a Tsontsin, d. ~ 1751, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # C-6, stone # 2, film # 73, 8 February 1989.*

were ascribed to her, she is also called “daughter of kings.” Her father’s name is not indicated on the monument, but it seems that in the opinion of the composers of the inscription, this was unnecessary; for everyone knew from which family she came (most probably from the Tsontsin family itself) (photograph 10).

It is clear that the famous judge Aharon Tsontsin, who passed away in the very same year of 1751, received a long and laudatory inscription, describing his wisdom and virtue. But this is no wonder, for he was not dependent on the distinction of his family; rather he earned his praise through his own talents and erudition. At the same time, however, the great expense invested in the monument was to glorify not only the man himself, but also his family—his three children, his firstborn son, who was named (what else?) Yehoshu’a, and his grieving wife (photograph 11).

That same year saw the passing of the distinguished scholar Nisim Yehoshu’a Tsontsin, who also received a beautiful monument and a laudatory inscription expressing the grief of his father and mother; but the mourners did not forget to note his genealogy, “son of the wealthy and eminent man, our honored teacher Rabbi Hayim Tsontsin.” (photograph 12)



Photograph 10. *Kalo, wife of Ya'akov Tsontsin d. 26 August 1751, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # C-3, stone # 21, film # 10, 26 January 1989.*



Photograph 11. *The tombstone of Aharon Tzontzin d. 19 August 1751, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # D-4, stone # 2, film # 30, 31 January 1989.*



Photograph 12. *The tombstone of Nisim Yehoshu'a Tzontzin, d. 1 November 1751, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # C-4, stone # 11, film # 27, 31 January 1989.*

In the inscription of the monument of the *Haham* Hayim Menahem Tsontsin, who died in the year 1774, is the appellation “High Nest.” (photograph 13) This appellation indicates the desire of his family to constantly remind the community of his eminence, so that some of that eminence would redound to them as well.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the references to the eminence of the family cease. But prominent rabbis still merited special notice, Rabbi Menahem Tsontsin, who died 5 January 1884 was described on his tombstone as “The great rabbi, fortress and tower, elder master, cornerstone, head of the city and head of the academy of populous Kushta³².” Menahem Tsontsin was the Rabbi of Ortaköy and was appointed as a trustee of the pious foundation named after Shelomo Halevi in this neighborhood. In the year 1863, he was one of the heads of the opposition to Rabbi Ya’aqov Avigdor, owing to the latter’s inclinations toward modernism. For many years he was one of the permanent

³² Hebrew abbreviation of Constantinople. The *sin* and *shin* were confused here as well. *Turkish Collection...cit.*, Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # M-6, stone # 26, film # 164, 27 February 1989.



Photograph 13. *The tombstone of Hayim Menahem Tzontzin d. 17 February 1774, Turkish Collection...cit., Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # E-5, stone # 27, film # 48, 3 February 1989.*

judges in the rabbinical court of greater Istanbul.³³ Investing effort in glorifying a rabbi who was considered of great importance by influential circles of the community is not a matter to be surprised at.

At the same time, a member of the family who was not as important as Menahem Tzontzin was also given a great deal of attention. At this time, a period of economic and political troubles, a great effort is expended on fostering the pedigree of the family, in a way which nearly touches the heart. On the 30th of April, 1926, Vidah, daughter of Yehoshu'a Tzontsin, and widow of Shalom HaKohen, passed away. Shalom HaKohen was a judge in the Rabbinical Court of the city during the years of the IWW and the early Republican period. He was not a great rabbinical authority. This was not the season of Torah, nor that of scholars. But there he was, and there he gave those who sought for his advise—and those were not many—his learned opinion.³⁴ He married Vidah daughter of Yehoshu'a and granddaughter of the said Menahem Tzontzin, the

³³ See *Register of the Rabbinical Court of Istanbul*, n° 4 (1871–1894) (private collection, photocopy at *Turkish Collection...cit.*, Istanbul Court Records), p. 37 # 1.

³⁴ His nine *responso* were published in Jerusalem in 1991.

vehement opponent to modern education in Istanbul. Due to the troubled times HaKohen family could afford only a plain gravestone to be made for his wife, but was not about to miss the opportunity to remind the world from what family she came, and indirectly thus laurated themselves. On her tombstone were written the following words:

Woe for her who has gone, woe for her who has been taken,
 A woman of valor, of great eminence, straight in her deeds and in her virtues,
 The honor of the daughter of a king is inward,
 This is the bone of an exalted person,
 Of the seed that combines Torah and greatness,
 A worthy woman, a rabbi's wife,
 A noble seed from a unique family,
 She is the honorable woman, the Lady Vida,
 Only daughter of the great Rabbi Yehoshu'a Tsontsin, of blessed memory,
 Wife of the perfectly wise, distinguished, mighty judge,
 Our honored teacher Rabbi Shalom HaKohen, of blessed memory,
 She was taken to her eternal home on the sixteenth day of the month of Iyar,
 In the year 5686.
 May her soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life.³⁵

The inscription, which includes an acrostic of her name, establishes the eminence of the Tsontsin family in several ways. The woman is “daughter of a king,” “A noble seed from a unique family,” there are “Torah and greatness,” combined together. To conclude the matter the twofold connection are emphasized, to her father and to her husband. The parallel connections are brought in order to complete the picture. The Tzontzins are a noble family, who enters into marriages with worthy people—i.e. Shalom HaKohen had been a match worthy for them, and thus his children are a good match as well. The daughter of a great rabbi marries another great rabbi. The fact that she married him elevates his status, and thus everyone who passes on the path of the cemetery remembers and knows that this is an eminent family. It does not matter what do the Tzontzins—Soncinos think of themselves the fact is that Hakohen needs their ancestral glamour in order to crown themselves, and thus he emphasizes their pedigree.

³⁵ D. 30 April 1926, *Turkish Collection*, Ortaköy Cemetery, plot # M-9, stone # 7, film # 105*, 28 February 1989.

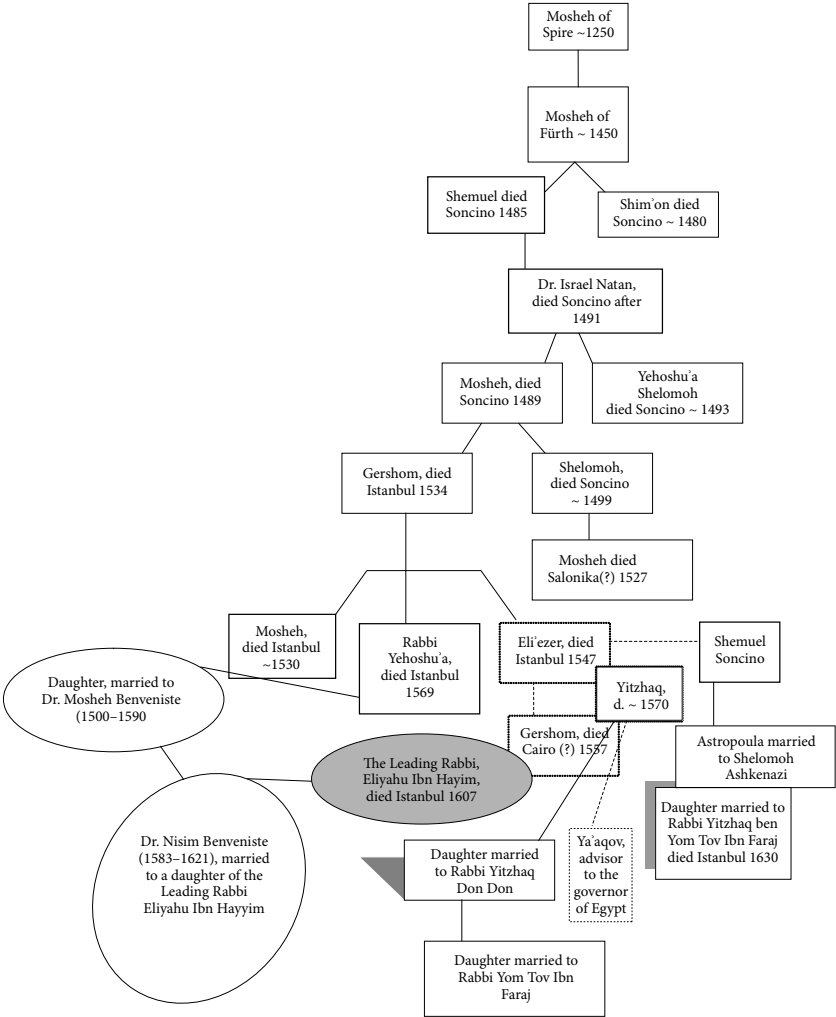
What does the Tsontsin family, through the generations, achieve by means of this strategy? What do other Istanbuli families achieve by that? Cultivation of the family pedigree through the culture of death has great significance for the living as well. That is why even in hard times that forces them to settle for poorly decorated mediocre stones, they still invest great efforts in the epitaph that glorify their dynasty. That is why humble people who marry with them take the trouble to stress their matches with them. This is, of course, only one of the ways to cultivate the pedigree. There are many other ways which will not be discussed in this paper such as building synagogues, Houses of Study, sponsoring the publication of books investing in the dowries of daughters, endogamous marriages etc. The goal of cultivating the past pedigree is to ensure its foundation for the future. On the day that one of the family members matures and is ready to enter into the covenant of marriage, the pedigree gives him a wider range of choices from among families that put forward possible spouses. The wide range is not only in quantity, but also in quality: brides and grooms from families that exhibit similar qualities—money or learning together with pedigree.

A careful study of all the matches done by the family, as well as by others will show that there is always a barter of sorts, either pedigree and learning for money, or money for money, or learning and money for pedigree. In the case of the Soncinos-Tzontzins, pedigree by itself is not sufficient, for the Tsontsin family itself brings this valuable commodity into the deal. They will look for erudition and money. At the end of the 19th century they settled for a humble judge. Their money evaporated, the male progeny extinct, they had to settle for less.

What causes a society to adopt this particular strategy, i.e., of cultivating pedigree through death culture? It is often said that pedigree is a very important value among Sephardic Jews. But the Soncinos-Tsontsins were not Sephardim; they were Ashkenazim, or at best Italianized Ashkenazim. Similarly, the material investment in the culture of death in the capital city was above and beyond anything that I know of among the Jews of the Ottoman Empire, and it successfully measures up against the investments of the Muslims and the Christians in the city. It is perhaps equal to the expenditures of the Jews in places such as Livorno, or Curacao. Here I can do no more than merely indicate in general terms the reasons for the size of this investment.

It seems that it was made in places where, as a general rule, great value was ascribed to outward demonstrations of wealth also in the

surrounding society, places where for various reasons materialistic culture prevails as a value in itself, and overshadows all the other values of the society. It is understood that considerable means are required for this large investment, but the investment continues even when the means dwindle. Values do not change as quickly as finances change. In a world in which communication was rather slow, it took many years for people to understand that values that seemed eternal were not valid anymore.



Legenda:

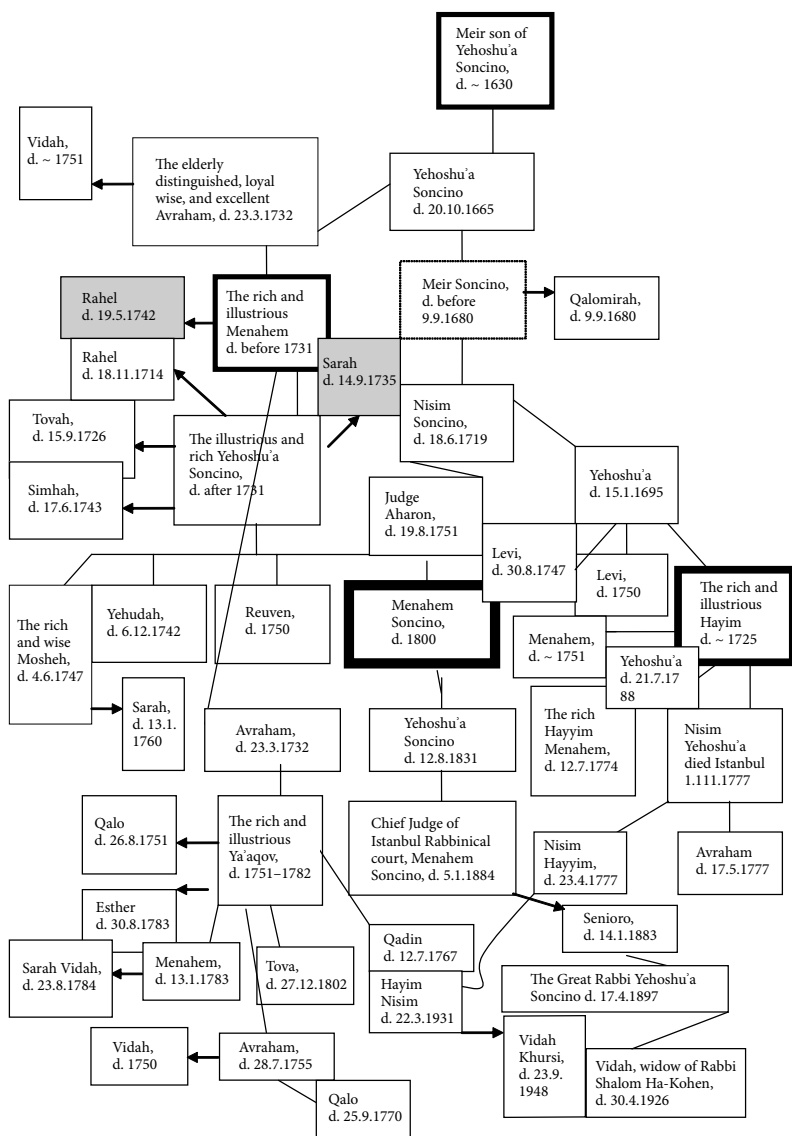
Benveniste family = 

Ibn Hayyim family = 

Ibn Faraj family = 

Ashkenazi family = 

1. The Soncino Family—Spire-Fürth-Venice-Salonika-Istanbul-Cairo.



Legenda:

Hasköy and Ortaköy cemeteries = Indirect Line

Son =

Spouse =

Indirect evidence on tombstones

And Sources other than cemeteries =

Kuzguncuk

2. The Sencino Family in Istanbul.

THE ISTANBUL FUR MARKET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MARKUS KOLLER*

The Muscovite/Russian-Ottoman Fur Trade—The Trade Routes

The Istanbul *narh defteri* of 1640 lists a large number of different furs that were available in the Ottoman capital. Among them were sable, Cercessionian marten, beech marten, ermine, squirrel, fox from Azov and jackal from Karaman or Algeria.¹ The fur trade between the Maghreb or remote provinces in the Balkan peninsula such as Bosnia² and Istanbul still remains to be researched in depth. But contemporary Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources provide scholars with considerable information about the Muscovite/Russian-Ottoman trade in this luxury good that had existed since the fifteenth century.³

Primarily in the 1970s a number of articles dealing with this topic were published in the journal *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*. Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay used the *mühimme defterleri* to describe the activities of Ottoman merchants engaged in the fur trade in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴ The traders involved in this line of business were mainly Armenians, Jews and Greeks.⁵ It was the time when the old “Tatar route” of Caffa

* Many thanks go to Helen Walasek for reading this text carefully.

¹ M. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, Istanbul 1983, pp. 166–168.

² In the sixteenth century most of the furriers working in the Ottoman palace were Bosnians. See H. Tezcan, *Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans*, in: S. Faroqhi and C. K. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, Istanbul 2004, pp. 63–79, pp. 71–72.

³ Different kinds of fur are mentioned in a regulation concerning the customs of Istanbul and Galata dating from 1453. See N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, I, Paris 1960, pp. 116–118.

⁴ A. Bennigsen and C. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *Les marchands de la cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, in “*Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*”, XI/3 (1970), pp. 363–390.

⁵ H. Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1994, p. 278.

or Azov-Kiev-Lwow had lost its importance in favour of the "Moldavian route" between Akkermann and Lwow. Caravans left Istanbul via Edirne, crossed the Danube at Isakçı and reached Smolensk by passing through Kamenez Podolsk, Lwow and Minsk.⁶ The south-north trade over the Bursa-Istanbul-Caffa or Akkerman routes by sea and overland by Edirne-Kilia-Akkerman were dominated by Muslim merchants.⁷ The final destination of many merchants was Moscow where they had the opportunity to stay for some years in a *kervansaray* reserved for the merchants of the Sublime Porte.⁸

Traditionally the Polish-Lithuanian town of Lwow had received oriental goods through the "Tatar route" but its merchants were not able to accumulate enough capital to enable them to engage in this trade. This situation changed when the "Moldavian route" attracted more and more the caravans and it was mainly the Germans and Armenians of this city that transported oriental goods from Pera to Akkerman and Lwow in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁹ Jewish, Levantine and Italian merchants began to concentrate on Lwow which saw a prosperity that also resulted from the rights of staple which forced the merchants to stop there. Quite regularly the "Polish caravan" passed through Lwow on its way to Istanbul.¹⁰ This caravan had been always led by an Armenian bearing the title of a *kervanbaşı*.¹¹ Many of the merchants travelling on the "Moldavian route" on their own initiative or with this caravan may have done most of their trade in Kamenez Podolsk and Lwow. In the latter town there was a large and prosperous guild of furriers working sable and other furs brought from Russia. This leads one to assume that, in contrast to scholars like Bennigsen, Lemerrier-Quelquejart or Berindei, the "Moldavian route" is not only to consider in terms of the Russian trade.¹²

⁶ Bennigsen and Lemerrier-Quelquejart, *Les marchands de la cour ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*... cit., pp. 376–377.

⁷ Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*... cit., p. 278.

⁸ M. Berindei, *Contribution à l'étude du commerce ottoman des fourrures moscovites. La route moldavo-polonoise 1453–1700*, in "Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique", XII/4 (1971), pp. 363–390.

⁹ Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*... cit., p. 287.

¹⁰ F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1966, pp. 182–183.

¹¹ A. Wolowski, *La vie quotidienne en Pologne au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1972, pp. 179–180.

¹² P. Bushkovitch, *The Merchants of Moscow, 1580–1650*, Cambridge 1980, p. 94.

In the seventeenth century the Ottoman-Polish trade entered a period of crises and breakdowns. The army of the sultan seized Kamenez Podolsk (1672) and the merchants of Lwow suffered great material losses with the siege of that city by the Cossacks and Ottomans. Trade went on but on a lower level than before. In the eighteenth century the wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire had a negative effect on the commercial activities between these two empires and after the loss of Lwow to the Habsburg Monarchy (1772)¹³ the only free communication route under Polish control remained Podolia until 1793.¹⁴ Another opportunity to do trade with the Ottomans was to use the port of Kherson at the mouth of the Dnieper. But the outbreak of the Russian-Ottoman war in 1788 put paid to further commercial activities.¹⁵

For the Russians the Crimea had been the role of an entrepôt for their trade with the Sublime Porte since the fifteenth century.¹⁶ In the eighteenth century this key function was witnessed by the French consul in the Crimea, Claude de Peyssonel who wrote an account on the Black Sea trade.¹⁷ He provides us with very detailed information on the fur trade between the Crimea and Istanbul. The Crimea was the habitat of a large number of fur-bearing animals such as fox, wolf, jackal, squirrel, lamb, sheep or rabbit. Merchants coming to the markets of Caffa or Perekop had the opportunity to buy the fur of fox which was considered to be of inferior quality to the members of the same species in Russia or Poland. But nevertheless the fur of the local fox was also used to make clothes. Some of them are mentioned in the account of the French consul: *Boğaz* was fur skinned from the neck and it was worn as a trimming; *nafe* served as the lining of fur coats and fur skinned from the back was processed to a *fir*; *tilki paçası* or *tilki kafası* were fur coats made from the hide skinned from the shanks and the heads of fox. According to Claude de Peyssonel the majority of these products were used in the Crimea proper and only a few of them were exported to Istanbul and

¹³ A. Schmidt-Rösler, *Polen. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Regensburg 1996, p. 56.

¹⁴ A. Dziubinski, *Polish-Turkish Trade in the 16th to 18th Centuries*, in: *War and Peace, Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th–19th Centuries*, Istanbul 1999, pp. 38–45, pp. 43–44.

¹⁵ J. Reychman, *Le commerce polonais en Mer Noire au XVIII^e siècle par le port de Kherson*, in “*Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*”, VII/1 (1966), pp. 234–248.

¹⁶ Berindei, *Contribution à l'étude du commerce ottoman des fourrures moscovites*... cit., p. 399.

¹⁷ Claude de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, Tome 1, Paris 1787.

some Anatolian towns such as Trabzon.¹⁸ In these cities there were also a large number of *bedens*, fur coats made out of the hides of Crimean lamb.¹⁹ The Crimean fur market also offered many furs that were brought from Russia into the area by merchants who left their homes after Easter and returned at the beginning of winter. Sable and black fox fetched the highest prices whereas other animals such as wolf, lynx, sable, ermine, jackal, beaver or squirrel were cheaper.²⁰

The above mentioned Istanbul *narh defteri* of 1640 includes the Cercassian marten which might have been imported through the Crimea. Claude de Peyssonel refers to 50,000 hides of marten called *zerdeva* which were brought from Cercassia to Taman. In this town the merchants skinned the coat from the animals and brought the hides to Caffa where the products were prepared for transport to Istanbul.²¹ After the conquest of the Crimea (1773)²² the Russian government began to regulate the fur trade with Istanbul by publishing a customs tariff for the trade traffic in the Black Sea (1775), granting the staple rights to Kherson and erecting a customs office in Taganrok for the Sea of Azov. In 1776 the customs tariffs for Russian export over the Black Sea were reduced by 25%. This measure stimulated the fur trade with the Ottoman capital.²³

A second important entrepôt for the Russian-Ottoman fur trade was Azov, the commercial center of the Cossacks. Among the different products mentioned by Claude de Peyssonel there was a fur coat called *postaki* which was made out of sheepskin.²⁴ This and other fur products were regularly brought to the Ottoman capital by ships departing from the harbour of that trading center where goods from Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, Rumelia, Africa and India were bought and sold.²⁵

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 130–133.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 133–136.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 184–190.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 286–287.

²² A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772–1783*, Cambridge 1970.

²³ R. Stephan, *Zur Geschichte des Rauchwaren-Handels im Altertum und Mittelalter und die Erschließung des russisch-asiatischen Raumes vom 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Bochum 1940, pp. 114f. based mainly on the account of Claude de Peyssonel who mentions the trade margins of the Russian merchants engaged in the fur trade with Istanbul. The most profitable product was the fur of sables with a profit margin running up to 100%.

²⁴ *Postaki* derives from the Ottoman term *pusteki* designing a sheepskin, or similar skin with the wool or hair on it; see James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Beirut 1996, p. 457.

²⁵ Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire... cit.*, pp. 294–299.

After 1783 when the Black Sea monopoly enjoyed by the Ottomans was finally breached, at the masts of many ships fluttered the Russian, Austrian, Ragusan or Venetian flags making it clear that the "Ottoman lake" was changing into an international trade route.²⁶ The hitherto central position of Istanbul over the Black Sea trade routes deriving from the political power of the Ottoman Empire was impaired. The new geometric structure of the Black Sea trade, with the city of Trabzon in the east, the mouth of the Danube in the west, and the environs of Odessa in the north weakened the dominant position of the Ottoman capital.²⁷

The Istanbul Fur Market in the Eighteenth Century

But the Black Sea remained a basic pillar of the Istanbul trade. This is indicated by the figure given by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi who estimated the number of merchants who were engaged in the Black Sea trade at 8,000.²⁸ Among the Greeks living in Yeni Köy particularly were tradesmen who imported grain and furs into the Ottoman capital.²⁹ The latter good seems to have been stored in a *han*³⁰ situated between Mahmut

²⁶ I. Dostjan, *Les échanges commerciaux par la Mer Noire et les Detroits pendant le XVIII^e et la première partie du XIX^e siècle*, in "Bulletin de l'Association Internationale des Études Sud-Est Européennes", XII(2) (1974), pp. 185–194.

²⁷ E. Özveren, A Framework for the Study of the Black Sea World, 1789–1915, in "Review. A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center" XX/1 (1997), pp. 77–113, pp. 84–85.

²⁸ R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale*, Paris 1962, p. 432.

²⁹ A French report dating from the mid-eighteenth century points out that the Greeks sold furs and skins and went fetch them in Russia; they also formed a separate corporation for this trade; E. Eldem, *Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital*, in *Id.* (ed.), *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, Cambridge 1999, p. 159. According to Jacques Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel du commerce*, Paris 1748, p. 354 the Greek merchants transported mainly sables, martens, ermines and grey squirrels from Russia to the Ottoman capital. As a countermove they imported different items such as gilt silver thread called Firmier, Venetian brocades, taffetas, emeralds, sapphires, red linen and silver coins into the empire of the tsar.

³⁰ The term *han* subsumes different meanings. F. Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, 12. Baskı, Ankara 1995, p. 323 translates *khān* as *otel*, *kervānserāy* and *dükkān*. Ş. Sâmi, *Kāmūs-i Türkî*, Istanbul 1377/1899, p. 570 mentions different types of *khān*: *ticāret khānı*, *yolcu khānı* and *bekār khānı*. For the function of *khāns* in the Ottoman Empire see N. Elisseff, *Khan*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, Leiden 1978, pp. 1010–1017; H. Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957; I. Tamdoğan-Abel, *Les han, ou l'étranger dans la ville ottomane*, in Georgeon and M. Anastassiadou (eds.), *Vivre dans l'empire ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIII^e–XX^e siècles)*, Paris 1997, pp. 319–334.

Paşa and Uzun Çarşı.³¹ An Ottoman document leads one assume that in the eighteenth century the *Valide Hanı* was the only place where it was to trade in furs.³² It was situated in Eminönü and belonged to the pious foundation of the *Cinili Külliyesi* erected by Kösem Valide Sultan during the first years of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1640–1648).³³ This *han* was in the neighbourhood of the furriers who worked in the vicinity of the New Covered Market, the *han* of the carpet sellers and in the quarter of Mahmut Paşa.³⁴ It is not unlikely that a certain number of *odas* in the *Valide Hanı*³⁵ were reserved for furriers. The document used for this article and by Hülya Tezcan mentions 57 *odas* where furriers belonging to the furriers' guild carried out their craft.³⁶ Given the likely exaggerated figure of 500 shops and 1000 artisans by Evliya Çelebi, Hülya Tezcan considers the figure of 57 *odas* as the number of furriers who were active in eighteenth-century Istanbul.³⁷ But it is also possible that this number refers to the *odas* in the *Valide Hanı*: 11 *odas* for working the furs of sable and Russian fox, nine *odas* were for craftsmen specializing in "Frankish" sable as well as lynx, 15 *odas* reserved for furriers working ermine and 16 craftsmen working the fur of corsack. The fur of squirrel was distributed among six furriers.³⁸

³¹ Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle...* cit., p. 457.

³² "İstanbul'da vâki merhûm ve mağfûrun lehâ Vâlide Sultân tâbe serâhâ hânınun odabaşısı olan (boş) nâm kimesnenün kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan berü semmûr ve boğaz ve sincâb ve cümle kürkler hân-i mezbûrda bey' u şîrâ olunur". See A. Kal'a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1, Istanbul 1997, pp. 190–191.

³³ "Valide Hanı" (G. Cantay, ed.), in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 7, pp. 362–363. According to Eremya Çelebi the *Vâlide Khânı* was erected during the reign of Murad IV (1623–1640). See E. Ç. Kömürciyan, *Istanbul Tarihi. XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, Istanbul 1988, p. 48. Most *sarrafs* had their *oda* or office in this building; see Eldem, "İstanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital", p. 177. When blazes raged in Istanbul people found shelter in the *Yeni Hanı*, *Rachtal Paşa Hanı* (?) and *Valide Hanı* having been big stone buildings; see Ch.-M. d'Irumbery, comte de Salaberry, *Voyage à Constantinople, en Italie, et aux îles de l'Archipel, par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie*, Paris 1799, p. 172.

³⁴ Tezcan, "Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans" ... cit., p. 69.

³⁵ The *Valide Hanı* had 366 *odas*; see P. Ç. Inciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, Istanbul 1956, p. 24.

³⁶ This document dating from 1168 (1754) is included in the Cevdet İktisat catalogue of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi and has the shelfmark 1690. Tezcan, *Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans* ... cit., refers to that document which is also to be found in A. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı (1689–1785)*, Istanbul 1988, p. 179.

³⁷ Tezcan, *Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans* ... cit., pp. 70–71.

³⁸ This listing shows that the furriers' craft corporation formed primarily by Muslim and Greek furriers was subdivided into specialized groups of craftsmen (*snf*) working the different kinds of fur.

Decentralization of the Istanbul Fur Market

The provisioning of the capital was an item of highest priority in serving the political and economic goals of the Ottoman state. In order to guarantee the social stability and the functioning of the state apparatus it was essential that neither ordinary citizens nor members of the central government should suffer from a loss of their standard of living.³⁹ These objectives of the government can help to explain an order addressed to the *hassa kürkçübaşı* who seems to have been responsible for the provisioning of the palace with high quality fur and its distribution among the furriers.⁴⁰ The text includes an order to acquire both summer and winter furs ahead of time as well as a complaint about the bad quality of the fur traded in the Ottoman capital.⁴¹ The reason for this complaint was the apparent violation of the “ancient order” (*nizam-ı kadim*) by some furriers. But what was considered to be the “traditional ancient order” by the state?

The use of traditional rhetoric by the Ottoman government did not always correspond to its actual attitude towards the functioning of the economy. Although the Ottoman *kanun* was based on tradition, the Ottomans found it often very difficult to agree what “tradition” itself encompassed. The Ottoman state made great efforts to prevent social disturbance but the reforms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make clear that the state has not always been inherently traditional. The reason for the large number of orders referring to the “ancient order” was that there were numerous violations of tradition-based rules,⁴² as was the case in our document.

Merchants and guildsmen offended against the principle of centralizing the Istanbul fur trade by stockpiling the furs and selling them outside the *han*, presumably the *Valide Hanı*, at high prices above the fixed prices. The furriers’ guild complained about junk dealers and some Jewish tradesmen importing lambskin as well as the furs of rabbit, cat and fox from the Crimea into Istanbul. Both groups were accused by

³⁹ N. İsvan, *Illegal Local Trade in the Ottoman Empire and the Guilds of Istanbul, 1725–26: Suggested New Hypotheses*, in “*International Journal of Turkish Studies*”, 5.1–2 (1990/91), pp. 1–26, here pp. 6f.

⁴⁰ In the Ottoman palace the *kürkçübaşı* had a long tradition; see I. H. Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, pp. 316–317.

⁴¹ Cevdet İktisat 1690.

⁴² E. Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul. Fluidity and Leverage*, Leiden, Boston 2004, p. 120.

the craft corporation of selling old and new furs in urban quarters and at the flea market (*bitbazarı*),⁴³ but not to the *esnaf*. The furriers working outside and inside the *han* were confronted with a process that ran counter to the principle of centralizing the trade of specific commodities in the Ottoman capital. They complained about other practitioners of that craft who opened shops in other quarters and did not belong to the guild of furriers.⁴⁴ This phenomenon resulted from the growth of Istanbul and the settlement of hitherto empty spaces. Such a development made it attractive to craftsmen to produce and sell in the other parts of that city as well, in contradiction to a centralized production or trade.⁴⁵ The illegal selling of furs leads one to assume that the *Valide Hanı* was not able to uphold his monopoly and suffered under similar problems as did the *saraçhane*. Its monopoly granted by Mehmed II. began to weaken in the seventeenth century at the latest. The first building erected in 1475 burnt down in 1693. In the new *saraçhane* the guilds were obliged to repair their shops at their own cost and to pay rents to the *mütevelli* (administrator of the pious foundation).⁴⁶ Two processes primarily led to the loss of the monopoly enjoyed by the guilds in that building. The first was the problem resulting from the *icareteyn*-contracts that prevented the owners of the shops from raising the rents.⁴⁷ Given the inflation of the eighteenth century the pious foundations suffered from this development. A way out of this crisis was to erect new buildings where higher rents could be demanded in order to increase the profits of the foundations.⁴⁸ The second process encompassed the above mentioned rising number of people living in the Ottoman capital as well as different economic and social changes which took place in eighteenth-century Istanbul.

⁴³ Kal'a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*...cit., 1, pp. 277, 297. The sources mention the flea market in the city of Istanbul proper and we may assume that the permanent *bitbazarı* was meant. But it is also possible that they refer to the flea market in Kuledibi where Jewish tradesmen played an important role; see A. Kaynardağ, *Tarihi, Değişen Yönleri ve Gizli Diliyle İstanbul Bitpazarı*, in I. Aslanoğlu (ed.), *Folklor ve Etnografya Araştırmaları*, Istanbul 1984, pp. 267–283, here pp. 267–268.

⁴⁴ Tezcan, *Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans*...cit., pp. 70–71.

⁴⁵ This aspect is discussed by S. Faroqhi, *Urban space as disputed grounds: Territorial aspects to artisan conflict in sixteenth to eighteenth century Istanbul*, in Id., *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*, Istanbul 2002, pp. 219–234, p. 222.

⁴⁶ Ç. Uluçay, *Istanbul Saraçhanesi ve Saraçlarına Dair Bir Araştırma*, in "Tarih Der-gisi", 3/5–6 (1951–1952), pp. 147–164.

⁴⁷ K. Kreiser, *Icareteyn: Zur Doppelten Mieteim Osmanischen Stiftungswesen*, in "Journal of Turkish Studies", 10 (1986), pp. 219–225.

⁴⁸ Kal'a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*...cit., 1, p. 226.

The Wearing of Furs in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

Many artisans from the Anatolian countryside or different provinces of the Ottoman Empire were among the large number of people who came to the Ottoman capital in order to settle there. The existing guilds tried to prevent the encroachment of these outsiders into their structures and many of craft corporations appealed to the court saying that intruders were responsible for the disorder in the relevant trade and the damage of their daily business.⁴⁹ But this negative image of the newly arrived craftsmen mirrored primarily the perspective of the “established” masters who were afraid of the competitive pressure that was, on the other hand, an important factor for introducing innovations and broadening the range of items available. It is to be assumed that the new competitors had craft skills to work specific types of furs that were less or unknown among the furriers who spent their whole life only in Istanbul. In this way the newly arrived artisans might have made a contribution to a broader supply with furs available for the rising number of inhabitants in the capital.

These changes within the structures of the furriers went hand in hand with a social differentiation of the urban population.⁵⁰ Nicolaj Todorov researching the larger Bulgarian towns describes this process with the following words: “Sur le plan de l'état de fortune de la population urbaine, la structure, généralement uniforme de la masse fondamentale de la population de la ville moyenâgeuse typique, cède le pas à une structure dans laquelle, avec le développement des métiers et du commerce, s'établit toute une échelle de divisions dans la situation matérielle des citoyens”.⁵¹ His researches show that mainly in the second half of the eighteenth century a social stratum of wealthy people came into being that had enough money to buy luxury goods such as furs.

It remains to be researched in depth whether a similar process took place in Istanbul but some indications are that this happened. The probate inventories included in the court registers of Galata can be very useful sources in answering this question. Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer discovered out that women in eighteenth-century Istanbul possessed a large number of luxury items of furs. They owned fur coats

⁴⁹ Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*... cit., pp. 155–157.

⁵⁰ Many thanks go to Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi for making me aware of this process.

⁵¹ N. Todorov, *La différenciation de la population urbaine au XVIII^e s. d'après des registres de cadis de Vidin, Sofia et Ruse*, in *La Ville Balkanique XV^e–XIX^e s.*, Sofia 1970, pp. 51–52.

of squirrel, rabbit, or ermine. The data demonstrate that the material life of women did not differ according to religion.⁵² This is why it is not surprising that fur ownership was very widespread among the inhabitants of the Ottoman capital.⁵³ This obviously increasing demand for fur was an important factor in stimulating the Istanbul fur market. As the following table makes clear, the result of this development was a broader supply of this good.⁵⁴

	1640	1703
Samur kafası (head of a sable)	X	X
Samur paçası (shanks and feet of a sable)	X	X
Samur sırtı (back of a sable)		X
Samur kuyruğu (brush of a sable)		X
Çerkes zerdevası (beech marten from Cercessia)	X	
Zerdeva boğazı (neck of a beech marten) ⁵⁵	X	
Zerdeva sırtı (back of a beech marten)		X
Zerdeva kafası (head of a beech marten)		X
Beech marten from Messina		X
Zerdeva paçası (shanks and feet of a beech marten)	X	X
Head of a stone marten	X	
Rumeli sansarı (Rumelian stone marten)		X
Sansar sırtı (back of a stone marten)	X	
Sansar boğazı (neck of a stone marten)	X	X
Sansar paçası (shanks and feet of a stone marten)	X	X
Kakum (ermine)		X
Rumelian squirrel with a white neck		X
Anatolian squirrel		X
Anatolian squirrel with a white neck		X

⁵² F. Müge Göçek and M. D. Baer, *Social Boundaries of Ottoman Womens's Experience in Eighteenth-Century Galata Court Records*, in Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, Leiden, New York, Köln 1997, pp. 49–65, here pp. 52–54.

⁵³ M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. 2, Paris 1790, p. 141.

⁵⁴ The data for 1640 stem from Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*...cit., pp. 166–168; the figures for 1703 were taken from J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. 7, Graz 1963, pp. 65, 551–553. He gives a German translation of this register and mentions only in some cases the Ottoman term for specific types of fur.

⁵⁵ According to Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel du commerce*...cit., p. 354 the neck of a marten was called *sarudul başa* (presumably *sarudul başı*) by the Ottomans. This term could have meant the head of young sheep, camels and other animals (*sâr* designed a head and *dul* a young animal); see Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*...cit., pp. 926, 1026.

Table (cont.)

	1640	1703
Squirrel from Azov		X
Cossack squirrel		X
Russian squirrel		X
White squirrels		X
Squirrle called Sebr		X
Shanks and feet of grey squirrels	X	X
Sincab (grey squirrel)	X	
Black and white speckled squirrels		X
Tilki paçası (shanks and feet of a fox)	X	
Beyaz tilki boğazı (neck of a white fox)	X	
Bosna çılkafası ⁵⁶ (Bosnian wolf)	X	
Göllükesriden gelen çılka (wolf from Göllükesri)	X	X
Göllükesriden gelen tilki nafesi (fur of a wolf from Göllükesri)		X
Azak sırtı (back of a wolf from Azov)		X
Shanks and feet of a wolf from Azov		X
Fur of a wolf from Azov	X	
Azak nafesi (fur from Azov)	X	
Azak siyah bedeni (black fur coats from Azov)	X	
Cezâyir çakalı sırtı (back of a jackal from Algeria)	X	
Karaman çakalı (jackal from Karaman)	X	
Cezâyir çakalının ablağı ⁵⁷ (two-tone jackal from Algeria)		X
Anatolian lynx		X
Rumelian lynx		X
Shanks and feet of a lynx		X
Russian fox		X
Kırmızı Moskov boğazı (Russian fox with a red neck)		X
Beyaz Moskov boğazı (Russian fox with a white neck)		X

⁵⁶ *Çılkafa* describes fur made up of pieces taken from the back of the neck of wolf or fox; see Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*...cit., p. 671. In his account titled *Miyar al duvel* Hasan Esiri describes the neck fur of the Bosnian fox with the following words: "The neck fur of the Bosnian fox has such a deep red hue and such a glossy finish that if foxes of far northern Moscov could equal it, they would be as universally celebrated and esteemed as the Moscovite sable furs are. However, unlike sable pelts which lose their sheen with age, the Bosnian fox pelts stand up to wear so well that after a lifetime of use they are still worthy of being passed on in inheritance to the next generation of users"; quoted from R. Murphey, *Evolving Versus Static Elements in Ottoman Geographical Writing Between 1598 and 1729, Perspectives and Real-Life Experience of "The Northern Lands" (Taraf al-Shimalli) Over 130 Years*, in M. Koller and K. Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia. A History in Peril*, Madison, Wisc. 2004, pp. 73–82, p. 79.

⁵⁷ *Ablak* means two-tone, especially white and black. Primarily this term was used to describe animals; see Franciszek a Mesgnien, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae*..., Vol. 1. Vienna 1680, p. 26.

Table (cont.)

	1640	1703
Kırmızı Moskov nafesi (red Russian fur)		X
Moskov çılkafası (Russian wolf)		X
Moskov sırtı (back of a Russian wolf)		X
Moskov nafesi paçası (paw of a Russian wolf)		X
Kazak nafesi (Cossack fur)		X
Kazak wolf fur		X
Cossack neck of a fur		X
Iflak nafesi (back of a Wallachian wolf)		X
Fur of a Wallachian wolf		X
Iflak sırtı (back of a Wallachian wolf)		X
Shanks and feet of a Wallachian wolf		X
Rumelian fox		X
Fur of a Rumelian wolf		X
Fur of a back from Adrianople		X
Fur of a back from Sofia, Plovdiv, Yanina		X
Fur of shanks and feet from Sofia, Plovdiv, Yanina		X
Anatolian fox Üçboy		X
Anatolian fox İkiboy		X
Anatolian fox with a white neck		X
White corsack		X
Corsack with a white neck		X
Speckled cats from Van		X
Wild cats		X
Black cats		X
Fur of hare ⁵⁸		X
Back of hares		X
Hares? From Dubrovnik		X
Kıvrıcık kuzu (curly lamb)		X
Fur of sheeps		X
Göçen ⁵⁹		X

⁵⁸ In the 1770s hareskins were often purchased by agents sent to the countryside in the name of the French *nation* in Istanbul or in that of other merchants who sent them to the capital. By 1786 in a contract between the owner of the hare skins tax farm and the French ambassador were confirmed the rights of French traders to acquire hare skins. See E. Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston, Köln 1999, pp. 105–106.

⁵⁹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*...cit., p. 553 defines it as the fur of a young hare. According to Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*...cit., p. 1584 *göçen* means the Poland marmot or the stoat in its summer coat.

In the winter season coats lined with of lambskin, sheepskin, and the fur of cat or squirrel were very common. Ordinary people purchased the red fox or hare. For the upper classes of the Istanbul society as well as the Ottoman elites ermine, marten, white fox, white and black squirrel and especially sable were of special value.⁶⁰ The inventories of high-ranking bureaucrats show that the wearing of furs was widespread among them. The cases of Ahmed Paşa, who became governor of the Morea in 1756 and Topaloğlu Vekil Osman Paşa who had been the commander of the janissaries and a provincial governor in different locations confirm this picture. Both men owned dozens of expensive furs and seem to have preferred sable and ermine especially.⁶¹ The importance of the latter fur as a status symbol for the female members of the Ottoman elites is illustrated by the description of the dressing of the *kapudan paşa's* wife by Elizabeth Craven: "Pettycoat and vest, over which is worn a robe with short sleeves—the one belonging to the lady of the house was of satin, embroidered richly with the finest colours, gold and diamonds—A girdle under that, with two circles of jewels in front, and from this girdle hangs an imbroidered handkerchief—A turban with a profusion of diamonds and pearls, seemed to weigh this lady's head down; but what spoiled the whole was a piece of ermine, that probably was originally only a cape, but each woman increasing the size of it, in order to be more magnificent than her neighbour, they now have it like a great square plaster that comes down to the hips".⁶²

The fur of sable as well as that of other animals also played an important role in the etiquette of the Ottoman palace. This helps to explain why the Ottoman state considered the centralized registration and distribution of furs as an "traditional ancient order" which was seen as a guarantee for the palace to be supplied with furs of high quality. Craftsmen who violated the *nizām-ı qadīm* were punished, the *kürkçübaşı* was

⁶⁰ D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*... cit., pp. 141–142.

⁶¹ Ch. K. Neumann, *How did a vizier dress in the eighteenth century?*, in: Faroqhi and Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*... cit., pp. 181–217, p. 188.

⁶² E. Craven, *A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, London 1789, p. 225. Between 1785 and 1786 she travelled from England via Paris, Tours, Lyon, Avignon, Marseilles, Antibes, Genua, Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Venezia, Vienna, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Crimea, Istanbul, Athens, Naxos, Smyrna, again Istanbul, Varna, Bucharest back to Vienna. On this travelogue and its author see A. Helmedach, *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor. Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter*, Munich 2002, pp. 358–368.

ordered to close their shops or to hang the craftsmen in front of their shops. According to the regulations, the guildsmen received that fur which was not separated in favour of the ruler himself. The fur of sable, Russian and white fox, lynx, ermine and corsack seem to have been of special value for the palace⁶³ where five craftsmen worked the precious sable fur and 19 furriers were specialized in all other types.⁶⁴

The courtiers were not allowed to choose the type of fur their wore according to their personal tastes. First the sultan put on the appropriate coat. Four times a year the Ottoman ruler changed the type of fur he wore. This procedure took place on Friday when he went to the mosque. The grand vizier was informed about the change in the type of fur worn and all courtiers were obliged to follow the sultan's example.⁶⁵ Ottoman palace etiquette also differentiated between summer and winter furs. Whereas ermine was reserved for the summer season, during the cold months people were required to wear sable fur.⁶⁶

In the Ottoman palace fur formed a part of many ceremonies, too. Before leaving Istanbul to go on a military campaign the grand vizier received the *veda kürkü* (fur of farewell). When the sultan took part in important ceremonies he wore the *kapaniçe* which was a cloak made of gold and silver brocade. The fur of sable and black fox formed a wide trimming along the hem and at the collar. In Levni's illustrations in the *Surnâme-i Vehbi* the grand vizier Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa wore as a ceremonial dress a gold-braided *kapaniçe* caftan of white or silver brocade atlas lined with sable.⁶⁷ For the high ranking members of the Ottoman administration the fur of black fox seems to have been the most precious and was sometimes presented by the ruler to the grand vizier who wore it when taking part in important ceremonies.⁶⁸

⁶³ Nefs-i nefis için iqtizâ eden semmûr ve mosqov tilkisi ve beyâz tilki ve vashaq ve qaşum ve qarsaq kürkleri; see Cevdet İktisat 1690.

⁶⁴ Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* ... cit., pp. 463–464.

⁶⁵ D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* ... cit., p. 142.

⁶⁶ Tezcan, *Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans* ... cit., p. 64. D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* ... cit., p. 142 writes that in winter the members of the elites wore two or three furs. Some of them intended to display their wealth and the others to keep in good health because the houses and flats could not be properly heated.

⁶⁷ Neumann, *How did a vizier dress in the eighteenth century?* ... cit., p. 182.

⁶⁸ D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* ... cit., p. 142.

Conclusion

The Muscovite/Russian-Ottoman fur trade had been existed since the fifteenth century. Most scholars dealing with this subject have stressed the importance of the “Moldavian route” for the fur merchants in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. But it is to be assumed that some of them carried out their trade in Kamenez-Podolsk and Lwow where a great furrier guild was active. This is why the “Moldavian route” is not only one to be considered in terms of the Russian trade. Given the military developments in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, the Black Sea had a key function for the fur trade between the Russian and Ottoman Empires. The French consul in the Crimea, Claude de Peyssonel, wrote an account of the Black Sea trade in the eighteenth century that provides us with many details concerning the trade in this luxury good.

Ottoman documents lead us to assume that in the eighteenth century the *Valide Hanı* was the only place in Istanbul where it was to trade in furs. But in spite of regulations that fur had to be sold only at one place craftsmen and merchants sold it at the flea markets and in different parts of the capital. This is why the Ottoman government accused the guildsmen of having violated the “traditional order” and of endangering the supply of high quality fur to the palace by neglecting the “tradition”. Such behaviour of the guildsmen and traders resulted from the growth of Istanbul and the settlement of hitherto empty spaces. These changed market conditions made it attractive to craftsmen to produce and sell in the other parts of the city as well.

The influx of artisans from Anatolia and other provinces of the Ottoman Empire exercised a great pressure on the “established” masters not only by simply increasing the number of craftsmen practicing the same craft. They also may have introduced knowledge of working specific types of furs that were unknown among the furriers who spent their whole life only in Istanbul. In this way they made a contribution to a broader supply of furs in Istanbul. These changes within the structures of the furriers went hand in hand with a social differentiation of the urban population. There seems to have been an increasing number of people who had enough money to buy luxury goods such as furs. The growth of Istanbul’s population as well as the obviously growing demand for furs strengthened a process of specialization among the furriers.

SOME RECORDS ON PRICE CONTROLS IN ISTANBUL AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

MEHMET ALI BEYHAN

According to the Ottoman principle the state played an indirect rather than a direct role in the economy. It was the “private sector” which brought in the bulk of the goods. The government interfered when it anticipated the danger of shortages requiring a number of pre-emptive measures. Indirect state involvement also ensured the enforcement of official fixed prices (*narh*) in Istanbul.¹

Narh is a Persian word meaning maximum limit.² As a technical economic term, *narh* refers to the stabilization of the prices of goods and services by the authorities, in order to prevent black-marketeering. In the Ottoman administrative system, market inspections were important, preventing commercial activities that created difficulties for consumers and troubled market prices. As all types of goods available in bazaars and all services were subject to officially fixed prices, it became crucial not to allow hitches in practice. Thus, it meant monitoring the measures taken to protect consumers in bazaars, in the sense of checking whether they were practised.

The aim of officially fixed prices is generally to protect the consumer, in a broader perspective, ensuring that people live in peace and prosperity. Therefore, *narh* was considered “one of the important duties” and “an issue of the poor”.

The practice of officially fixing prices is not only important because of its stabilizing effects. Controlling shopping and the goods on sale, and preventing the bulk of the public from being crushed beneath the prices, were only possible with the inspection of the *narh*. In the Ottoman Empire *muhtesibs*³ were commissioned to control the official fixed prices. Taking their authority from Muslim judges, they were the Muslim

¹ N. Işvan, *Illegal Local Trade in the Ottoman Empire and the Guilds of Istanbul 1725–1726*, in “*International Journal of Turkish Studies*”, 5, 1–2 (1990/91), pp. 1–26.

² F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, Beirut 1975, p. 1895.

³ The police official who was in charge of weights, measures, provisions, etc. in bazaars.

judge's assistants in the municipal services.⁴ In principle, there was one *muhtesib* in the each judicial section. There were four *muhtesibs* in Istanbul, which was divided into "*nefs-i İstanbul*" (Central Istanbul) and "*Bilâd-ı selâse* (including the three towns Eyup, Galata and Üsküdar).⁵

However, in practice it is known that sultans, grand viziers and the deputies of grand viziers (*sadaret kaymakamı*) frequently carried out inspections. Although these inspections were performed publicly, they were sometimes carries out by officials in disguise. The overt inspection of markets by grand viziers was named as "*kola çıkmak*" or patrolling, and the *kadı of İstanbul* (the Muslim Judge of İstanbul), *yeniçeri ağası* (chief of janissaries) and *muhtesib* used to be present. During inspections by disguised officials, when a tradesman who violated the *narh* was discovered cheating on either the quantity or weight in grams and producing goods of low quality, he would be brought to the Sublime Port (*Bâb-ı âlî*) or he would be sent to the *Ağa Kapısı* (The official residence of the chief of the janissaries) for the execution of his punishment.

A variety of penalties were imposed, including flagellation, dismissal from the occupation, banishment, rowing in galleys, and hanging. Punishments executed by *muhtesibs* constituted flagellation, imprisonment in *ihtisab ağa's* prison, banishment and imprisonment in castles. The latter two were carried out after the Sublime Port had been informed.⁶

During the Ottoman period the implementation of *narh* lasted until the middle of nineteenth century and, except in the case of bread, this system was completely abolished in 1865.⁷ The exception of bread shows that the degree of control varied from one item to another, depending on the potential threat of its shortage.

The Registrations about Bread

Wheat receiving the highest priority was imported from Anatolia, Thrace and Rumelia (Athens-Negroponte), and some was sent from Russia. Provisions reaching İstanbul from Bursa and its surroundings had been transported to İstanbul respectively through Bandırma, Mudanya and

⁴ Z. Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab*, in "*Osmanlı*", III (1999), p. 115.

⁵ M. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, İstanbul 1983, p. 8.

⁶ Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab*... cit., p. 118.

⁷ M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, II, p. 657; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*... cit., p. 8.

Karamürsel. It was brought to the Black Sea harbours from the other regions of Anatolia and then shipped to Istanbul.⁸

Sometimes harsh winter conditions, epidemic diseases or wars hindered the transportation of provisions, as was the case during Ottoman-Russian war in 1809. The continuing war prevented the transportation of wheat from the Black Sea to Istanbul; a shortage of provisions broke out in the imperial centre. Throughout that year roughly 25–30 thousand bushels of wheat (bushels of 110 *para*) were distributed to bakers in Istanbul weekly.⁹ In April 1809 new arrangements were made for the weight and price of bread. The janissary chief, the officer in charge of the flour market place/*Kapan-ı dakik*, the steward of the bakers and the French bread bakers appeared together before the Judge of Istanbul, and managed to increase the weight of a loaf of bread from a previous 55 *drachma* to 60 *drachma*, and French bread (or in Turkish spelling *francala*) from 35 to 40 *drachma*, whilst determining the prices of both as one *para*.¹⁰

However, it is very certain that the quantity of wheat existing in Istanbul was not sufficient to meet the needs of the residents of Istanbul. As there had been queues for bread, it had been impossible for one person to buy two loaves of bread. In the bread queues pickpocketing was rife and many people had money and possessions stolen. Residents attempted to plunder the bakeries, and there were injuries and deaths in the riots. Many bakery clerks were shot and killed. The shortage of bread caused great difficulties for poor people in particular and consequently a loss of lives. Being scared of a possible public reaction, *kaymakam paşa* (deputy of the grand vizier) and *sekbanbaşı* could not go past a bakery during the distribution of newly released bread. At this stage, the sultan comprehended that a bribe of ten to fifteen thousand *guruş* had been taken under the name of “*izin-bahâ*” (the permission for price) from the ships that brought wheat to Istanbul. The deputy of grand vizier Osman Pasha was dismissed on April 30, 1810 with the justification that he was “portentous” (*meş’um-kadem*) and was held responsible for the bread shortage continuing for 4 months.¹¹

⁸ For the provision of Istanbul with wheat, see L. Güçer, *XVI–XVII Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*, Istanbul 1964.

⁹ Şer’i Siciller Arşivi, 98 nr. İstanbul Mahkemesi Defteri, p. 54b/2.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 48a/4.

¹¹ F. Ç. Derin, *Yayla İmamı Risalesi*, in “*Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*”, III (1973), pp. 269–270.

The bread crises created a type of black-marketeer; black-marketeers, collaborating with bakeries, began to sell bread secretly to people from whom they could collect more money.¹² The government wrote to Ali Pasha of Tebedelen (Tepeleni, Albania) instructing him to send provisions to Istanbul with the aim of resolving the provisions problem. It can be seen that officially fixed prices had negative effects too. During the first years of Selim III reign, when the price of a 100 *drachma* loaf of bread was officially fixed at 96 *para*, there was a reduction in the quantity of bread which became extremely dark in colour.¹³ After a while, increases and decreases can be seen in both prices and weights. In the year 1811, bread initially weighed 90 *drachma* and sold for 3 *paras* before its weight was dropped to 80 *drachma* and its price to 2 *paras*. Although the decrease in weight was only ten *drachma*, the price reduction was one *para* and the public was satisfied with this change.¹⁴

Bread supply caused the public in Istanbul great distress in April 1812. There had been a decline in bread production due to a lack of provisions arriving to the city, and the bread produced had not been able to meet needs. Trade ships, being afraid of Russian navy, could not sail through the Black Sea. Hocabey and its neighbourhood, which usually sent an essential quantity of wheat to Istanbul, came under Russian control. The Russians had detained some French ships by removing their helms. Wheat was being given to bakers under restriction because the amount of provisions stocked in state depots was only just sufficient for the coming three months. This situation badly affected Istanbul residents. There were skirmishes amongst people in queues at the bakeries; one person needing a loaf of bread to try get five loaves instead.

Mahmud II had witnessed the throng while passing in front of Okçularbaşı Bakery in Bayezit undercover. He issued a decree that the wheat distributed restrictively was to be given unrestrainedly, sufficient for public needs, whilst assuring the sale of bread in the neighbourhoods by bakers, and cracking down on the increasing black-marketeers, by simply intensifying precautions. A separate decree was dispatched to

¹² M. A. Beyhan, *Câbî Tarihi, Tarih-i Sultan Selim-i sâlis ve Mahmûd-ı sâni*, I, Ankara 2003, p. 590.

¹³ Uzunçarşılı, *Üçüncü Selim Zamanında Yazılmış Dış Ruznâmesinden 1206/1791...* cit., p. 635.

¹⁴ Beyhan, *Câbî Tarihi...* cit., II, p. 775.

Hazinedar-zâde Süleyman Pasha ordering the supply of provisions from Rize, Trabzon and their vicinity.¹⁵

It can be seen that bakeries were frequently inspected, checking the quantity and quality of their bread. The colour, degree of baking, taste and weight of bread was checked in order to maintain standards, and shops which were not operating properly were officially closed in Üsküdar, Galata and central Istanbul.¹⁶ During one of these inspections in June 1812, a total number of 20 bakeries were closed down in Üsküdar, Galata and Istanbul. Bakers who produced underweight bread were punished in a variety of ways. However, in records belonging to this period, we can ascertain different practices. Punishments were usually bastinado, rowing in the galley ships (*vaz'-ı kürek*) and imprisonment. In an inspection carried out in February 1813, it was revealed that the Eskihamam Bakery in Üsküdar was selling undersized bread and the baker was executed in front of his bakery.¹⁷ It is noteworthy that a similar punishment was applied in the Nişancı Bakery in Istanbul and a bakery in Kasımpaşa. Shopkeepers producing poor quality and underweight bread shared the same destiny.

Sometimes bakers had their colleagues punished by complaining that they operated in a disorderly fashion. In these kinds of situations, artisans would initially warn colleagues who violated the rules; if they could not get any result they would then appeal a court of law. In March 1809 Elhac Hasan, the Steward of Istanbul Baker Craftsmen, Seyyid Mustafa, Steward of Flour Sellers, and twelve bakers (some Muslims and some not), appealed to the Istanbul Court, to have Mihal's son Nikola punished for the irregularity of the business he was running; he had baked an improper quantity of bread in his bakery in Istanbul-Fener, and spoiled and damaged public opinion by selling the bread from a pannier in the bazaars. The court held an inquiry and proved the allegations correct, whereupon Nikola, the baker, was sentenced to row in the galleys as a punishment; the punishment was intended "to be a lesson for everybody".¹⁸ In another case on 7th June 1810, the baker called Alemdar who ran a bakery in Istanbul-Azaplar, was ordered to be brought to *Ağa Kapısı* because of producing underweight bread, but he defied the officers sent by the court, shouting, "I am Alemdar, the judge and the

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 840.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 871.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 947.

¹⁸ *Şer'iyye Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi*, 98 nr. defter, p. 38b/4.

police force can't interfere me". He ended up imprisoned in a castle until he was prepared to accept the power of the law, once again "as a lesson for everybody".¹⁹

Usually when convinced that the convict would not commit that crime again, craftsmen would appeal the courts for the convict's release. This is apparent in a decision by an Istanbul Court dating from 18th June 1810, just ten days later than the verdict of Alemdar, delivered on 7th June 1810. In its judgement, Istanbul Court wrote that: "Previously it was discovered that the person called Alemdar, a baker in Azaplar in Istanbul, had disobeyed the law and been imprisoned in a castle until such time as he is obedient. At this moment the above-mentioned is obedient, and upon request of the steward of baker craftsmen and the chiefs it has been decided that he should go free."²⁰ The above-mentioned Alemdar was released with the mediation of his fellow tradesmen after ten days in prison.

The Registrations about thin-soled boots (mest) and shoes in Istanbul

The leather used in thin-soled boot and shoe manufacturing was supplied from such regions as Sivas, Kayseri and Arapgir.²¹

In Istanbul, thin-soled boots and shoes had been sold for four piaster, and slippers for three *para*, when in 1792 the price rose to 22 *para* (A Turkish coin of the value of 1/40 of a *piaster*) in a single year. At the time there was no interference with price, nor was a reduction in the prices of these goods imposed, but the wearing of sharp, pointed thin-soled boots was forbidden.²²

In November 1808 the morocco necessary for the manufacturing of thin-soled boots, which had been expected from Kayseri was a couple of weeks late, causing material problems in this manufacture. Some tradesmen tried to make use of this opportunity and began to sell their products at whatever prices they wished. People began to complain about this situation; officers especially appealed to their chiefs, complaining that their salaries were not even enough for thin-soled boots. After these

¹⁹ *Şer'iyye Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi, 100 nr. defter, p. 29b/4.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31b/2.

²¹ Y. Özkaya, XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları ve Osmanlı toplum Yaşantısı, Ankara 1985, p. 351.

²² İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Üçüncü Selim Zamanında Yazılmış Dış Ruznâmesinden 1206/1791 ve 1207/1792 Senelerine Ait Vekayı, in "Belleten", XXVII 48 (1973), p. 636.

public complaints were transmitted to Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, the Grand Vizier; Köstendili Tahir Efendi, the Judge of Istanbul imposed the *narh* for thin-soled boot again and commanded by decree that every product should display labels clearly illustrating the exact price of each shoe. Three of the *haffafs* (leather-traders) were put on 'the heavy log' at the Sublime Port because of violating officially fixed prices. Before the *Ramadan* Festival (*Bairam*) eighty thousand pairs of thin-soled boots and a sufficient amount of morocco were bought and put at the disposal of leather-traders in Istanbul by sending heralds to Kayseri.²³

Cheese

It can be seen that consumers also demanded their rights, taking a role in controlling the markets by complaining about unfairness that they experienced whilst shopping. In August 1813, someone who lived in Üsküdar-Selamiye had asked his daughter to buy cheese from a grocery for 4 *para*. When he had it weighed in other place, he realised that one *vaqiyye* of cheese cost him 100 *para*. Indeed one *vaqiyye* of cheese had been between 50 and 60 *para*. The person who bought the cheese filed a case in a court of law in Üsküdar, and the Judge, Bahar Efendi, investigated the case with the shopkeeper present in the court. He gave a verdict of guilty and sent a written decision to the Sublime Port. A decree was issued ordering the death penalty for the grocer. The punishment was executed in front of the shop.²⁴

Some Observations about Coffee and Sugar

Coffee was an important substance of consumption for Istanbul. During 19th Century there had been coffee shortages, as was the case for many foodstuffs.²⁵ The daily coffee demand in Istanbul was 1100 *qiyye* at the beginning of 1810.²⁶ On January 13th 1810, the court registrations recorded that the total amount of coffee in stock was sufficient for 18 months and 8 days, the coffee being distributed to the *attars*, a class of traders dealing with coffee and the spice trades. The *attars* undertook

²³ Beyhan, *Câbi Tarihi*... cit., p. 268.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 1005.

²⁵ Özkaya, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları*... cit., p. 354.

²⁶ An Ottoman ounce. 1100 *qiyye* or *vaqiyye* is 1408 kilo.

to avoid causing people any difficulties involving coffee consumption throughout this period.²⁷ Meanwhile, arrangements for coffee prices were made; whereas 25 *drachma* of coffee had previously been 25 *para*, a 3 *para* reduction in price was introduced for the same quantity of coffee, which became fixed at 22 *para*.²⁸

On 9th May 1791, the price of sugar increased considerably and its *vaqıyye* reached 96 *para*. The increase in the price of sugar, which was the main ingredient of *şerbet*, a traditional offering for high-ranked statesmen, caused this tradition to be prohibited by a decree ordering that “there would be no further use by all confectioners from then on due to no sherbet being available.”²⁹

Fruit

It can be seen that from time to time fruit was scarce in Istanbul. During these times fruit prices would rise and people would not be able to satisfy their demands. In the first days of July 1812, no fruit could be brought to Istanbul because an epidemic plague had broken out. During this period one *qıyye* of cherries had sold for 24 *para*, sour cherries for 60 *para* and green plums for 20 *para*.³⁰ Inspections had become frequent and green-grocers who sold fruit with extreme prices were punished severely. In an undercover tour around Langa-Istanbul in October 1812, the Deputy of Grand Vizier Rüştü Pasha discovered that a greengrocer was selling one *qıyye* of grapes for 10 *para*, when it should have been sold for 8 *para*. For not working in accordance with the *narh*, the shopkeeper was brought to *Ağa Kapısı* and hanged there.³¹

A similar instance involving fruit concerns the price of quince. During his undercover inspection, Rüştü Pasha saw that someone had bought quince and asked where and for how much he had purchased it. The man responded that he had bought it in Eminönü-Istanbul for 60 *para*, for somebody else who was ill. Although we have no information about the official fixed price of quince at the time, it is understood that 60 *para* exceeded the official price. According to the records, the green-

²⁷ *Şer'ıyye Sicilleri Arşivi, İstanbul Mahkemesi*, 98 nr. defter, p. 948/2.

²⁸ Beyhan, *Câbî Tarihi*... cit., p. 871.

²⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Üçüncü Selim Zamanında Yazılmış Dış Ruznâmesinden 1206/1791*... cit., p. 636.

³⁰ Beyhan, *Câbî Tarihi*... cit., p. 855.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 919.

grocer was sent to the gallows upon confessing that he had indeed sold the quince for 60 *para*.³²

A decree banning makeshift greengroceries on pavements in the streets run by the unknown people was issued on 31st August 1808, stating that they were causing the prices to go up, and it was ordered that the wooden-booths in Tophane, Yenikapı and other places were to be destroyed. Consequently greengrocers bought their fruits and vegetables at the quays and sold them for fair prices in the proper places.³³

Meat

The meat requirements of Istanbul's residents were met by bringing in animals from Anatolia and Rumelia, using the drovers. The state categorised drovers in two groups, either as "volunteers" or as "recorded ones". Drovers would have to supply a certain number of ships for Istanbul twice in a year.³⁴ Sometimes, though, the supply of animal could be problematic. Under these conditions a meat shortage would occur in Istanbul. Butcheries used to get closed during these crises.

On 3rd April 1792, Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasha decided to restructure the prices of meat and bread, after an undercover tour. It was resolved that meat previously sold for 20 *para* was to be on sale for 15 *para*. By taking 5 *para* off its former price, a new *narh* was fixed.³⁵ In some years during *Ramadan*, sheep meat was five *para* for a *vaqıyye*, but it was very difficult to buy meat, as the officially given fixed price was fifteen *para*.³⁶

The shortage of meat, the meat needed by the public on the one hand and by the soldiers (numbering more than fifty thousands in Davudpaşa), on the other, compelled the government to take precautions. Thus, decrees were prepared and dispatched to various regions in Anatolia, especially to the chiefs of the tribes, and first of all to Cabbarzâde Süleyman Bey, telling them to send sheep to Istanbul. It was also decided to cut the price of a *vaqıyye* of meat down from a rate of forty-four five *para* to 25 *para*.

³² Ibid., p. 922.

³³ Ibid., p. 214.

³⁴ Özkaya, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları...* cit., p. 320.

³⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Üçüncü Selim Zamanında Yazılmış Dış Ruznâmesinden 1206/1791...* cit., p. 634.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 635.

Grand Vizier Alemdar Mustafa Pasha had summoned the chief butcher in August 1808, and told him that meat was to be sold for twenty-five *para*, strongly warning him that the *narh* should be adjusted, and thus contributing to the prosperity of the citizens. He also stressed that the two *para* profit extracted by getting the meat for 23 *para* and selling it for 25 *para*, was good enough. He threatened the chief butcher, telling him that, “if you sell a *vaqiyye* of meat for more than twenty five *para*, I will send you to the gallows, without giving you opportunity or time”, should his conditions not be met within three days time.³⁷

During times of crises, it can be seen that the public created disorder, such as protesting against shortages. Jewish inhabitants of Istanbul-Kuzguncuk, rebelled against their Chief Rabbi after the meat price was placed under a *narh* of 25 *para*. They protested that, “Muslims, Armenians and Gypsies can buy and have meat thanks to the officially fixed price set out by the Sultan, but Jews can hardly find cow meat for fifty *para*”. The crowd crossed Ortaköy and from there headed to Hasköy, bearing the shirt originally worn by Rabbis during rituals on the end of a stick, and looted the Jewish butcheries which they came across. The crowd, which crossed to Balat from Hasköy, then attacked the house of the Chief Rabbi, who had already hidden, before going to Mahmutpaşa Bazaar, where they looted the meat from Jewish butchers. Jews prevented the janissaries from interfering by telling them that, “this is a Jewish fight”. Notables of the community gathered and set up a fund by collecting forty pouches of *akçe* (an Ottoman coin) to get the meat prices reduced to a moderate level. Ultimately their efforts culminated in a meat price of twenty-six *para*.³⁸

The harsh winter conditions of 1812 resulted in a terrible loss of livestock due to the cold and deprivation of space. The butcheries were closed for three months and the price of a *vaqiyye* of meat went up to seventy-eighty *para*. Although the slaughter of lambs “*Rûz-ı Hızır*”³⁹ should traditionally start on 6th of May, in that year it could not be started even a month later. Consequently the slaughter of lambs, wherever they had been bought from, was prohibited by an official decree sent to the three juridical districts of Istanbul (*mehâkim-i selâse*), and it was announced that anyone violating the rule would be punished.⁴⁰

³⁷ Beyhan, *Câbi Tarihi*... cit., pp. 204–205.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 873.

³⁹ *Ruz-ı Hızır* lasts between 6 may and 7 November.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 841.

It can be said that appeals to the government by the drovers for the readjustment of meat prices would be taken into consideration. In May 1809, Alişan Beyzâde Halil from the Cihanbeyli Tribe in Konya, who had brought 5305 sheep from Anatolia to Istanbul, appealed together with six of his partners to the Istanbul Court. They requested that the *narh* be re-determined, claiming that they had bought each sheep more expensively than the previous year, and additionally, that they had accumulated a heavy financial burden whilst travelling to Istanbul. The Court, with the participation of Hüseyin Efendi, Chief Butcher of the State (the officer in charge of the sheep-taxation), the Steward of the Butchers (*Kasaplar Kethüdası*) and ten butchers, agreed to fix the prices as follows: each *qıyye* of meat for twenty two *para*, each *qıyye* of the fat rendered from the tail of a sheep for thirty two *para*, and offal for twenty five *para* as “a gesture to protect drovers from loss and to provide for the public’s welfare”. The judgement also stipulated that those sheep be distributed quickly, before the sheep from Rumelia arrived and that the money should be paid to the drover twenty five days after the day distribution started.⁴¹

We can ascertain similar demands made by drovers from Rumelia. Ostiyan from Avratalan and nine of his friends, appealed to the court like the Anatolia drovers, wanting the official price fixed at twenty-two *para*, and claiming that their expenditure on the sheep had been so high. The request was taken into consideration and it was decided that butchers would sell the meat adding three *para* to the formerly fixed price.⁴²

The Interference of Janissaries in the Markets

Each of the janissary regiments shared out the trade ships arriving in Istanbul’s harbours amongst themselves. They would mark the ships with the emblems of their respective regiments, as a sign showing which regiment the ship should pay tribute to. The sum of the tribute money paid to these regiments amounted to 70–80 *guruş*, varying according to the economic conditions at the time. Moreover, the janissaries sometimes confiscated the most important part of a ships load. In Galata and its vicinity it was not uncommon for janissaries even to fight to

⁴¹ Şer’iyye Sicilleri Arşivi, 98 nr. defter, p. 58a /5.

⁴² Ibid., p. 58b/1.

confiscate trade ships in the name of their regiments, and these fights often ended in bloodshed.

The janissaries' oppressive and lawless behaviour finally reached such a degree of cruelty that it caused considerable unease among the craftsmen. In consequence the craftsmen openly expressed themselves at the time, putting their grievances into words: "in this city, although there is a sultan, grand vizier, *şeyhulislam*, and the state, it can't be acceptable for the janissaries to have more domination over ships than their owners". Grand Vizier Alemdar Mustafa Pasha ordered that the janissary emblems be removed from the trade ships, despite a huge reaction by the janissaries in the middle of October 1808.

The janissaries' reaction to the grand vizier's brave approach is noteworthy; they claimed their role was "to protect something from someone". The Janissaries who gathered in Galata acted as if they were the state itself, making statements like, "we may not run a grocery, work as a porter or do farming. We survive by our own power, fame and the power of our daggers, and we patronize the ships by protecting them from outside threats", but owing to the tough stance of the grand vizier, they reluctantly abided by his wishes in this situation.⁴³

Fresh fruit landed on Yemiş Quay in August 1812 had been confiscated by janissaries of the Ellialtı regiment and was being sold over the *narh*, through a kind of brokerage. Janissaries had also confiscated foodstuff such as olive oil and honey. Following complaints by tradesman, the *Sekbanbaşı* delegated *başyasakcı* with the duty of finding those "who were harming the people" and sending them to the *Ağa Kapısı*. *Başyasakcı* then captured janissaries who were forcefully collecting protection money from shopkeepers on Yemiş Quay, and sent them to the *Ağa Kapısı* where they were executed.⁴⁴

Owing to the intensively harsh winter conditions, it was difficult to transport firewood and coal to Istanbul. It is known that the fuel needed for Istanbul had been taken from the Istranca Forest on a large scale. The plague epidemic, which began towards the end of 1811 and still continued during 1812, resulted in the escape of Greek crews from the ships carrying firewood and coal to Istanbul. The fuel problem had also adversely affected the Palace, which attempted to provide firewood from

⁴³ M. A. Beyhan, *Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın Kaldırılışı Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler: Vak'a-yı Hayriye*, in "Osmanlı", VII (1999), p. 261.

⁴⁴ Beyhan, *Câbi Tarihi*... cit., pp. 902-903.

the bathhouses with no avail as many bathhouses had already closed down due to the lack firewood. Transportation by road was impossible between Scutari and the surrounding villages. Whereas two *qıyye* of wood had previously been 5 *para*, after a sharp rise in prices it was now between 28 and 30 *para*. When one considers that the average allowance of a clerk was 250 *guruş* a year, the extent of the problem can be understood.

It was high time for certain precautions to be taken into consideration. Firstly, at this stage the use of boats called *cember* to transport firewood began. The guilds were employed in the process of supply. Lead by Hacı Abdi Ağa, a trader in Unkapanı, the number of boats required was calculated and the total number was distributed between the trade groups. The 17 *cembers* needed were divided as follows: three for the merchants in Kapan-ı daqıq, two for the bakeries, two for the shopkeepers in the Space Bazaar, two for the raw coffee sellers (in Turkish *tahmisci*) one *cember* for the oil traders (*yağlıkçı*), three for the bankers (*sarraf*), one for the jewellers and finally two *cembers* for the firewood and coal sellers. Afterwards the preparations commenced to complete the process: part of it involved each guild choosing a suitable person (*emin*) to take charge of the *cembers* for which it was responsible. Decrees were sent to the noblemen (*a'yân*) in İzmit, Şile, Ağva and surroundings, ordering the supply of firewood. Furthermore *narh* for firewood was secured at 2.5 *para*.⁴⁵

Additionally, security men were detaining coal coming to Istanbul at night on carts, and selling it at one *qıyye* for twenty *para*. The Deputy Grand Vizier was informed by a report that a *qıyye* of coal had been sold for twenty-four *para* at a security station near the Fatih Mosque. Disguised, he visited above-mentioned station, and asked patrolmen for coal, offering them ten *para* for a *qıyye*. As his offer was rejected, he raised it to twenty *para*. However, the patrolmen demanded twenty-five *para*. In the Sublime Porte the Deputy instructed the Chief Janissary to bring the three men concerned to the justice. One managed to escape, but the rest were executed.⁴⁶

Muslin sellers also provided a good example of profiteering in the period in question. Tradesmen Steward Dervish Mehmed Ağa, seven muslin traders and twenty-one *zımmîs* (non-Muslim subjects of the

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 944–945.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 962.

empire) filed a complaint in Istanbul Court against two Jewish muslin dealers for profiteering. In their statement they said that, “when the muslin and related-materials brought to Istanbul on ships arrived, it was usually bought by tradesmen and the steward, and distributed among the tradesmen, thereby preventing black-marketeers. But the two muslin-sellers, Avram and his partner İlya together with their other partners, had stocked goods in their granaries, collecting all the goods secretly within a few days”.

Continuing, they said that, “those who had gone to their shops were asked for five hundred *guruş* for a mass of the muslin, a brand titled *humâyun hassa*, although twenty masses of that brand usually cost three hundred and fifty or four hundred *guruş*. Selling the muslin at this high price was not only detrimental to the public but also triggered a rise in the muslin prices. Meanwhile, despite receiving previous warnings, Avram and İlya underestimated the warnings and continued operating in the same way.” In its verdict of 21 June 1809, the Court decided that Avram and İlya would be made to row in the galleys, due to their violation of the rules and of the *narh*.⁴⁷

The Control of Fees in Some Parts of Work and Services

Guilds always warned those who violated the rules, deceived people, or did not make requital appropriate to their occupations. Unless their warnings were heeded, they would file a lawsuit to get the deceivers punished. In accordance with the rules, the court would punish craftsmen exposed by internal inspections, if their wrongdoings were proved. The subsequent punishments usually consisted of dismissal from their occupation and rowing in galleys.

Suleyman Ağa, the Steward of wool-fluffing tradesmen, *Yiğitbaşı* Mustafa, trustee Seyyid Ali and three craftsmen filed a complaint at Istanbul Court about Lefter, the son of Yorgi, who was in the wool-fluffing business. The subject of the lawsuit was his economically abusing of his customers by deceiving them. One of the customers had brought thin mattress to him to be stuffed with wool. Lefter put five *qıyye* of cotton (?) in instead of six *qıyye*. The situation was discovered when the customer complained to the guild. In addition, Lefter had deceived tailors and

⁴⁷ *Şer‘iyye Sicilleri Arşivi*, 98 nr. *defter*, p. 62a/5.

other customers by stuffing sixty *drachma* of wool in their dresses instead of one hundred *drachmas*. Even though Lefter had been summoned to guild office many times for these reasons and was issued with notices, he did not take it seriously.

The group of craftsmen opening the case told the court that, "Lefter dared to insist on this behaviour" which was gradually "spreading to others and resulting in corruption in the set of rules followed by tradesmen". They demanded that Lefter, who was harming public interest with this deceit, should be punished. Istanbul Court regarded the group's grievances as appropriate and pronounced a verdict condemning Lefter to row in galleys, stating that, "it shall be a lesson to everybody", in 25 March 1809.⁴⁸

At the beginning of October 1812, the plague epidemic had continued its destruction. In the middle of November, the death toll had risen to three thousand.⁴⁹ This number comprises only the number of burials outside of the city walls; the number of the corpses buried in the graves within the city is not included in the death toll. Naturally, under such circumstances a supply of graves and shrouds became vital. In a decree sent to the three afore-mentioned districts of Istanbul it was clearly stipulated that causing the residents undue distress was to be avoided and that, "they should not be offended by overcharging".

Mehmed Rüşdü Pasha, the Grand Vizier's Deputy, wandered among the graveyards with a dervish from the Bektashi order. He bargained with a gravedigger about digging a grave and the gravedigger initially wanted twelve *guruş*, but finally accepted eight *guruş*. The record states that Mehmed Rushdi Pasha put the gravedigger into the grave that he had dug himself and kept there for a time to punish him.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The main target of practising *narh* (official fixed prices) by the Ottoman administration was to prevent profiteering by securing the balance between demand and availability, to prevent monopolist tendencies. It was deemed fundamental that the public lived in welfare and prosperity. Therefore, inspection remained high on the agenda, so that in practice,

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 42a/4.

⁴⁹ *Şânizâde Tarihi*, II, Istanbul 1867, p. 152.

⁵⁰ Beyhan, *Câbi Tarihi*... cit., p. 902.

bazaars and market places were visited very often to check the observation of the *narh*.

Persons discovered during inspections to have violated the *narh*, weighing incorrectly or involved in deceits whilst practising their occupations were sent to the *Ağa Kapısı* for the execution of their punishments, unless their crime was serious. In such cases, the punishment could be imprisonment in a castle, if it was bastinado, for instance. Sometimes, with intervention by the chief janissary, it is understood that sergeants of janissary regiments neglected their duty, taking bribes of 25–30 *guruş* from convicts and not carrying out the punishments. Bribes were taken at the time the punishment was executed.

In January 1814, Mahmud II issued a decree to the chief janissary, scolding him, “you are lax on inspection” and ordered that thereafter, convicts should be sent to Yedikule and be executed under the supervision of *Ağa of Yedikule*.⁵¹

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 1047.

PART TWO

ECONOMIC CROSS-BORDER ECUMENICAL COMMUNITIES
IN THE PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE

CUSTOMS DUTIES AND TREASURY INCOMES IN THE
VILAYET OF TEMESVÁR: AN EARLY ACCOUNT-BOOK OF
BECSKEREK AND BECSE

GÉZA DÁVID

The oriental collection of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek has a modest group of Ottoman manuscripts. One of them, Cod. Or. Fol. 15 was described as daily records of the Janissaries in Temesvár (Romanian Timișoara) in the fairly old local, hand-written catalogue when I had the chance to visit this institution in 1991.¹ A cursory examination of the codex revealed that this classification was misleading (not a single Janissary of that castle is referred to in the text) and the actual contents are something quite different. Namely, the *defter* is an early *mukataa*-register, or account-book² including treasury incomes collected in Becskerek (later: Nagybecskerek, Serbian Zrenjanin) and Becse (later: Törökbecse, Serbian Novi Bečej), respectively. From the exceptional courtesy of the responsible person in the library,³ I received a good copy of the whole text which I try to examine here in honour of Suraiya Faroqhi, whom I first met exactly 30 years ago at the very first conference of my life, the CÉPO (later CIÉPO) symposium in Hamburg. Her approach and

¹ As kindly imparted by Magdalene Popp-Grilli from the same library, there has been no change in the description in the meantime which reads as follows: "ein Tags Protokoll der Janitscharen in dem Königlichen Hauptquartier zu Temeswar. (Ein Rechnungsbuch 'Defter' 1553/54). A... Testo(?): In Wien verkauft den 1. Juni 1790".

² A pioneering work concerning this type of source was accomplished by L. Fekete and G. Káldy-Nagy. Cf. their *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580. Türkischer Text*, Budapest 1962 (also in Hungarian: *Budai török számadáskönyvek, 1550–1580*). Suraiya Faroqhi has also used this sort of documents extensively, especially in her *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, crafts and food production in an urban setting, 1520–1650*, Cambridge–London–New York, etc. 1984 and in several articles. From the growing literature on the tax-farming system the last comprehensive survey was written by B. Çakır, *Osmanlı mukataa sistemi (XVI–XVIII. yüzyıl)*, İstanbul 2003. For the Hungarian conditions see: P. Fodor, *Some Notes on Ottoman Tax Farming in Hungary*, in "Acta Orientalia Hungarica", LIV (2001), pp. 427–435.

³ Since I had a very short time in Stuttgart and it was impossible to know the exact cost of the reproduction, a member of the library staff offered to send the material to a friend in Germany who would then pay the fees. This unusual confidence impressed me very much and I am grateful for the generosity of the lady whose name I regretfully failed to ask.

presentation exerted a decisive and lasting influence on me and our later discussions in Istanbul, Munich, Budapest, and elsewhere have always been encouraging and illuminating.

* * *

The territory along the southern reach of the river Tisza was first attached to the Ottoman Empire in 1551 when Sokollu Mehmed, the *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia commanded successful operations in the area.⁴ Although certain castles were recaptured by local forces after the Ottomans' withdrawal, the 1552 campaign led by the second vizier Kara Ahmed Paşa brought significant achievements, culminating in the establishment of a new *vilayet* around Temesvár.⁵

Of the two towns which interest us now, Becse⁶ fell into Turkish hands on 17 or 19 September 1551, while Becskerek was captured 6 or 8 days later.⁷ A new *sancak* carrying their names was created around these fortifications and also that of Csanád (Romanian Cenad)⁸ which was not finally occupied until 1552.⁹ According to official documents, the first district governor here from 10 October 1551¹⁰ was Ulama Paşa/Bey,¹¹

⁴ For details, see: I. Szántó, *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen Magyarországon. Az 1551–52. évi várháborúk*, Budapest 1985, pp. 53–74.

⁵ The Turkish texts of the relevant decrees were published by G. Dávid and P. Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való." *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552). "Affairs of State Are Supreme." The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544–1545, 1552)*, Budapest 2005, p. 552, No. 290, pp. 555–556, No. 292, p. 560, No. 295, pp. 652–653, No. 358.

⁶ It is to be noted that Becse (together with Becskerek) had been first conquered by Yahyapaşa-zade Mehmed, the *bey* of Szendrő (Ottoman Semendire, Serbian Smederovo). In 1528, however, probably through the mediation of Lodovico Gritti, it became the possession of King John of Szapolya (1526–1540) again. In 1545, the sultan claimed it on the pretext that Muslims had prayed five times a day within its walls. Brother George Martinuzzi/Utyesenovics (Utiešenović), in Hungarian György Fráter, and Péter Petrovics managed to evade this demand and keep the place for Queen Isabella (1541–1551) for several more years. Cf. Dávid and Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való" . . . cit., pp. 152–153, No. 101 and notes 698–699.

⁷ Cf. J. Szentkláray, *A becskerei vár*. (Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből, XII.), Budapest 1886, pp. 27–30; *Magyarország történeti kronológiája II. 1526–1848*, Budapest 1982, p. 384.

⁸ To use more than one toponym for the designation of an administrative unit was a rare phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire and was characteristic mainly in border areas where the places concerned usually showed the directions of further expansion.

⁹ Szántó, *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen* . . . cit., pp. 134–136.

¹⁰ F. M. Emecen and İ. Şahin, *Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından 957–958 (1550–1551) tarihli sancak tevcih defteri*, in "Belgeler" 23 (1999), p. 64.

¹¹ On his life see my *Ulama bey, an Ottoman Office-Holder with Persian Connections on the Hungarian Borders*. in É. M. Jeremiás (ed.), *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the*

an outstanding personality of the period. This statement is seemingly discredited by the *beylerbeyi*'s assertion in a letter in Hungarian that he made Malkoç Bey the captain (or commandant) of Becse, Becskerek, and "Csurog" (probably Serbian Čurug), which can be interpreted as if he had become the *sancakbeyi* there.¹² The fact that Malkoç Bey was—as reflected in the central list—only nominated to this post on 25 October 1551¹³ does not necessarily verify the governor general. Meanwhile it could also be imagined that Ulama was merely theoretically appointed; this supposition would confirm Sokollu Mehmed's words. In early 1552 Kasım Bey/Paşa,¹⁴ the former *beylerbeyi* of Buda, took over the duty of administering the liva, the name of which had been reduced to Becse and Becskerek, apparently because Csanád had been lost. Soon after the conquest of Temesvár Kasım was elevated to the rank of *mirmiran* there and remained in this position until 4 January 1557. It cannot be excluded that after him Malkoç returned to Becskerek—at least an undated letter in Serbian preserved in Vienna and filed among documents from the period June and December 1552 suggests this.¹⁵ It is more likely, however, that someone else followed Kasım whose name remains in darkness for the time being.

If we look at the reconstructed map of the *sancak* of Csanád¹⁶ and that of the medieval roads in this part of the Great Plain of Hungary¹⁷ we see that Becskerek, situated near the Béga (Serbian and Romanian Bega) river, was connected by a major route to Temesvár in the north and to Pancsova (Serbian Pančevo) and Keve (later Kevevára, Serbian Kovin) in the south, while Becse, lying on an island or a peninsula on the left bank of the Tisza, was linked by a road of secondary importance

11th–17th Centuries, Piliscsaba 2003, pp. 33–40. An extended version of this paper appeared in Hungarian in "Keletkutatás" 2002. ősz–2006. ősz, pp. 62–82.

¹² Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása*. (Dél-alföldi évszázadok, 15.), Szeged 2000, p. 6, note 6. (Based on Szentkláray, *A becskerek vára*... cit., pp. 31–32.)

¹³ Emecen and Şahin, *Osmanlı taşra*... cit., loc. cit.

¹⁴ On his life see: G. Dávid, *An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasım voyvoda, bey, and Pasha*, in G. Dávid and P. Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, Leiden 2000, pp. 265–297.

¹⁵ Cf. E. D. Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Band 1. (1480–1574)*. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband, 10/1.), [Wien] 1991, p. 88, No. 214.

¹⁶ Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., map.

¹⁷ L. Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14–16. században*. (Dél-alföldi évszázadok, 17.), Szeged 2002, map.

to Becskerek and had a ferry to the right side of the river where another Becse (later Óbecse, Serbian Bečey) was located. Although Becskerek had a seemingly more favourable place on the crossroads, its pre-Ottoman significance was somewhat inferior to that of Becse.¹⁸ This latter had a weekly fair on Mondays¹⁹ and that a toll was levied there on goods coming both on water and on land was mentioned as early as 1440.²⁰

The manuscript referred to above is unique inasmuch as it is the only known *mukataa*-register from the *vilayet* of Temesvár and it contains data from the early period of Ottoman rule in the region. The first part, recording the incomes of the customs and tax-station at Becskerek, begins on 10 *safar* 960 or 26 January 1553 and ends on 24 *safar* 961 or 29 January 1554. In other words, the period covered is neither a full lunar nor a solar year; it is 4 days longer than the latter. After pages showing *ispence*, various tax revenues (imposed on grain, wine, and beehives) and fees (penalties, marriage duties, etc.) on the *has*-estates of the sultan belonging to the *emanet* of Becskerek, and followed by similar—although less comprehensive—lists pertaining to Becse, which belonged to a separate *emanet* bearing the name of the town, the second main section, the account-book of Becse starts, somewhat unexpectedly, on 1 *receb* 960 or 13 June 1553 and terminates on 26 *safar* 961 i.e. 31 January 1554, comprising thus less than 8 months. The two parallel sets of information allow us to draw conclusions on the importance of generating treasury incomes at the two towns in relation to each other and on the level of stabilisation after a period of warfare, even if only to a limited extent due to the lack of earlier or later comparative data.

It should be underlined that figures in the *defter* are somewhat difficult to harmonise and, as a consequence, fully interpret or translate into quantities due to several factors. One of the reasons for the ambiguity is that *gümruk* (customs) and *bac* (sales tax)²¹ are partly mixed up in the entries while others are not included in either of the groups. It is not always obvious whether such items hide fees or duties on commercial goods or ordinary taxes (consequently a higher sum does not

¹⁸ Cf. the classification of the towns on the Great Plain and its adjacent regions by A. Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és városhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén*. (Déalföldi évszázadok, 14.), Szeged 2000. Considering 10 different factors in each case, Becse achieved 10 points while Becskerek received 7. See: p. 61.

¹⁹ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és városhálózat*... cit., loc. cit.

²⁰ D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*. II, Budapest 1894, p. 125.

²¹ These are the renderings by Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*... cit., p. 341, p. 343.

necessarily correspond to a greater amount in the case of one and the same article as customs duties were lower than ordinary taxes). In other instances the equivalent in money is merely indicated without reference to the unit of measurement used. The next problem is that even if the units are specified, their actual size cannot be easily clarified. The 1567 *kanunnames* of the ports of the respective towns do not help us much,²² since they occasionally give different sums or ratios to be paid than our figures in the account-books and speak of other sorts of dues than the ones we have. In spite of these deficiencies the short law-books and that of the *sancaks* of Gyula and Csanád offer complementary evidence in some of the issues to be dealt with.

The next obscurity is faced when we try to convert the various currencies mentioned in the list and in other contemporary sources into one single sort of money. Our *defter* uses the term *penz*²³ almost exclusively to indicate the value of the individual sources of income, with a few exceptions when *osmani*, *guruş* or *altun* replace it without specifying the exchange rates. A single exception helps to establish the ratio between *osmani* and *penz* as applied while preparing the *defter*. The so-called *harمیça-i hamr*²⁴ imposition normally figures at 40 *penz* per unit. In the given instance it is entered as 16 *osmani* which permits the conclusion that 1 *osmani* corresponds to 2.5 *penz*. This value is in accordance with suppositions maintaining that the equivalent of 1 *akçe* was 2 *penz*²⁵ and

²² İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu defteri 365. In Hungarian translation published by Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák...* cit., p. 159, p. 251.

²³ *Penz* (Hungarian 'money') is the contemporary Ottoman equivalent of Hungarian *dénár* or *denarius*, a small silver coin. Cf. J. Buza, „Ungerlein 1678“ *Die Verbanung des ungarischen Denars aus dem Geldumlauf der Reichstadt Nürnberg*, in „*Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*“ 79 (1992), pp. 151–168.

²⁴ I have not come across this expression so far. The archaic Serbo-Croatian word *harmica*, meaning 'tax', however, completely fits into the spirit of the list. Cf. E. Levasics and M. Surányi, *Szerbhorvát–magyar kézikötő*, Budapest 1982³, p. 142. The term is interesting inasmuch as it shows once again that the Ottomans were ready to use local denominations and practices if it suited their aims.

²⁵ E.g. the fragment of the 1567 *kanunname* of the *sancaks* of Gyula and Csanád often specifies this relationship in such a form. Cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları. I. Kanunlar*, İstanbul 1943, p. 318. The treasury book of Buda, however, used a 1.33 multiplier for 1 *osmani* when once in a while it gave its value in *penz*: Fekete and Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher...* cit., p. 425 (“flour, *keyl* 865, by 10 o[*smani*] 8650, expressed in *penz*: 11523; wheat, *keyl* 1589, by 10 o[*smani*] 15890, expressed in *penz*: 21180”). On other occasions the same register simply juxtaposed *osmani* and *penz* and added them up according to their numbers (i.e. without applying any exchange rates) when it was wished to arrive to the sum labelled as *nakdine* (Ibid., p. 464 and p. 465).

that 1 *osmani* was about 1.25 *akçe*.²⁶ Accepting the above-mentioned formula I computed 2.5 *penz* for 1 *osmani* (this coin being represented by 259 pieces at Becskerek and 867 at Becse). Further, I multiplied the 6 *guruş* by 100 *penz* each and the 2 gold-pieces by 160 *penz* each.

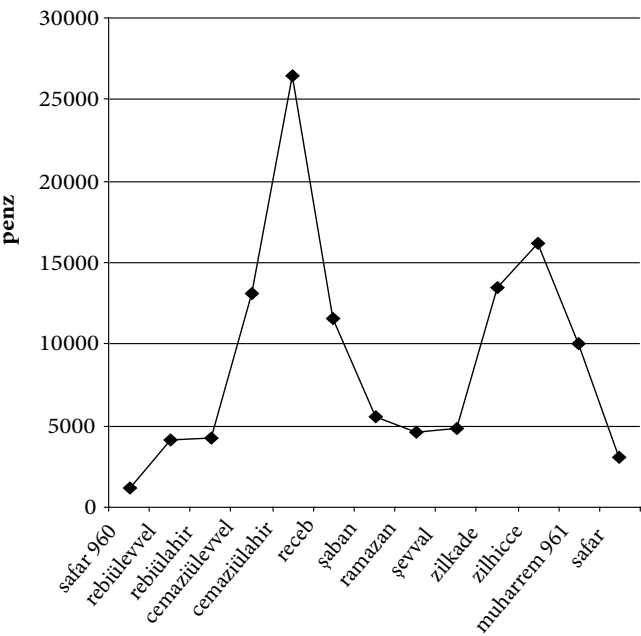
Although I am aware of the dangers mentioned above and also of a number of others, as a first step I deem it appropriate to compare the sum totals in *penz* as reflected in the *defter* at Becskerek and Becse respectively. The monthly revenues at the two stations show the following distribution in table form and on graphs (table 1, graphs 1 and 2):

Table 1 *Monthly mukataa-revenues at Becskerek and Becse 1553–1554*

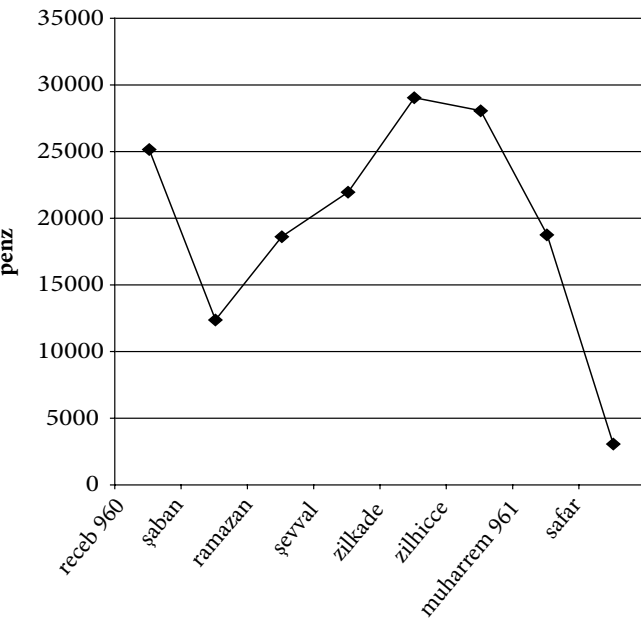
		Becskerek	Becse
10–29 <i>safer</i> 960	26 January–14 February 1553	1202	
<i>Rebiülevvel</i> 960	15 February–16 March 1553	4139	
<i>Rebiülahir</i> 960	17 March–14 April 1553	4214	
<i>Cemayülevvel</i> 960	15 April–14 May 1553	13118	
<i>Cemaziülahir</i> 960	15 May–12 June 1553	26424	
<i>Receb</i> 960	13 June–12 July 1553	11572	25828
<i>Şaban</i> 960	13 July–10 August 1553	5510	12422
<i>Ramazan</i> 960	11 August–9 September 1553	4646	20044
<i>Şevval</i> 960	10 September–8 October 1553	4792	22173
<i>Zilkade</i> 960	9 October–7 November 1553	13517	29640
<i>Zilhicce</i> 960	8 November–6 December 1553	16159	28123
<i>Muharrem</i> 961	7 December 1553–5 January 1554	10079	18717
1–24/26 <i>safer</i> 961	6 January–29/31 January 1554	3078	3035
Total		118450	159982

It is apparent that in accordance with its previous importance, Becse brought more revenue to the treasury than Becskerek; the total of 8 months is 35% higher here than the sum for roughly one year at the other settlement. We have to remind ourselves, however, that certain ordinary taxes were included in the *defter* of Becse while these were kept separately at Becskerek. Notwithstanding to this, the trend is clear in months when there are no such revenues at Becse.

²⁶ This is Lajos Fekete's statement. See his *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*. I, Budapest 1955, p. 238, note 7. Others argue that *osmani* is simply another denomination of *akçe*, which may hold true in other regions of the empire but not in our specific case.

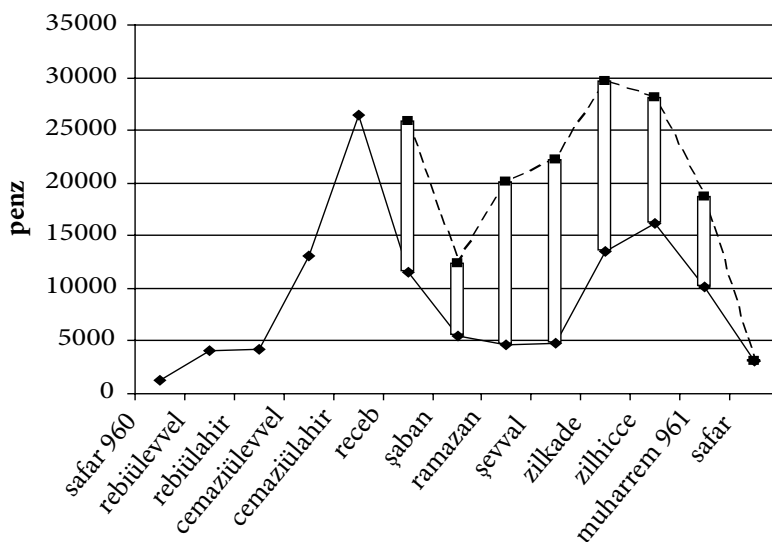


Graph 1 *Monthly mukataa-revenues at Becskerek 1553-1554*



Graph 2 *Monthly mukataa-revenues at Becse 1553-1554*

In order to see the tendencies incomes followed at the two places in the same periods, the two series of data can be combined in one graph (graph 3; the continuous line represents Becskerek, the broken one Becse):



Graph 3 Monthly mukataa-revenues at Becskerek and Becse, 1553–1554

It can be ascertained that revenues first decreased seriously in mid-July and August at both places, and after having recovered, reaching their highest values in October and November, they considerably diminished again in December and January. It is also conspicuous that the differences between the inflowing sums were of similar sizes throughout the period, except for *şaban* when the decrease in Becse was much more significant than in Becskerek and in *safar* 961 when the two values were identical. Seasonal ups and downs are of course natural phenomena, although perhaps not in high summer.²⁷

²⁷ E.g. the number of exported cattle at Vác reached its peak in August in 1562 with 17738 animals, while the second best month was October with 6296 beasts. See: Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Statistische Angaben über den Warenverkehr des türkischen Eroberungsgebiets in Ungarn mit dem Westen in den Jahren 1560–1564*, in "Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio Historica" XI (1970), p. 278.

In order to examine the totals of the two *mukataa*-units in a somewhat larger context, the more or less contemporaneous account-books or summary registers of some other places in the vicinity can be used.

My first example, Szolnok on the Tisza fell into Ottoman hands in 1552. We have two brief lists reflecting trade activity there in the 1550s. The first covers seven lunar months *rebiülevvel*–*ramazan* 965/22 December 1557–16 July 1558 when incomes reach a total of 30015 and a half *akçe* or 60031 *penz*, while the second encompasses a c. two-month period, 17 *receb*–25 *ramazan* 966/25 April–1 July 1559 with a sum of 37062,5 *akçe* or 74125 *penz*.²⁸ These figures allow the conclusion that the size of revenues in Szolnok during the longer time span shows similarities to those of Becskerek, while Becse produced considerably more. In 1559, however, the tendency changed in favour of Szolnok mainly due to the increasing number of cattle passing there.²⁹

Another port on the same river was at Szeged, which was occupied in early 1543 i.e. independently from the sultan's campaign. The first, though rather scanty, information about *mukataa*-incomes here comes from a vaguely defined three-year phase. The total reached 213138 *akçe* or 426276 *penz*; the majority of the sum was entered as receipts in two installments on 5 April and 26 May 1545³⁰ (which cannot be the end of the period, the earliest possible date being early 1546). If we assume a figure of 150–180000 *penz* for a year, it can be maintained that revenues at Becskerek were below this level while Becse came close to or even surpassed it.

A somewhat later summary for a ten-month interval (*zilkade* 957–*şaban* 958/21 November 1549–12 September 1550) testifies to a certain increase in collected dues and fees at Szeged. The total was 235574 *akçe* this time, with the following distribution: 111183 *akçe* from the local port; 74938 *akçe* from other crossing places in the area; 1170 *akçe* from shop rents in Szeged; and 48286 *akçe* from *has*-villages.³¹ We have to note that though our data from Becse is likewise of a somewhat mixed

²⁸ A. Horváth, *Le Commerce dans l'eyalet de Buda durant la seconde moitié de XVI-ème siècle*, in "Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi" VII (1969), p. 58.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 59 (50.2% of the taxes in 1559 and 25.1% in 1558).

³⁰ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt 590 (Flügel 1362), published in Hungarian by A. Velics and E. Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*. I, Budapest 1886, p. 25.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 64–66. Based on Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt 590 (Flügel 1362).

character, the ratio of non local takings is, however, lower than in Szeged. This means, in other words, that the divergence between the two customs stations was not significant. It can be added that the size of the returns of the *mukataa* of Szeged in 1555–1556³² shows great similarity to the figures of 1549–1550.

Comparisons with records from Buda could be also interesting. Such an undertaking, however, is more risky, due to the more complex nature of collecting treasury revenues there. Namely there was more than one tax-farmer at Buda at one and the same time and the different notes often do not refer to all of them. This is why we occasionally find very low values while considerably higher ones appear at earlier or later dates.³³ It is very likely that the volume of incomes in the *vilayet*-centre exceeded those of the less significant ports which interest us now.

The above, though modest, comparisons lead us to the conclusion that the account-books of Becskerek and Becse do not testify to disastrous conditions following military operations in the area. On the contrary, they reflect more or less normal conditions. If we add that the treasury expected roughly 50000 *akçe* or 100000 *penz* from somewhat more types of revenues at Becskerek in 1567,³⁴ the 1553–1554 results appear in an even more favourable light. To confront the *mukataa*-incomes with the *tahrir defteri* estimates is more difficult in Becse, since they contain certain payments from other *has*-villages³⁵ as well; their relative sizes, however, do not differ significantly on this occasion either.

As regards the different sorts of items which appear in the register under scrutiny, they are not very numerous. Moreover, several of them

³² Ibid., pp. 89–90. Based on Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt 590 (Flügel 1362). The respective values are as follows: total of incomes in a full lunar year: 284251 *akçe*; 107523 *akçe* from the local port; 67185 *akçe* from other crossing places; 109543 *akçe* (!) from *has*-villages of the treasury.

³³ Ibid., p. 24, p. 57, pp. 59–60, pp. 60–61, pp. 91–92, p. 111, p. 114, p. 117. Based on Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt 590 (Flügel 1362); Fekete and Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*... cit., p. 17.—For the sake of interest it can be noted that the treasury received from the town of Samsun nearly the same sum as the total of Becse, namely 80139 *akçe* (the equivalent of 160278 *penz*) almost in the same time span with which we are dealing (the local *mukataa*-register covers a full lunar year: 24 *zilhicce* 960–23 *zilhicce* 961 or 1 December 1553–19 November 1554). Cf. Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*... cit., p. 106.

³⁴ Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., pp. 250–251, No. 236.

³⁵ These included Tarhas (later Tiszatarros, Serbian Taraš) and Akács (near modern Beodra). Cf. Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., pp. 161–163, No. 143, pp. 171–173, No. 172.

are represented with a single entry (such as slippers, fur/oars [*kürk/kürek*], fruits, captives, etc.). They can be squeezed into 8 larger groups.

1. Dues paid on crossing the rivers Béga, Tisza, and smaller streams or the marshes. In Becskerek this meant the *bac-i cısr*, or bridge toll. A bridge was mentioned here as early as 1433 when Bertrandon de la Brocquière happened to pass over it. After the battle of Zenta in 1697, Habsburg troops entered the town and they also found the quay of the harbour in good condition. In the 1840s abutments were excavated, probably those of the one-time bridge on the river.³⁶ Another *cısr* is referred to twice among the entries of Becskerek at Mali Modos or Kis Módos with low sums.³⁷

Becse, on the other hand, had no bridge, merely a ferry, as I mentioned above. Therefore a *resm-i ubur* or crossing fee was collected here. As the 1567 local law-book (which can be used as a basis of comparison) prescribed, people on horseback had to pay 2 *penz*, those on foot 1 *penz* each (the same amount of money was to be paid at Becskerek, too). There was, however, a bridge in the vicinity of the town, at a place called Vincahíd (the second part of the word, *híd* means 'bridge' in Hungarian). Traffic must have been relatively busy here since the level of income exceeded that of Becse itself (23868 and 22145 *penz*, respectively). Unfortunately the exact location of Vincahíd could not be found; it was situated either on the road connecting Nagyikinda (Serbian Kikinda) and Becskerek or on the secondary way leading from Basahíd (earlier Bazsa(l)hida, Serbian Bašaid) through Arács/Aracsa to Becse. It is noteworthy that the 1567 *defter* does not refer to this settlement at all, while the 1579 *tahrir* speaks of its inhabitants as newly-arrived families who—against significant tax and other exemptions—were ready to protect the bridge in the vicinity of the village.³⁸ The *mukataa*-register thus is our first evidence of the functioning of a customs station at Vincahíd.

³⁶ Szentkláray, *A becskerekí vár...* cit., p. 7, p. 14.

³⁷ This name appears in the 1567 and 1579 *tahrir defteris* of the *sancak* of Csanád as a *mezraa* or uninhabited place which was cultivated from outside, probably from the town Módos (Serbian Jaša Tomić). No toll bridge is mentioned at either of the places. The town, however, is situated along the Temes (Serbian Tamiš) and one could perhaps cross the river north of it. Cf. Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák...* cit., pp. 202–208, No. 199, 201 and map.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 188, No. 180 and map.

There is one more hint at a crossing place in the village of Ilje (later Serbian Veliko Ilje),³⁹ where carts passed. But no waterway can be seen next to the settlement—let alone a large swamp.⁴⁰

2. Dues paid on carts (*araba*). The relevant source of income is usually named *bac-i araba*, except for some occasions at Becskerek when, side by side with the above term, the term *resm-i araba* also appears. The text of the local *kanunnames*, in continuation of the sentence cited above, says that 6 *penz* or 3 *akçe* was expected on a large loaded cart and 4 *penz* or 2 *akçe* on a smaller one (expressed with the Hungarian loan-word *koçı*). It is not clear to me, however, what kind of a tax the other expression covers.

I admit that my first two categories show great similarities in their nature and could be dealt with together; however their importance within the whole material justifies treating them separately.

3. Wine. The relevant sorts of revenues on wine are repeatedly recorded at Becskerek with the designations *počepina-i hamr* and *harmiça-i hamr*. The second term has been explained above, the first also needs elucidation. As I have written elsewhere,⁴¹ the word *počepina* has died out without having been noted in Serbo-Croatian texts. Knowing the logic of the language, it can be deduced that its meaning must be 'a tax for tapping the barrel' if wine was brought to a place with a commercial aim.⁴² 30 *penz* was to be paid for one unit in the case of *počepina* (this harmonises with the prescription of the law-book of the two *san-caks*) and 40 if customs duty was collected (this is what the *kanunname* of the town envisaged as *gümruk*).

In Becse the two categories were often combined and different multipliers were used for a unit, between 45 and 50 *penz*.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 178–179, No. 167.

⁴⁰ It is remarkable that some other place-names in the region also ended with *híd* like those of Faluhíd, Űrhíd (on the rivulet Temisác), and Jankahíd (near the Béga). Cf. Ibid., p. 173, No. 159, pp. 210–211, No. 206, pp. 222–224, No. 217. There must have been a bridge in or near them although their existence is not reflected in the *defters*.

⁴¹ G. Dávid, *Osmanlı Macaristan'ında toplum, ekonomi ve yönetim. 16. yüzyılda Simon-tornya sancağı*. (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 81.), Istanbul 1999, p. 121, note 25. (This book originally appeared in Hungarian in 1982). The term also figures in the 1579 law-book of Gyula and Csanád and is explained in the same sense by Gyula Káldy-Nagy. See his *A Gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása*. (Forráskiadványok a Békés Megyei Levéltárból 10.), Békéscsaba 1982, p. 38 and p. 39, note 7.

⁴² In our case wine could be imported from the Szerémség (Syrmium), a traditional region of wine-growing.

4. Wheat (*gendüm*). Similarly to wine, the practice of collecting duties on grain differed in Becskerek and Becse. Although the *kanun* of Becskerek speaks of ships arriving at the port, no sign of wheat coming by water can be found. Wheat was measured in *keyl/kile* and duties were paid on this basis. On the other hand, it was transported to Becse almost exclusively on *sefines* or vessels where one gave a fixed, although varying, sum per boat (normally 70–130 *penz* with occasional low and high extremes).⁴³ Other sorts of grain were very rare: we have three or four examples for barley (*cev*), and three for millet (*erzen*).

5. Items of domestic animal origin. These could be cattle on the hoof, various hides, sheep's fleeces (*mu-i ganem*), wool (*yapağı*), and draught horses (*bargir*).

6. Fish (*mahi*). We find three main subtypes within this group: *resm-i mahi* (tax), *öşr-i mahi* (tithe), and impositions on *dalyans* or fishing enclosures. The first denomination emerges mainly at Becskerek, the two others at Becse. In 1567 and 1579 several *dalyans* were enumerated at both towns and the neighbouring villages⁴⁴—only some of these settlements and a new one appear in the *mukataa*-register of Becse. It was a common practice (and the local *kanun* of Becse also emphasised it) that a tithe was payable on fish caught from rivers and half of their value in the case of enclosures. Direct reference to this custom is rare in our records but we can suppose that it was applied generally.

7. Salt (*milh*). The decisive importance of Transylvanian salt within the Carpathian Basin and beyond is a somewhat neglected area of Ottoman studies.⁴⁵ Since the products of two major salt pits, those of Torda (Romanian Turda) and Vízakna (Romanian Ocna Sibiului) were loaded on ships at Alvinc (Romanian Vințu de Jos), it cannot be judged from which place this mineral was transported by water into southerly

⁴³ The few exceptions are restricted to events when the tithes of *has*-settlements are concerned.

⁴⁴ Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák...* cit., p. 158, No. 140, p. 161, No. 141, p. 162, No. 143, p. 250, No. 236.—The greatest number of fish ponds in Ottoman Hungary were located along the Danube in the *sancak* of Mohács, where the town of Laskó (Croatian Lug) dominated with more than 40 of them.

⁴⁵ A remarkable exception is J. Hóvári's article: *The Transylvanian Salt in the Ottoman Semendire (Smederovo), 1514–1516*, in "Archivum Ottomanicum" XIII (1993–1994), pp. 143–168. For earlier periods see the recent study by I. Draskóczy, *Erdély sótermelése az 1530-as években*, in J. Bessenyei, Z. Horváth, and P. Tóth (eds.), *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről*. (Studia Miskolcensis, 5.), Miskolc 2004, pp. 25–70.

directions.⁴⁶ It is likely that salt also arrived at Becse on the Tisza, while to Becskerek it may perhaps have come through Arad and Temesvár by land.

8. Other species of revenues. These concern cloths and textiles (*bez*, *kebe*, *çuka*, *çuka-i borgoman*⁴⁷), craft goods (slippers, fur/oars, *esbab-i hurdevat*), agricultural products (fruit, chestnut, walnut, beehives), and a few special items (penalties, like *cerime*, *niyabet*, and *bad-i hava*), market dues, *kile*-tax, *ihzariye* [fee for a citation or summons], *ihtisab* or *ihtisabiye*⁴⁸). All these sorts of income figures have negligibly low revenues, but they indicate a considerable variety of activities in the region.

There is, however, one item which is worthy of more attention since it is encountered several times and with noticeably high sums. The interpretation of the expression is not easy. The crucial word can be read as *hane* (or possibly *cabe*, *çapa*, etc.), while on other occasions it is written as *haneha* (such a plural would not be expected in the case of the other transcriptions of the relevant letters). The textual surrounding is somewhat odd inasmuch as it is connected with *resm-i ubur*, and also the person is named from whom the toll was collected (*an yed-i X*). In some of the examples another word precedes or succeeds this word, without diacritical points, of course. After some hesitation, I propose *bejaniya* as a solution, a Serbo-Croatian term (*bežanija*) meaning 'flight' or 'a group of fugitives'.⁴⁹ The expression can be thus translated as 'crossing fee on fugitive households (or simply fugitives)'.⁵⁰ This issue deserves more interest since we have a firman from 28 May 1552 which speaks of a

⁴⁶ Draskóczy, *Erdély sótermelése...* cit., p. 27.—On an alternative route and distribution centre where salt could arrive by land routes in order to be forwarded to the Szerémség on carts or on ship, see: Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák...* cit., p. 226, No. 221 (Csenta, Serbian Čenta). This precious note speaks of Lippa (Romanian Lipova), Sebes (Later Karánsebes, Romanian Caransebeș) or Lugos (Romanian Lugoj) as places of origin of the commodity. Lippa's outstanding role in the business is confirmed by the 1567 *tahrir*, which states that the town was a transit station of salt, coming on wagons from Transylvania, from Bogcsa (Later Várboksán, Romanian Bocșa Româna), and Marzsina (Romanian Margina), in order to be marketed at the fairs of the *vilayet* of Temesvár. Cf. P. Fodor, *Lippa és Radna városok a 16. századi török adóösszeírásokban*, in "Történelmi Szemle" XXXIX (1977), p. 326.

⁴⁷ Identified as Bergamo cloth by Zs. P. Pach, *Szürkeposztó, szürkeposztó, szűr. Fejezetek a magyarországi szövőipar korai történetéből*. (Társadalom-és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, 31.), Budapest 2003, p. 77.

⁴⁸ Possible differences in the scope of dues collected under this name were pointed out by Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen...* cit., p. 71.

⁴⁹ Levasics and Surányi, *Szerbhorvát-magyar...* cit., p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Hane* is used here in a general sense.

group of people who had formerly lived on the other (viz. northern) side of the Danube, then had crossed the Tisza and fled to various places in *Baçka med'e* ('Bácska county') in the *sancak* of Szeged. The *bey* of Szeged wished to resettle them in their original home; the *beylerbeyi*, Kasım Paşa, however, hindered this and pushed them back to the other side of the Tisza where they did not feel safe and were going to be scattered throughout the neighbourhood. The sultan instructed Kasım not to deter these persons and allow them to return to their previous abode.⁵¹ The above order uses the very same denomination for the escapees as our account-book. It implies that this sort of population movement, the overall size of which cannot be guessed, had not ended by 1553. The treasury imposed a comparatively high sum, usually 100 *penz*, upon the individuals concerned which could be identical with the so-called *yava haracı*.⁵² If this equation is correct, we can also say that its sum was the same as the ordinary *harac* or *cizye* (state tax paid by non-Muslims)—50 *akçe* in our period. Though the number of units is not systematically indicated in the source it can be inferred that some 80 families crossed the Tisza between 23 August and 4 December 1553. This is by no means a negligible quantity.

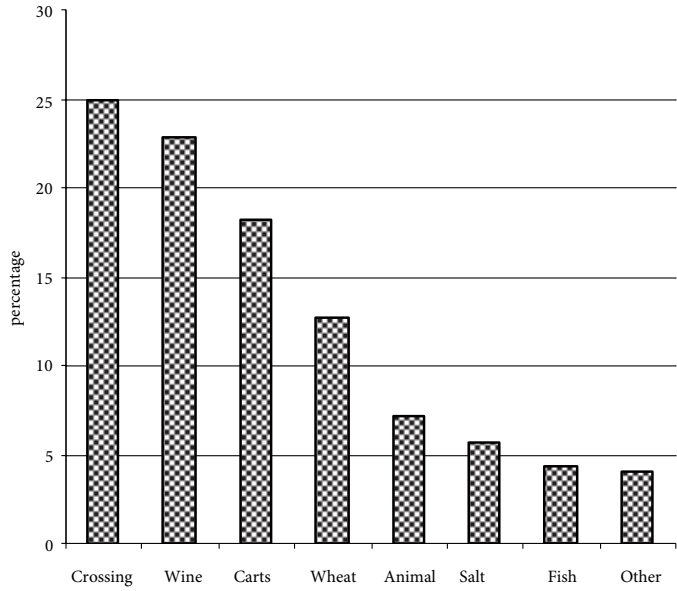
Finally, I have to admit that I could not decipher three or four terms referring to minor sums.

The categories mentioned above show the following percentage distribution at Becskerek and Becse and then combined (graphs 4 to 6):

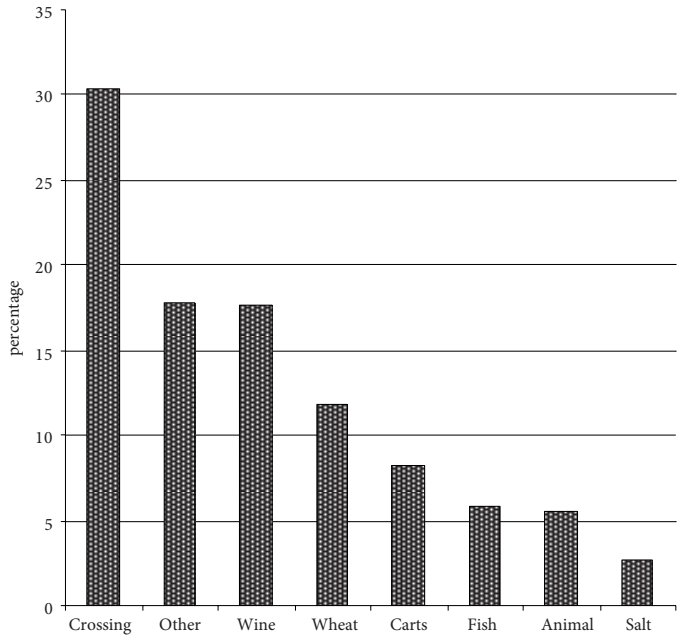
The decisive importance of crossing fees is a clear tendency at both towns. If we add the sums which were to be paid upon carts, this trend becomes even more obvious. We can make a rough estimate concerning the number of people passing daily at each of the places. We have 29657 *penz* from *bac-i cistr* at Becskerek and 22145 *penz* from *resm-i ubur* at Becse. Accepting the 1567 quotas as valid for our period (which is reasonable, since one cannot expect a decrease in this respect) these would give an amount between 14828 (all those who arrived on horseback) and 29657 persons (all of who crossed on foot); this would mean an amount of between 40 to 80 persons a day on average at Becskerek, the same extremes being 11073–22145 people altogether, and 48 to 96 persons daily at Becse (and 11934–23868 persons passing in 8 months or

⁵¹ Dávid and Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való" ... cit., pp. 484–485, No. 237.

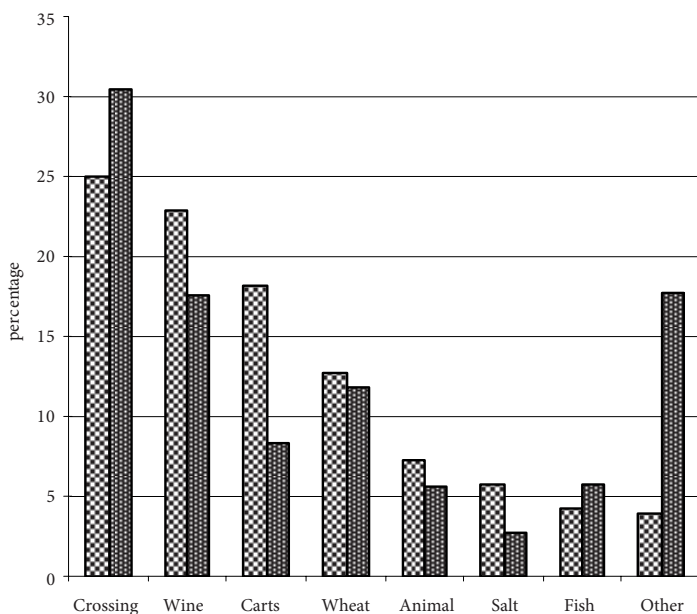
⁵² We met this term in connection with runaway Serbs in the vicinity of Szendrő. See: Dávid and Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való" ... cit., p. 224, No. 16.



Graph 4 *The composition of revenues at Becskerek*



Graph 5 *The composition of revenues at Becse*



Graph 6 *The composition of revenues at Becskerek and Becse*

52–104 *per diem* at Vincahíd). The monthly distribution of those crossing the bridge and the river showed, of course, a considerable variety. This can be followed on graphs 7 and 8.

It is evident that *zilhicce*/November–early December was the most active period at Becskerek with 230 people crossing daily. At Becse *receb*/March–April showed the highest value which corresponds to a maximum of 340 persons a day on the average, but *zilhicce* was similarly good. The busiest day at Becskerek must have been 17 *zilhicce*/24 November when 964 *penz* was paid and at Becse 12 *zilhicce*/19 November with 330 *penz*.

It is difficult to tell whether the above figures are high or low. A comparison with Buda and Pest can be attempted. Between 19 November 1550 and 6 May 1551 an equivalent of 47251 *penz* was collected there as crossing fees (*resm-i geçüd-i iskele*).⁵³ This period includes the winter season as well; therefore the sum is not representative of a whole year. In spite of this, it testifies to a more lively traffic than our data. It does not exceed them, however, by a great amount. Naturally, one could not

⁵³ Fekete and Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher...* cit., p. 17.

expect more travellers at the somewhat isolated, small towns than at the *vilayet*-centre.

The number of carts arriving at Becskerek and Becse can be computed in a similar manner. Accordingly, some 3600–5400 or 10–15 carts a day arrived at Becskerek, and 2200–3300, with the same daily average, reached Becse. The traffic of carts was seemingly completely interrupted over the three winter months (mid-January–mid-April), although wine, salt, and—with one month exception—wheat (though in a very limited amount) must have been delivered by wagons even during this period. Ups and downs in the two towns followed more or less the same pattern; however, on five occasions revenues were higher this time in Becskerek, perhaps as a result of easier crossing possibilities on the bridge, but merely once in a significant degree (see graphs 9–10).

From this point on it is more complicated or even impossible to draw conclusions as regards the quantities of the goods appearing in the account-books. To illustrate the difficulties, the example of wheat revenues at Becskerek will be first presented. We have the following data month by month (table 2 and graph 11):

Table 2 *Monthly distribution of wheat revenues at Becskerek*

Month	<i>Kile</i>	<i>Penz</i>	<i>Kile</i> (estimated)
<i>Safar</i> 960			
<i>Rebiülevvel</i>		40	103
<i>Rebiülahir</i>		435	1103
<i>Cemaziülevvel</i>	3620	1701	
<i>Cemaziülahir</i>	7270	3137	
<i>Receb</i>	4795	1500	
<i>Şaban</i>	2940	1105	
<i>Ramazan</i>	660	191	
<i>Şevval</i>	1300	410	
<i>Zilkade</i>	140	1905	4885
<i>Zilhicce</i>		2602	6672
<i>Muharrem</i> 961		1926	4938
<i>Safar</i>		130	333
Total	20725	15082	38619

As is clear, no quantity was indicated at all for six months, while in *zilkade* the method was changed after the first two entries. Further, there is no conformity as far as the sum to be paid after 1 *kile* wheat is concerned. The rate applied was occasionally 20 *penz* for 100 *kile*, but could

go up to 40 or even 50 *penz*. The six full months give an average of 39 *penz* per 100 *kile* (8044 *penz* and 20585 *kile*). Accepting this value for the rest of the period we get an approximate total of 38619 *kile* wheat which arrived at Becskerek. Supposing that the same cubic measures were used, this amount was 55 times bigger than that of the expected wheat-tithe in the same town in 1567 (or 5.5 times more than the crop).⁵⁴

In spite of the ambiguities, the above result cannot be very far from reality. And how should we interpret our data on wheat transported to Becse by ship? Here 85.5 shiploads were mentioned with a value of 11161 *penz* (for the monthly distribution see graph 12). Postulating that the same sum covered more or less the same quantity when customs duties were imposed on the same commodity, we can try to guess the amount of wheat arriving at the port. Using a coefficient of 40 *penz* per 100 *kile*, we come to a total of 27900 *kile* in 8 months, which surpasses the quantity at Becskerek in the same period of time (969 *penz* and 24400 *kile*) and is 48 times more than the tithe (583 *kile*) expected at Becse itself in 1567.⁵⁵

As far as general tendencies are concerned, seasonal upheavals can be witnessed again. At Becskerek *cemaziülahir*/mid-May–mid-June was the busiest month, followed by *zilhicce*/November–early December; at Becse this latter 29 days showed the highest value while *zilkade*/October–early November remained slightly behind it.

Even worse are our possibilities of interpreting data concerning salt (cf. graphs 13–14). To our great regret, quantities are obscure, partly because some entries give only the number of blocks taken as customs duty,⁵⁶ others specify only the sums to be paid after an unknown amount, while a third type indicates both numbers and liabilities, but it is difficult to discover the logic of interdependence between the two. At Becskerek we have at least a good minimum value: 4454 cubes were registered with the sum (5328 *penz*) to be paid on them. To this a good 300 pieces can be added which emerge in another connection, without any monetary equivalent. Further, we have 1460 *penz* where no quantity is given at all. A crude estimation can be perhaps ventured at the level of 5–6000 blocks. Unfortunately we know nothing of their size, which could differ

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 250, No. 236.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 158, No. 140.

⁵⁶ This should have been in principle 1 from every 100 pieces, as specified by the 1567 *kanunname* of Becse; our examples—if they refer to the same phenomenon—show 3 per 100.

according to their origin; the quality of salt could also play a role as regards the dues to be paid.⁵⁷

A comparison with Szolnok reveals that this total is modest since 32235 pieces were taxed there in 7 months and 16140 in 2 months in 1558–1559. It should not be forgotten, however, that this town served as a major crossing place for both Transylvanian salt and that of the county of Máramaros transported in the direction of Buda.⁵⁸

At Becse merely 405 + 8 blocks of salt were mentioned and a sum of 4086 *penz* was collected on an unspecified number. A comparison of this value with the 5328 *penz* total of Becskerek suggests that Becse's role was at least 20% lower as a transit and target station of salt. It is remarkable, however, that 100 years later Evliya Çelebi was still aware of the significance of Becse in the trade of salt ("*iskele-i azîm olmağile halkı ekseriyyâ tuz ve balık bâzergânlarıdır*"), while he is mute on such activity in Becskerek.⁵⁹

It is obvious that part of the salt appearing in our source was used for local consumption. In seven instances at Becskerek, an additional remark informs us that 1–6 blocks "were sold". It is not clear, however, whether this amount was the imported quantity or the *bac* collected in kind and then marketed. This possibility is quite strong in cases when both the number of cubes (140, 100, and 300) and the quota of customs duty (4, 3, and 9 pieces) are mentioned, though it is not quite clear which of the two lots was sold. In two examples we have 30 and 60 pieces which were reported as remaining in the town—if these were collected as *gümruk*, the original shipment must have been fairly large. Finally, a note informs us that "the above mentioned 55 *kiye* [sic!] salt was sold for 20 *penz* each". The strangeness in this statement is that no salt was recorded on the given day; the reference is perhaps to previously collected blocks.

Problems become graver in the case of levies upon wine (see graphs 15–16). The abbreviation for the measure employed this time can be

⁵⁷ In Semendire for instance, four types of salt-blocks were regularly distinguished: large, small, coarse I, and coarse II. See: Hóvári, *The Transylvanian Salt*... cit., p. 155 ff. For unsuccessful efforts to unify the size of salt-blocks in Transylvania see: Draskóczy, *Erdély sótermelése*... cit., p. 26, pp. 56–58.

⁵⁸ Horváth, *Le Commerce*... cit., p. 58.

⁵⁹ Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahâtnamesi*. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 numaralı yazmanın transkripsiyonu-dizini. VII. Hazırlayanlar Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff. Istanbul 2003, p. 144.

read as a *kaf* or a *fe*.⁶⁰ In principle one should reckon with *fuçı* (barrel) here, but it is still reassuring that when the scribe was replaced by a new one, he wrote out the whole word correctly. Without knowing the capacity of the barrels, we cannot tell the quantity which arrived for local consumption or to be forwarded to other destinations. It is clear, however, that while the *resm-i poçepina* obligation was levied on 122 barrels at Becskerek, this figure reached 499 in the case of barrels on which customs duty (*harمیça*) was to be paid; the difference is significantly in favour of export to an unknown destination. Later somewhat more imported wine must have been sold in the town since the treasury expected 3000 *akçe* or 6000 *penz* as *resm-i fuçı* in 1567 while our total is merely 3675 *penz*.

Revenues from articles of domestic animal origin are restricted to five months at Becskerek (cf. graph 17), of which two are practically negligible with their 35, 40, and 100 *penz* income, respectively. In the remaining 59 days ox/cow hide (1220 pieces) and sheep's fleeces were brought in larger numbers. This latter was, against my expectation, also referred to as if it came in pieces (*kıta*).⁶¹ Therefore it is difficult to judge what quantity the 7600 units of this commodity arriving on eight different days in *cemaziülahir* and the 1445 entities in *cemaziüevvel* represent. Undoubtedly, the first must have been a significant amount since altogether 1334 *penz* was paid on it. This culmination in the given month can be explained by the fact that sheep-shearing traditionally took place in May in Hungary (*cemaziülahir* 960 coincided with 15 May–12 June 1553).

At Becse (cf. graph 18), the highest sum was disbursed on cattle. There were five months when their number was indicated; 576 in *receb*/June–July, 215 in *şaban*, 145 in *ramazan*, 66 in *şevval* 960, and 24 in *safar* 961. The total is 1026 “heads”, and the dues reached 3442 *penz*.⁶² The irregularity here is that—at least according to the 1567 local law-code—25 *penz* should be paid on cattle going in the direction of Vienna,⁶³ 2 on an ox and 1 on a cow if these were brought for local consumption or usage.

⁶⁰ Cf. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, I, ... cit., p. 46.

⁶¹ The same commodity occurs with its value after which customs duty was applied in the *mukataa*-register of Szeged in 1585. Cf. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, I, ... cit., pp. 428–429.

⁶² Though registered under the same caption, the number of animals is occasionally missing.

⁶³ This note is interesting because it reveals that cattle were exported to Vienna even from such faraway corners of the country.

Our data does not show a distinction between these categories. It can be supposed, however, that merchants very rarely arrived with both sorts of animals; not a single example refers to such an enterprise. In this case, the maximum fee could not have exceeded the double of the number of beasts; the reason for the higher values remains obscure.

Another group of cattle was registered without indicating their number and giving merely the sum of *resm-i ubur*; this imposition resulted in 1511 *penz* to the treasury. I honestly do not really see the difference between this and the previous category. The third sort, *bac-i gav* was rather unimportant, with 60 *penz* within 8 months.

Together with the unspecified amounts, the traffic of cattle at Becse seems to surpass that of Szolnok over the longer period (603 “heads”) and to remain below it over the shorter one (2489 animals).⁶⁴

As regards sheep crossing at Becse, we have the total of *resm-i ubur* which amounted to 2050 *penz* (appearing in three months only: 380 *penz* in *receb*, 740 in *şaban*, and 930 in *şevval*). Postulating that the prescription of the 1567 *kanunname* was applied, according to which 1 *penz* was to be paid on 4 sheep, 9200 animals could be reckoned with. What should make us cautious is that half an *akçe* or 1 *penz* for 1 sheep were demanded at Szolnok in 1558 and 1559.⁶⁵ Therefore we are not in a position to tell the multiplier used at Becse in 1553. Even the lowest possible amount, however, does not seem a bad result.

The greatest differences between the two towns can be perhaps witnessed when dues and taxes on fish are surveyed (graphs 19–20). While 7 months produced no income at all at Becskerek, Becse’s contribution was continuous, in three months relatively high (3826, 2421, and 1057 *penz*), otherwise modest or insignificant. A satisfactory explanation for the divergence seems to be that the river Tisza and its enclosures must have been richer in fish than the river Béga.

We cannot say much about the participants in the above transactions. Most of the persons in question are noted down only by their first names; the great majority were typical of the period. Therefore it is difficult to tell if the Yovans, İstoyans, Hasans or Hüseyins of various dates are the same individuals or not. It can be observed that Muslims and Christians played by and large similar roles. Among Christians we find mainly people of Southern Slav background but a small Hungarian minority could also be detected (their family name is also usually given).

⁶⁴ Horváth, *Le Commerce...* cit., p. 59.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Some of the Muslims were apparently local notables, like a *subaşı*, a Janissary, a *çelebi* or a certain *müezzín hoca*, mentioned twice thus without his real name. We have a few examples when somebody acted on behalf of an *ağa*, a *voyvoda* or an *emin*. Day-labourers (*ırgadha*) working for a Muslim and for a Christian are also worth being referred to.

After this cursory interpretation of data from the account-books, I will try to shed some light on population records coming from the intermediary pages. Two lists of *ispence*-payers in nine places belonging to the *emanet* of Becskerek can be contrasted to contemporary or somewhat later figures; the full name-lists, though they are the first since the establishment of the settlements, cannot be published or analysed here. We must restrict ourselves to outline the tendency of population movements (see table 3).

Table 3 *Number of ispence-payers in settlements belonging to the emanet of Becskerek 1553–1579**

	1553	1553	1554	1567	1579
Becskerek ⁶⁶	213	210		166	178
Módos ⁶⁷	142	133		186	126
Lec ⁶⁸	144	119	90	0	0
Igentó ⁶⁹	24	34	32	13	27
Úrhíd ⁷⁰	27	2		0	0
Bóka ⁷¹	14	25	23	39	40
Fény ⁷²	22	22		28	33
Hegyös ⁷³	41	55		39	34
Rudna ⁷⁴	44	50	40	53	57
Total	671	650		524	495

* The sequence follows the 1553 lists

⁶⁶ Becskerek consisted of three *mahalles* in 1553 which later disappeared. For 1567 and 1579 see: Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., p. 250, No. 236.

⁶⁷ For 1567 and 1579 see: Ibid., p. 207, No. 199.

⁶⁸ Serbian Stari Lec. For 1554–1579 see: P. Engel, *A Temesvári és [a] Moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései (1554–1579)*. (Dél-alföldi évszázadok, 8), Szeged 1996, p. 84, p. 166.

⁶⁹ For 1554–1579 see: Ibid., p. 66, p. 166.

⁷⁰ For 1567 and 1579 see: Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., pp. 210–211, No. 206.

⁷¹ Serbian Boka. For 1554–1579 see: P. Engel, *A Temesvári*... cit., p. 33, p. 167.

⁷² For 1567 and 1579 see: Káldy-Nagy, *A Csanádi szandzsák*... cit., p. 214, No. 210.

⁷³ Later Tiszahegyes, Serbian Idoš. For 1567 and 1579 see: Ibid., pp. 184–185, No. 175.

⁷⁴ For 1554–1579 see: P. Engel, *A Temesvári*... cit., p. 115, p. 166.

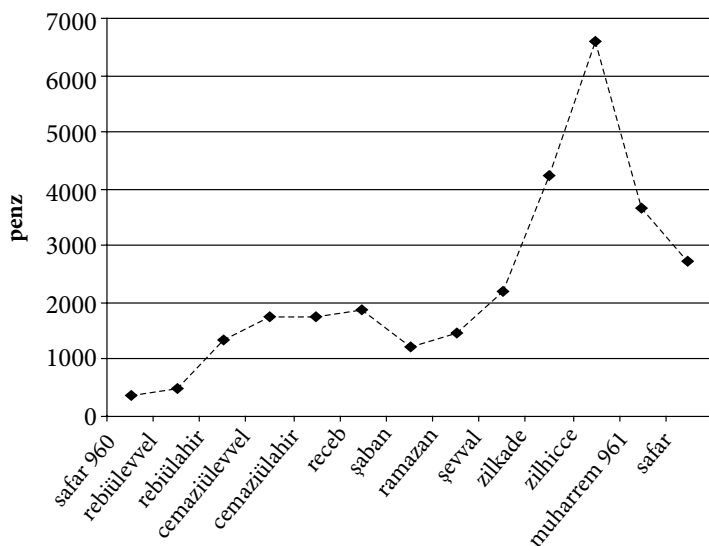
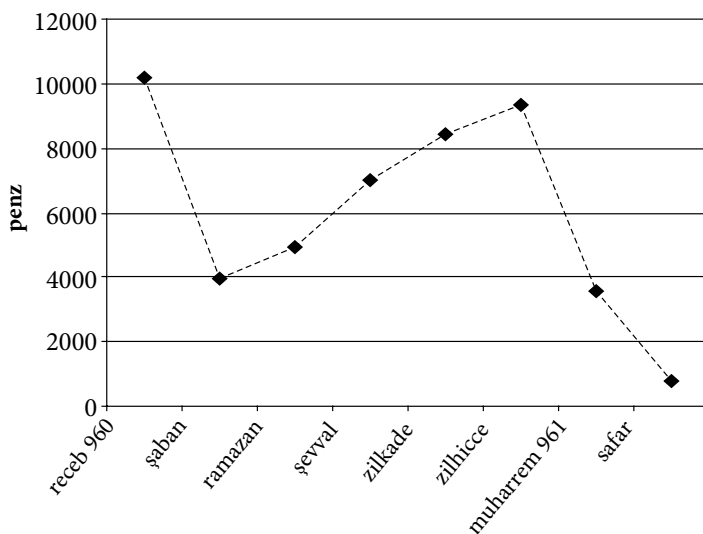
The above table is instructive inasmuch as it shows that the *emanet* of Becskerek exceeded not only the boundaries of the homonymous *nahiye*, as Hegyös was part of the *nahiye* of Becse, but even those of the *sancak*, since four villages belonged to the *liva* of Temesvár. The location of Igentó, Bóka, and Rudna on the eastern side of the river Temes (and Lec near the river Berzava), together with Úrhíd and Fény along the Temesác and Módos at the confluence of the two waterways, is a sign of a conscious policy of the treasury to control the places along thoroughfares.

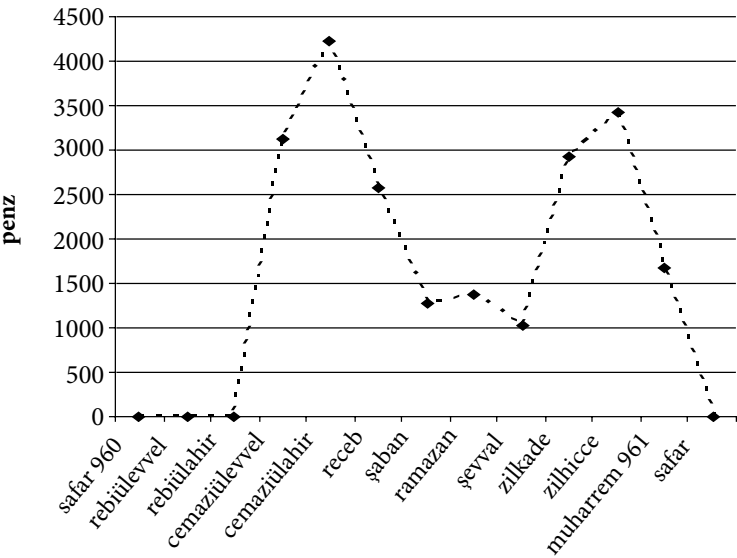
It is also a noticeable tendency that the number of *ispence*-payers diminished within a matter of 26 years in most of the settlements concerned. One would have expected just the opposite trend, especially if we know that the Ottomans only later extended the obligation of paying *cizye* and *resm-i kapu* (or *ispence*) to most of the households while they had imposed them only on the better-off layers of society earlier.⁷⁵ This leaves the impression that the occupation of the given towns and villages did not cause a sudden drop in the population—its impact was felt rather in the long run.

This observation is corroborated by the fact that two villages became completely depopulated between 1553 and 1567. It is remarkable that in Úrhíd the change occurred quite suddenly as early as between the two notable days, *ruz-i Hızır İlyas* and *ruz-i Kasım* in 1553. On the second occasion the scribe made the following comment after having entered the first two persons: “Since their names are unknown they were not noted down”. The case of Lec is even more enigmatic; how could such a seemingly strong community disappear in 13 years or so? If we remember the above-cited cases of Vincahíd and the fugitives crossing the Tisza, a considerable degree of mobility and migration becomes revealed.

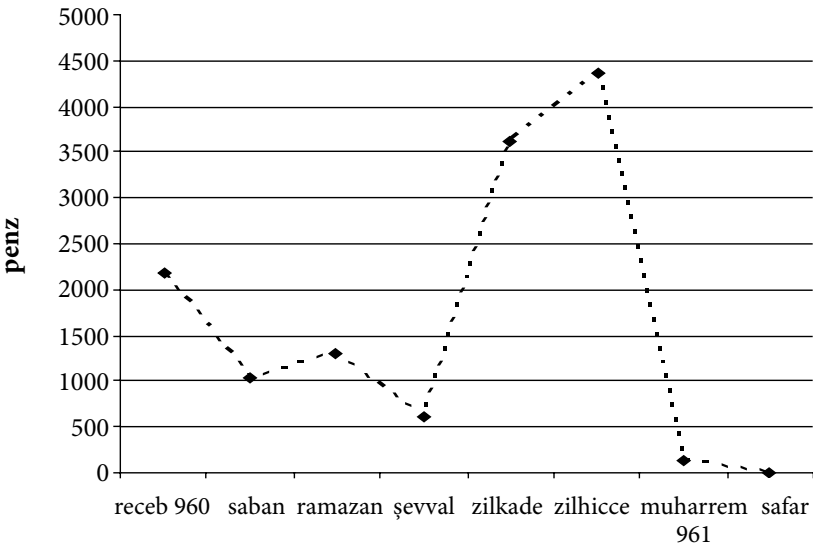
In conclusion we can characterise our towns as local centres of secondary importance. They were not noted for one particular commodity; the items on which customs duties or taxes were levied came mostly from the agricultural sphere. Industrial products played an insignificant role—it is quite difficult to tell if this was the result of the military events in the area, or was inherited from previous periods. Since the account-books under scrutiny do not paint the general situation in dark colours, I am inclined to suppose that there was no basic change in its structure either.

⁷⁵ J. Káldy-Nagy, *Bevölkerungstatistischer Quellenwert der Čizye-defter und der Tahrir-defter*, in “*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*” XI (1960), pp. 251–264.

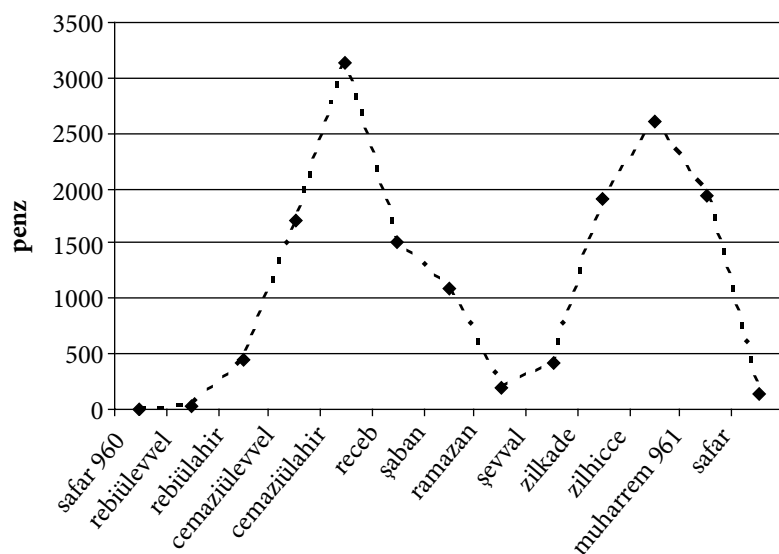
Graphs 7–20Graph 7 *Monthly distribution of bac-i cistr revenues at Becskerek*Graph 8 *Monthly distribution of resm-i ubur and related revenues at Becse*



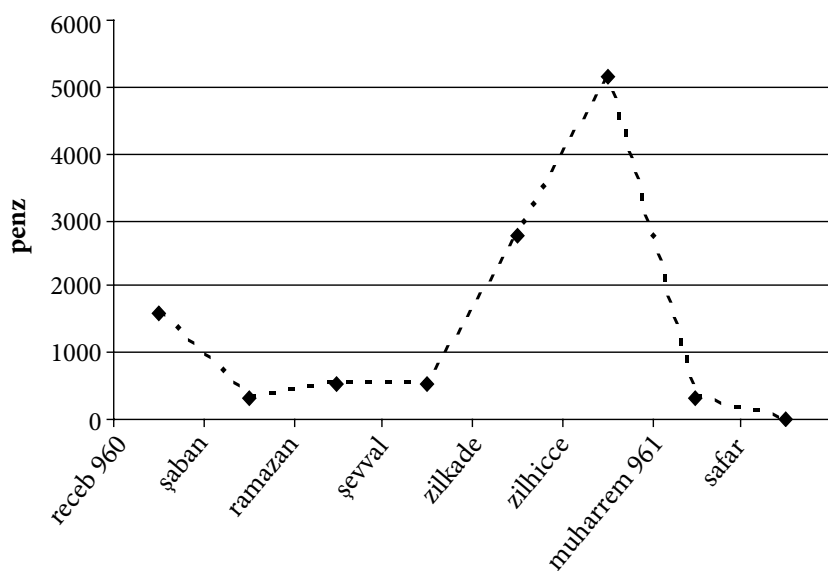
Graph 9 Monthly distribution of bac-i araba revenues at Becskerek



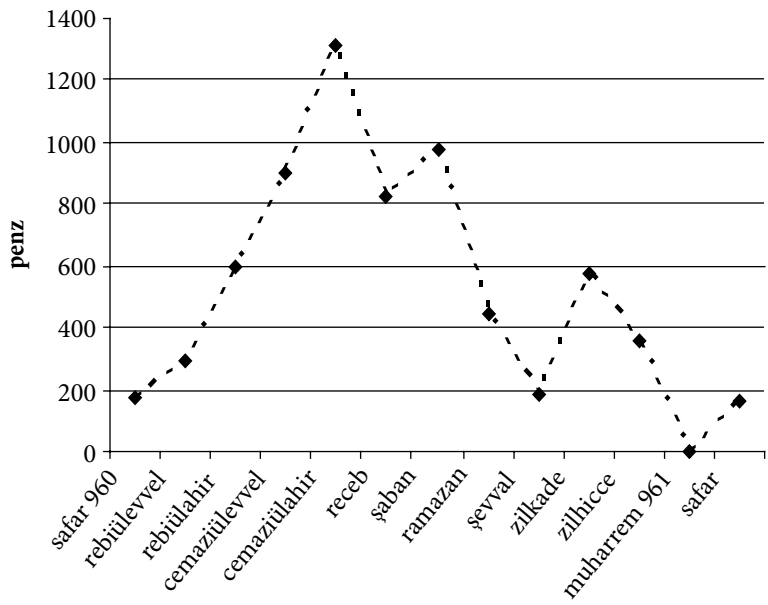
Graph 10 Monthly distribution of bac-i araba revenues at Becse



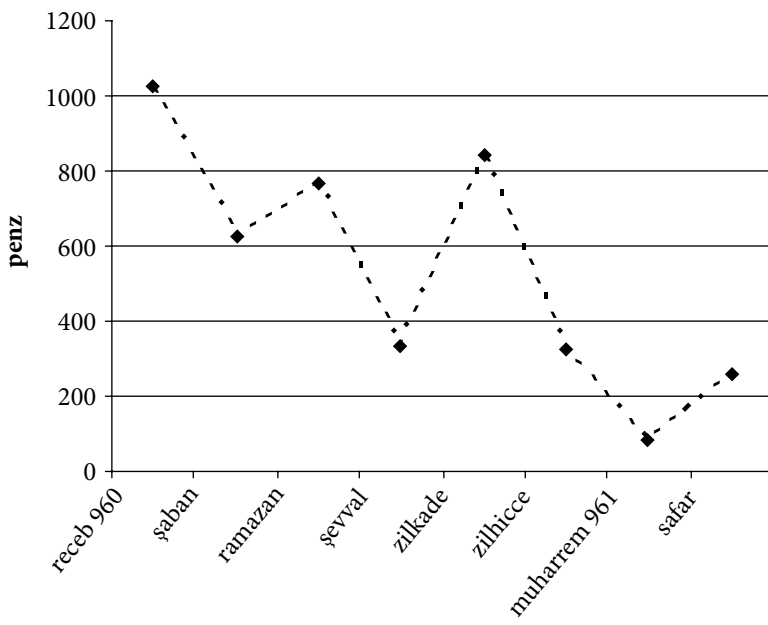
Graph 11 Monthly distribution of wheat revenues at Becskerek



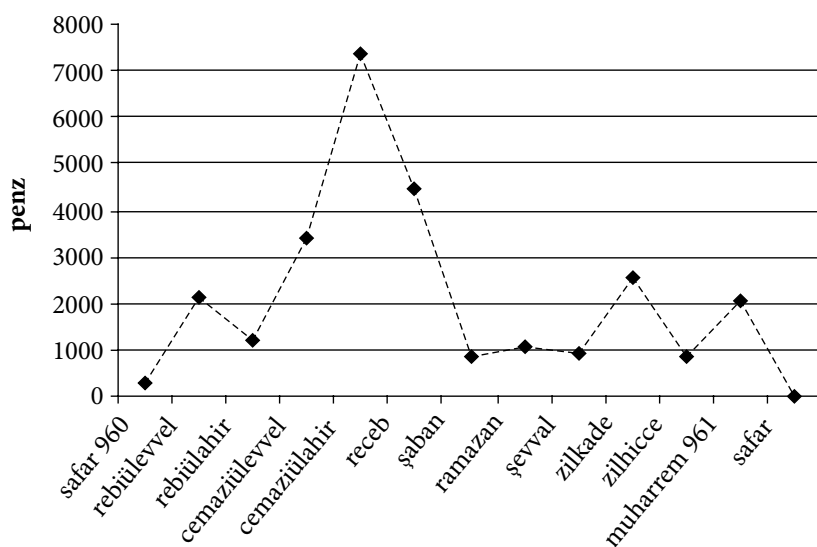
Graph 12 Monthly distribution of wheat revenues at Becse



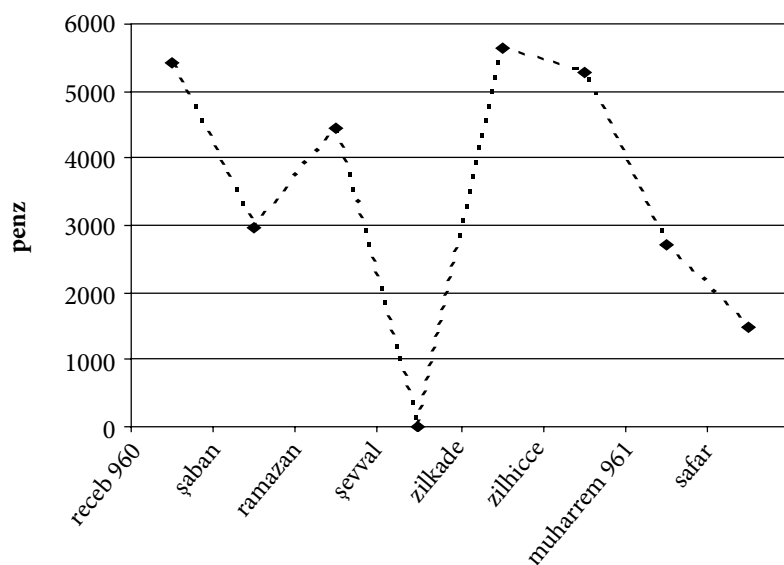
Graph 13 Monthly distribution of salt revenues at Becskerek



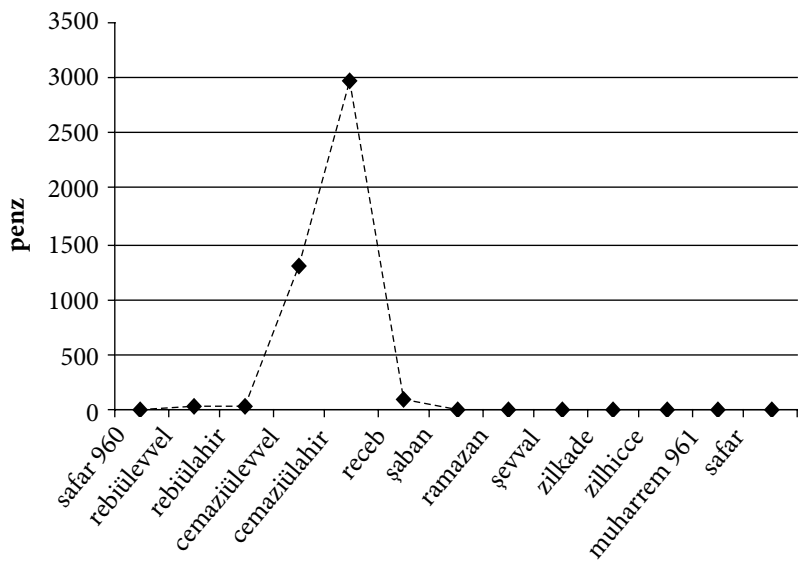
Graph 14 Monthly distribution of salt revenues at Becse



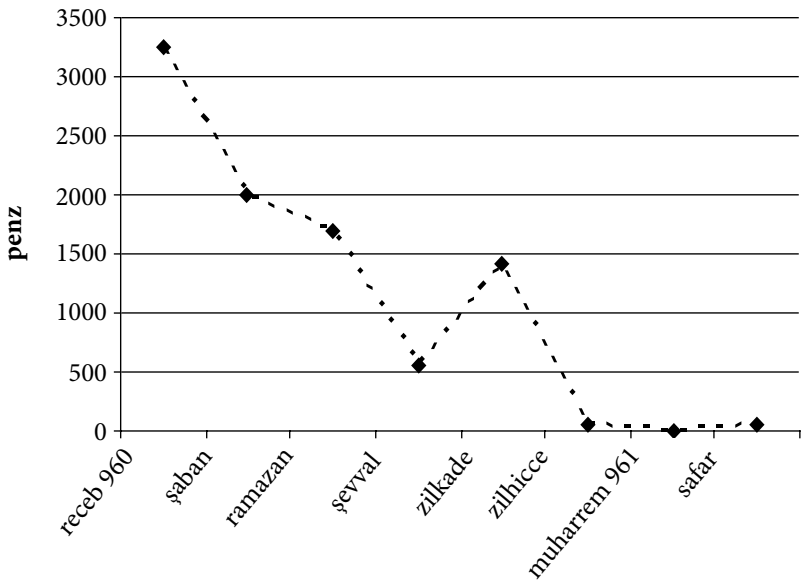
Graph 15 Monthly distribution of wine revenues at Becskerek



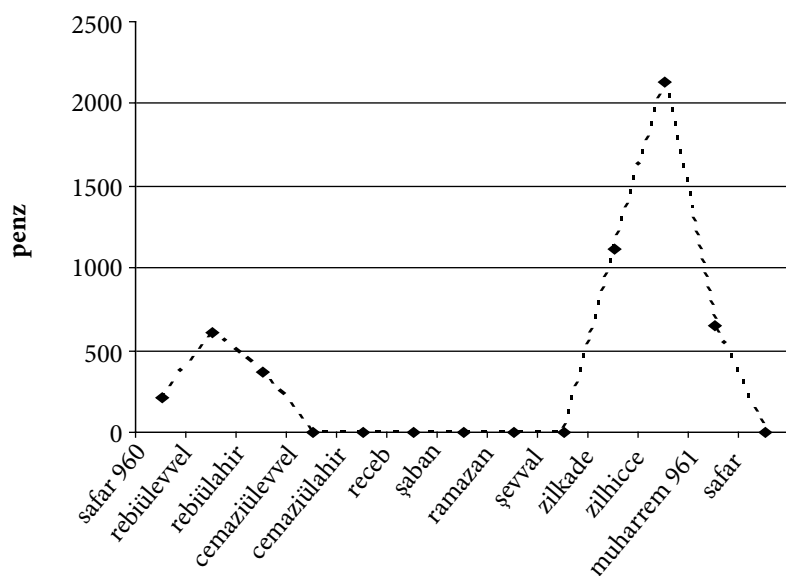
Graph 16 Monthly distribution of wine revenues at Becse



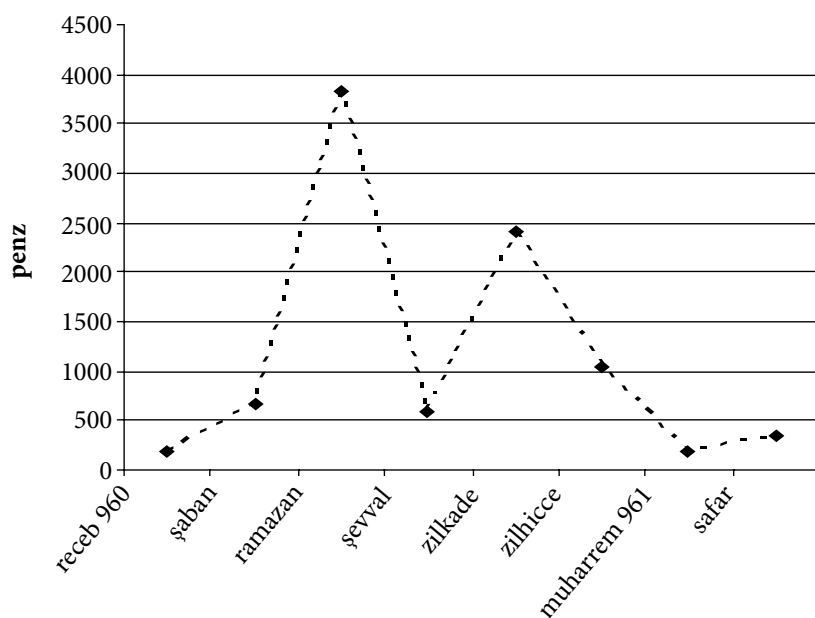
Graph 17 Monthly distribution of animal revenues at Becskerek



Graph 18 Monthly distribution of animal revenues at Becse



Graph 19 Monthly distribution of fish revenues at Becskerek



Graph 20 Monthly distribution of fish revenues at Becse

TEXTILE TRADE IN BULGARIA IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE GÜMÜŞGERDAN FAMILY

NERIMAN ERSOY-HACISALIHOĞLU

Studies on textile production and trade in Bulgaria in the nineteenth century are still very sparse; however, the present studies indicate that in nineteenth-century Bulgaria the largest economic sector was the wool trade and particularly the production of *aba* (coarse wool cloth) and *kaytan* (woolen cords and braids).¹ The production of *aba* and *şayak* (serge cloth) as raw material was particularly widespread in the central parts of Bulgaria.² We know that, following the Ottoman reforms, the clothing needs of the Ottoman army were met by the *aba* manufacturers from the Balkan regions. This period can be seen as the Golden Age of *aba* manufacturers. Due to the Ottoman army's pressing needs, *aba* production was developed in the villages and the number of manufacturers rose considerably. The most important center of *aba* production was the sub-province (*sancak*) Filibe (Philippopol/Plovdiv).³ The increasing number of imperial orders also led to an increasing number of commissionaires dealing with the *aba* trade. The most famous merchant family in the region was the Gümüşgerdan family. By supplying the Ottoman army, the Gümüşgerdan increased their *aba* trade, and towards the middle of the century the family built the first textile factory of the region. Over the course of the following years, they further expanded the *aba* trade and opened it up to markets beyond the Ottoman borders.

So far, the most detailed research on the Gümüşgerdan family has been done by the famous Bulgarian historian Nikolaj Todorov.⁴ Using

¹ S. Faroqhi, *Textile Production in Rumeli and the Arap Provinces: Geographical Distribution and Internal Trade (1560–1650)*, in "Osmanlı Araştırmaları", I (1980), pp. 61–83; D. Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge 1993; C. E. Clark, *The Emergence of Textile Manufacturing Entrepreneurs in Turkey, 1804–1968*. (PhD Thesis Princeton University) 1969.

² For a discussion of crafts, production, professions and trades in nineteenth-century Bulgarian towns, see: Ž. Natan, *Stopanska İstoriya na Bălgariya*, Sofia 1957.

³ N. Todorov, *19.cu Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişmeleri*, in "İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası", 27/1–2 (1967–68), pp. 1–6.

⁴ Id., *Balkanskijat Grad*, Sofia 1979; *K razvitiju manifaktury v Bolgarii v vtoroj četverti XIX veka*, in "Učenyje Zapiski Institut Slavjanovedenija", 16 (1958), pp. 109–150.

archival documents, he tried to bring to light the family's commercial activities and the production in their factory. Subsequently, Nemski has compiled and published new documents and information.⁵ Most of this research dates from Bulgaria's communist period, and most Bulgarian scholars approached their country's history as an example of class conflict. Accordingly, the Bulgarian *çorbacı*'s⁶ exploitation and reactionary role greatly contributed to the suffering of the Bulgarian people under the "Turkish yoke." The Bulgarian people were not only subjected to the exploitation of the *çorbacı*, but also to the oppression, suffering and caused by the "Turkish feudal system." A turcophile, reactionary, anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie, the *çorbacı* collaborated with the Turkish feudal regime against the Bulgarian people. A typical example of such a trader-*çorbacı* was the "people-exploiter Mihalaki Gjumuşgerdan."⁷ Consequently, the Gümüşgerdan family's role in Bulgarian history has been interpreted very negatively, casting them as members of a class of oppressors and exploiters. The number of studies on the Gümüşgerdan family has doubtlessly remained limited because of their image as *çorbacı*.

Many questions have remained unanswered. Both in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and in the Historical Archives in Sofia, there are many documents on the family's trade activities that have not as yet been studied. The purpose of this article is to briefly describe the family and their trade activities with the help of these documents. In particular, I will discuss the family history, their genealogy, the production system they created, their relations with the Ottoman state, and their system of payment.

Over several centuries, scribes drew up registers named *kondika* about the *aba* weavers' guild in different Bulgarian towns.⁸ In these registers, they recorded the names of merchants, all accounts, loans, outstanding debts, monthly payments and so forth. *Kondikas* have survived from towns such as Filibe, Tırnov, Şumnu, Karlova, Etropol, and Teteven.

⁵ N. Nemski, *Novi Danni za Eksploatacijata na Naselenieto v Plovdivskija Kraj prez XIX Vek*, in "Godišnik na Muzeite v Plovdiv", 5 (1965), pp. 141–209.

⁶ *Çorbacı* (lit. a dealer or eater of soup) was a conventional title applied to Christian notables particularly in the Balkans. For more information see S. S. Bobčev, *Notes comparées sur les çorbacı chez les peuples balkaniques et en particulier chez les bulgares*, in "Revue Internationale des Études Balkaniques", IIIe année, T. II, pp. 428–445.

⁷ Nemski, *Novi Danni za Eksploatacijata na Naselenieto*... cit., p. 141.

⁸ The word *kondika* also means "chronicle". N. Vančev et al. (ed.), *Bălgarsko Turski Rečnik / Bulgarca-Türkçe Sözlük*, Sofia 1961, p. 412.

The register of the *abacı* guild from Tirnovo dates from the sixteenth century.⁹ The register belonging to Filibe begins in the seventeenth and continues to the nineteenth century. In these registers, one can follow the economic situation and status of the guilds as well as loans and credit. The Gümüşgerdan family and their activities in the textile sector are mentioned in the *kondika* of the *abacı* guild of Filibe. However, this article is primarily based on documents from the Ottoman and the Bulgarian archives.

Textile Trade, Production and Factories in Bulgaria

While at the beginning of the eighteenth century wool and linen were the most widespread materials almost to the exclusion of everything else, cotton started to take their place in the nineteenth century, a development that continued up to the beginning of the twentieth century. To mention another most important change in the production of textiles, the textile production techniques that for centuries had consisted of hand-spinning thread with a wooden spindle, weaving on handlooms, knitting wool or felting cloth changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the advent of steam power and later electricity to machine production and, therefore, from workshops or domestic to factory production.¹⁰ Sparked by the Tanzimat, the Ottomans tried their hand at modernization and reform in many different fields, including the production of consumer goods and particularly the textile trade. Among the very first factories established in the Ottoman Empire was a factory for *çuha* cloth in the Bulgarian town of İslimye (Sliven).

In the eighteenth century, the town of İslimye was famous for its trade fair; every year merchants came from all corners of the empire to the one-month-long event. Moreover, merchants came to İslimye from Asia and Europe. The Ottoman administrators noticed that the townsmen produced high-quality *aba* cloth and ordered, in addition to the *aba* they bought from Salonica and Filibe, different kinds of this cloth from the town.¹¹ In 1827, Todor and Yordan from the *abacı* guild of İslimye

⁹ K. Stojanov, *Bălgarskite Esnafı Prez Turskoto Robstvo (Istoriya, Organizacija i Dejnost)*, Varna 1942, pp. 30–31.

¹⁰ For more information of textile-related technology in world history and in Turkey, see: E. Dölen, *Tekstil Tarihi: Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Tekstil Teknolojisinin ve Sanayiinin Tarihsel Gelişimi*, İstanbul 1992.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 403–404.

signed a contract over the delivery of uniforms sewn from 10,000 bales of *aba*. Thus, people from the surrounding towns and villages contributed to the production of *aba* for sewing uniforms for the Ottoman army. However, a merchant called Dobri Želyazkov opposed the extreme exploitation and poor salary given by these two merchants and opened a workshop in his own house with the most primitive means. The high-quality *çuha* that he produced drew the attention of the Ottoman administrators. Because the amount of *çuha* imported from Salonica was not enough and needed to be supplemented by expensive cloth from Western Europe, the Ottoman administrators met with Dobri Želyazkov at the Sublime Porte in order to strike a deal. Consequently, Želyazkov received a *ferman* and started his textile production.¹² Thus, the first factory of the Ottoman Empire was founded in 1836 on Bulgarian soil. Unfortunately, for unknown reasons it did not survive for very long.

After the first factory established by Dobri Želyazkov between 1835 and 1837, the textile factory in Değirmendere (Pärvenec), whose first facility started to function in 1847 with machines imported from Vienna, was officially opened in 1848. During the Tanzimat period, it was the most important supplier of wool cloth for the Ottoman army. During the Crimean War (1853–56), the factory was modernized and new looms were brought from Austria and England. In the 1860s, sixty workers produced 100,000 *arşin* of *şayak* cloth on fourteen mechanical looms. The factory stood on the grounds of the Gümüşgerdan family farm and continued production until the Russo-Turkish war. The machines brought from Vienna were started running by two Austrian engineers who briefly stayed in Değirmendere in order to train the workers.¹³ It was the first factory in Bulgarian territory producing Austrian designs by using Austrian technology.¹⁴ In 1862, Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan again imported new machines for his factory in Değirmendere with the help of Georgi A. Kuyumcuoğlu, a resident of Vienna.¹⁵ Most of the workers employed in Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan's factory were inmates of Filibe prison.¹⁶

¹² Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*...cit., p. 271.

¹³ Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁴ Id., *19.cu Yüzyılın*...cit., p. 31.

¹⁵ V. Paskaleva, *İkonomičeskoto Pronikvane na Avstrija (Avstro-Ungarija) v Bălgarskite Zemi ot Krimskata Vojna do Osvoboždenieto*, in "Izvestija na Instituta za Istorija", 7 (1957), p. 121.

¹⁶ Natan, *Stopanska Istorija na Bălgarija*...cit., p. 200. For the engagement of prisoners in textile factories in the Ottoman Empire see also M. E. Kabadayı, *Arbeiterrek-*

After Mihalaki switched from manufacturing to factory production, he increased the amount of *aba* set in the contract and managed to surpass the previous levels of production by hand.¹⁷ However, after 1867 factory production decreased because of English competition, and a few machines had to be sold. In 1874, Mihalaki received offers to nationalize the factory in exchange for a debt he owed to the Ottoman government, but the nationalization never came to pass.

The Gümüşgerdan Family

The Gümüşgerdan, a *çorbacı* merchant family from around Filibe, were the most famous *aba* producers in the region from the second quarter of the nineteenth century onwards until 1880.¹⁸ According to Apostolidis who published the *kondika* of the Filibe *abacı* guild, Atanas Gümüşgerdan's (1768?–1838) father was the *abacı* Hacı Dimitri whose name is mentioned in the *kondika* referred to above. Moravenov mentions the family in a book he published in Istanbul in 1869. He describes the family, who came from Boykovo in the *nahiye* of Rupçoz to Filibe, as entirely of Bulgarian origin. Their houses were in the todays Sveti Dimitri neighborhood in the part of Filibe called "old city".¹⁹ The oldest known member of the family, Atanas, bore the nickname Kalmuka or Kalmukoğlu. When he later married Zoitsa Mihalaki Kiriü, the daughter of a wealthy Greek family, he thought that this nickname would be damaging to his reputation and changed it to Gümüşgerdan (in Turkish it literally means "Silver neck").²⁰

Atanas Gümüşgerdan was the first family member known to have taken up *aba* weaving. He acquired the status of *usta* in the year 1793 and later became the head master of the guild. His Bulgarian contemporary Moravenov from Plovdiv writes about Atanas Gümüşgerdan, that

rutierungsmethoden in staatlichen Fabriken im Osmanischen Reich des 19. Jahrhunderts, Working Paper, 2002.

¹⁷ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*... cit., p. 284.

¹⁸ K. Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie v Grada i za Obštite Zavedenija po Proiznosno Predanie*, Podaren na Bălgarskoto Čitalište v Carigrad 1869, Plovdiv 1984, p. 129.

¹⁹ The house that was in the Knjaz Ceretelev Street was torn down in 1932. "Gümüşgerdan", (I. Todev ed.), in *Koj Koj e sred Bălgarite XV–XIX vek. 501 imena ot epohata na osmanskoto vladicestvo*, Sofia 2000, p. 79.

²⁰ Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie*... cit., p. 129.

he was not well liked among the guild because of his intrigues.²¹ In fact, during that time his family was so deep in debt that they barely had enough to subsist on. He only managed to pay some of his debts thanks to the marriage of his granddaughter Ralu to Vlasaki Tončević Čalakov.²² This marriage resulted in two daughters, named Katina and Zoitca, and three sons, Teodor, Nikola and Georgi.²³ Thanks to the marriage of his second daughter Teopemta to the Aromunian Toma Stefanov (Thomas Stefanu), Atanas managed to continue his trade and, with the help of his son-in-law, to find a job. Teopemta gave birth to a son, whom she and Toma named Tanasaki (Atanas), and a daughter, named Smaragda; however, Teopemta died relatively young. Toma's second marriage was to Prima Čuhaciyit. Toma's job required that he lived in Istanbul, and he took Tanasaki with him.²⁴

In later years, Atanas Gümüşgerdan started to trade and to produce *aba*; thus, he managed to make a name for himself both as a producer and distributor, and to expand his business in the 1830s. He supplied wool to about twenty Rodop villages near Filibe and had the villagers produce *aba* and *şayak* cloth.²⁵ Contracts with the village producers specified that the produce needed to be delivered within a certain time frame, in exchange for an advance payment. By the time Atanas died in 1838,²⁶ he employed a total of 644 villagers and produced 12,395 bales of *aba* cloth per year.²⁷ Particularly during the 1820s and 1830s, the villagers in this region produced between 120,000 and 200,000 *arşın* of *aba* cloth annually,²⁸ and in some especially productive years almost a million.²⁹ Later on, this new production system based on the Ottoman

²¹ At one point, the guild in Kurşun Han in Filibe wanted to take Atanas Gümüşgerdan to court, but in the ensuing argument, Neno Rajkov and Ivan Hristov Kujumcuoglu sided with him and rescued him. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²² Atanas' son-in-law, Vlasaki Tončević Čaloglu (Çalıkoğlu) collected the sheep tax (*bedel-i ağnam*) in Filibe and its surroundings; he was a member of the Çalıkoğlu family, famous for collecting this kind of tax. *Ibid.*, p. 130; *Koj Koj e Enciklopedija*, p. 79.

²³ Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie* ... cit., p. 130.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

²⁵ Present studies show that, according to Gümüşgerdan's registers, between the years 1837 and 1839 6,386, 12,395 and 10,019 bales of *aba* cloth were produced in twenty villages. Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad* ... cit., pp. 233–46. Later on, in 1861 the number of villages rose to 36. See Nemski, *Novi Dannı za Eksploatacijata na Naselenieto* ... cit., Vol. 4, p. 145.

²⁶ He was buried in the Sveti Dimitri Church in Filibe.

²⁷ Todorov, *K Razvitiju Manifaktury* ... cit., pp. 119, 123.

²⁸ One *arşın* equals 70 centimeters.

²⁹ S. Janeva, *Stopanski Život i Socialna Struktura na Bălgarite prez Văzraždāneto, Istoriija na Bălgarite*, vol. 2, Sofia 2004, p. 454.

state's demand led to the first scattered manufacturers and, eventually, to the establishment of factories.

Atanas Gümüşgerdan added to his fortune by way of his trade, his job as a commissionnaire and his offspring's marriages, meant to secure economic ties to other traders.³⁰ In 1813, Atanas's name was mentioned among the owners of a Greek school, giving evidence of his improved economic status. Until 1836, one can find his signature in the cash book of the *abacı* guild. According to Todorov, Atanas drew up his testament several months before his death. He donated 15,000 *guruş* for charitable purposes and left approximately 100,000 *guruş* to his children. Furthermore, he bestowed on his male offspring the house he owned in Filibe, the two factories in Değirmendere, and the gardens and summer pastures. Unfortunately, Todorov does not mention the source of this information.³¹ Moravenov claims that such a testament was indeed drawn up, but that Atanas could not leave anything to his children and only wrote down an imaginary inheritance in order to belittle them. Once this ruse became public, he was greatly ridiculed.³²

The archival documents do not allow us to find out the exact nature of Atanas Gümüşgerdan's trade activities, how many persons he employed, or how he earned his money.³³ The only certain knowledge we have is that he started out small, selling *aba* in Anatolian towns, and that he expanded by adding cloth production to his trade. In the 1830s, Atanas gave credits and loans with an annual interest of 13 to 15%; however, at the same time he borrowed money and paid about the same amount of interest himself. He used the money he borrowed in order to invest and expand.³⁴ A register dating from between 1837 and 1839 shows the number of the persons of the eighteen villages employed by Gümüşgerdan and the amount of cloth they produced: according to Todorov, 508 textile workers produced 9,817 bales of *aba*.³⁵

³⁰ His son-in-law, Toma Stefanov, was known in Istanbul as *abacıbaşı* among the guild, indicating both wealth and influence.

³¹ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*... cit., p. 231.

³² Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie*... cit., p. 130.

³³ *Centralen Dăržaven Istoričeski Arhiv* (Bulgarian Central State Historical Archive, Sofia, hitherto CDIA), The fond entitled "Gümüşgerdan" in the CDIA in Sofia is catalogued under the number 161 and divided into four parts. Some of the documents are available on microfilm. However, most of the registers were written in 19th century Greek. Given that there are 33,000 documents in the fond, there is much that awaits further study. CDIA, *Gjumjuşgerdan Catalog*, Fond 161 K, 2005. This catalogue was prepared by Jordan Želev. I owe him a debt of gratitude for his help in the archives.

³⁴ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*... cit., p. 233.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 233–34.

Atanas Gümüşgerdan had three sons by the names of Mihalaki, Georgi and Dimitri. Particularly Mihalaki worked next to his father as *abacı* and commissionaire while he was still a child. For a while he was apprenticed to Hacı Dimitraki Ahlanlı, Filibe's richest *abacı*, before being promoted to journeyman (*kalfa*). Later on, Mihalaki expanded the production and trade he had taken over from his father. He did not limit his production to *aba* and *şayak* cloth, but also included the manufacture of clothing. He based his production exclusively on the demands of the Ottoman army, and the Ottoman state's continuing orders secured the progress and development of production. Mihalaki, his brother Dimitri who ran the business in Filibe and its environs, and his brother-in-law Toma Stefanov who lived in Istanbul, established connections to the Ottoman government. In 1839, Toma Stefanov was promoted to head master of Istanbul's *abacı* guild, a rank he managed to secure thanks to the his privileges as a producer supplying the army.³⁶ During that time, the Gümüşgerdan family held a reputation as Southern Bulgaria's best-known traders, landowners, commissionaires, heads of the government chancery office, manufacturers and factory owners. They earned a fortune by employing the local Bulgarians and Turks in East Rodop.

Mihalaki, who founded the above-mentioned textile factory in the vicinity of Filibe in 1848 and thus expanded textile production and trade, also began to collect taxes for the Ottoman state and to produce army supplies other than cloth, such as rice. The family's various economic activities included industrial production and trade in textiles and agricultural products.³⁷ Based on his family's expanding business, Mihalaki became an important trader and magnate in the Balkans.³⁸ However, the Gümüşgerdan family also provoked opposition to both their economic and political power. In the conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians that flared up in Filibe after the middle of the nineteenth century, they sided with the Greeks.³⁹

³⁶ At the same time, Toma Stefanov was on the building committee for the Sveti Stefan Bulgarian church erected in Istanbul in Fener between 1849 and 1850.

³⁷ They produced, processed and traded the following products: leather, wool, *aba* cloth, *şayak*, raincoats, rugs, socks, gloves, pants, haircloth, yarn, cords, fezzes, sacks, linen, berets, grains (wheat, barley, corn), flour, rice, dairy products (fat, cheese), animals, meat, animal fat, grapes, wine, rakı, vinegar, rose oil, olives, hay, trees, cotton, cottonseed, tobacco, and silkworms.

³⁸ A. Lyberatos, *Credit and Reputation in Mid-19th Century Plovdiv*, paper presented at the international conference "Economic and Social Aspects of Credit in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 18th–19th Centuries", Rethymnon, Crete 29–30 September 2000, p. 2.

³⁹ Id., p. 2.

In the 1850s, Mihalaki and his brother Dimitri opened a company that would oversee the business in Filibe and established agencies to represent it in Istanbul, Bucharest, Vienna, and London. He worked with merchants from Niš, Manastir (Bitola), Ūšküp (Skopje), Sofija, Edirne, Bursa, Tekirdağ, İzmir, Eskişehir and Athens, and entertained business ties with countries such as Russia, Austria-Hungary, Rumania, France, and Spain. Apart from the import and export business, Mihalaki organized extensive manufacturing in many towns and villages such as Filibe, Kazanlık, Stanimaka (Asenovgrad) and Paşmaklı (Smolyan), where his employees produced and dyed *aba* and woolen cloth. Hiring the tailors of Tatarpazarcık, Karlovo, Kalofer and Kazanlık, he was also able to add clothing production to his business. The most important branches of the business were in Çitak (Ustovo) and in Raykovo. Moreover, in 1856 Mihalaki opened an establishment trading grains in Braila and in 1863, a farm in Meçkür (since 1934 Proslav, today a quarter of the city Plovdiv) where he bred Hungarian horses.

Mihalaki married Mariola, the daughter of Dimitri Ahlanli.⁴⁰ He married off his granddaughter Ekaterina to Georgi, son of Argir Kuyumcuoğlu, because he knew that the family was wealthy. His second daughter Ralu married Grigorios Garofilidi and moved to Istanbul. For his youngest daughter, Teopempti, he selected a husband from another wealthy family, the Dimitrikovs.⁴¹ After Mihalaki's death in 1880, his sons neglected trade and the family had to sell many of their possessions.⁴²

Atanas Gümüşgerdan's second son Georgi (Georgaki) worked for a while in the family business, but later on left his siblings and established his own trade, though without much success.⁴³ Atanas's youngest son Dimitir (Dimitraki) was a rather passive character and became the victim of those wanting revenge for having been wronged in the course of Mihalaki's trade activities.⁴⁴ Mihalaki suppressed the poor and exploited Christians as well as Muslims, as the governor Maşuk Pasha and Vladike Hrisant had done before him. Moravenov writes that the Christians

⁴⁰ Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie*... cit., p. 131.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 138.

⁴² The real estate sold included fields, groves, vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens, ricefields, workshops, storehouses, mills, stalls, shops, bakeries and houses.

⁴³ Georgaki, who married Petra Nedeleva Čalākova, died in 1852. See *Koj Koj e Enciklopedija*, p. 79.

⁴⁴ In 1856, Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan bought a house in the same neighborhood and, in order to commemorate his brother Dimitraki, he turned it into the Dimitraki Gümüşgerdan Greek Boys' School. Ibid., p. 80.

accepted their fate, whereas the Muslims hired a Pomak named Hüseyin to kill Mihalaki. Hüseyin did not know Mihalaki; when he asked who the Gümüşgerdan were, he was pointed out Dimitraki instead of Mihalaki and thus killed the wrong person.⁴⁵ However, a document in the Ottoman archives, dated 1855 and sent to the *kaymakam* of Filibe, records that the brother Dimitraki of the Christian Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan was hit by a bullet and killed while going from the farm in Değirmendere, two-and-a-half hours away from the *kaza* of Filibe, to the *aba* factory. The name of the murderer was Salih; he had been employed by the registrar (*nüfus memuru*) of the district of Ahi Çelebi, Hüseyin Efendi, seven or eight months before the incident. Apparently, this Salih had been an enemy of Mihalaki's for one or two years, and he shot Dimitraki by mistake, believing he was Mihalaki. Although Salih denied the murder and claimed he had been in Filibe together with Hüseyin Efendi and his brother Hacı İbrahim and two more persons, the truth was soon found out.⁴⁶ During a later investigation it became apparent that Salih had shot Dimitraki on Hüseyin Efendi's orders, and Hüseyin Efendi was sentenced to serve as a galley slave for seven years.⁴⁷

Dimitraki Gümüşgerdan had been married to Haretina, daughter of Salčo Čomakov. After his death, Haretina gave birth to a daughter, but the child did not survive.⁴⁸ Dimitraki's professional life has not been investigated; he seems to have remained in the background whenever he worked together with Mihalaki. As Mihalaki's name occurs more often in the family's contracts and orders, he probably stood in the shadow of his older brother. In the few documents in the Ottoman Archives that mention Dimitraki Gümüşgerdan, he is described as one of a body of "European merchants" (*beratlı Avrupa tüccarı*), like his brother, who were organized under some patent of privilege in the Ottoman Empire. Also, like his brother, Dimitraki had to deal with various trade problems, such as problems connected to rules and regulations. For example, the chief secretary of the province (*mektubi kalemi*) requested to see his accounts because of the trade he conducted with a person of the name of Hacı Rıza Ali Efendi.⁴⁹ In another document, Dimitraki requested

⁴⁵ Moravenov, *Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Hristijansko Naselenie*...cit., p. 139.

⁴⁶ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), A.MKT.UM 205/78 (7 Z 1271).

⁴⁷ BOA, A.MKT.UM 346/34 (9 Ş 1275).

⁴⁸ When her husband Dimitraki was killed in 1855, Haretina Čomakova donated the family house to the municipality of Filibe. Later that building became the famous "yellow school". See *Koj Koj e Enciklopedija*, p. 79.

⁴⁹ BOA, A.MKT.NZD 43/50.

from the tax collector (*muhasıl*) of Rize permission to collect outstanding debts from Mehmed Ağa of the Çorlu dynasty and from Halid Ağa from the same district.⁵⁰ In 1851, Dimitraki helped with the production of winter clothes for the Ottoman soldiers, the relevant contract stating that the price for *şayak* cloth—a total of 425,000 *kuruş* for the months of January and February—would be sent by the Ottoman state.⁵¹

Treaties with the Ottoman State

As the region's most active trader, Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan kept up economic and political ties with the Ottoman administration. This is also reflected in the contracts he made with the government. Every year the Ottoman army ordered a large number of uniforms from him. Since there was generally little agriculture in the villages of Rodop, people earned their livelihood with animal husbandry, and sheep in particular were an important source of income in the region. Therefore, high-quality wool was abundant there, and the *abacıs* of Filibe turned to these villages for production means. A document dated September 20, 1862, constitutes a good example of how relations between the Ottoman state and the Gümüşgerdan family developed. This *emirname*, written by Serasker Mehmed Rüşdi to Filibe's governor, Muhlis Efendi, records the signing of a contract with the "nephew of Gümüşgerdanoğlu, Tanasaki", on September 2, 1862. According to this contract, the family was to deliver 10,000 raincoats and 30,000 pants for the Ottoman army before November. Colonel Yakup Bey, stationed in Filibe, was entrusted with the task of controlling the finished raincoats and pants, to accept them and send them on to other places yet to be designated. The letter orders Yakup Bey to refuse those raincoats and pants that are not of the desired quality and to stamp the accepted ones with the seal of the military Office (*Dar-ı Şura-yı Askeri*).⁵² Thus, while the Ottoman army and a representative of the Gümüşgerdan family signed the contract, the task of overseeing the order's execution was given to the governor of Filibe and one of the army officers present. Another document related to the same transaction and directed to Muhlis Bey confirms that the Ottoman army wanted from Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan 30,000 pants and

⁵⁰ BOA, A.MKT 145/21.

⁵¹ BOA, Cevdet Askeriye 29/1317 (14 R 1267).

⁵² CDIA, Fond 161 k, op. 4, a.e. 179, dated 26 Rebiülevvel 1279/8 September 1862.

10,000 raincoats, or at least a part of these, delivered before winter.⁵³ Evidently, the soldiers urgently needed winter clothes, and the state ordered more uniforms to be delivered within a short time. Another document dating from 1854 tells us that Mihalaki signed a contract with the villagers from the environs of Filibe for a total of 2,200,00 *zira*⁵⁴ of *şayak* cloth for the Ottoman army. The promised amount was then delivered to Mihalaki.⁵⁵

During the wars, the army requested provisions, and *şayak* cloth in particular, from Filibe and Sofia more frequently. Therefore, these two cities exported barley as well as *şayak* cloth according to their contracts with the army. During the Crimean War, Muhiddin Efendi, scribe to the *kaymakam* of Sofia, Abdullatif Efendi, sold 32,504 *kıyye*⁵⁶ of barley; regular wool and the wool of sheep shorn in spring (*yapağı*) produced in Filibe were exported via Sofia. However, in spite of a contract, there was some duplicity involved in this latter transaction. In 1854, Mihalaki signed a contract in Filibe, specifying that he ordered regular and spring wool for the production of *şayak* and *aba* cloth. The *kaymakam* of Filibe, Adil Pasha, informed Mihalaki of the procedures necessary to collect the wool from the desired places, and Abdullatif Efendi collected and sent from Sofia 13,000 of the requested 49,000 *kıyye*. Money for the remaining 36,000 *kıyye* was collected from the people to the amount of 145,080 *guruş*—four *guruş* per *kıyye*—for costs and transport (*ücret ve nakliyesi*). Although 127,000 *kıyye* of spring wool and 7,700 *kıyye* of regular wool were stored and available in Sofia, these stores were registered as spent (*sarf olunmuş*). And although the 36,000 *kıyye* of spring wool were certainly delivered, the document indicates that Mihalaki did not return the money for costs and transport to the people, but used it for his own profit.⁵⁷ Another interesting point in this contract is that the spring wool requested from Sofia for Mihalaki was sent from the *kaymakam* of Sofia to the governor of Filibe. The people of the districts of Radomir and İzladı (Zlatica) asked to be reimbursed for the cost of the spring wool they had sent to Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan.⁵⁸

⁵³ BOA, A.MKT. MHM 245/38, lef. 2.

⁵⁴ One *zira* is measured from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, resulting in different lengths varying between 75 and 90 centimeters. See F. Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat*, Ankara 1990, p. 1430.

⁵⁵ CDIA, Fond 161 k, op. 4, a.e. 81, (29 S 1271).

⁵⁶ One *kıyye* or *okka* equals 1.28 kg. See Devellioğlu... cit., p. 621.

⁵⁷ BOA, A.MKT.MVL 103/99 (1275 Ca 12).

⁵⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM 346/44 (10 S 1275).

In his trading accounts and registers, Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan recorded who worked for him in production, how much of an advance payment the workers received, and how he made these payments. However, it is not possible to understand how much he paid for which job, because he recorded the amounts in different ways when he received the villagers' deliveries of *aba* cloth, and because he did not write down the amounts of wool and money he gave to the village workers as advance payment. In some accounting books, he records that the *aba* produced by the villagers was not paid for with cash, but collected *in lieu* of taxes.⁵⁹

Another document dating from 1862 on the delivery of 10,000 raincoats for the Ottoman reserve troops enables us to understand how the Ottoman state paid the Gümüşgerdan family. The sultan ordered that the cost of the raincoats—which was 117 *kuruş* a piece—should be paid from the imperial property of the province of Filibe; 300,000 of the 1,100,000 *kuruş* owed was paid by the Filibe treasury.⁶⁰ Another promissory note (*senet*) dated to July 31, 1278, approves the payment of 615,000 *kuruş* from the treasury of Filibe for *şayak* cloth meant for pants, as delivered by Gümüşgerdan oğlu Mihalaki.⁶¹ These two examples show that payments to the family were made from the district of Filibe and particularly from its treasury. In fact, these payments were made with the money collected as taxes from the very same province. In a document dated 1858, we can find the monthly table of the money that was sent from the tax income of the *kaza* of Hasköy to Mihalaki.⁶²

However, payments were not always delivered as planned. For instance, in the year 1840 the payment to Toma Stefanov for *aba* cloth for the Ottoman army was supposed to come from the villages of the *kaza* of Ahi Çelebi. But the villagers were unable to pay their taxes in cash, because, instead of the 177,000 *guruş* they were to receive for the *aba* cloth they had produced for the Ottoman army, they had received their payment in wool. Consequently, Toma Stefanov agreed to accept wool instead of cash.⁶³ Therefore, payments were not always monetary, but could also be in kind. Another, similar example that Todorov discusses shows that Mihalaki Gümüşgerdan placed production orders in exchange for forgiving outstanding tax debts. Sometimes the villagers

⁵⁹ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*...cit., 236–37.

⁶⁰ CDIA, Fond 161 k, op. 4, a.e. 170, dated 27 Receb 1278.

⁶¹ CDIA, Fond 161 k, op. 4, a.e. 181.

⁶² CDIA, Fond 161 k, op. 1, a.e. 658.

⁶³ Lyberatos, *Credit and Reputation in Mid-19th Century Plovdiv*...cit., pp. 2–3.

were unable to receive the exact payment for their work from the Gümüşgerdan family.⁶⁴

In the year 1854, the council of Filibe called together the *şayak*-weavers of the districts of Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık and Kazanlık, in order to produce 2,200,000 *zira* of *şayak* cloth. They concluded that it was impossible to produce that much cloth; moreover, the *şayak*-weavers did not know how to dye cotton *şayak* cloth. They said that only half of the requested amount could be produced; that it could only be made in white; and that the price for one *zira* started at 3.5 *guruş* and could not be lower than 90 *para*. In the same meeting, other council members announced that they would accept neither white *şayak* cloth, nor the suggested price. Their suggested price for white *şayak* amounted to 5.5 *guruş* per *kiyye*. In the *kondika*, the price considered appropriate for the goods was 75 *para*. The council had searched for craftsmen who knew how to dye *şayak*, but had not been able to find any. The job of dyeing the white *şayak* produced was taken over by Mihalaki for a fee of 24 *para* each, another case of duplicity. Thus, he secured a contract with the council for both production and dyeing. In the end, one *zira* of *şayak* cost 99 *para*. For the other half, the council wanted the same price; however, the villagers wanted an increase of 7 *para* more than the previous year's price for the *şayak*. Moreover, the record shows that the *şayak* was produced for 75 *para* in white and for 99 in color, because nobody else was able to produce the cloth. In addition, the customs, the transport and the delivery to Istanbul amounted to 6 *para* and the final price was set at 105 *para*.⁶⁵

Mihalaki's biggest problem in production was related to dyeing the *aba* cloth. *Aba* cloth was white, black and grey; the village women prepared it for dyeing by washing, drying and sorting it according to color. At the beginning of the 1840s, there were only four or five dyemasters apart from the Gümüşgerdan. These few masters could not process the amount of *aba* ordered. With the establishment of the factory, this job was done in a separate workshop.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*...cit., p. 237.

⁶⁵ BOA, İMV 13859.

⁶⁶ Todorov, *Balkanskijat Grad*...cit., p. 244.

Lending and Borrowing Money

Even as the most important supplier of *aba* and *şayak* to the Ottoman state, Mihalaki, like so many other traders, was constantly short of cash and could not pay for his orders from the villagers entirely. In order to deal with this cash shortage, he borrowed from moneylenders. Among these moneylenders, the most important was an Armenian named Manuk.⁶⁷

In times of frequent contracts and good income, Mihalaki also lent money to others, according to archival sources. This means that he worked with the persons to whom he gave loans. For example, a document dated 1861 states that Mihalaki, the *Rikab-ı Humayün Kapıcıbaşı*, submitted a petition asking for the collection of 75,000 *guruş* from Bakırcıoğlu Lemraki of Filibe.⁶⁸ According to a promissory note from 1858, Mihalaki asked in a petition—which had been transferred to the trade council because it was related to the accounts of the rice provisioning administration—that 17,000 *guruş* be collected from Abdülhalim Bey of Filibe because of the account of the administration of rice provisions.⁶⁹ What is more, Mihalaki asked that Abdülhalim's debt should be settled by selling the icehouse and the shops inherited from his father.⁷⁰ Another interesting example concerns the debt that Mihalaki, unfairly, wanted to get back from the former *müftü* of Filibe, Hacı Mehmed Efendi. An investigation was to be conducted into Mihalaki's request for 155,000 *guruş* for rice bought with the help of Aziz Efendi.⁷¹ In another document, Sadi Molla of Filibe announced that he would pay his debt to Mihalaki as soon as the loans he had given to others were repaid.⁷² In yet another instance, Mihalaki wanted the 25,000 *guruş* that Hacı Abdurrahman oğlu Hüseyin Ağa owed to him delivered to his shop in Filibe; Mihalaki asked the governor for leave to go to court in Istanbul if the money was not delivered.⁷³

In the year 1848, Mihalaki loaned money to others, but he also had outstanding debts himself. For instance, in a petition he submitted to the *vali* of Edirne, Rüstem Pasha, Davidoğlu Mardiros complained that

⁶⁷ Lyberatos, *Credit and Reputation in Mid-19th Century Plovdiv*... cit., p. 2.

⁶⁸ BOA, A.MKT.DV 198/65 (5 Safer 1278).

⁶⁹ BOA, A.MKT.DV 195/99 (13 Muharrem 1278).

⁷⁰ BOA, A.MKT.DV 181/95 (23 Recep 1277).

⁷¹ BOA, A.MKT.UM 359/79 (12 M 1276).

⁷² BOA, A.MKT.UM 534/100 (22 B 1278).

⁷³ BOA, A.MKT.DV 172/78 (30 Ra 1277).

he had worked for two years as a scribe for Gümüşgerdanoğlu Mihalaki, Filibe's *şayak* officer and international trader, but that he had still not received the 4,500 *guruş* he had given to Mihalaki as cash, as well as the salary for his services.⁷⁴ In another example, Rençber Kasaboğlu Ali Molla—share-holder in the rice provisioning contract of Kadıköy in the province of Filibe—owed money to the old *kaymakam* of Hamid, Hacı İzzet Bey, and this debt was to be settled by his guarantor, Mihalaki. The total sum amounted to 4,300 *guruş*, and was to be paid in instalments of 60 *guruş* between 1854 and 1857. With the death of Ali Molla, the shares passed to Mihalaki and, therefore, he requested that he pay the debts himself.⁷⁵

Mihalaki did not only limit himself to the textile trade. He also entertained trade relations with Europe, to where he shipped precious meerschaum via the harbor of Karamürsel.⁷⁶ In 1861, he also took over a six-year contract for the olive trees in the districts of Edremit and Kemer-Edremit, which were endowed to the *vakıf* of Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan.⁷⁷

Apart from the Gümüşgerdan family, there were also Austrian traders active in Bulgaria after 1857. In the beginning, the Austrians imported to Bulgaria goods such as needles and yarn, sugar, salt, matches and candles, and they exported wool. Bulgarian traders collected wool in large quantities from different towns and sent it to Austria as well as to France. In the 1870s especially, large quantities of wool were sent from Sofia to Vienna. This wool was collected unwashed and shipped to Austria from the harbor of Vidin.⁷⁸

Titles and Honors Bestowed on Mihalaki

Documents often mention Mihalaki with the titles *dergah-ı ali kapıcıbaşı*⁷⁹ and *rikab-ı hümayün kapıcıbaşı* attached.⁸⁰ Furthermore, a list of ranks and honors dated 1857 shows that the title *rikab-ı şahane*

⁷⁴ BOA, A.MKT.151/63 (28.10.1264).

⁷⁵ BOA, A.MKT.UM.435/46 (26 R.1277).

⁷⁶ BOA, A.MKT.NZD.361/24 (02 C.1278).

⁷⁷ BOA, A.MKT.NZD.382/91 (2 C.1278).

⁷⁸ In 1870, 15,000 *okka* of wool were sent from Sofia to Austria within three months; in 1871, 200,000 *okka* within six months; in 1875, 3,975 *centner* from different harbors on the Danube. See Paskaleva, *İkonomiçeskoto Pronikvane na Avstrija (Avstro-Ungarija)*, p. 138.

⁷⁹ BOA, A.MKT.DV.111/34 (22 Za.1273).

⁸⁰ BOA, A.MKT.DV.195/99, A.MKT.DV.198/65.

kapucıbaşı had been given to a Mihalaki of Filibe.⁸¹ Particularly in the 19th century, *kapucıbaşı* (lit. “head door keeper”) was a title given to the notables in the provinces who served the state as tax collectors etc.⁸² Mihalaki held many privileges, such as permission to trade freely, since he owned patents describing him as *Avrupa tüccarı* or *tüccar-ı hayriye*.⁸³ Ottoman documents also mention that Mihalaki accepted honors from the Austrian state.⁸⁴ I have not been able to find out why he was given these honors, but it is possible that they were due to the popularity of Mihalaki’s shop in Vienna.

The End of the Family Trade

With the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war (1877–78), many Bulgarian traders in Istanbul started to be treated quite unfairly. The state no longer ordered cloth for the Ottoman army and the trade and, therefore, their reasons for staying in the capital vanished. The children of the Bulgarian trading families had had the opportunity to acquire a good school education and foreign languages while in the capital. After Bulgaria became independent in 1878, these children moved on to important positions among the intellectuals and leaders of the country.⁸⁵ The Ottoman archives do not contain much detailed information about the Gümüşgerdan family during and after the Russo-Turkish war; however, in a document dated 1876 one encounters one Hidayet Hanım, a convert to Islam who was a member of the family of Mihalaki of Filibe.⁸⁶ Thus, it seems that some family members did stay in Istanbul. After 1878, their trade activities stopped completely and their old networks and influence disappeared. The family emigrated to Athens in the first quarter of the twentieth century.⁸⁷

⁸¹ BOA, A.DVN 123/33 (13 N 1273).

⁸² Cf. M. Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lügati*, Istanbul 1986, p. 173.

⁸³ BOA, A.MKT.NZD 43/50, 361/24. For more information on the *Avrupa tüccarları* (lit. “European Merchants”) see: A. İ. Bağış, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayri Müslimler, Kapitülasyonlar-Avrupa Tüccarı-Berath Tüccarlar-Hayriye Tüccarları (1750–1839)*, Ankara 1983.

⁸⁴ BOA, A.MKT.MHM 423/44 (24 C 1285).

⁸⁵ N. Načov, *Carigrad kato Kulturen Centâr na Bălgarite do 1877 godina*, in: “*Sbornik na BAN*”, XIX (1925), p. 103.

⁸⁶ BOA, İ.DH 724/50524 (22 Ca 1293); İ.DH 761/62038 (7 Z 1294); İ.DH 780/63448 (4 S 1296). The last document records that Hidayet Hanım received a salary of 500 *guruş*.

⁸⁷ See CDIA, F.176k, op. 7, a.e. 308; op. 22, a.e. 443.

A large portion of the family and business correspondence as well as documents about the factory in Değirmendere are now located in the Historical Archives in Sofia. These documents had been left to the director of the Greek High School in Filibe, Dr. Apostolidis, when the family moved to Athens.⁸⁸ When Apostolidis also migrated to Greece in 1938/39, the documents were turned over to Elena Lambreva Dimitrova. Later, they were transferred to Sofia and catalogues were compiled.⁸⁹

Conclusion

Bulgarian textile trade was positively affected by the country's proximity to Istanbul, which kept transportation costs low, and the possibility of finding cheap labour to meet the demands for cotton, *şayak* and *aba* cloth. The buying and selling of textiles started with trade fairs organized in Bulgaria in the eighteenth century and developed rapidly, leading to the emergence of rich Bulgarian traders in the nineteenth century. The Greeks and the inhabitants of Dubrovnik who had worked in this trade in previous centuries now had to share the market with the Bulgarians. Since the Ottoman administrators considered Greeks to be more prestigious, Bulgarians identified themselves as Greek in order to enhance their trade. In the beginning, the Bulgarians opened shops only in Istanbul, but soon they started to export their high-quality textile products to Anatolia and Europe. Establishing close ties with the Ottoman administrators, they secured a share of the state budget by producing *şayak* and *aba* cloth for the Ottoman soldiers cheaply, as well as other profits. These friendly relations allowed them to have a say in the matters of the region and to wield much influence; however, sometimes they abused their authority. Thanks to the Ottoman administrators, they could also secure advantages for the Bulgarian people. Many Bulgarian traders moved to Istanbul and registered their children in the best schools of the empire.

The Gümüşgerdan were a typical trader family of Bulgarian origins who strongly emphasized their Greek identity and sometimes sided with the Greeks in the period's ecclesiastical struggle in Filibe. Even if Bulgarian scholars of the communist era saw them as exploiters, they contributed much to the textile trade: they started manufacturing and

⁸⁸ Concerning their emigration, see: CDIA, F.176k, op. 3, a.e. 3140; a.e. 3142.

⁸⁹ CDIA, Fond 161k, "Gjumjuşgerdan" catalogue.

later managed to increase their status with the support of the Ottoman administrators and the titles and honors they received. The family's factory did well thanks to the state's textile orders and, as Todorov emphasizes, the profit was invested not in the factory itself, but in other real estate. Mihalaki and his family thought that this business opportunity was only temporary and did not think in terms of a long-standing company; therefore, they did not re-invest in and develop the factory further. Following the collapse of the trade after the war, the family finally emigrated to Greece.

The Gümüşgerdan Family

I. Generation	II. Generation	III. Generation	IV. Generation	V. Generation	VI. Generation
Haci Dimitri	Haci Atanasaki Dimitriu— <i>Zoitsa</i> <i>M. Kiriü</i>	Ralu A. Gümüşgerdan- <i>Vlasaki T. Çalikov</i>	Todoraki Nikolaki..... Georgaki Katina..... Zoi	Radka..... Jani, Aristini, Kaliopi, Aşimo Maria..... Elena, Dimitrius, Mihail	Nikola, Radka, Boris Tsvetana
		Teopempti A. Gümüşgerdan- <i>Toma Stefanu</i> Mihalaki A. Gümüşgerdan- <i>Mariora D. Ahlanlı</i>	Atanasios..... Smaragda Atanas..... Dimitir..... Ralu..... Ekaterina..... Teompti.....	Mihail, Zoi, Marija Atanas, Marija, Eleni Angelos, Sofiya, Marija, Evgeniya, Efrosini Mihail, Smaragda Mihail, Dimitir, Konstantin, Temeli, Marija, Katina	
		Georgaki A. Gümüşgerdan- <i>Petra T. Çalikova</i>	Atanas Luksandra..... Zoi..... Katina.....	Stanço, Atanas, Dimitir, Marija, Bojana, Rajna... Zoi. Soili, Koçu Katina, Eleni	Georgi, Panço
		Dimitraki A. Gümüşgerdan- <i>Haritina S.</i> <i>Çomakova</i>			

ARTICLES ARTISANAUX ORIGINAUX PROVENANT DES TERRES BULGARES ET DESTINÉS À L'EXPOSITION DE PARIS EN 1867

STOYANKA KENDEROVA

La première exposition commerciale à Paris est organisée en 1798, elle n'a qu'un caractère national. L'idée d'accueillir d'autres pays à l'exposition pour introduire la concurrence entre eux date du milieu du XIX^e siècle. Ainsi, la première exposition universelle et internationale se passe à Londres en 1851. Ce n'est que quatre ans plus tard, en 1855, que l'État français réalise également une exposition internationale. L'exposition internationale suivante à Paris a lieu en 1867¹. Plusieurs artisans des villes de Târnovo, Gabrovo, Tryavna, Lovetch, Filibe (Plovdiv), etc. qui évoluent comme de grands centres de l'artisanat sur les Balkans au XIX^e siècle, se préparent également à y prendre part. Leurs articles doivent satisfaire les besoins du marché occidental et provoquer l'intérêt et la curiosité du marchand et du visiteur ordinaire par leur travail habile et par leur originalité.

Sources

La présente étude est fondée sur des documents originaux en langue turque ottomane conservés au Département oriental de la Bibliothèque nationale "St. St. Cyrille et Méthode" à Sofia.

En premier lieu, c'est un inventaire détaillé (registre; *defter*) des articles (F. 179, a.u. 1198, f. 1b–2a, n° 1–58), fabriqués dans le district (*kaza*) de Tirnovi (Târnovo, actuellement Veliko Târnovo)². L'inventaire

¹ L'exposition est installée au Champ-de-Mars, auquel on ajoute l'île de Billancourt. La superficie totale est de 687 000 m²; 42 217 exposants se donnent rendez-vous dans cette exposition; le nombre de visiteurs en étant plus de 11 millions. Voir P. Augé, *Larousse du XX^e siècle en six volumes. Publié sous la direction de Paul Augé*. T. III., Paris 1930; voir aussi R. D. Mandell, *Paris 1900. The Great World's Fair*, Toronto 1967, pp. 12–17.

² Pour des annotations courtes de ces documents voir St. Andreev (éd.). *Opis na osmanoturski dokumenti za zanayati i targoviya (XVI–XIX vek), zapazeni v Orientalskiya otdel na Narodnata biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy"*, Sofia 1993, N 996, 1000 et 1040.

est dressé par une Commission spéciale le 9 *rebiyülevvel* 1283 (22 juillet 1866) et certifié par ses membres: Ali Riza, gouverneur (*müdür*) du district de Tırnovi, Salim, inspecteur (*müfettiş*) et Stano Yanko, membre du Conseil d'administration du district. La commission approuve les articles proposés qui participeront à l'exposition, leur valeur totale s'élevant à 8880 *guruş* et 36 *para*. Il faut ajouter à cette somme 963 *guruş* et 15 *para*, ce sont les dépenses pour leur emballage et pour leur transport jusqu'à Roustchouk (Roussé), d'où ils partiront vers l'Occident (f. 2a)³. De cette manière, le montant total des frais s'élève à 9844 *guruş* et 11 *para*. Il est confirmé par le Conseil d'administration de la *liva* dont les membres signent le procès-verbal (*defterli mazbata*) avec mention de le faire payer par la caisse (*malsandık*) de Tırnovi.

L'inventaire (*defter*) des articles élaborés dans le district de Gabrova (Gabrovo) et dans la *nahiye* (commune villageoise) de Travna (Tryavna) est présenté sur les feuilles 3b–4a du même document (n° 59–80 et 81–106). Leur valeur totale s'élève à 15 348 *guruş* et 10 *para* (respectivement 6546 *guruş* et 35 *para* pour Gabrovo et 8801 *guruş* et 15 *para* pour Tryavna). Cet inventaire est suivi également d'un procès-verbal du Conseil d'administration du district de Gabrovo dressé le 31 *mayıs* 1282 (31 mai 1866) lequel stipule que la somme sera payée par la caisse du district.

La même unité d'archives (a.u.) contient aussi 8 certificats (*sened*) signés et scellés par les personnes qui ont élaboré une partie des articles. Nous en apprenons les noms et la nationalité et en plus, les documents prouvent qu'elles ont été rémunérées pour leur travail (F. 179, a.u. 1198, f. 5–12).

Six certificats (f. 5–10) sont signés par des maîtres de Tırnovi. Les deux autres (f. 11 et 12) prouvent que les sommes pour les objets destinés à l'exposition et fabriqués dans la ville de Gabrova et dans la *nahiya* de Travna, sont entièrement payés par le *malsandık* correspondant.

³ Y sont compris: 7 caisses (*sandık*) d'une valeur de 387 *guruş* où seront mis les articles, de la doublure (*astar*) et de la ficelle pour 186 *guruş* et 35 *para* nécessaires pour l'emballage des caisses, et un salaire journalier d'un montant de 8 *guruş* pour la personne qui les liera; le loyer de 38 *guruş* pour du bois et des bouteilles dans le but d'y mettre de l'eau minérale (*maden suyu*) et un salaire journalier d'un montant de 8 *guruş* toujours pour le menuisier qui devra couper les arbres nécessaires; une boîte d'un montant de 17 *guruş* et 20 *para* pour y installer les cocons et d'autres affaires; du papier épais d'une valeur de 21 *guruş* et 20 *para* et du tissu, de la toile d'un montant de 188 *guruş* et 20 *para* nécessaires à l'emballage des articles; et enfin, 108 *guruş* de loyer pour les voitures qui devront transporter les marchandises de Tarnovo à Roustchouk (Rousse).

Notre base de sources s'est enrichie de 16 documents (*sened*) (F. 88, a.u. 1449) supplémentaires qui attestent que la *caisse* de Filibe a payé certaines sommes à des artisans pour les objets fabriqués par eux pour l'exposition, ainsi que pour des clous, planches et ferraille employés à construire des caisses (*sandık*) et pour le paiement de menuisiers (*dülger*) afin d'emballer les articles dans des caisses et encore, pour la location de voitures assurant le transport jusqu'à Edirne.

Cinq autres certificats (F. Lv 8/31) attestent que la caisse de Lofça (Lovetch) a payé des sommes pour des articles fabriqués dans cette ville.

Articles originaux pour l'exposition de Paris

Au cours des années 60 et 70 du XIX^e siècle, le capital de l'Europe de l'Ouest gagne des positions solides dans l'Empire Ottoman et élargit son champ d'action. Ce fait a une influence inévitable sur le développement économique des terres bulgares qui est le plus évident dans l'économie urbaine. Tout comme pendant les décennies passées, la production industrielle (si on peut utiliser ce terme) est réalisée surtout dans le cadre des artisanats. Le processus de distinction des artisanats et de l'agriculture s'approfondit, leur différenciation se renforce en distinguant plus de 70 types de production, le nombre de personnes employées augmente, le rôle de l'artisanat à domicile grandit dans les villages, les technologies et le processus de production se perfectionnent ce qui entraîne l'augmentation de la production en quantité. Parallèlement à l'apparition de plusieurs nouvelles branches artisanales, il commence une répartition du travail dans le cadre de chaque artisanat. Simultanément, une division territoriale du travail s'effectue. Des régions de spécialisation se tracent qui développent certains types d'activité économique suivant les conditions climatiques et géographiques correspondantes, la base de matières premières et les traditions existantes.

Ainsi, les villes du Danube et les ports de la mer Noire se transforment en centres d'échange du commerce extérieur; les localités aux pieds du Balkan comme Karlovo, Sopot, Kalofer, Pirdop, Klissoura, etc., se spécialisent dans la fabrication de *gaytants* (cordons de coton ou de soie); Sliven et Kotel deviennent célèbres par la fabrication du tissu en laine *aba*; Samokov, par l'extraction de fer, Gabrovo, par le travail du fer; Tryavna, par la sériciculture (*kazzashlık*) et la menuiserie (*marangoz-luk*); Ochrida, Târnovo, Lovetch, Sevlievo et Etropole, par la pelleterie;

Stara Zagora, par la fabrication de chaudrons (*kazancılık*) ; Vratsa, par la sériciculture et l'orfèvrerie (*kuyumculuk*) ; Sofia, par le traitement de produits animaliers, etc.⁴

Cette différenciation territoriale dans le développement des différents artisanats est confirmée, dans un grand degré, par les documents objet de cette étude. Le tableau ci-après comprend l'information qu'ils contiennent concernant les types d'articles, leur valeur, le lieu de leur fabrication et, pour quelques cas, le nom de l'artisan qui témoigne de sa nationalité.

Au profit de la bonne présentation et d'une orientation plus facile, les dénominations des objets exposés sont organisées en 62 groupes (N 1–62), écrites en turc moderne et rangées par ordre alphabétique. A celles qui figurent dans les deux inventaires, un numéro (n°) est joint qui correspond au numéro que nous avons mis sur ces inventaires (voir les *Annexes*). En même temps, l'information en extraite est accordée à celle que nous avons trouvée dans les *seneds* relatifs aux maîtres de Tirnovi. Les objets dont les noms ont été connus grâce aux *seneds* pour Filibe et Lofça, n'ont pas de numéro (n°) joint.

Comme il apparaît dans le tableau, une partie de ces 62 groupes comprennent deux ou plusieurs types de l'article correspondant. C'est le cas de "toile" (*bez*), de "couteau" (*bıçak*), de "carpette" (*çerge*), de "cordon" (*gaytan*), de "fil" (*iplik*), etc. Ce qui témoigne de la grande variété d'objets qui seront exposés à Paris par les artisans habitant les terres bulgares. L'attention est attirée également par le fait que chacune des villes offre des articles qui la caractérisent notamment comme centre de la production correspondante.

Les articles figurant dans les documents et présentés dans notre tableau se prêtent à une organisation, suivant leur type et leur destination, dans les classes globales suivantes :

1. Articles de peausserie et de pelleterie

Le développement sur les terres bulgares de l'élevage et de l'abattage a une influence bénéfique sur la peausserie (*tabakhlık*)⁵. Par exemple, la

⁴ *Istoriya na Balgariya*, T. VI. (*Bălgarsko Văzrajđane*), Sofia 1987, pp. 49–50.

⁵ Le 4 juin 1880 le Consulat général de Belgique en Bulgarie C: Janssen envoie un rapport dans lequel il dit: "...Il se fait un assez grand commerce de peaux de toutes espèces qui sont exportées en Autriche et dans les ports du Bas Danube. Le pays fournit surtout une assez grande quantité de peaux de chevreau; elles sont utilisées en Autriche et en France par l'industrie gantière" (N. Michoff, *Contribution à l'histoire du commerce*

seule ville de Tărnovo exporte à l'étranger jusqu'à 200 000 peaux traitées. Des centres importants de cette production sont aussi les villes de Sevlievo, Etropole, Gabrovo, Lovetch, Samokov, Sofia, etc. Parallèlement à la peausserie, la pelleterie prospère également, le centre le plus connu dans ce sens est Ochrida. On y dénombre environ 150 pelleteries (*dükkân*), où sont engagés environ 800 hommes et le même nombre de femmes. La pelleterie a des succès aussi à Gabrovo, Lovetch et dans d'autres villes⁶.

Dans nos sources, les représentants de la peausserie et de la pelleterie à l'exposition de Paris ne sont que des artisans de Tărnovo. Au début de l'inventaire (F. 179, a.u. 1198, f. 1b, n° 1–6) six sortes de fourrures sont marquées (*kürk tulum*⁷; N 42) d'une valeur totale de 2390 *guruş*, fabriquées par le fourreur (*kürkçü*) Yanko Stano. On y trouve de la fourrure composée de peau de ventre de renards (*nafe*), de la fourrure du flanc d'un animal non cité (*pehle*) d'une valeur de 550 *guruş* et trois sortes (suivant l'épaisseur et la couleur du cuir) de fourrures d'agneau (*kuzu*). L'objet le plus cher est la fourrure incolore faite de la peau qui couvre le derrière de la tête du loup (*cilkava*), estimée à 1350 *guruş*. Les artisans de Tărnovo ont préparé pour l'exposition un exemplaire de toutes les sortes, apparemment en tant qu'échantillons. Les deux seules fourrures d'une même sorte seront celles de "peau d'agneau mince et noire" (*ince siyah kuzu kürk tulum*; n° 4), coûtant chacune 80 *guruş* (*be-heri fi* 80).

Des peaussiers de Tărnovo prendront également part à l'exposition avec différents types de cuir. Par exemple, Hacı Yovan a préparé deux types de cuir de peau de boeuf dont on fait le dessous des chaussures

bulgare. Documents officiels et rapports consulaires. I. Rapports consulaires belges, Sofia 1941, p. 120). Sur le traitement du cuir voir aussi Hr. Vakarelski, *Etnografiya na Balgariya*, Sofia 1977, pp. 380–384.

⁶ La ville de Gabrovo devient célèbre notamment par la cordonnerie. De 1855 à 1875, la production de différents types de chaussures s'élève jusqu'à 200 000 paires dont 4 % destinées à l'exportation. Voir P. Tsontchev, *Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo*, Sofia 1929, pp. 121, 131, 167; Iv. Sakăzov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Berlin 1929, p. 233.

⁷ *Kürk*—1. Peau d'animal au pelage doux et beau préparé pour les doublures ou l'ornement de vêtements. Le cuir traité par les maîtres peaussiers était mis à la disposition des pelletiers et des fourreurs "*tulum/tolum*" (c'est-à-dire en morceau entier), ceux-ci le divisant en quatre parties: le dos, la tête et le cou, le ventre et les pieds. Les quatre catégories de cuir avaient trois degrés de qualité; 2. Fourrure, pelisse; 3. Habit garni de fourrure. Il est possible, dans notre cas, qu'il s'agisse non pas d'un habit, mais de cuir en forme de *tulum* (outre). Pour la traduction de certains mots de la langue turque ottomane nous avons utilisé les dictionnaires de Ch. Samy-Bey Fraschery, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*. Constantinople 1885 et T. X. de Bianchi and J. D. Kieffer, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français à l'usage des agents diplomatiques et consulaires, des commerçants, des navigateurs, et autres voyageurs dans le Levant*. T. I–II., Paris 1850.

(*kâvsale/kösele*; N 30), et Hacı Salim, une paire de cuir mince d'agneau ou de veau (*meşin*; N 45). Du cuir *meşin*, pour la ceinture dans laquelle on met les armes (*silâhlık*⁸) cette fois, est présenté par Hacı Şakir (N 52). Avec deux sortes de cuir traité, coloré et verni—*sahtiyan* (maroquin; N 50) participe Emir oğlu Hacı İsmail, et la troisième sorte, du cuir noir *sahtiyan*, est fabriquée par Hacı Salim que nous connaissons déjà.

II. Articles de l'industrie textile

Le développement le plus important sur les terres bulgares a subi la production textile, surtout le textile de laine et de bure (*aba*)⁹. Cette branche s'épanouit dans les régions balkaniques où l'élevage de moutons est plus développé. Les centres importants de cette production sont Sliven, Kotel, Koprivchtitsa, Samokov, Gabrovo, Panagurichte, Pirdop, Kalofer, la région des Rhodopes, etc.¹⁰ Un sened, signé par Stoyko, délégué (*vekil*) du village de Kalofer, atteste que la caisse de Filibe a payé au total 2185 *guruş* et 30 para pour des articles industriels fabriqués par les artisans du village (F. 88, a.u. 1449, f. 23). On y figure 11 sortes du gros tissu de laine (*şayak*), deux seccade et neuf top de *gaytan* (voir Tableau 2). Nos documents nous font connaître le grand maître Görgi (*Ustabaşı Görgi*) de la ville de Filibe qui a fait des habits (*elbise*) d'*aba* (N 16).

Le fabricant d'*aba* de Tărnovo *Abacı Stoyko oğlu Mihal a*, quant à lui, préparé un rouleau d'*aba* jaune, un rouleau d'*aba* noir et un rouleau de *şayak aba* (N 1). Considérablement plus cher est le *şayak aba* blanc et mince présenté à l'exposition par un artisan inconnu de Gabrovo (N 1, n° 80), "la florissante cité industrielle, célèbre dans toute la Bulgarie",

⁸ *Silâhlık*—une ceinture de quelques couches pour porter un pistolet, des couteaux ou d'autres armes fabriquée en général de cuir *meşin*. Elle était liée à la taille à l'aide d'une ou deux courroies.

⁹ Dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, le métier de fabricant de bure connaît plusieurs niveaux de développement. Il y a des *abacı* travaillant sur commande, dans leur propre atelier, et d'autres qui n'ont pas d'atelier mais travaillent chez le client. Il y en a aussi qui après avoir répondu à la demande locale, vendent leur production aux marchés voisins. Mais l'essentiel de la production est destinée à la consommation de masses et expédiée vers des foires et des marchés lointains. Voir, N. Todorov, *La ville balkanique aux XV^e–XIX^e siècles. Développement socio-économique et démographique*, Bucarest 1980, pp. 213–214; Voir aussi S. Faroqi, *Textile Production in Rumeli and the Arab Provinces. Geographical Distribution and Internal Trade (1560–1650)*, in Id., *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in the Ottoman Empire*, London 1986, XII, pp. 61–83.

¹⁰ *Historiya na Balgariya*... cit., pp. 50f., notes 32–39.

selon les mots de Felix Kanitz¹¹. Deux rouleaux coûtent au total 536 *guruş* et 25 *para*.

Au XIX^e siècle, le tissage se développe aussi bien sur les terres bulgares. Les tissus et les étoffes de Tărnovo préparés pour l'exposition se distinguent par leur variété: un tissu multicolore pour la couture de robes (*entari*; N 18), un tissu pour les pantalons (N 46) et un tissu assez cher pour les couvertures de lit (N 61) dont un rouleau coûte 320 *guruş*. Les tissus de soie et de coton pour les chemises (N 4, 16, 13) et les draps (N 4, 7) font également une bonne impression, les soieries étant estimées beaucoup plus haut (un *zira*¹² du tissu de soie pour les draps vaut 14 *guruş*; un *zira* du tissu de soie pour les chemises est de 9 *guruş*, tandis que le tissu de coton pour le même usage ne coûte que 3 *guruş*).

La fabrication de soie sur les terres bulgares est une branche en plein essor qui est stimulée par l'intérêt montré par les commerçants italiens et français. Plusieurs commerçants et manufacturiers bulgares implantent leur entreprise à Gabrovo, Tărnovo, Sofia, Vratsa, Plovdiv, Odrin, Lyaskovets, Berkovitsa, etc. à cause du grand marché et de la recherche de soie. A Gabrovo par exemple, un tiers de la population est occupée dans l'élevage des vers à soie. Vers 1860, il existe dans la ville environ 100 moulins pour le tirage de la soie et l'exportation annuelle acquiert 7000 à 7500 *okka*¹³. Les villes de Stara Zagora, Elena, Dryanovo et Tryavna sont également des centres de sériciculture et de magnanerie. Des ateliers de soie temporaires, saisonniers, sont souvent organisés par des commerçants étrangers, principalement d'Italie et de France¹⁴.

Felix Kanitz est impressionné aussi par la fabrication de soie dans la région de Tărnovo. Voilà ce qu'il écrit de la ville de Rahovitsa (aujourd'hui Gorna Oryahovitsa) qui est située à 25 km environ de Tărnovo :

...Moustapha s'est distingué en 1873. Il a envoyé à l'Exposition universelle de Vienne une collection choisie des belles soies filées du cercle de

¹¹ F. Kanitz, *La Bulgarie danubienne et le Balkan. Etudes de voyage (1860–1880)* par F. Kanitz. Edition française publiée sous la direction de l'auteur, Paris 1882, p. 167.

¹² *Zira*—coude ; aune ; mesure de longueur employée dans le commerce ; le plus petit, employé pour les étoffes de soie, va à peine à 65 centimètres, celui des étoffes de coton et de laine est environ 68 centimètres.

¹³ *okka* (ocque)—poids de 400 *drachmes* ; on dit aussi *qiyye* (*kıyye*).

¹⁴ V. Tsontchev, *Iz stopanskoto ... cit.*, pp. 327–330 ; T. Kitchov, *Bubarstvoto I koprinarstvoto u nas*, in "Oralo", 12, 1–2 (1918), p. 16 ; V. Paskaleva, *Za targovskite vrazki mejdu Frantsiya i balgarskite zemi ot natchaloto na XIX vek do Osvobojdenieto*, in "Istoricheski pregled", 5 (1960). Sofia, p. 73 ; Zv. Tsonev, *Istoriya na grad Gorna Oryahovitsa i okolnostite mu*, Veliko Tarnovo 1932, p. 165.

Rahotitsa... La recolte entière de cocons ou de soies brutes est expédiée chaque année à Tirnovi, seule ville de la Bulgarie septentrionale qui s'occupe en grand du filage des soies...¹⁵.

Le Consul général C. Janssen ajoute que "il y a quelques années, la ville de Tirnovi produisait une grande quantité de soie, chaque maison élevait ses vers à soie et vendait annuellement pour 1000 à 2000 francs de cocons; deux filatures assez considérables travaillaient la soie et préparaient les filés que l'on exportait, ainsi que les cocons, en France et en Italie..."¹⁶.

Nos documents attestent également que de la soie de Tărnovo sera présentée à l'exposition (N 24). De cette ville proviennent aussi 100 *dirhem*¹⁷ de cocons de soie (N 36). Les cocons de soie des Balkans sont très recherchés en Occident, surtout dans les périodes où les mûriers sont envahis de maladies.

Une branche particulièrement importante de l'industrie textile à cette époque-là est la fabrication de cordons (*gaytançılık*). D'après quelques calculs approximatifs, il y a eu sur les terres bulgares environ 9 000 à 10 000 tresseuses (*çark*) qui fabriquaient environ 2 000 000 *okka* de cordon par an. Les centres principaux de cette production sont les villes de Karlovo, Sopot, Kalofer, Kazanlak, Samokov, Gabrovo, Pirdop, etc.

Par ses cordons (*gaytan*; N 21)¹⁸, ses ceintures (*kolan*; N 35), ses galons (*şirit*; N 54), ses ceintures (*kemer*, N 32)¹⁹ et d'autres articles de passementerie, les maîtres de Tryavna apportent le dernier détail dans la variété de marchandises qui partiront pour Paris. Les couleurs préférées sont le rouge (écarlate; *al*), le violet foncé (*mor*), le bleu foncé tirant sur le rouge (violet; *göğez*) et azuré (couleur d'eau; *mai*), et les matières dont elles sont fabriquées sont la soie, la laine et le coton. Les bracelets de montre (N 37) sont de trois types différenciés par leur qualité et fabriqués de soie de couleurs différentes.

Quelques articles de l'industrie textile présentent la maîtrise de la tisserande. L'attention est attirée par les deux carpettes chères (*çerge*) valant chacune 600 *guruş*, tissées à Tarnovo (N 8), il est noté à propos

¹⁵ Kanitz, *La Bulgarie*... cit., p. 365.

¹⁶ Michoff, *Contribution*... cit., p. 127.

¹⁷ *Dirhem*—quatre-centième partie d'une ocque; poids équivalent à 3 grammes 21 centigrammes; dramme; ancienne monnaie d'argent.

¹⁸ *Gaytan*—du fil tordu de coton, de laine ou de soie utilisé pour l'ornement des vêtements.

¹⁹ *Kemer*—ceinture serrant l'habit autour de la taille, faite de tissu et de cuir.

de l'une d'elles qu'elle est multicolore. Encore plus chers sont les tapis assemblés à des coussins fabriqués à Gabrovo (N 27). De Gabrovo partiront également pour Paris quelques petits tapis écarlates (*seccade*; N 50). Nous y inclurons également les coussins brodés de fils de coton (*tire işlemeli*) et les coussins faits de laine de Târnovo (N 60). Tout ceci contribue à la création d'une atmosphère agréable de maison et formera chez les Européens une représentation de la maison bulgare bien rangée, au plancher couvert de carpettes multicolores, aux coussins brodés ou tissés arrangés sur le divan.

Étroitement liés à l'industrie textile sont les différents types de fils de laine et de chanvre à coudre et à tricoter (*iplik*) (N 28), ainsi que la laine (N 59), fabriqués tous à Târnovo.

III. *Vêtements, habits, accessoires*

Une idée du mode d'habillement de la population sur les terres bulgares et des accessoires typiques aux vêtements, peut donner à l'Européen un autre groupe d'articles. On y trouve des chemises (*gömlək*) et des caleçons (*don*; N 23), *uçkur* (N 9)²⁰, des jarretières (N 13), des mantes de laine qui appartiennent probablement aux bergers (N 31), des gants de couleurs différentes (N 17), un foulard brodé de fils de coton ou de soie mêlés aux fils d'or ou d'argent et aux bords roulés (*kılabdan işlemeli çerve*; N 9). Tryavna a préparé 12 ceintures de femmes fabriquées de laine de couleurs différentes (*kuşak*; N 40)²¹. Le maître (*usta*) Nikola de Filibe enverra à l'exposition trois *kalpak* bulgares (N 29). Sont connus les noms des personnes qui fabriquent et vendent les bas d'hommes et de femmes (N 10). Ce sont le *çorapçı* et *abacı* Théodore de Filibe (fabricant ou marchand de bas et le fabricant ou marchand d'*aba*), de nationalité grecque, *çorbacı* Yorgi de Târnovo et un commerçant bulgare de Lovetch connu par ses initiales en cyrillique X.И. (H.I.).

IV. *Travail du fer et coutellerie*

Au XIX^e siècle, le travail des métaux atteint son plus grand développement à Gabrovo et dans les villages voisins. Le nombre d'ateliers de fer dans cette région varie entre 360 et 500. Parallèlement au travail du fer,

²⁰ *Uçkur*—cordon qui passe par la coulisse des caleçons pour les lier.

²¹ *Kuşak*—ceinture, une bande de tissu longue et étroite enroulée autour de la taille pour la serrer.

la coutellerie se développe fortement. Il existe à Gabrovo plus de 300 ateliers couteliers où environ 1800 personnes sont engagées²². Pour cette raison, il est normal de voir provenir de Gabrovo notamment la plupart des objets comme les différents types de couteaux (N 5) et de ciseaux (N 45), une hache (N 3), un hachereau (N 33) et des couteaux de poche de berger (N 6). Felix Kanitz vante également les couteliers de Gabrovo :

La coutellerie de Gabrovo est célèbre dans tout le pays, et, du couteau à 3 paras jusqu'au luxueux yatagan, elle fournit aux besoins de l'Illyrie tout entière...²³.

Nos documents visent également les couteliers Gorge de Filibe et Haci Ahmed de Lovetch qui se présentera avec un couteau—*yatagan* (N 5).

V. Articles pour les animaux domestiques

Une place importante parmi les marchandises ont les articles pour les animaux domestiques : des couvertures de cheval (*çul*; N 11), des sacs, vraisemblablement pour les chevaux toujours, car ils sont fabriqués par Kolyo oglu Geto de Tărnovo (*çuval*; N 12); des licous faits par Haci Şakir, toujours de Tărnovo (*yular*; N 62), un mors (*gem*; N 22), etc. Une couverture de cuir—*meşin*, vraisemblablement pour les chevaux toujours, est présentée par le sellier (*sarraç*) de Lovetch es-Seyyid Haci Mehmed (N 51). Il a fait aussi deux coussinets pour les chevaux (N 53).

Les maîtres de Tryavna sont fortement représentés. Ils montrent quelques types de *takım* pour chevaux²⁴ fabriqués de soie et de laine de couleur violet foncé (*mor*) et bleu foncé tirant sur le rouge (violet; *göğez*), d'une valeur totale de 3855 *guruş* et 15 *para* (N 19).

C'est de nouveau Felix Kanitz qui nous donne une description magnifique du *takım*:

A Tirnov, Haidar-Pacha m'avait déjà raconté des merveilles du célèbre passementier (*gâitandji*) Ivantchou Stoief. Je le trouvai occupé à broder, en or et en soie cramoisie, des selles, qui étaient de véritables oeuvres d'art. Les plus chères atteignaient le prix de quinze cents francs.

Un autre artiste, Dimitri Tsano Donin fabriquait des brides de cheval de toute beauté. A côté de ces mîtres, beaucoup de *gâitandji* confectionnaient

²² Iv. Simeonov et Et S. Tchomakov, *Nojarstvoto v selo Nova mahala, Gabrovsko*, Sofia. 1910, N 1–2, p. 56; Sakāzov, *Bulgarische*... cit., p. 236.

²³ Kanitz, *La Bulgarie*... cit., p. 171.

²⁴ Voir plus en détails Hr. Vakarelski, *Etnografiya*... cit., p. 290.

pour l'exportation de simples cordons bleus ou rouges et des jarrettières de laine rouge²⁵.

Un peu plus loin il continue:

Ses tisserands fabriquent les couvertures de cheval en poil de chèvre, à fond gris rayé de blanc, de brun et de noir, si recherchées dans toute la Bulgarie, des sacs à fourrage, de gros tapis, etc.²⁶

VI. *Céréales et fruits*

L'agriculture bulgare se présente avec des graines de différentes cultures : différents types de blé et de maïs, de millet, d'orge (N 26). On y voit le nom du fabricant ou commerçant de farine Hristo, fils de Dimitre de Filibe, qui est le principal représentant dans ce secteur.

On ne voit dans l'inventaire que des fruits secs, notamment des prunes sèches de l'espèce hongroise célèbre qui est cultivée à Gabrovo jusqu'à nos jours (N 39). Jusqu'à présent, les femmes de Gabrovo préparent du pestil de cette espèce de prunes, il est évident que c'est une maîtrise héritée dont les produits ont voyagé en Occident (N 47).

VII. *Autres*

Les artisans de Gabrovo sont célèbres par leurs articles de bois également. Ils ont préparé aussi une gourde d'eau (N 43), ainsi que deux sifflets grands et deux sifflets petits (*düdük*; N 15). Les visiteurs de l'exposition associeront à la musique folklorique bulgare les deux cornemuses bulgares (*gayda*) fabriquées par des maîtres de Gabrovo chacune desquelles coûte 61 *guruş* (*fi 61 guruş*) et dont il est spécialement souligné qu'elles sont assez ornées.

Conclusion

Après la guerre de Crimée, le commerce de l'Empire ottoman avec les pays de l'Europe occidentale augmente sensiblement. De grands privilèges ont dans ce sens l'Angleterre et la France et leur participation à l'échange de marchandises à l'étranger s'étend rapidement.

²⁵ Idem, p. 188.

²⁶ Idem, p. 189.

Le bilan du commerce extérieur pendant les années 60 et 70 du XIX^e siècle montre que 70 % des marchandises importées sur les terres bulgares proviennent de l'Angleterre et de l'Autriche (depuis 1867 Autriche-Hongrie)²⁷ et 20 à 25 % seulement de la France. Pourtant, deux cinquièmes de l'exportation de produits agricoles sont destinées à la France. La liste des articles exportés comprend surtout des matières premières et des produits agricoles : des céréales, des cuirs, de la laine, des produits animaliers, du coton, du lin, des grains de ver à soie, de la soie, etc.²⁸

L'élargissement de l'importation française commence des terres bulgares du Sud, notamment de Filibe qui joue un rôle important dans l'exportation pour la France. Malgré le matériel statistique relativement incomplet, on peut admettre que l'importation française dans cette ville atteint en 20 ans (1857–1877) environ 1 à 1.5 millions de francs par an tandis que l'exportation la dépasse 3 ou 4 fois. L'exportation pour la France était constituée de quantités considérables de céréales, de coton, de laine, de cuir et d'huile de rose. Les marchés étaient contractés par des commerçants de Plovdiv : des Bulgares, des Grecs, des Juifs et des agents de sociétés françaises à Istanbul.

L'influence du commerce français est sentie par la Bulgarie du Nord-Est également, surtout après la construction du chemin de fer reliant Roussé et Varna. Du blé et de la laine sont fournis par cette voie aux commerçants français qui réussissent à placer leurs propres marchandises dans cette région malgré la forte concurrence autrichienne et anglaise²⁹.

La présente étude a essayé de donner une contribution modeste au sujet des relations commerciales entre une partie du territoire européen de l'Empire ottoman et la France dont l'information a été puisée dans des sources non publiées jusqu'à nos jours.

²⁷ Voir N. Michoff, *Beiträge zur Handelsgeschichte Bulgariens (Offizielle Dokumente und Konsularberichte)*. II. Österreichische Konsularberichte. Vol. I, Sofia 1943.

²⁸ Sur le commerce de la France avec l'Empire ottoman voir Id., *Contribution à l'histoire du commerce de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*. III. *Rapports consulaires français, documents officiels et autres documents*, Svichtov 1950. Le volume renferme des matériaux d'origine française couvrant une période qui s'étend approximativement de la Révolution Française jusqu'à l'apparition de la première statistique officielle du jeune Etat bulgare (1880).

²⁹ Paskaleva, *Za targovskite...* cit., pp. 53–84; Id., *Contribution aux relations commerciales des provinces balkaniques et de l'Empire ottoman avec les Etats européens au cours du XVIII^e et la première moitié du XIX^e s.*, in *Etudes historiques*, IV (1968), pp. 265–292.

Tableau 1 Articles artisanaux destinés à l'exposition de Paris en 1867

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
1.	<i>Aba</i>					
	– <i>ince beyaz şayak</i> ~ (n° 80)	Gabrova		<i>Top 2; zira 79,5</i>	536	25
	– <i>sarı</i> ~ (n° 23)	Tırnovi	<i>Abacı Stoyko oğlu Mihal</i>	<i>Top 1</i>	90	
	– <i>siyah</i> (n° 22)	“	“	<i>Top 1</i>	50	
	– <i>siyah şayak</i> ~ (n° 24)	“	“	<i>Top 1</i>	85	
2.	<i>Balmumu</i> (n° 43)	Tırnovi		<i>Kıyye 0,5</i>	14	20
3.	<i>Balta</i> (n° 70)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 2</i>	33	30
4.	<i>Bez; voir aussi çarşepelik</i>					
	– <i>gömlleklik ipekli</i> ~ (n° 16)	Tırnovi		<i>Zira 30</i>	270	
	– <i>gömlleklik pamuk bezi</i> (n° 13)	“		<i>Zira 33</i>	99	
	– <i>ipekli çarşepelik</i> ~ (n° 15)	“		<i>Zira 30</i>	420	
	– <i>kenevir bezi</i>	Lofça	<i>Tüccar X.II.</i>	<i>Arşin 20</i>	40	
5.	<i>Bıçak</i>					
	– <i>kalemtıraşlı</i> ~ (n° 68)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 6</i>	36	
	– <i>kara kabza</i> ~	Filibe	<i>Bıçakçı Görge</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	30	
	– <i>kara saplı kassap bıçağı</i> (n° 63)	Gabrova		<i>Çift 1</i>	30	
	– <i>kara saplı sak bıçağı</i> (n° 69)	“		<i>Adet 6</i>	42	
	– <i>kebir kantarlı</i> ~ (n° 66)	“		<i>Adet 6</i>	30	
	– <i>sağır kantarlı</i> ~ (n° 67)	“		<i>Adet 6</i>	21	
	– <i>siyah saplı yatağan bıçağı</i> (n° 64)	“		<i>Çift 1</i>	70	
	– <i>yatağan bıçağı</i>	Lofça	<i>Bıçakçı Hacı Ahmed</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	135	
6.	<i>Çakı</i>					
	– <i>çoban çakısı</i> (n° 73)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 6</i>	6	
7.	<i>Çarşepelik; voir aussi bez</i>					
	– <i>pamuklu</i> ~ (n° 12)	Tırnovi		<i>Zira 3</i>	180	
8.	<i>Çerge</i>					
	– <i>çerge</i> (n° 54)	Tırnovi		<i>Adet 1</i>	600	
	– <i>elvan-i çerge</i> (n° 53)	“		<i>Adet 1</i>	600	
	– <i>kebir</i> ~	Lofça	<i>Ivan Petre</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	80	
	– <i>ufak</i> ~	“	“	<i>Adet 1</i>	8	
9.	<i>Çevre</i>					

Table 1 (*cont.*)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	– <i>kılabdan işlemeli ~ ve uçkur</i> (n° 8)	Tirnovi		<i>Adet 7</i>	502	
10.	<i>Çorap</i>					
	– <i>çorap</i>	Lofça	<i>Tüccar X.M.</i>	<i>Çift 6</i>	36	
	– <i>çorap</i>	Filibe	<i>Çorapçı abacı... Teodor Yorgi Çorbacı</i>	<i>Çift 34</i>	280	
	– <i>yapağıdan mamul erkek çorabı</i> (n° 18)	Tirnovi		<i>Çift 6</i>	120	
	– <i>zenne çorabı</i> (n° 19)	“	“	<i>Çift 6</i>	36	
11.	<i>Çul</i>					
	– <i>esp çulu</i> (n° 39)	Tirnovi	Kolyo oğlu Geto	<i>Çift 1</i>	70	
12.	<i>Çuval</i>					
	– <i>kıl ~</i> (n° 37)	Tirnovi	Kolyo oğlu Geto	<i>Çift 1</i>	33	
13.	<i>Dizbağı</i>					
	– <i>mor ve göğez ipekten mamul ~</i> (n° 84)	Travna				
	– <i>yünden mamul mor ve al ~</i> (n° 81)	“		<i>Çift 12</i>	42	
14.	<i>Don—voir gömlek ve don</i>					
15.	<i>Düdük</i>					
	– <i>ağaçtan kebir ~</i> (n° 75)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 2</i>	35	
	– <i>ağaçtan sağır ~</i> (n° 76)	“		<i>Adet 2</i>	12	
16.	<i>Elbise</i>					
	– <i>abadan mamul ~</i>	Filibe	<i>Ustabaşı Görgi</i>	<i>Adet 9</i>	220	
17.	<i>Eldiven</i>					
	– <i>elvan-i eldiven</i> (n° 11)	Tirnovi		<i>Adet 14</i>	140	20
	– <i>elvan-i eldiven</i>	“	Yorgi Çorbacı	<i>Çift 18</i>	180	
18.	<i>Entarilik</i>					
	– <i>alaca ~</i> (n° 55)	Tirnovi		<i>Zira</i>	112	20
19.	<i>Esb takımı</i>					
	– <i>göğez ipekten mamul sade güzel ~</i> (n° 89)	Travna		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	915	35
	– <i>göğez yünden mamul sade güzel ~</i> (n° 93)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	130	
	– <i>kılabdanlı göğez ipekten mamul ~</i> (n° 85)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	1125	

Table 1 (cont.)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	– <i>kılabdanlı göğez yünden mamul</i> ~ (n° 90)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	235	
	– <i>kılabdanlı mor ipekten mamul</i> ~ (n° 87)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	1084	20
	– <i>kılabdanlı mor yünden mamul</i> ~ (n° 91)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	235	
	– <i>mor yünden mamul sade güzel</i> ~ (n° 92)	“		<i>Parça adet 4</i>	130	
	<i>Gaşiye kolanı</i> —voir <i>kolan</i>					
20.	<i>Gayda</i>					
	– <i>gayet müzeyyen Bulgar gaydası</i> (n° 79)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 2</i>	122	
21.	<i>Gaytan</i> ; voir aussi <i>şirit</i>					
	– <i>al ve mor ipekten mamul kılıç gaytanı</i> (n° 100)	Travna		<i>Çift 1</i>	310	
	– <i>göğez yünden mamul tabanca gaytanı</i> (n° 83)	“		<i>Çift 6</i>	120	
	– <i>ipekten mamul göğez tabanca gaytanı</i> (n° 82)	“		<i>Çift 6</i>	522	
22.	<i>Gem</i>					
	– <i>şebeş</i> ~ (n° 42)	Tırnovi		<i>Adet 3</i>	36	
23.	<i>Gömlek ve don</i> (n° 17)	Tırnovi		<i>Adet 2</i>	180	
24.	<i>Harir</i>					
	– <i>beyaz ve sarı harir</i> (n° 49)	Tırnovi		<i>Dirhem 220</i>	167	20
25.	<i>Havlu</i>					
	– <i>işlemeli</i> ~ (n° 9)	Tırnovi		<i>Adet 1</i>	330	
26.	<i>Hububat</i>					
	– <i>burçak</i>	Filibe	Uncu Hristo veled-i Dimitre	<i>Kıyye 2</i>	1	
	– <i>çavdar</i>	“	“	<i>Kıyye 2</i>	1	
	– <i>çavdar</i> (n° 47)	Tırnovi		<i>Kıyye 1,5</i>		30
	– <i>darı</i>	Filibe	Uncu Hristo veled-i Dimitre	<i>Kıyye 2</i>	1	
	– <i>erzen</i> (n° 48)	Tırnovi		<i>Kıyye 1</i>		20
	– <i>hunta</i> (n° 44)	“		<i>Kıyye 1</i>		36

Table 1 (*cont.*)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	– <i>hunta-yi kızılca</i>	Filibe	Uncu Hristo veled-i Dimitre	Kıyye 2	1	
	– <i>hunta-yi koçına</i>	“	“	Kıyye 2	2	
	– <i>hunta-yi zağra</i>	“	“	Kıyye 2	2	
	– <i>mısır</i>	“	“	Kıyye 2	1	
	– <i>mısır, beyaz ve sarı ~</i> (n° 46)	Tırnovi		Kıyye 2	1	
	– <i>şair</i>	Filibe	Uncu Hristo veled-i Dimitre	Kıyye 2	1	
	– <i>şair... (n° 45)</i>	Tırnovi		Dirhem 500		30
27.	<i>Ihram oda döşemesi</i>					
	– <i>alt ihram oda döşemesi</i> (n° 60)	Gabrova		<i>Ihram, adet 5;</i> <i>Yastık, adet 30</i>	2600	
	– <i>göğez ihram oda</i> <i>döşemesi (n° 59)</i>	“		<i>Ihram, adet 5;</i> <i>Yastık, adet 30</i>	2600	
	<i>Koza—voir ipek kozası</i>					
28.	<i>İplik</i>					
	– <i>beyaz şayak ipliği</i> (n° 28)	Tırnovi		Kıyye 0,5	13	
	– <i>boyasız ihram ipliği</i> (n° 27)	“		Dirhem 150, Kıyye 40	11	20
	– <i>çerge ipliği (n° 29)</i>	“		Kıyye 0,5	10	
	– <i>göğez ihram ipliği</i> (n° 26)	“		Kıyye 0,5	25	
	– <i>kenevir bezi ipliği</i> (n° 20)	“		Dirhem 300	13	20
	– <i>pamuk ipliği (n° 14)</i>	“		Kıyye 0,5	18	
29.	<i>Kalpak</i>					
	– <i>Bulgar kalpağı</i>	Filibe	Usta Nikola	Adet 3	30	
30.	<i>Kâvsale (kösele)</i>					
	– <i>ham ~ (n° 34)</i>	Tırnovi	Hacı Yovan	Adet 1	100	
	– <i>siyah ~ (n° 35)</i>	“	“	Adet 1	90	
31.	<i>Kebe</i>					
	– <i>tüy-i kebe (n° 51)</i>	Tırnovi		Adet 1	280	
	– <i>tüy-i kebe (n° 52)</i>	“		Adet 1	400	
	– <i>tüy-i kebe (n° 56)</i>	“		Adet 1	150	
32.	<i>Kemer</i>					

Table 1 (*cont.*)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	– <i>gögez yünden mamul</i> ~ (n° 105)	Travna		<i>Çift 1</i>	130	
	– <i>ipekten mamul gögez</i> ~ (n° 104)	“		<i>Çift 1</i>	742	20
33.	<i>Keser</i> – <i>dülger keseri</i> (n° 65)	Gabrova		<i>Çift 1</i>	10	
34.	<i>Kise</i> – <i>elvan-i kise</i> (n° 10) <i>Kılıç gaytanı</i> —voir <i>gaytan</i> <i>Kılıç şiriti</i> —voir <i>şirit</i>	Tirnovi		<i>Adet 6</i>	192	20
35.	<i>Kolan</i> – <i>gögez ipekten mamul</i> <i>gaşiye kolanı</i> (n° 94) – <i>gögez yünden mamul</i> <i>gaşiye kolanı</i> (n° 96) – <i>mai pamuktan mamul</i> <i>gaşiye kolanı</i> (n° 95)	Travna “ “		<i>Çift 1</i> <i>Çift 1</i> <i>Çift 1</i>	232 50 40	20
36.	<i>Koza</i> – <i>ipek kozası</i> (n° 21) <i>Kösele</i> —voir <i>kâvsale</i>	Tirnovi		<i>Dirhem 100</i>	11	20
37.	<i>Köstek</i> – <i>ipekten mamul elvan-i</i> <i>renkte âlâ saat kösteği</i> (n° 97) – <i>ipekten mamul elvan-i</i> <i>renkte edna saat kösteği</i> (n° 99) – <i>ipekten mamul elvan-i</i> <i>renkte evsat saat kösteği</i> (n° 98)	Travna “ “		<i>Adet 12</i> <i>Adet 12</i> <i>Adet 12</i>	192 33 60	
38.	<i>Kundura</i>	Filibe	<i>Kunduracı</i> <i>Ustabaşı...</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	45	
39.	<i>Kuru yemiş</i> – <i>Macar eriği kurusu</i> (n° 77)	Gabrova		<i>Kıyye 10</i>	20	
40.	<i>Kuşak</i> – <i>elvan-i renkte yünden</i> <i>mamul zinne kuşağı</i> (n° 106)	Travna		<i>Adet 12</i>	17	20

Table 1 (*cont.*)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
41.	<i>Külünk</i> – <i>demir külünk</i>	Filiba	<i>Usta Hasan</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	20	
42.	<i>Kürk tulum</i> – <i>boyasız cilkava</i> (<i>cilkafa</i>) ~ (n° 2)	Tırnovi	<i>Kürkçü Yanko Stano</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	1350	
	– <i>boyasız nafe</i> ~ (n° 3)	“	“	<i>Adet 1</i>	260	
	– <i>boyasız pehle</i> ~ (n° 1)	“	“	<i>Adet 1</i>	550	
	– <i>ince siyah kuzu</i> ~ (n° 4)	“	“	<i>Adet 2</i>	160	
	– <i>kaba beyaz kuzu</i> ~ (n° 6)	“	“	<i>Adet 1</i>	30	
	– <i>kaba siyah kuzu</i> ~ (n° 5)	“	“	<i>Adet 1</i>	40	
43.	<i>Mamulat-i sinaiye</i>	Kalofer	<i>Stoyko vekil-i Kalofer</i>		2185	30
44.	<i>Matara</i> – <i>ağaç su matarası</i> (n° 74)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 1</i>	5	
45.	<i>Meşin</i> ; voir aussi <i>seccade</i> ; <i>silâhlık</i> – <i>beyaz</i> ~ (n° 30)	Tırnovi	<i>Hacı Salim</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	16	
46.	<i>Mikras</i> – <i>deve mikrası</i> (n° 71)	Gabrova		<i>Adet 2</i>	4	
	– <i>koyun mikrası</i> (n° 72)	“		<i>Adet 2</i>	6	
47.	<i>Pantonluk</i> (n° 50)	Tırnovi		<i>Top 1</i>	175	
48.	<i>Pestil</i> – <i>Macar eriği pestili</i> (n° 78)	Gabrova		<i>Kıyye 10</i>	15	
49.	<i>Potik</i>	Filiba	<i>Kunduracı ustabaşı... (?)</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	70	
	<i>Saat kösteği</i> —voir <i>köstek</i>					
50.	<i>Sahtiyan</i> – <i>bakam</i> ~ (n° 33)	Tırnovi	<i>Emir oğlu Hacı İsmail</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	40	
	– <i>sarı</i> ~ (n° 32)	“	“	<i>Çift 1</i>	34	
	– <i>siyah</i> ~ (n° 31)	“	<i>Hacı Salim</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	77	
51.	<i>Seccade</i> – <i>kebir al ihram</i> ~ – <i>sağır al ihram</i> ~	Gabrova		<i>Çift 1</i>	187	20
		“		<i>Çift 2</i>	125	
52.	<i>Seccade</i> (pour les chevaux)					

Table 1 (cont.)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	– <i>meşin</i> ~	Lofça	<i>Saraç es-Seyyid Hacı Mehmed</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	100	
53.	<i>Silâhlık</i> – <i>silâhlık-i meşin</i> (n° 36) <i>Şayak</i> —voir <i>aba</i>	Tirnovi	<i>Hacı Şakir</i>	<i>Adet 1</i>	30	
54.	<i>Şilte ve yastık</i> (pour les chevaux)	Lofça	<i>Saraç es-Seyyid Hacı Mehmed</i>	<i>Adet 1</i> <i>Adet 2</i>	160	
55.	<i>Şirit</i> – <i>al ve mor ipekten mamul pantolon şirit ve gaytanı</i> (n° 102) – <i>göğez yüнден mamul pantolon şirit ve gaytanı</i> (n° 103) – <i>sarı ipekten mamul kılıç şiriti</i> (n° 101) <i>Tabanca gaytanı</i> —voir <i>gaytan</i> <i>Takım</i> —voir <i>Esb takımı</i>	Travna “ “		<i>Adet</i> <i>12+12=24</i> <i>Adet</i> <i>12+12=24</i> <i>Çift 1</i>	1607 26 288 74	
56.	<i>Tapkır (tapkur)</i> – <i>göğez ipekten mamul</i> ~ (n° 86) – <i>mor ipekten mamul</i> ~ (n° 88)	Travna “		<i>Adet 1</i> <i>Adet 1</i>	100 125	
57.	<i>Tobra (Torba)</i> – <i>kıl tobra</i> (n° 38)	Tirnovi	<i>Kolyo oğlu Geto</i>	<i>Çift 1</i>	7	
58.	<i>Uçkur</i> —voir <i>çevre ve uçkur</i>					
59.	<i>Yapağı</i> – <i>beyaz</i> ~ (n° 25)	Tirnovi		<i>Kıyye 0,5</i>	9	
60.	<i>Yastık</i> – <i>tire işlemeli</i> ~ (n° 7) – <i>yüнден mensuç</i> ~ (n° 58) <i>Yastık</i> (pour les chevaux)—voir <i>şilte ve yastık</i>	Tirnovi “		<i>Çift 1</i> <i>Adet 12</i>	90 180	
61.	<i>Yataklık</i> (n° 57)	Tirnovi		<i>Top 1</i>	320	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

N	Articles	Fabriqué à	Fabriquant	Mesure	Prix	
					<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
	<i>Yemiş—voir kuru yemiş</i>					
62.	<i>Yular</i>					
	– <i>bargir (beygir) yuları</i> ~ (n° 41)	Tirnovi	Hacı Şakir	Çift 1	40	
	– <i>öküz yuları</i> ~ (n° 40)	“	“	Çift 1	10	

Tableau 2 Articles artisanaux fabriqués dans le village de Kalofer et destinés à l'exposition de Paris en 1867

N	Articles fabriqués dans le village de Kalofer	Mesure	<i>multiplié à (fi)</i>	Prix	
				<i>guruş</i>	<i>para</i>
1.	<i>Deve tüyü şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 14	8,5	119	
2.	<i>Kurşuni şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 19	7	133	
3.	<i>Somaki şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 12,5	7	87	20
4.	<i>Koyu somaki şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 10,5	7	73	20
5.	<i>Yeşil cevizi şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 10	7	70	
6.	<i>Acık deve tüyü şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 32,5	7	227	20
7.	<i>Santraç (Şatranç) siyah mor şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 22,5	7	157	20
8.	<i>Şayak beyaz ihram</i>	<i>zira</i> 21,5	17,5	376	10
9.	<i>Al boyalı iki kat [şayak]</i>	<i>zira</i> 22	19	418	
10.	<i>Al yastık [şayak]</i>	<i>zira</i> 18,5	7	129	20
11.	<i>Kurşuni şayak</i>	<i>zira</i> 15	7	105	
12.	<i>Siyah gözlü (?) kebir seccade (seccade)</i>	<i>adet</i> 1		110	
13.	<i>Yeşil kenarlı al seccade (seccade)</i>	<i>adet</i> 1		125	
14.	<i>Gaytan, al ve mor ve siyah</i>	<i>top</i> 9		54	
<i>a u t o t a l</i>				2185	30

FLOODING THE OTTOMAN MARKET: MARKETING HISTORY RELATED TOPICS

YAVUZ KÖSE

*Tepeden tırnağa kadar Avrupa mamulâtı ile giyinmiş
değil miyiz?*¹

In a small booklet from 1985 Çelik Gülersoy complains pathetically that Istanbul was full of the outdoor advertisements of foreign companies.² Now, twenty years later, Istanbul is more than ever full of advertisements and billboards; indeed the whole city and its buildings seem to be transformed into a single advertising space used by companies like Coca Cola, Sony, Miller, Nike and Nestlé. Today multinational corporations are the target of anti-globalization activists, who blame them for exploiting the human and material resources of the Third World. Many demonstrations or protests are aimed at corporations who dominate the markets. Further, it is said that such corporations will gain an increasing influence on the consumption behaviour of societies all around the world. And indeed some corporations are more powerful economic units than states: according to a ranking of the greatest 100 economic units in the world, in 1999 many companies' sales exceeded the gross national product (GNP) of some national economies. Among these units fifty-one companies and forty-nine national economies were listed.³ Today an ever increasing "corporate global power" not only concerns NGOs, but also inspires numerous works on the effects of globalization and the enormous growth of multinational companies and their cultural influences.⁴

Yet, though Gülersoy mourns past days when Istanbul was "free" of any advertisements, these times have not existed since the late nineteenth

¹ "Selanik'den", *İkdam*, 7 Nisan 1899, see H. Kazgan, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Şirketleşme*, in "Osmanlı Sanayii Monografi ve Yorumlar", Istanbul 1991, p. 230.

² Ç. Gülersoy, *Reklamlar ve Biz*, Istanbul 1985.

³ S. Anderson and J. Cavanagh, *Top 200. The Rise of Corporate Global Power*, Washington 2000, p. 9, quoted after H. Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte. Eine themen- und theorieorientierte Einführung*, Paderborn et al. 2004, p. 27.

⁴ See among others N. Klein, *No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs*, New York 2002.

century at least. Photographs from the period also show us billboards, outdoor advertisements and, in the early twentieth century, the illuminated advertisements of foreign consumer goods. This was also the time when Western companies began to produce and sell on a global level and thus became multinationals.

This first wave of globalization can be set between 1870 and 1914,⁵ and was fostered by industrialization and the “communication revolution”⁶ which resulted in an “explosion of greater economic interconnectedness”.⁷ This wave also had an impact on the Ottoman Empire, its politics, economy, and the whole of society.

Yet the above mentioned first wave of globalization affected not only the less developed countries or colonies; on the contrary, the flood of goods and consumption was interconnected worldwide, and the movement of goods was most active between the so-called developed Western countries.⁸ The Ottoman government was not alone in protecting its markets and supporting indigenous industries and crafts. At the end of the nineteenth century the wave of globalization was accompanied by a general protectionist attitude, which also took place in the core countries of capitalism.⁹ To give an example, in the 1880s Great Britain took action to protect its markets against a flood of German consumer goods by enacting a law which forced German producers to label their commodities “Made in Germany”. Ironically, rather than becoming a cautionary label, reminding the British consumer to assume his or her duty

⁵ Though the term globalization is relatively new, it refers to processes which date earlier than the 19th Century. The period chosen here is due to multinational corporations' first appearance in this period. For a broad discussion on the history of globalization see A. G. Hopkins, *The History of Globalization- and the Globalization of History*, in A. G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History*, New York, London 2002, pp. 12–45, here pp. 25–41. For other possible divisions into periods see for instance Jürgen Osterhammel and N. P. Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung*, Munich 2003; M. D. Bordo, Alan M. Taylor and J. G. Williamson (eds.), *Globalization in Historical Perspective*, Chicago, London 2003; Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte*... cit., pp. 132–136; and Knut Borchardt, *Globalisierung in historischer Perspektive* in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 2 (2001), pp. 4–34.

⁶ Bordo, Taylor, and Williamson, *Globalization in Historical Perspective*... cit.; Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte*... cit., pp. 132–136.

⁷ Roger Owen, *Using Present Day Notions of Imperialism, Globalization and Internationalism: To Understand The Middle East's Late 19th Century/Early Twentieth Century Past* in “*The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies*”, 4 (Fall 2003), pp. 4–16, here p. 5.

⁸ Borchardt, *Globalisierung in historischer Perspektive*... cit., pp. 5–8.

⁹ According to Borchardt, this was due to decreasing global commodity prices, see *Ibid.*, pp. 24–29.

to buy British goods, it was later to become a mark of quality, presumably the best-known one.¹⁰ Seen from this angle it was not only the Ottoman market that was flooded with masses of “foreign” mostly “Western” goods during the first era of globalisation.

Often the process of “incorporation into the world market” was analyzed through assumptions of imperialism, dependency, and decline, rather covering than pursuing intensively many dynamic processes (such as successful competition, resistance and internal reasoning). And, the whole array of questions concerning foreign companies and goods, the Ottoman market and the Ottoman consumer have not been considered either. Once mass-produced cheap consumer goods flooded the Ottoman markets, the implications of this require some elaboration: What happened to them? How they were distributed and marketed? How and by whom were they purchased? What effects on traditional consumption behaviours did they have? What was the perception of the foreign companies and their goods, or their marketing? Did every Ottoman citizen perceive the thrust of the brands as intrusive and disturbing? Were there exclusively hostile reactions against foreign companies as studies on *milli iktisât*¹¹ (national economic movement) imply?

In order to provide answers to such questions this article aims to offer a new perspective: marketing history. In examining the relation between modern marketing and Ottoman society, this new perspective draws our attention to such questions which former paradigms have often left unconsidered.

The first effect of this approach, as will be shown below, enables us to look on a micro level at issues like markets, goods and consumers and their interrelations. Instead of assuming the impact of Western commodities on a macro level (national state centred view), marketing history brings us closer to the “commerce interface” between companies’ sales efforts and their effects on consumers.

As new works on Ottoman social and economic history clearly show, previous assumptions about the Ottoman economy and its dependency or decline were too general, often ignoring realities at the micro level (see below). Through marketing history new results might be offered, which could show that on the one hand we can not easily make the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

¹¹ Z. Toprak, *Türkiye’de „milli iktisât“*, Ankara 1982 and Id., *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908–1950). İttihat-Terraki ve Devletçilik*, İstanbul 1995.

accusation that foreign companies (especially those producing and selling consumer goods) served (only) imperialist interests, and on the other hand give evidence that they were not alone on the highly competitive Ottoman market.

The purpose of this article is to offer a motivation for research in the field of the marketing history of foreign companies, a topic in which historians of the Ottoman Empire have not been interested until recently.¹²

Given¹³ the state of recent studies in social and economic history, which will be presented here partially, we see an increasing interest in topics which leave behind the old paradigms, like decline, dependency or imperialism, and offer a new and refreshing picture of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴ This is mostly due the re-reading of well-known sources, and on the other hand, the inclusion of material to be found mostly outside the state archives. This material also offers clues for marketing related questions, and therefore a few of them will be explored in this paper as well. Works dedicated to foreign companies and their (marketing)

¹² For business history in the Ottoman Empire see for instance Kazgan, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Şirketleşme*...cit. Kazgan is among the first scholars who have dedicated some studies to the history of Ottoman/Turkish business. Ali Akyıldız recently published a book on "Ottoman securities" in which he gives a valuable narrative of the evolution of private business companies (of local and foreign origin); see A. Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Dönemi Tahvil ve Hisse Senetleri. "Ottoman Securities"*, İstanbul 2001, especially pp. 19–92. Though there have been in recent times some works on Turkish private firms, most of the studies are mainly concerned with state-run ones. Almost all contributions lack marketing-related approaches or questions; hence they will not be considered in this study. For state-run factories see T. Güran, *Tanzimat Döneminde Devlet Fabrikaları*, in H. D. Yıldız, (ed.), *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Ankara 1992, pp. 235–279. For private firms during the first wave of Ottoman industrialization see A. Kal'a, *Osmanlı Devletinde Sanayileşmenin İlk Yıllarında Özel Fabrikalar*, in "Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları", 83 (1993), pp. 107–133. For recent case studies see H. Kazgan, A. Soyak and M. Koraltürk, *Cumhuriyet'in 75 Yıllık Sigortacısı Koç Allianz*, İstanbul 1995; A. Buluş, *Osmanlı Tekstil Sanayii Hereke Fabrikası* (unpl. Diss.), İstanbul, T.C. İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İktisat Tarihi Anabilim Dalı 2000 (this study provides some interesting aspects of the company's marketing its Fes; see especially pp. 279–308); G. Ö. Ocakoğlu and M. Koraltürk (eds.), *Sabunun Hikayesi*, İstanbul 2003; M. Koraltürk and E. Dölen, *İlk Çimento Fabrikamızın Öyküsü 1910–2004*, İstanbul 2004.

¹³ For the state of the art in Ottoman history writing see D. Quataert, "Ottoman History Writing at a Crossroads", in Id., and S. Sayarı (eds.), *Turkish Studies in the United States*, Bloomington 2003, pp. 15–31.

¹⁴ For an overview of Ottoman economic history see Ç. Çakır, *Türkiye'de İktisat Tarihi Çalışmalarının Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*, in "Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi" (Türk İktisat Tarihi Sayısı), 1,1 (2003), pp. 7–63, and M. A. Karaömerlioğlu, *Bağımlılık, Dünya Sistemi Teorisi ve Osmanlı/Türkiye Çalışmaları*, in "Toplum ve Bilim", 91 (2001/2002), pp. 81–99.

activities in the Ottoman Empire are still hard to find yet by no means non-existent. I will present recent groundbreaking studies in this field, each offering new innovative perspectives and approaches to the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire/Middle East. It is to this new direction that this article aims to make a contribution. But first we must answer the legitimate question: What is marketing?

What Marketing is

The classical marketing functions are seen as: “buying and selling [*functions of exchange*], transportation and storage [*the functions of physical supply*], and financing, risk-taking, and standardization [*the facilitating functions*]”.¹⁵ Within this frame marketing scholars may raise classical questions like:

- How are goods and services distributed?
- How are prices set?
- How is market information dispersed to consumers, distributors, and producers?
- How are market choices made? Are they free, effective, and efficient?
- How is the process regulated?¹⁶

It is not surprising that Ottomanists from the beginning tried to deal with these sorts of questions—even if they would not regard themselves as marketing historians. The Ottoman Empire has had its own specific marketing system, which was part of the larger economic system. As such marketing is not only a “universal economic institution”,¹⁷ but: “[W]ith respect to culture, marketing is a social institution that is highly adaptive to its cultural and political context. Thus we can easily go around the world to locate societies with very different marketing systems.”¹⁸

¹⁵ R. Savitt, *A Personal View of Historical Explanation in Marketing and Economic Development*, in Terence, Nevett, Ronald A. Fullerton (eds.), *Historical Perspectives in Marketing. Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, Lexington 1988, pp. 113–132, here p. 116

¹⁶ Savitt, *A Personal View*... cit., p. 122.

¹⁷ Id., *The State of the Art in Marketing and Economic Development*, in Erdoğan, A. Kumcu, F. Firat (eds.), *Marketing and Development: Toward Broader Dimensions*. Greenwich/Conneticut et al. 1988, pp. 11–39, here p. 27.

¹⁸ W. L. Wilkie, E. S. Moore, *Marketing's Relationship to Society*, in Weitz, Barton, Robing Wensley (eds.), *Handbook of Marketing*, London et al. 2002, pp. 9–39, here p. 10 (italic Wilkie/Moore). For an exemplary study see B. K. Larson, *The Rural Marketing*

Given this array of questions we quickly realise that marketing history is not all about novelty in the field of Ottoman studies. Suffice it to name the most important works on marketing relevant topics contributed by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Lütfi Güçer, Halil İnalcık, Mübahat Küçükoglu, Robert Mantran and, especially, Suraiya Faroqhi.¹⁹ She has dealt with most of the questions Savitt saw as the scaffold of marketing history.²⁰ Therefore it would be fair to see her as one of the first marketing historians of the Ottoman realm during early modern times. A quick look at some of her studies is likely to prove this assertion: she has provided the field with interesting insights in the functioning of the supply and distribution of commodities—urban and rural—the topography

System of Egypt over the Last Three Hundred Years, in “Comparative Studies in Society and History” 27 (1985), pp. 494–530. See also below (note 22).

¹⁹ Among others see Ö. L. Barkan, *XV. Asrın Sonunda Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar*, in “Tarih Vesikaları” 1,5 (1942), pp. 326–40, “Tarih Vesikaları” 2,7 (1942), “Tarih Vesikaları” 2,9 (1942), pp. 168–177; L. Güçer, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İstanbul’un İlaşesi İçin Lüzumlu Hububatın Temini Meselesi* in “İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası” 11,1–4 (1951), pp. 397–416; R. Mantran, *İstanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle. Essai d’histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale*, Paris 1962; M. Küçükoglu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*, İstanbul 1983; R. Murphy, *Provisioning Istanbul: the state and subsistence in the early modern Middle East*, in “Food and Foodways” 2 (1988), pp. 218–263. For a general discussion of the “Ottoman economic mind” and references to marketing related issues see Halil İnalcık, *Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire*, in “The Journal of Economic History” 29,1 (1969), pp. 97–140; Id., *The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy*, in M. A. Cook, (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, London 1970, pp. 207–218; Id., *The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600*, in Id., D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 9–411, here especially pp. 44–55. For recent case studies see E. Özveren, *Black Sea and the Grain Provisioning of Istanbul in the Longue Durée*, in Marin, Brigitte, C. Virlouvet (eds.), *Nourrir les cites de Méditerranée. Antiquité—Temps modernes*, Paris 2003, pp. 223–249; O. Yıldırım, *Bread and Empire: the Working of Grain Provisioning in Istanbul during the Eighteenth Century*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 251–273.

²⁰ It is not aimed to give a complete bibliography of Suraiya Faroqhi’s work (an article would barely suffice); the works cited here only exemplify her interest in marketing related topics. See for instance Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Early History of the Balkan Fairs*, in “Südost Forschungen” 37 (1978), pp. 50–68; Id., *Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian sancaks: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-i Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın and Menteşe*, in “Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient” 22,1 (1979), pp. 32–79; Id., L. Erder, *The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network During the Sixteenth Century*, in “Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient” 23,3 (1980), pp. 267–303; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, crafts and food production in an urban setting, 1520–1650*, Cambridge et al. 1984, here especially pp. 23–76 and pp. 125–171; and Id., *Supplying Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Istanbul with Fresh Produce*, in Marin, Brigitte, C. Virlouvet (eds.), *Nourrir les cites de Méditerranée*, pp. 273–301.

of markets, and the connection and interrelation of merchants, markets and consumers.²¹

Though we do have glimpses of how the production, supply, distribution and exchange of certain goods and services took place, and we do know the role of markets within that framework, we do lack a structure which would make clear how the marketing system evolved and worked within the Ottoman institutional scaffold until the 19th century. This would enable us to see the “spatial and hierarchical patterns of market distribution”.²² This generalization—that is the evolution of the Ottoman marketing system through time—remains to be carried out in order to understand what sort of transformations Ottoman society faced when, with integration into the world economy and the appearance of Western firms, traditional relationships between producer and consumer were altered, at least in some segments.²³

In short, marketing could be described as a craft which aims to connect the producer of a product or service with the customer. Yet, in order to realize this connection the latter—potential consumer—is of great importance for he

is the foundation of a business and keeps it in existence. (...) Markets are not created by God, nature or economic forces, but by business men. (...) Marketing is not only much broader than selling, it is not a specialized activity at all. It is the whole business seen from the point of view of its final result, that is, from the customer's point of view.²⁴

²¹ In this context Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* is to be considered probably as the most valuable source for the marketing history of the early modern history of the Ottoman realm.

²² Larson, *The Rural Marketing System*... cit.

²³ For an idea of how an analytical framework for the Middle East might look, see the study of Barbara K. Larson in which she analyses the rural marketing system of Egypt from the 18th to the 20th centuries. She draws her analytical framework from the regional science models provided by Carol A. Smith. The latter “posits a connection between the distributional and hierarchical pattern of markets (the type of central-place system), on the one hand, and the institutional framework through which goods and services circulate (the type of exchange), on the other.” In her conclusion she states that “it should be clear from this analysis that an understanding of the shape and functions of a rural marketing system does not depend on a appraisal of geographic and narrowly economic factors alone. The institutional framework—political, social, economic—within which such a marketing system exists, and thus the political economy as a whole, must also be considered” and therefore economic patterns and processes must be examined in political context, and not as a thing apart. Larson, *The rural marketing system*... cit., p. 496 and p. 530.

²⁴ P. F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, Melbourne 1955, pp. 29–31, quoted from Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte*... cit., p. 314.

Though the term ‘marketing’ refers primarily to the *promotion* of products, especially advertising, it also covers—as we have seen—a wider range of meaning, and can be subdivided in three additional segments: Product (product specifications, relation to end-user’s needs); Pricing (setting a price, i.e. discounts); Place (Distribution). Marketing historians are concerned with the marketing topics, as described above. Attempts have been undertaken to “generalize the history of marketing”, that is to subdivide its evolution into different stages.²⁵ Accordingly, the most interesting years for the study of the marketing activities of foreign companies in the Ottoman realm are to be set between 1870 and 1920. It is in these years that Western countries, like Britain, France, Germany and the United States exerted an increasing effort to break in the Ottoman market. After giving the state of the art of relevant studies covering these economic relations, this paper will go on to present a short survey of some possible sources relevant for studying the marketing history of the Ottoman Empire.

The Economic History of the Ottoman Empire: New Horizons

Over the last decades there have been important contributions to the economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th century.²⁶ According to Ahmet Akarlı these works seem “to agree that the general direction of the Ottoman economy was towards full-blown

²⁵ For the evolution of modern marketing see, R. S. Tedlow, *New and Improved. The Story of Mass Marketing in America*, Oxford 1990, p. XXII, and p. 8. Four phases can be generally differentiated in the evolution of marketing: Fragmentation (–1880); Unification (1880–1920/1950); Segmentation (1920/50–1980), and Hyper segmentation (1980–). For instance Nestlé’s marketing history between 1870 and 1920 could not easily assigned to one phase of Tedlow’s model. Moreover it has to be situated between Unification [evolution of national und international markets, brand consumer goods, low profit margin, high turnover] and Segmentation [social and psychographic segmentation, target group definition, high profit margin (value pricing), high sales]. The transition between these two phases is not always as clear as the model implies. For a critique of Tedlow’s model see also Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte*... cit., p. 313, and R. Church, *New Perspectives on the history of products, firms, marketing, and consumers in Britain and the United States since the mid-nineteenth century*, in “*Economic History Review*”, 52,3 (1999), pp. 405–435, here p. 409.

²⁶ Recently the new journal *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* dedicated its first issue to the history of the Turkish economy, in which Çoşkun Çakır summarized the state of affairs of Ottoman economic history in Turkey. See Ç. Çakır, *Türkiye’de İktisat Tarihi Çalışmalarının Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*, in “*Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*”, 1,1 (2003), pp. 7–63.

integration with the expanding world economy". And, that "this integration ended up in commercialization, urbanization, infrastructural innovation and the consolidation of European financial control over the economic sources of the Empire".²⁷ It is often stressed that the Ottoman Empire was highly affected by the spread of capitalism and the so-called incorporation into the capitalist world market.²⁸ Accordingly countries like Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary or Germany could gain beneficial commercial treaties because of their political power and influence. These treaties were decisive in increasing European control and domination over markets and the exploitation of raw materials. However, if we put the Ottoman economy in the context of the first phase of globalization between 1870 and 1914²⁹ we see on the one hand a troubled economy and on the other hand—at least in some sectors—economic growth.³⁰ Therefore some scholars, like Donald Quataert, tend to emphasize successful home sectors that were able to compete with Europe,³¹ while others argue for an approach which stresses more the dynamic aspects of the Ottoman economy rather than the decay and foreign domination paradigm.³² And, some tend to see the liberalism of

²⁷ A. O. Akarlı, *Growth and Retardation in Ottoman Macedonia, 1880–1910*, in Ş. Pamuk and J. G. Williamson (eds.), *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization Before 1950*, London, New York 2000, pp. 109–134, here p. 109.

²⁸ The journal *Review*—edited by Immanuel Wallerstein—includes a rich collection of articles relevant to this issue: see among others I. Wallerstein, *The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research*, in "Review" II 3 (1979), pp. 389–98; M. Çizakça, *Incorporation of the Middle East into the European World-Economy* in "Review" VIII 3 (1985), pp. 353–78; R. Kasaba, *Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire, 1750–1820*, in "Review" X 5,6 (1987), pp. 805–49. Further see also R. Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800–1914*, London 1981; D. Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1908. Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, New York et al. 1983; H. İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*. Cambridge et al. 1987; Ş. Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913. Trade, investment and Production*, Cambridge et al. 1987; and R. Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy. The Nineteenth Century*, Albany/New York 1988.

²⁹ For a short overview of the history of globalisation and different academic approaches to it see references given in note 5.

³⁰ Akarlı, *Growth and Retardation*... cit.

³¹ See for instance Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration*... cit; Id., *Manufacturing and Technology Transfer in the Ottoman Empire 1800–1914*, Istanbul-Strasbourg 1992; Id. *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge 1993; Id. (ed.), *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500–1950*, New York 1994; Id., *The Age of reforms, 1812–1914*, in H. İnalcık and D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 759–934.

³² Z. Toprak, *From Liberalism to Solidarism: The Ottoman Economic Mind in the Age of the Nation State (1820–1920)*, in R. Motika and Ch. Herzog et al. (eds.), *Studies in*

that time not as a failure at all. Tarik Yousef, for example, looks at the liberal policy of Egypt from a different angle: instead of showing its inability to foster industrialization, he demonstrates its effects on the formation of an integrated national economy.³³ In a recent work, John Chalcraft reveals roughly the same situation for Egyptian crafts and guilds in the late nineteenth century, for they were able to maintain shares of existing markets, and in part even managed to remain dominant.³⁴ In his investigation of the almanac *Annuaire Oriental* (see below) Ayhan Aktar could also show that, contrary to the common view that the ever-growing international trade destroyed traditional crafts in Istanbul, the late nineteenth century was not as dark as usually described, for there was at least in part an increasing activity in local business, crafts and arts.³⁵

As a result it might be too one-sided to see the Ottoman Empire only as a semi-colony of the European powers, or as a supplier of raw materials and a net importer of European goods. We must not forget that at the same time the growing influence of the European powers was favoured by the efforts of the Ottoman bureaucracy's liberal attitude to economic issues and their desire to centralize and rationalize the state apparatus.³⁶ Thus, Roger Owen recently correctly stated that

the history of the Eastern end of the Mediterranean is better written if the concept of imperialism is held in tension with that of globalization and of several forms of late 19th century internationalism. These included, at the state level, a series of experiments with institutionalized forms of cooperation between two or more European powers; at the economic level the existence of a growing number of transnational banks and companies [...]³⁷

Ottoman social and economic life = *Studien zu Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Osmanischen Reich*, Heidelberg 1999, pp. 171–191.

³³ T. Yousef, *Egyptian Commodity Markets in the Age of Economic Liberalism*, in Ş. Pamuk and J. G. Williamson (eds.), *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization Before 1950*, London, New York 2000, pp. 340–361.

³⁴ J. Chalcraft, *Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories. The Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914*, New York 2004.

³⁵ A. Aktar, *Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları'nda 'sarı sayfalar': İstanbul'da meslekler ve iktisadi faaliyetler hakkında bazı gözlemler, 1868–1938*, in "Toplum ve Bilim" 76 (1998), pp. 105–143.

³⁶ Quataert, *The Age of reforms*... cit.

³⁷ Owen, *Using Present Day Notions*... cit., p. 6.

Foreign companies in the Ottoman Empire

Yet, though the relationship between the Ottoman economy and Western economies is well surveyed, and has spawned a rich literature, our knowledge about foreign companies (especially consumer goods-producing ones) operating in the Ottoman Empire has remained hazy so far. The impact of companies, products and marketing has remained an obscure and untilled field in Middle Eastern history, although there is a rich and increasingly varied literature on Europe and North America,³⁸ and, as Donald Quataert rightly states, “there is certainly a great deal of work to be done and the surface hardly has been scratched”.³⁹

Undoubtedly, foreign companies played a decisive role in the process of integration with the capitalist world economy and shaped not only the economic, but also the social and cultural environment of the Ottoman Empire. In this progression modern Western marketing was presumably one of the most striking instruments, for it is described as a “concrete manifestation of capitalist ideals”.⁴⁰ It is to this “hinterland”⁴¹ (Roy Church), where the study of Western firms and that of Ottoman consumers overlap, to which this article aims to attract attention.

Some relevant sources for business and marketing history

For research on the relationship of companies/products and consumers in the Ottoman Empire some relevant sources already exist. Though hitherto largely used for social and economic studies, they have hardly been taken into consideration for marketing and business history oriented works. To give an idea of what might be possible, here is a brief sketch of the range of potential sources, which, far from being complete, gives only a preliminary overview.

Works oriented towards the national economies of European powers and their (imperialist) interests in the Ottoman Empire give us

³⁸ For an overview see Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte*...cit.

³⁹ Email from Donald Quataert (sent 28 November 2004).

⁴⁰ R. A. Fullerton, *Modern Western Marketing as a Historical Phenomenon: Theory and Illustration*, in T. Nevett and R. A. Fullerton (eds.), *Historical Perspectives in Marketing. Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, Lexington/Massachusetts, Toronto 1988, pp. 71–89.

⁴¹ Church, *New Perspectives*...cit.

mostly only sketchy data concerning companies.⁴² Some of these European powers founded trade chambers in the greater Ottoman cities, like Constantinople or Smyrna, for the purpose of supporting their national economies. Most of them published so-called *Bulletins* which are a valuable source on exporting companies and their products, or for companies which had establishments in the Empire as well.⁴³ Furthermore, countries like France, Great Britain, Germany and the USA had embassies which produced consular reports. These rich correspondences also mention companies and the available information might be worth scrutinizing.⁴⁴

One can also find revealing information about foreign companies from the published market reports of European officials from countries like Austria-Hungary or France, starting as early as the 1840s. These reports were not only intended to evaluate Ottoman markets but also to collect information about other European competitors.⁴⁵ With these we have detailed data concerning some exported consumer goods, their production/market and even the customary prices. In addition they provide us with information about Ottoman consumers' tastes, and their financial possibilities as they were perceived by the Westerner. The

⁴² J. Thobie, *Les intérêts économiques, financiers et politiques français dans la partie asiatique de l'Empire ottoman de 1895 à 1914*, Lille 1973; Id., *Sur quelques sociétés oubliées à capitaux français dans l'Empire ottoman*, in H. Batu, J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont (eds.), *L'Empire ottoman, la République de Turquie et la France*, Istanbul 1986, pp. 375–390; A. Birken, *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Europa und dem Vorderen Orient im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1980; Toprak, *Türkiye'de "milli iktisât"*...cit. For Egypt see among others S. Samir, *La France et l'Égypte de 1882 à 1914. Intérêts économiques et implications politiques*, Paris 1997.

⁴³ See for instance: Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Néerlandaise de Smyrne (Turquie d'Asie), Exportation, importation / Chambre de Commerce de Smyrne: commerce de Smyrne, Chambre de Commerce Française de Constantinople Bulletin Mensuel, Journal de la Chambre de Commerce de Constantinople. Bulletin Commercial. For further details see also J. Grunzel, *Bericht über die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wien 1903.

⁴⁴ To name here only a few: US Daily Consular Reports (USA), Foreign Office Reports (Great Britain), or Handelsberichte der Konsularämter (Austria-Hungary).

⁴⁵ Just a few examples: J. A. Reinelt, *Reise nach dem Orient zur Erhebung merkantiler Notizen für Oesterreichs Industrie*, Wien 1840; Ritter v. Schwegel, *Weltausstellung 1873. Volkswirtschaftliche Studien über Constantinopel und das anliegende Gebiet. Beiträge des k.u.k. Consulates und der österreichisch-ungarischen Handelskammer in Constantinopel zur Darstellung des Welthandels und der Geschichte der Preise auf der internationalen Ausstellung in Wien 1873*, Wien 1873; Grunzel, *Bericht über die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse*...cit.; F. Rougon, *Smyrne. Situation commerciale et économique des pays compris dans la circonscription du consulat général de France (Vilayets d'Aidin, de Konieh et des Iles)*, Paris 1881; H.W. Schmidt, *Auskunftsbuch für den Handel mit der Türkei. Kurze- faßtes Nachschlagebuch für Handel und Industrie*, Berlin-Konstantinopel 1917.

published “facts” could help the potential trader, entrepreneur or company to calculate and be prepared for the particularities of the Ottoman market and consumers.

The almanac *Annuaire Oriental* (hereafter AO) is another rich source for the study of foreign companies active in the Ottoman realm. This commercial guide was published almost every year between 1868 and 1939. Besides the detailed listings of companies and their products or sales agents for the latter in the “yellow pages”, we find also many advertisements for companies active in greater Constantinople especially (Stamboul, Beyoğlu, Pera). It is surprising that this extensive source has until recently been out of the focus of social and economic historians of the late Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶ The AO offers a highly valuable source for the study of business and marketing history related topics, covering advertising, products and services. In addition to the “yellow pages”, the AO provide large listings of the registered inhabitants of greater Istanbul: besides their names and residences, we learn their occupations as well. As a result, employees working for the foreign companies in local establishments are also identifiable. Furthermore, its periodical publication enables us to follow companies and their activities over a long period of time.⁴⁷

Advertising, without doubt inseparable from any company’s marketing efforts today, belonged in the late nineteenth century as well to one of the most essential means of targeting potential consumers. The Ottoman press is revealing in this respect. As will be shown below there are

⁴⁶ On average each AO had 1000 pages; a number of them had more than 2000.

⁴⁷ To date only a few articles have devoted some attention to the *Annuaire Oriental* as a source: T. Kut, *Indicateur Ottoman: Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları in Simurg, Kitap Kokusu*, 1 (1999), pp. 186–199; *Ticaretten Toplumsal Topografiya Uzanan Bir Kaynak: Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları, 1868–1945* in <http://www.obarsiv.com/koleksiyon1.html> (09.03.2005). For studies which relied on the AO see for example E. Eldem, *Galata’nın Etnik Yapısı*, in “*Istanbul*”, 1 (1992), pp. 58–63; Id., *Istanbul 1908–1918: A Quantative Analysis of a Bourgeoisie*, in “*Boğaziçi Journal. Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*”, 11,1–2 (1997); Aktar, *Şark Ticaret Yıllıkları’nda ‘sarı sayfalar’...cit.*; L. T. Baruh, *21. yüzyıla girerken. İstanbul tekstil tüccarının profili*, in “*Görüş*” 56 (Eylül 2003), pp. 64–72 (special issue: Türkiye Yahudileri); O. J. Schmitt, *Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im Osmanischen Reich im “langen 19. Jahrhundert”*, Munich 2005; Y. Köse, “*Maintenant, le plus beau, c’est la grève des EOB*”: Ein französischer Warenhausangestellter im Osmanischen Reich oder wie ein Streik funktioniert, in “*Archivum Ottomanicum*”, 24 (forthcoming), and Id., *Basare der Moderne von Pera bis Stamboul und ihre Angestellten*, in Id. (ed.) *Istanbul: vom imperialen Herrscherstz zur Megapolis. Historiographische Betrachtungen zu Gesellschaft, Institutionen und Räumen*, Munich 2006, pp. 314–351.

some studies which have used advertisements as a source, but so far the advertisement pages have been investigated more haphazardly concerning their marketing related content. For a more systematic approach to identifying foreign companies' advertising methods and their target consumers, it would be necessary to investigate not only issues of the Ottoman-Turkish, but in addition the minority press, ranging from Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Arab to English, French and German gazettes. This demanding work reminds one of a Sisyphean task, but it would be worth the effort.⁴⁸ This rich variety of the local press further covers topics which help us to understand how foreign companies were perceived by the public, and if there were differences in this regard among the different ethnic/religious groups.⁴⁹

In favour of Marketing History for Ottoman/Turkish Studies

Concerning companies, in most of the socio-economically oriented works on the Ottoman Empire a national economic view prevailed until recently. Based on statistical data of imports from the West and exports from the Empire, they claim an ever-growing flood of mass-produced cheap goods from the Western world into the Ottoman market beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. They also mostly declare the influence of these goods on the Ottoman market and the Ottomans, but without giving any satisfactory explanation as to what this influence was about. To sum up, most of these works point to the destructive effects of the foreign goods and companies which dominated the local markets, and were therefore to be seen as one of the strongest agents responsible for the decay of local production and industry.

Yet, as the above mentioned new studies clearly illustrate, the assumption of the decay and decline of Middle Eastern crafts and business is too general. Likewise, goods were not automatically purchased by Ottoman consumers; their very existence and availability in the Ottoman market did not necessarily mean that they were going to be bought. Neither was

⁴⁸ The greatest obstacle is the lack of availability of such material: journals and dailies are often not only incomplete but also scattered.

⁴⁹ See for example O. Koloğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tröstler ve Basın I*, in "Tarih ve Toplum", 45 (1987), pp. 137–144; *ibid.*, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tröstler ve Basın II*, in *Tarih ve Toplum*, 46 (1987), pp. 209–214, Y. D. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu. Bir Toplum-sal Hareketin Analizi*, İstanbul 2004; and Köse, "Maintenant, le plus beau, c'est la grève des EOB" ...cit.

there only one foreign commodity to purchase, nor were there no local choices. Generally the consumer had to be convinced to buy, let's say Nestlé's breast-milk substitute *Farine Lactée*, instead of the substitute of its competitor Thistle, let alone a local alternative infant formula called "Memedeki çocuklara gıda-ı dakık" offered by Doktor Ziya. Similarly, many shops or department stores (local or of foreign origin) would court the consumer. And a quick look at the advertisement pages of the Ottoman press gives us an idea that this was hard work. This situation prevailed for many (consumer goods distributing) companies active in the Ottoman realm.

Furthermore, although many of the companies were of foreign origin, their ways of promoting their goods could be quite different and mostly dependent on their products' peculiarities. Marketing theorists make a differentiation between different kinds of goods. For instance they distinguish between so-called search goods (i.e. foodstuffs), and experience goods (i.e. appliances). This distinction is built on their recognition that for every kind of product there are varying costs to the potential consumer.⁵⁰ To make it clearer: in order to market its convenience goods to the target Ottoman consumer the Swiss Nestlé Company had to rely mostly on advertisements and other promotional tools, whereas, for example, the Singer Sewing Machine Company had to offer extra services, such as demonstrations and after sales services.⁵¹

Some Recent Works on Marketing History Related Studies in the Middle East

Recently the broadcasting of commercials for the Turkish soda called *Cola Turka* showed in an impressive way how powerful the effects marketing strategies can have among targeted consumers—in this case the whole of Turkish society. For the launching of this drink, which

⁵⁰ "The distinction is built on the recognition that the costs to the consumer to sample a product vary according to the kind of good it is. For search goods, the essential market support service provided by the producer is advertising. For experience goods, producers need to provide additional services, such as demonstration and after sales services, in order to minimize consumer search and sampling costs." A. C. Godley, *Selling the Sewing Machine Around the World: Singer's International Marketing Strategies, 1850–1914*, in "DP" 422, XIII (2000/2001), pp. 1–42, here p. 4, and Church, *New Perspectives...cit.*

⁵¹ Godley, *Selling the Sewing Machine...cit.*, p. 4. See also Andrew Godley, *Selling the Sewing Machine Around the World: Singer's International Marketing Strategies, 1850–1920* in "Enterprise & Society" 7,2 (2006), pp. 266–314.

obviously was inspired by the American sodas, Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola, the company, Ülker, had a simple but nevertheless brilliant idea: in drinking *Cola Turka* Americans become Turkish. Just as Coca Cola stands for the “American Way of Life”, *Cola Turka* aimed to represent the “Turkish Way of Life”. For Ülker it was a sweeping success: within a short time it had a considerable share of the fast-growing soft-drinks market, currently dominated by Coke with a 57% share, followed by Pepsi with 27%.⁵² This example brings out an important point: the significance of culture for consumer behaviour and its key role in today’s companies’ marketing strategies. Yet, this was also true for earlier periods.⁵³ Thus, the argument goes, knowledge of the cultural dispositions of the target consumer markets was essential for companies in order to bridge the gap between the newness/foreignness of their products and the distinctiveness of the target consumer. On the other hand, the target consumer was also equally faced with the need to “engage in a process of searching, learning and adapting to the products and services offered by firms.”⁵⁴

Here follow some exemplary studies touching on issues which Roy Church has described as *hinterland*, the place where company and consumer meet. In this respect department stores in the Ottoman Empire/Middle East constitute probably one of the most interesting but hitherto neglected fields of research.⁵⁵ Though many published urban study

⁵² See B. Britt, *Chevy Chase Does Turkish Cola Ads Aimed At Coke And Pepsi Spots Air as Anti-American Feeling in Turkey Runs High*, in “AdAge.com” (July 28, 2003), and A. Finkel, *Made in Turkey: Mix Soda, a Star, Nationalism and Stir. Where the ‘It’ Drink Tastes Vaguely Anti-American*, in “Washington Post”, August 10, 2003, see <http://www.washingtonpost.com> (26.08.2004).

⁵³ For an inspiring study on how culture matters for economics see A. Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London 1880–1914: Enterprise and Culture*, New York, Palgrave 2001. For on study of the “Wirtschaftskultur” in today’s Turkey see H. Schuss, *Die Wirtschaftskultur der Türkei—ein Hemmnis bei der Integration in die Europäische Union?* in S. Wippel (ed.), *Wirtschaft im Vorderen Orient. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, Berlin 2005.

⁵⁴ Though far from being satisfactorily defined, the term *culture* is used here, as Lipartino defines it, “a system of values, ideas, and beliefs which constitute a mental apparatus for grasping reality”, see K. Lipartito, *Culture and the Practice of Business History*, in “*Business and Economic History*”, 24, 2 (Winter 1995), pp. 4–42, here p. 2 and p. 8.

⁵⁵ There exists an abundant literature on department stores in Europe and North America. See for example M. B. Miller, *Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store 1869–1920*, Princeton 1981; W. Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History*, London 1995; G. Crossick and S. Jaumain (eds.), *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850–1939*, Aldershot et al. 1999; H.-G. Haupt, *Konsum und Handel. Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2003.

works do not fail to spot the existence and the influence of these Western shops, yet they go no further in investigating and specifying.⁵⁶ The surveys by Rudolf Agstner of Jewish-Austrian department stores in the Ottoman Empire (particularly in Egypt)⁵⁷ are different in many respects, for they not only rely on advertisements in the Ottoman foreign or local language press, but also on archival sources (consular reports and sources from the Austrian state archive).⁵⁸ Agstner's studies give us a hint of the role department stores played in the Middle East. They were not only decisive for bringing new consumption patterns⁵⁹ to the Ottomans and in changing the urban fabric with their buildings and intensive outdoor advertising; they also played an important role as employers.⁶⁰ Nancy Reynolds in her dissertation *Commodity Communities: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practices, and Social Power in Egypt*⁶¹ is also mainly concerned with department stores situated in Cairo and their employees. According to her, department stores played an important role within the economic sphere of the city, as a sort of "liminal space" connecting the "colonial environment" with the local urban society. This was mainly realised through the highly cosmopolitan mixture of the employees. Though this study is dedicated mainly to the years

⁵⁶ See for example, N. Akın, 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera. İstanbul 2002²; B. Üsdiken, "Baker Mağazaları", in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (1993), pp. 551–552; Id. "Bonmarşeler", (B. Üsdiken, ed.), in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, p. 297–298; Id., *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840–1955*, İstanbul 1999; Z. Toprak, *Tüketim Örüntüleri ve Osmanlı Mağazaları*, in "Cogito", 5 (1995²), (Special Issue: Dünya Büyük Bir Mağaza), pp. 25–29.

⁵⁷ For Jews in Egypt see G. Krämer, *The Jews in Modern Egypt, 1914–1952*, Seattle 1989.

⁵⁸ See for instance R. Agstner, *A Tale of Three Viennese Department Stores in Egypt. The Oriental Adventures of Mayer, Stein and Tiring*, in "Aufbau—deutsch-jüdische Zeitung" [<http://aufbauonline.com/1999/issue9/pages9/12.html>] (2.11.2002); Id., *Dream and Reality: Austrian Architects in Egypt, 1869–1914*, in M. Volait (ed.), *Le Caire–Alexandrie. Architectures européennes, 1850–1950*, Cairo 2001 (=Études Urbaines 5), pp. 149–155; and Id., *Das Wiener Kaufhausimperium 'S. Stein' im Osmanischen Reich*, in "Wiener Geschichtsblätter", 59,2 (2004), pp. 130–140.

⁵⁹ Ali Akyıldız provides in his work about Refia Sultan (1842–1880), daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid, an interesting overview of her consumption pattern, based on invoices issued by foreign department stores in Constantinople. Members of the sultanate used to shop in the most famous stores of the capital. See A. Akyıldız, *Mümin ve Müsrif bir Padişah Kızı: Refia Sultan*, İstanbul 1998, pp. 46–75. For the shops and department stores she would (let) visit see pp. 51–56.

⁶⁰ Agstner, *Das Wiener Kaufhausimperium*... cit.

⁶¹ N. Y. Reynolds, *Commodity Communities: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practices, and Social Power in Egypt, 1907–1961*, Ann Arbor 2003 (UMI Microform).

between 1930 and 1960 it gives important clues to former periods. It is above all its broad perspective which makes this study outstanding within Middle Eastern studies, for it incorporates Western studies about department stores and therefore could compare their similarities and peculiarities.

Well-known department stores like S. Stein, A. Mayer, or Tiring employed in their branches in Cairo or Alexandria several hundred salaried staff, ranging from doorkeepers and sales assistants to office workers. Comparable data can be found for the stores in Constantinople.⁶² Here the department store Orosdi & Back played an outstanding role for it was probably the greatest in town. Between the years 1908 and 1920 we count on average 200 employees (Turks, Greeks, Armenian, Jews, Austrian, French), who were at the customers' command on five floors.⁶³ Uri Kupferschmidt recently contributed a monograph⁶⁴ on this department store, undoubtedly one of the most interesting companies in the Middle East, due to its branches all over the Ottoman realm and its long existence.⁶⁵ There is a desideratum for studies which go further in investigating "oriental" department stores.

Nearly as important and far-reaching in its effects as department stores in Ottoman times, and even into the Republican era, is another company and its product: the Singer Sewing Machine Company. There is probably almost no family which did not own one Singer Sewing machine or at least know one neighbour who possessed one. Though Donald Quataert touched in his studies⁶⁶ upon this consumer durable and its importance for the evolution of home manufacturing in the Empire, works which concentrate on how this company made its path to many Ottoman households have been more or less missing, until recently.

⁶² Köse, *Basare der Moderne*... cit.

⁶³ My survey of a strike in the department store Orosdi&Back is based on letters written by a French employee in the Constantinople branch between 1908 and 1914. The survey concerning the employees was done on the basis of several issues of the *Annuaire Oriental*. See Köse, "Maintenant, le plus beau, c'est la grève des EOB"... cit.

⁶⁴ U. Kupferschmidt, *European Department Stores and Middle Eastern Consumers: The Orosdi-Back Saga*, Istanbul 2007.

⁶⁵ For some data on this company see Saul, *La France et l'Égypte*... cit., pp. 170–174.

⁶⁶ See Quataert, *Manufacturing and Technology Transfer*... cit.

Uri Kupferschmidt is probably the first Middle Eastern (social) historian to dedicate a fascinating study to the Singer Company and its activities in the Middle East (mainly Egypt). Although aiming for a social history of the sewing machine in the Middle East, Kupferschmidt also touches on business and marketing history related issues.⁶⁷ In this respect Andrew Godley gives us a more general idea of the Singer Company's global marketing activities; at the same time his study is also revealing in terms of Singer's performance in the Ottoman realm. Though Singer used some marketing tools, like advertising in the local press, its marketing strategies

were crude and undeveloped, even by the standards prevailing in international business by 1914, [...] rather Singer's extraordinary success in foreign markets was more due to the peculiarities of the demand conditions surrounding consumer purchase of a complex consumer durable like a sewing machine. In particular, the combination of instalment purchase contract and the regular presence of canvassers and collectors meant that sewing machine consumers, women in their homes, were able to overcome the inherent uncertainties associated with such a purchase. By investing in a retail organization, Singer minimized the costs to women sampling this complex product before purchasing⁶⁸

Nevertheless, press advertising was (and still is) an important marketing tool for companies.⁶⁹ Advertising in the Ottoman press began only at the end of the 1990s to be a research field in Ottoman studies. Two monographs from Orhan Koloğlu (published in 1999) and Hamza Çakır (published in 1997) are concerned with this issue, but they are more or less (yet nonetheless valuable) compilations of advertising material than substantial studies on advertising as a marketing tool based on any methodological frame. In recent years press advertising has become a prominent issue within the history of the press of the Middle East.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ U. M. Kupferschmidt, *The Social History of the Sewing Machine in the Middle East*, in "Die Welt des Islam. International Journal for the Study of Modern Islam", 44, 2 (2004), pp. 195–215. Unfortunately Kupferschmidt did not consider the monograph by R. B. Davies, *Peacefully working to conquer the world: Singer sewing machines in foreign markets, 1854–1920*, New York 1976 and the survey of A. C. Godley, *Selling the Sewing Machine*... cit., both giving interesting data to Singer's performance in the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁸ Godley, *Selling the Sewing Machine*... cit., p. 21.

⁶⁹ O. Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın ilk yüzyılı, 1840–1940*, İstanbul 1999; H. Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam (1828–1864)*, Ankara 1997.

⁷⁰ See for instance the *History of the Press in the Middle East, VIth Meeting: "The Economy as an Issue in the Middle Eastern Press"*, May 19–23, 2004, Nicosia/Cyprus. In

Furthermore, several articles have tried to read advertisements as a source of modernisation in Ottoman society;⁷¹ we find also some studies concerned with the socio-economic aspects of advertising.⁷² From a marketing historian's perspective these studies may mostly lack two important points: first, many of these works scarcely have a critical approach to advertisements as a source, second they barely incorporate an account of the advertisers, i.e. the companies. Yet it is indispensable to study these sorts of sources in close connection with the enterprises which were often at the same time the creators of these advertisements. This would allow us to get a clearer idea of the way they used advertising in the press (and in other mediums) for their purposes and what were their methods of attracting Ottoman consumers. This would make it easier for us to reveal their different methods (perhaps also the underlying *esprit*), and would give us thereby an idea of their conception of the Ottoman consumer. This is important because we must not forget that this kind of source shows us rather how the advertisers perceived and pictured the (Ottoman) consumer than it tells us about the consumers themselves.⁷³

However, the advertisements in some way demonstrate the commercialisation not only of the press, but also (at least for a large part) of the Ottoman urban public. This commercialisation led to the stepwise emergence of an advertising industry,⁷⁴ and, consequently brought new

this sixth meeting advertising was the most popular topic. See the forthcoming proceedings edited by Martin Strohmeier and Gisela Procházka-Eisl.

⁷¹ For instance O. Koloğlu, *Ev Eşyasının Batılılaşmasının Kanıtı Olarak Gazete İlanları*, in *Tarih Boyunca Türklerde ev ve aile semineri*, 25–26 Mayıs 1998, İstanbul 2000, pp. 237–249; Id., *Modernizasyon Aracı Olarak Reklamcılık*, in “*Toplumsal Tarih*”, 64,11 (1999), pp. 46–48; Id., *İlk kez Abdülhamit dönemi basınında başlayan ve iyice yaygılaşan Reklamlarda Kadın*, in “*Tarih ve Toplum*” 195,33 (2000), pp. 44–51; E. B. Frierson, *Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society*, in D. Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922. An Introduction*, New York 1999, pp. 243–261; and S. A. Stein, *Making Jews Modern. The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*. Bloomington, Indianapolis 2004, especially pp. 153–202.

⁷² R. Shechter, *Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956*, in “*Arab Studies Journal*” (2003), pp. 44–61; Y. Köse, *Commercial advertisements in the Ottoman periodical Shehbal (1909–1914)*, in M. Strohmeier and G. Procházka-Eisl (eds.) *History of the Press in the Middle East, VIth Meeting: “The Economy as an Issue in the Middle Eastern Press”, May 19–23, 2004, Nicosia/Cyprus* (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Beihefte) (forthcoming).

⁷³ K. Dussel, *Wundermittel Werbegeschichte? Werbung als Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft*, in “*Neue Politische Literatur (NPL)*”, 42 (1997), pp. 416–430.

⁷⁴ For some early examples of advertising agencies see Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın ilk yüzyılı...* cit.

professions like the advertising agent, ad-man, graphic designer, copywriter, and so on into existence. It is interesting to note that many traditional professions like calligrapher or translator managed to integrate themselves into these new areas. Photographs from the late 19th to the early years of the 20th century show that there was a great deal of visual advertising in the public sphere. We see that advertising was in Ottoman Constantinople, as it is in today's Istanbul, an integral part of the urban landscape. In looking closer at the companies who were mainly responsible for these kind of marketing activities via the press or outdoor facilities such as walls, trams and so on, we get a better understanding of the (inter-)connectedness of companies and the target society.

Foreign transnational consumer goods companies and their marketing strategies for the Egyptian market from the 1920s until today forms the scope of Michaela Kehrer's new study. She shows in the light of her interviews with marketing specialists how the local culture of the target consumer matters for the marketing plans of companies like Coca Cola, Unilever and Nestlé.⁷⁵

Recently Relli Shechter added to the growing literature about markets, marketing and consumption in Egypt. Shechter in his book "Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East" examines the emergence of modern markets in the Middle East, focusing on the Egyptian tobacco market and tobacco consumption from 1850 to 2000.⁷⁶ In his analysis he shows how markets interacted with the society, politics and culture of the region. For the 19th and early 20th centuries his study concentrates on the local Ottoman business elite and their production of luxury cigarettes for the world market, adding for later periods an account of the activities of Western companies both of which, according to Schechter, shaped the socio-economic developments of the country. Though his study does not concentrate exclusively on the marketing strategies of Western companies as Kehrer's study does, it is groundbreaking for, probably for the first time, it brings issues like markets, companies, marketing and consumer together with fresh analytical and methodological approaches, keeping aloof from old paths.

⁷⁵ M. Kehrer, *Transnationale Konsumgüterunternehmen in Ägypten: Lokale Kultur im globalen Marketing*, in S. Wippel (ed.), *Wirtschaft im Vorderen Orient. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, Berlin 2005, pp. 215–235.

⁷⁶ R. Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East: The Egyptian Tobacco Market 1850–2000*, London 2006.

Multinationals in the Ottoman Empire: the Nestlé Company

Whereas it is easier to get information from companies that are at present active in the Middle East, we are faced with a far more complicated situation if we try to gauge the marketing strategies of companies in earlier periods. Yet, as has been shown, a re-evaluation of the sources already used by social and economic historians might help to foster further studies in business and marketing history. In addition, intensive research on archival material provided at least by some companies could help us to discover additional information.⁷⁷ This could be realised for the Swiss Nestlé Company, whose first appearance on the Ottoman realm dates back to 1870 and which is probably the first multinational company to operate in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁸ Recently the author of this article presented a paper on the company's marketing strategies in the Middle East.⁷⁹

The author's study looks at the marketing activities of today's greatest multinational food company—Nestlé—in the Ottoman Empire starting from 1870 until 1927. It argues that for the Ottoman market, Nestlé basically embarked on the same strategy as it did for Western markets. Elsewhere, paying attention to local peculiarities was of prime importance. Yet, the Ottoman market was different! Even if many of the usual marketing tools could be easily adopted, political, social and cultural conditions there differed considerably to those of other market areas, especially Europe. The target consumer was a cosmopolitan mixture with different ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. Nestlé, like other Western companies, had to adjust its marketing to this reality. Above all, the question of which method of selling would be the most

⁷⁷ Recently Andrew Godley presented a conference paper about Singer's activities in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans based mainly on the company's rich archival material. A. Godley, "Consumer Durables and Westernization in the Middle East: The Diffusion of Singer sewing machines in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1920," conference paper, "The Middle Eastern Path to Development: A Conversation between Business History and Regional Studies", June 10th–11th 2005 (University of Reading).

⁷⁸ On the history of the Nestlé company see J. Heer, *World Events 1866–1966. The First Hundred Years of Nestlé*, Rivaz 1966; Id., *Nestlé. Hundertfünfundsanzig Jahre. Von 1866 bis 1991*, Vevey 1991, and A. Pfiffner, *Henri Nestlé (1814–1890). Vom Frankfurter Apothekerhilfen zum Schweizer Pionierunternehmer*, Zürich 1993.

⁷⁹ Y. Köse, *Nestlé. A Brief History of the Marketing Strategies of the First Multinational Company in the Ottoman Empire* in "Journal of Macromarketing", 27/1 (2007), pp. 74–85.

appropriate to reach this heterogeneous society was of key importance. Besides agents with a Swiss background, it was above all the non-Muslim minorities who played an important role in the process of marketing Nestlé products. The majority of its potential customer pool was Muslim, however. It was not only cultural/religious reasons that made it difficult for Nestlé to have direct contact with the latter (above all with the mothers): political developments beginning at the latest 1878 and culminating in WWI turned the Muslim urban population into a challenging customer. Nestlé (unlike the Singer Company, for instance) was forced to face up to the influence of an ever-increasing Turkish nationalism combined with protests against European companies who were perceived as serving European hegemonic interests. Although from 1911 war was a major impetus for the growth of sales within the Ottoman realm (supplying armies), and probably helped to bypass the decrease in demand among the population, the main target remained the civil customer.

Nestlé deployed an indirect selling strategy using agents and local distributors like pharmacies or retailers, heavily relying on advertising and promotion to communicate its products' amenities via different means. The latter aspect probably caused companies like Nestlé (and Western department which relied stores on advertising and promotion as well) to be more visible to the public and consequently an easy target for polemics and calls for boycotts.

The American Singer Company on the other hand, for example, from the beginning embarked on a direct selling method via its own branches (canvassing) and through local staff "knocking on people's doors [all around the world]".⁸⁰ This method was accompanied with an easy credit system which even allowed poorer customers to afford a sewing machine. According to the author, Singer's American origins and different market approach may have helped it to avoid becoming a target of hostile reactions. Furthermore, it was probably the fact that the Singer sewing machine played a role in helping Ottoman citizens to emancipate themselves from being dependent on imported Western/European clothes, and so partially facilitated the strengthening of local production (as Quataert could have shown for the home-working textile sector), might be a reason why the Singer Company did not become a target of hostile reactions.

⁸⁰ Godley, *Singer's International Marketing Strategies*... cit., p. 269.

Nestlé, in contrast offered products which had to be promoted as an alternative to existing local food stuffs (and with this, to local customs). This was realised through extensive promotion and advertising. Nestlé's pervasive appearance in the public domain (outdoors and via the media) literally let its name resound throughout the land. It is therefore not really surprising that it (like the department stores, which were in the same line in terms of intensive advertising)⁸¹ became a major target of the hostile reaction to foreign companies that accompanied intensifying Turkish nationalism after 1908.

The study aims to show that Nestlé's products were neither bought automatically for it had local as well as foreign competitors (even counterfeiters), nor was the Ottoman consumer easy to convince. The fact that Nestlé belongs to the very few foreign firms still active in today's Turkey might help to highlight the transition from late (urban) Ottoman society to Republican Turkish society.⁸²

Advertising for Marketing History

In view of this short survey it should be clear that in order to understand the socio-economic transitions which the Ottoman Empire faced from the middle of the 19th century faced and the impact they had on Ottoman society, one has to approach the issue not only from a national economy view or the macro level. Rather than looking merely from the state centred view at the "integration to the world economy", which often leaves society on one side, it is proposed to approach the issue from a different angle. The first wave of globalisation brought new actors to the scene: the consumer goods-selling (multinational) companies. It would not be a mistake to assume that it was these companies above all that accelerated the process of globalisation and "integration with the capitalist world economy" and shaped not only the economic, but also the social and cultural environment of the Ottoman Empire. In tracing the activities of such "global players" we not only have the chance to look

⁸¹ For department stores and their advertising in the Ottoman press see, Y. Köse, for the hostile reactions against some department stores see Y. D. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu. Bir Toplumsal Hareketinin Analizi*, İstanbul 2004.

⁸² Other examples are the German company Krupp, today Thyssen Krupp, or Bayer (Aspirin), and also the Italian insurance company Generali. For a collection of Aspirin advertisements see G. Akçura, *Aspirin® Türkiye Tanıtım Serüveni (1925–1944)*, İstanbul 1994.

closer at their real effects on society, but further it helps us to understand that such companies are not to be confused with the governments of their home country. The national approach neither provides a satisfactory account of the often high complexity of such companies, nor pays adequate attention to the fact that these companies were entities with their own interests which were not necessarily were in line with those of states. As a result the “modernisation” or “dependency” approaches can not be considered helpful in evaluating and understanding the strategies of foreign companies deployed in the Ottoman market and the reactions of the Ottoman consumers to these endeavours. Considering these relations from the micro level, at least in the long term, will enable us to understand how strong the influence of Western marketing on the “birth of a(n) [Ottoman/Turkish] consumer society”⁸³ really was. Clearly this does not mean that the state did not or does not play any role in the process of globalisation. Yet we do know that it is the multinational companies which more than ever are gaining an increasing influence on the consumption behaviour and employment situation of societies all around the world. Therefore, as far as Middle Eastern/Ottoman Studies are concerned, the significance of business and marketing history is to be seen not only in the fact that it complements economic and social history, but also because of its relevance to cultural issues—that is consumption.⁸⁴

⁸³ See N. Mckendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, London 1982.

⁸⁴ For studies of consumption in the Ottoman Empire see S. Faroqhi, *Consumption and Elite Status in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Exploring the Ottoman Case*, in R. Motika, Ch. Herzog and M. Ursinus (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic Life*, Heidelberg 1999, pp. 141–169, and D. Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922, an Introduction*, Albany, N.Y. 2000 herein Suraiya Faroqhi gives an overview of possible sources and useful models. See her *Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption: a Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models in Consumption Studies*...cit., pp. 15–44, and finally for two interesting studies on consumer behaviour in the late Ottoman period see P. Dumont and F. Georgeon, *Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au début du XX^e siècle*, in “*Turcica*”, XVII (1985), pp. 127–181, and H. Ertzoğlu, *The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers During the 19th Century*, in “*International Journal of Middle East Studies*”, 35 (2003), pp. 77–101. Excellent overviews of the state of the art in Europe and North America are offered by J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London 1993, and H. Siegrist et al. (eds.), *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt a.M. 1997.

UNPAID OTTOMAN COAL MINERS DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY¹

DONALD QUATAERT

Introduction

This article is intended as a tribute to Suraiya Faroqhi and her contributions to the field of Ottoman social and economic history. Thus, in its form, my contribution follows many of her article-length publications over the years in which she presented a detailed monographic inquiry that illustrated larger points of broader methodological interest. Her work always rests on deep investigative research in the Ottoman archives (and other sources), studies that have accumulated into a very impressive corpus of archival research illustrating the way to larger questions.

The documentary object in question here is a ledger of unpaid debts to coal mine workers. The ledger now rests at Karaelmas University in Zonguldak, Turkey and is part of a vast collection of materials located in that city, many in the possession of the Education Bureau of the Turkish Mining Ministry, but, more abundantly, at the university.² Collectively, these records are a treasure trove of local—level historical materials on the coalmines and, more broadly, late Ottoman economic and social history. This specific ledger records the debts—nearly always wages—owed by the Courdgis Mining Company to many hundreds of workers and other parties. The Zonguldak coalfield at the time of this compilation contained about 100 mines and drew labor from more than 200 villages in the region and secondarily from other Ottoman provinces.

¹ My thanks to Kasım Kopuz, graduate student in the History Department, Binghamton University, State University of New York, for his assistance in entering the data. And, thanks to my colleague David Hacker for the time that he spent helping me to analyze these materials. Clearly, any errors are my own.

² D. Quataert and N. Özbek, *The Ereğli-Zonguldak Coal Mines: A Catalog of Archival Documents*, in “*Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*”, (Spring 1999), pp. 55–67; in Turkish as *Ereğli Kömür Madenleri*, in “*Tarih ve Toplum*”, (Ocak 1999), pp. 11–18. For a series of photographs and images of documents regarding the coalfield, see <http://bingweb.binghamton.edu/~coal/index.htm>.

The mine operator's name is variously spelled: Gürcü and Kourtzis are 2 Turkish and Greek variants.

The Courdgis Company was the third most important in the coalfield—after the French-owned Ereğli Company and the mines of the Ottoman statesman entrepreneur Raghip Pasha—operating three mines outright and another six in partnership. Ottoman government mining officials compiled this ledger between January and June 1909. The specific impetus for compilation of the ledger is uncertain—perhaps it was connected to the financial difficulties of the company owner, Panos Courdgis,³ who would go into bankruptcy two years later. Surely the ledger is part of a more general pattern of state expansion in late Ottoman history as the modernizing Ottoman state increasingly intruded into society. In the coalfield, as part of a larger effort to discipline, subordinate and control the mine workers, the state—through its growing mining bureaucracy—assumed ever greater responsibility for their health, welfare and safety. More specifically, the ledger also may have originated in the reformist impulses of the new Ottoman administration that had taken power in 1908. And, as evidence from the data analyzed here suggests, locally powerful merchants and bureaucrats into whose hands much of the debt had fallen may have lobbied the state for payment.

The larger question addressed in this essay concerns the wage relations of workers in the final Ottoman century. Whatever factors triggered its compilation, the ledger reveals portions of the web of debt relations that connected coalfield workers and employees, including the many soldiers carrying out coal mining operations, to local mine operators, merchants, military officers and ranking state officials. It underscores not merely the difficult working conditions inherent in coalmining but, more broadly, the chronic indebtedness of many Ottoman workers. A second question concerns the weak financial underpinnings of many Ottoman industrial entrepreneurs. This article suggests the precarious financial status of many mine operators and by extension many industrial investors, even a successful one like Panos Courdgis, an exceptionally able and well-connected entrepreneur.

In order to carry out these tasks, this article closely will examine a number of the ledger's entries that illuminate the character of those involved in a web of debt relations in this early 20th century Ottoman

³ E. Sifneos, *P.M. Courdgis and the birth of a Greek Ottoman Liner: the Aegean Steam Navigation Company*, paper presented to The Fourth International Congress of Maritime History, Corfu, 21–27 June 2004. Professor Sifneos is a researcher at the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, Greece.

coalfield. Namely, after providing a general setting and overview of the ledger, I will examine *holders of notes, intervals, debt owners, and debt types*.

The Setting

Assembled by the Ottoman government and private indigenous and foreign capital to exploit the greatest mineral deposits (except oil) ever found in the Middle East, the coal miners of the Ereğli-Zonguldak region of the Black Sea coast, numbered some 10,000 in 1914. Thus, they formed the largest single concentration of waged workers in the Ottoman Empire. The history of these mines and miners dates back to the early decades of the 19th century, when the Ottoman fleet converted to steam power and a vast coalfield of the western Black Sea region began to be worked by numbers of private entrepreneurs under a form of contract to the state. A more favorable environment for entrepreneurs emerged in the later 19th century and, as a result, the Courdgis, French and Raghip Pasha companies respectively began to mine coal in the 1880s, the 1890s and at the turn of the century. The French-financed enterprise—the Ereğli Company—initiated operations in the 1890s and sharply increased the size of the work force and aggregate output. It quickly dominated coalfield operations, supplying a full three-quarters of total production—at the time of the ledger, production annually hovered around 600,000 tons. The coalfield ultimately stretched about 190 km on an east-west axis and about 3.5 hours walk on a north-south line; in 1915, it was c. 1,335 sq. km. in area.

The assembled workforce was largely but not solely male and was drawn from many places, including the Serbian and Montenegrin regions as well as England, France and Austria. These Ottoman workers from the Balkans were especially important in the very early years of coalfield development and provided much of the knowledge and skills that were passed down to the local workforce. The bulk of the workers, however, assembled from the villages of this thinly populated region along the Black Sea coast. Indeed, labor shortages were a major problem in the fuller exploitation of these mines throughout the Ottoman era. To relieve these chronic labor shortfalls, a 1867 regulation nicknamed the *Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi* compelled villagers from 14 administrative districts (*kaza*) surrounding and adjacent to the coalfield to work on a rotational basis in the mines for a certain number of days per year.

Three categories of workers were acknowledged—in Ottoman parlance the *kazmacı*, *küfeci* and *kıracı*—and could be recruited only from the surrounding 14 districts. *Kazmacı* were hewers, those who cut the coal at the mine face. *Küfeci* (*küfeciyân*) were literally basketcarriers who carried out the coal in baskets to the surface; more generally they were the unskilled workers and formed the vast majority of the total workforce.⁴ *Kıracı* for their part handled the animals to work the pumps and to transport materials (such as the shaft supports) and coal.

Comparatively few women were in mine work but they were present throughout the period between the 1870s and World War I. These women were animal transporters and sometimes served as substitutes for their husbands and brothers. But some, especially in the very small, family-owned mines, labored as hewers and basketcarriers.⁵ These were not under the compulsory labor provisions since Ottoman conscription did not include females. In exchange for male compulsory labor,⁶ the workers did not perform military service and received a cash wage. Thus, the state directly used its coercive power to exploit the coalmines. In addition to the compulsory labor force, there were free labor workers, who mainly served in above ground tasks. These included carpenters, machinists, ironworkers, brick makers and railroad workers and those operating the aerial tramways carrying coal. An unusual and important group of free workers were the boatmen. Many mines were located near or directly on the coast. Their coal was transported by rail, animal- or human-back to the shoreline. Or, when the mines were on the coast, the coal was slid down steep chutes to the water's edge. From the waterside, boatmen loaded the coal onto their small vessels and shipped it to central collection points or to ships anchored offshore. After the building of port facilities by the French company, they continued their hauling but not to this company's facilities.

By the end of the 19th century, some 230–250 local villages regularly were sending workers to approximately 100 mines. In several respects,

⁴ For a first hand account of how these workers were selected in their villages, see D. Quataert and Y. Duman, *A Coal Miner's Life during the Late Ottoman Empire*, in *Labor History in the Ottoman Middle East, 1700–1922*, in “*International Labor and Working Class History*” (Fall 2001), pp. 153–179.

⁵ D. Quataert, *Coal Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: the Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822–1920*, New York 2006.

⁶ *Kazmacı* technically were not forced to mine work and did so voluntarily. Thus they were actually not part of the compulsory workforce. For a more nuanced discussion of these workers, see *Ibid.*, Chapters 3 and 4.

however, these workers were seen as unsatisfactory and so, in 1906, thanks to pressure from Raghip Pasha, the high Ottoman official investing in coal exploitation, hewers and other workers from other Ottoman provinces were permitted to work in the coal field. And so, significant numbers of workers from Trabzon and elsewhere entered the mining work force. But the compulsory labor of the Dilaver Pasha regulations remained intact and an essential part of the coalmining story.

The overall situation of mine workers was very bad, partly because of the inherent nature of coalmining work and partly due to specific factors. These Ottoman mines were badly financed generally and many of them were very small scale, an especially dangerous and deadly combination. For this and other reasons, accident rates in Ottoman coalmines greatly exceeded those in contemporary mines in Western Europe and the United States.⁷ To add insult to injury and death, these Ottoman miners received irregular wage payments. The general evidence demonstrates that mine operators and village leaders collaborated so that the workers very often failed to receive their wages in full or on time.⁸

The Ledger

The ledger altogether enumerates 2,294 entries, each containing fifteen different columns of information, on 51 pages of generally carefully written text. The ledger, in fact, is three ledgers: respectively containing 2,103, 101, and 90 entries on consecutive pages.⁹ These entries note the names of the persons to whom the company owed an unpaid debt, its amount and the date and nature of this original obligation. The ledger lists the names of approximately 1,134 individuals—thus there are many entries that list more than one debt to the same person.¹⁰ For example, one individual is entered 42 different times for the debts owed to him, one Ereğlilî Cebecioğlu Mehmet Tahir, while other persons are recorded 11, 8, 7 and 6 times, to cite just a few examples. The ledger also records

⁷ Ibid., Chapters 7 and 8.

⁸ Ibid., Chapter 5.

⁹ Karaelmas University 14. *Bala'da dört kalemde muharrer mebalîğ olup Courdgis Kumpanyasının matlubuna aid olduğundan sehven buraya dahil edilmiş işe'de muharran Nafia Nezaretin işari üzerine temettuatıtan mahsub olunmak üzere buradan tenzil edilmiştir. Yalnız iki yüz otuz bir bin altı yüz on dokuz gurus otuz beş para dir.*

¹⁰ This total figure of 1,134 may be subject to very minor corrections because of difficulties in reading the names.

the person to whom the original debt was transferred, as well as the date and type of that transaction.

Below I will trace those to whom wages in arrears originally were owed; the persons who acquired most of the promissory notes issued; the duration of the non-payment of the arrears; and the kinds of labor that had been carried out by those who had not been paid.

The ledger leads us to understand the following. The vast majority of those enumerated were unskilled workers of various kinds. The debts owed to these 1,134 persons have a cumulative value of about 360,000 *kuruş*. In terms of the wages of early 20th century Ottoman coal miners, this was a significant amount. The average unskilled worker in the coal-field then earned about six *kuruş*/daily. And so, the total sum in arrears equaled an estimated 60,000 man days of labor!

When the Courdgis Mining Company failed to pay wages or salaries on time, those owed the money had three choices. They could either retain the promissory note in the hopes of being eventually repaid; they could sell or transfer the note to a third party; or they could sue the company in court. In fact, this last practice—going to court—was not unusual among coal workers but is outside the scope of the present ledger and this inquiry and requires separate study.

The original workers or employees who had not been paid account for nearly one-third of all the wages and salaries in arrears. In good faith or desperation, they held onto these notes for periods ranging from less than a year to 15 and more years before the accountants gathered their tally in the winter and spring of 1909. There were c. 264 different individuals in this group, about 23 percent of individual debt owners who retained the promissory paper that the coal company issued to them and did not transfer debts to a third party.

The remainder of the workers/employees numbered about 870, c. 77 percent of the total. These persons sold their notes to third parties who “held”, as “possessors of the debt documents,” slightly more than two-thirds of all the sums that the company had not paid when originally due.

Holders of Notes

Altogether, there were c. 2,030 transactions in which original promissory notes of the Courdgis Company were transferred to third par-

ties. These transactions ranged from 16,129 *kuruş* to 4 *kuruş* while the median transaction equaled 71 *kuruş*.

Many holders had obtained more than one note and so the total number of different holders was far smaller than 2,030. Indeed, these 2,030 transactions involved only eighty-nine different holders, who held the promissory notes of the original 870 debt owners. These 'holder' persons can be seen as among the moneylenders and capitalists of the coal-field region.

The actual amount that any note holder actually paid for the promissory note obtained from the debt owners cannot be estimated, not even approximately. Clearly these holders paid the note owner—the actual worker or employee to whom the sum was due—a fraction of the face value, whatever that amount might have been.

Among the eighty-nine holders, the debts that each cumulatively held ranged from c. 40,000 to 24 *kuruş* with a mean cumulative holding of c. 2,700 *kuruş*. They can be divided into four groups, in descending order of the amount of debt notes they held.

1. This first group consists of a mere 7 percent (six) of the holders, who possessed notes that impressively account for more than one-half of the total debts. These top six holders possessed promissory notes with cumulative values ranging from 40,000 to 13,700 *kuruş*.
2. The second group is also small in number and counts some seven holders who together held notes accounting for another 14 percent (by value) of all the debts originally owed and transferred to third parties. The notes held in this group fell between 13,200 and 4,033 *kuruş*.

They and top six holders formed the top 15 percent (13) of the holders (by number) and accounted for a full three-quarters of the debts that had been transferred to other parties (by value). Thus, in a real sense, the story of the holders is that of these thirteen holders.

3. There are 16 entries in the third group of holders who together accounted for the next 14 percent of all the debts. Within this group the debts held ranged between 3,753 and 1,193 *kuruş*.
4. The last group is the largest in number but the smallest in terms of the value of notes held. In this fourth group, a full two-thirds (60) of the note holders held a tiny amount, less than 10 percent of the total value of all the notes. At the top of this group, the notes begin at

1,182 *kuruş* in cumulative value and steadily fall below that level to as low as 24 *kuruş*.

A real difficulty in assessing the holder information—that is, determining the identity and occupation of the party involved—rests in the general lack of occupational descriptions. Only a minority of the holders have additional descriptors beyond their names: typically, for example, the entry reads Davutoğlu Ali Hakki or Manuk Seferian, without further description or designation. Indeed, only about one-third of all holders can be identified by occupation with any certainty. At this time there is no way to determine whether or not the other holders were merchants, ship owners or mining officials, Ottoman subjects or foreigners. This task will involve a more exhaustive investigation of the local sources to better identify many of these individuals.

Panos Courdgis, the owner of the Courdgis Company, was the largest single holder of promissory notes, valued at c. 40,000 *kuruş* and held as 386 separate debts.¹¹ He alone thus held over 10 percent of all the debts recorded in the ledger. Three quarters of the notes that Panos Courdgis held originally had belonged to unskilled workers and Ottoman soldiers transporting coal. In addition, he had taken possession of 8,000 *kuruş* worth of debts owed by his company to a doctor who had paid for bread for distribution to the workers (either gratis or for a fee). This person, Dr. Dünyas, also known as Yeni Dünyas, had emerged as a mine operator of some local importance during the 1890s and he was often a business partner of Panos Courdgis in his many enterprises.¹² Dünyas made at least part of his fortune in a deal with the French-capitalized Ereğli Coal Company. After World War I, Dr. Dünyas played a prominent role in the “Pontos” project, one that sought to bring the Ottoman Greeks of the Black Sea region into a greater Greece under the leadership of the Athens government. This project failed and the good doctor-entrepreneur became *persona non grata* after the Turkish Republic emerged.

¹¹ The ledger entry in Ottoman is “Doctor Panyot.” According to the leading scholar of the Courdgis enterprises: “Panos is the short name for Panayot, so I do believe it [the Doctor Panyot entry] is Panos Courdgis.” Email correspondence from Evridiki Sifneos, 24 October 2006.

¹² Email correspondence from Evridiki Sifneos, 24 October 2006. A. Naim, *Zonguldak Havzası (Uzun Mehmet’ten Bugüne Kadar)*, Istanbul 1934, pp. 73–75.

A merchant, recorded as the “Jew Buhur”, held just over 200 separate promissory notes with a face value of c. 21,000 *kuruş*, the second largest amount held by a third party. Another merchant, the butcher Kasab Sava held about 13,000 *kuruş* in notes that he had bought or obtained in 223 different transactions. The mine operator Toma held over 15,000 *kuruş* in promissory notes in 135 transactions with 75 individually—named workers from various locations in the minefield. Ismail Hüseyin Agha of uncertain profession held 186 different notes with a total value of 13,000 *kuruş* while one Izzet Efendi held 10,000 *kuruş* in notes in the name of Arif Efendi who had obtained the notes from 40 transport workers.

A mining official from the Amasra area of the coalfield belonged to the second group of seven holders whose notes averaged 8,500 *kuruş*. Three women who collectively held notes in this rich and powerful group need to be singled out. In the ledger, typically, holders are simply recorded by name, thus, Ismail Hüseyin Ağa. But in the case of these three women, the ledger, in a unique entry, reads: “the *signatures* [my emphasis] of Havva, Ayşe and Hatice” as the holders of promissory notes worth over 6,000 *kuruş*. The names are those of Eve and two of the most revered women in early Islam, wives of the Prophet Mohammed. The notation “the signatures” and the names noted leads me to conclude that the ledger entries are *noms de plume* of one or more prominent local women seeking to disguise their business transactions.

The baker’s dozen holders (groups 1 and 2) who possessed three quarters (by value) of all transferred promissory notes belonged to a wide spectrum of coalfield society: Muslims as well as Christians, both Greeks and Armenians, and one Jew were represented, as were both women and men, Ottoman subjects and (probably) foreigners. Their occupations included a number of merchants of different sorts, lower to mid-level coalfield officials and mine operators, most notably the owner of the company that is the subject of the ledger.

In the third group of holders were at least one mine operator, several accountants of different ranks and at least three other mine officials and a military officer. In addition, there was the administrator of a mosque at Kozlu that had been constructed by public subscription with a donation from the then-sultan Abdülhamid II as well as a village headman who held notes of debts to unskilled mine workers or transporters. And finally, a boatman, who was the father of a soldier, held eight notes originally owned by soldiers doing coal transport duties; these were worth a rather considerable 2,309 *kuruş*, or 400 man-days of unskilled labor.

In the last group—persons holding low value debts—occupations appear that include the headman of a town quarter in Ereğli and the headman of a village. In the first case, he held a single note of 262 *kuruş* and internal evidence indicates that a boatman owned the original debt. There also is present a boatmen's guild head holding 18 notes worth a cumulative 573 *kuruş*, originally owned by coal transporters, presumably members of his guild. Only rarely did state officials hold paper in this category of the smallest holders. A secondary state schoolteacher held promissory paper worth 261 *kuruş* while a government accountant's (*tahsildar*) paper, once owned by two soldier transporters, equaled only 244 *kuruş*. This slight participation of state officials in the lowest level of noteholders contrasts strongly with their often-prominent role in the highest two categories. Officials apparently were involved in these debts only when larger sums came into play. In this category of very small note holders are two mine operators, a member of the prominent Boyacıoğlu family and the operator Ibrahim. Together they held notes worth less than 300 *kuruş*, in the mines of a competitor operator, Panos Courdgis.

There are a number of new occupations represented among these smallest note holders, among them the tailor Vasil who held 884 *kuruş* worth of notes from transporters. A villager of unspecified occupation and status held two notes worth just 70 *kuruş*, once owned by a state purchasing agent. A surgeon working for the state mining bureau held a note once owned by a soldier. Unusually, two soldiers (*asker*) here appear as joint debt holders, of four promissory notes worth 309 *kuruş*, owned originally by other soldiers, and three other notes worth 265 *kuruş*, also owned originally by other soldiers.

In summary, note holders came from the broad spectrum of coalfield residents and occupations, both urban and rural, civilian and military. It seems noteworthy that persons of so different kinds of occupations, ethnicities and religions were involved in the informal credit networks of the coalfield. This variety points to fluid credit mechanisms that were not the monopoly of any particular group.

Having said that, a single person—the mine operator himself—held 16 percent of all the notes (in value) in the hands of third parties. And, not surprisingly, merchants held a large share. Mine officials also were heavily represented but on a less dramatic scale than the merchants. The presence of 13 persons holding the paper for nearly 60 times as many owners shows a concentration of financial power.

It is hard to generalize since the data reflects the activities of only a single mining company. The pattern of debt holding seems consistent with that of capital accumulation in many other areas of the empire where risk was spread among a wide number of investments and economic power was dispersed across a comparatively broad spectrum of the society. The patterns here also show participation in the speculative business of note holding by small businessmen (the tailor) as well as some villagers and even a few enlisted men from the Ottoman military. And, obviously, it points to the absence of formal credit institutions, hardly a surprise since, world-wide, miners were notoriously prey to exploitation by the company store owners and other merchants. Nonetheless, the highly-dispersed nature of the credit network seems a noteworthy feature.

Intervals

Here I examine the length of time, the interval, that elapsed between the work done and the two groups of persons holding the promissory notes: (1) the holders to whom the promissory notes had been transferred and (2) the original individuals owed payments in arrears.

(1) For the first group, in the language of the document, this is the interval between the date of the original debt document and the transfer of the debt to the debt holder. At this point of transfer, the worker or soldier may or may not have received monetary or financial relief. In some cases, relinquishing the paper may have gained forgiveness of yet another debt or constituted some effort to hold creditors at bay. On other occasions, presumably, the new holders of the debt offered some kind of payment for the note that they were receiving from the worker or soldier. We can only imagine but not establish that such payments to the worker owed the money were a small proportion of the actual debt amount. And, we can easily understand willingness to sell the debt: workers might have despaired of ever receiving the payment owed, a sentiment that the following data make easily understandable.

Given the close margins of survival, delays in wage payment were grave business indeed. Cash wages for mining work had been transforming coalfield villages for nearly a half century and, presumably, mining families had come to depend on cash wages for variety of purposes, including some of the food needs and more certainly, consumption wants such as clothing or household items.

Again recall that the debt owners fell into two groups: those who had transferred their debts to a third party and those who had not. The data for debt owners in this first category, who had transferred their notes to others, is presented by two different means of analysis: (a) according to the person—c. 1,100 and (b) according to transaction, c. 3,000.

(a) For debt owners, the average time between the date that worker/soldiers were promised payment and the date they transferred that note to third parties was 1.8 years. Sixty percent of debt owners in fact acted relatively quickly and turned over their debts to others at intervals ranging from a few months to two years. Another 30 percent of all debt owners waited 2–4 years before transferring their notes to a third party. Nine percent of the debt owners held onto company paper for five years or more before selling or giving it to a third party debt holder: among these, 82 percent (58 persons) owned debt notes for between 5–9 years; 13 percent (9) owned notes for between 10–14 years and 6 percent (4) owned notes for more than 15 years. The unenviable record was 19 years between the time of the original debt and its transfer to a holder.

(b) More than one-half (56 percent) of all debt transactions indicated a waiting interval of one year or less while another one-quarter (24 percent) were owed for between one and two years before being turned over to a third party. Nineteen percent of all entries were for debts owed between 3–5 years while just one percent of the debt transactions were for more than five years.

Significantly, all 870 persons in this group had indicated their lack of faith in the willingness or ability of the company to pay its debts by transferring these obligations to others. Whether it was within two months, 5 or 15 years, their resort to third parties suggests levels of impoverishment or lack of hope in obtaining justice from the company.

(2) I now turn to the second and smaller group, the debt owners who kept the promissory note in their own possession. Within this group, the average interval—now meaning the time between the original date of the unpaid work and compilation of the ledger—was 2.7 years. Thus, the interval for the average worker who did not turn over their notes to others was a full 50 percent longer than those who did. And, the proportion of this group who retained the promissory paper for five years and longer was double that of those transferring it to third parties. This suggests a degree of hopelessness among many of those retaining the paper and a lesser ability to escape from impoverishment.

When the paper was transferred, the note holder became the party waiting for debt payment. And this brings into consideration yet another interval worth examining, that between the time when the holder obtained the promissory note from the owner and the time the government assembled the ledger of arrears. The mean interval in this instance totaled 1.7 years, only 0.1 year less than the owners' average. And, the maximum duration between a holder assuming the note and the ledger's preparation was 18 years, nearly the same as the 19-year maximum for the owner. I did not find this measurement very useful since, after all, it is only the period *after* the note was transferred. Nevertheless, these data—which seem to resemble the owners' interval—might indicate another cause for compilation of the ledger. That is, the holders—many of the richer strata of the coalfield—were unhappy with the tardiness of the Courdgis Company and pressured the state to compel the company to pay its overdue obligations.

Debt Owners

Before beginning the actual analysis of this ledger, I had assumed that the column entitled “debt owner” would unlock the identities of the workers and others who had provided goods and services that went unpaid by the Company. But, unfortunately, the ledger, in describing those providing the goods or services for which they went unpaid, typically offers not more than either their personal names or their names with residential locales. Namely, in only 12 percent of the cases does the ledger list more than just a personal name or a name with a location. Thus, we rarely learn about occupations or status from the “debt owner” column. When listed, these owners of debts in rank order were enlisted men and military officers; workers; government officials; and village communities. Medical supplies or surgeons, boats, the Muslim *bayram* festivals and bakeries made up the remaining entries.

The locales from which the workers came were noted in 77 percent of entries. These mirrored the scattered locations of the Courdgis Company mines. Among these, exactly half the individuals walked to work from the Ereğli district (in which coal had been officially discovered in the early 19th century). The others came from six different locales that each provided 5–10 percent and a scattering from two other locales. This place of origins pattern depicting the origins of workers with wages in arrears follows that established by other evidence for the compulsory

workforce in general. Overall, another survey shows that, a decade earlier, the Ereğli district and villages near the town of Hamidiye/Devrek supplied the bulk of the compulsory labor force.¹³

Recall again that debt owners were divided into two groups: 23 percent were persons who kept the notes promising payment for their services while 77 percent sold off or otherwise transferred these notes to third parties. The two groups do not seem very different in terms of occupations.

But, the notation that marks persons who retained the notes—"personally kept" (*bizaat tarafından*)—merits some additional comment. The notation implies or suggests that the person named as being owed the debt actually did the work. In most cases that implication is correct. For example, there are three entries for the carpenter Ahmet, who is owed 400, 800 and 800 *kuruş* in various periods during 1898. The first entry is for two weeks' work and the second and third entries are for a full month's labor. He is representative of the scores of listings for individuals who are noted in one or two entries as "personally" doing the work and who actually did so. But in some other cases, the individuals noted as "personally" owed the debt did not actually do the work. The listing of such names denotes that they were representing a larger group of workers to whom the wages actually were owed. Thus, we find individuals under the "personally kept" rubric listed for many entries in a given month. Ereğlili Cebecioğlu Mehmet Tahir is listed as the owner of 40 debts accrued on 15–16 July 1902!! in amounts usually 50 *kuruş* or less. And, Bahçevan Mehmet has 26 entries in December 1901. Clearly these two are foremen or perhaps village headmen who are on the books for 40 and 26 separate individual workers. In the latter case the owed wages were clustered tightly between 186 and 211 *kuruş*, indicating the workers were performing similar tasks.

Likewise, the Georgian Ali bin Ahmet is noted in seven consecutive entries, for soldier's payments, ranging from 56 to 143 *kuruş*, again in one month, October 1908. And, take the eight entries for Ereğlili Alioğlu Hüseyin bin Ahmet who is noted in eight entries during June 1904, for sums between 72 and 151 *kuruş*. Such individuals were not personally owed the debts but rather listed as stand-ins for a larger group. Thus, there were not two persons to whom the company owed money, as a

¹³ Quataert, *Coal Mines...* cit., pp. 118–119.

literal reading of the entries would indicate in these examples, but 15 persons waiting for their pay.

Debt Types

In this category we obtain a far better view of the persons doing the jobs for which the company had not paid them. The rather dull column “debt type” is in fact the key to the identity of the workers who are the main subject of inquiry. Besides notations of the name of the debt owner, the debt holder, the size and date of the original obligation and the date it was turned over by the owner to the holder are listings about the nature of the debt.

Over 40 different kinds of debt types are noted: these include obligations the company incurred for the work services of imperial soldiers, to other mine operators, for the salaries of officials, various kinds of goods, for workers and for various kinds of coal transport. Closer examination collapses these 40 kinds of debts into seven, more general, categories of debts. These seven types account for 99 percent of all individual entries and 93 percent of the value of all the debts owed by the company. They tell us the nature of the work or service or good being performed.

Soldiers doing mine work emerge as the largest single group of unpaid workers—this category alone constitutes 61 percent of all the individual entries and 40 percent of all the debts owed by the company. The category of transport labor is the next largest by number of entries (31 percent), constituting 12 percent of the value of the total debts. Thus, unskilled and transport workers—both Ottoman soldiers doing mine work and civilians performing compulsory labor as a military service substitute—form 92 percent¹⁴ of all those to whom the company owed money. The wage arrears held by this vast majority of all persons who were not paid on time constitute 52 percent of all the company’s debts listed in the ledger. *Thus, here is the answer to my original query about who was not being paid by the Courdgis Company.*

The lack of correlation between the share of persons owed wages—92 percent—and the amount they were owed—52 percent of the total—indicates the low level of their wages. By contrast, a mere 4 percent of the entries in the category of wages and salaries—company officials and

¹⁴ The percentage is even higher than 92 percent because some of the entries were debts to village collectives for work done by many villagers.

employees—account for 32 percent of the total amount the company owed.

The patterns for the workers in the Courdgis Company mines often but not always closely track those of the coalfield in general. In my book-length study, I learned that soldiers in coal mining work received far lower wages and received those wages in arrears more frequently than civilian compulsory workers. Thus, in the earlier research, soldiers' mine work wages were between 20 and 80 percent less than even the lowest paid unskilled civilian mine workers. Moreover, these soldier-workers were two times more likely to have wages in arrears than civilian compulsory workers.¹⁵ In their relatively (and absolutely) very low pay and the tardy pace of payments to them, the Courdgis Company soldier-workers seem very similar to those in the general coalfield.

But, the Courdgis Company soldier-workers differ greatly in their contribution to the total workforce. In the coalfield overall, soldier-workers formed about one-quarter of the total number of persons working. But, in the Courdgis mines, they were at least 61 percent of the total workforce and their contribution might have been even higher. After all, the "transport" category that formed 31 percent of all ledger entries consisted of both compulsory labor workers and soldier-workers. Perhaps there is no concrete reason for the greater soldier-worker participation in the Courdgis Mines, just a statistical anomaly. The measurements for soldier-worker involvement are different for the Company and the overall coalfield. And, it might simply be that the Courdgis Company more commonly did not pay its soldier-workers on time compared to the Ereğli Company, which accounted for the vast majority of all coal production. Thus, the soldier-workers might be over-represented in the Courdgis Company sample. After all, as my book study shows, soldiers generally were likely the most badly treated of all coalfield workers. But perhaps they weren't being over-represented in this Courgis Company ledger. Perhaps, in fact, they were a larger than average share of this company's workforce. Significantly, the Ereğli Company—which alone accounted for three-quarters of total coal production—was a foreign firm not an Ottoman entity like the Courdgis operations. And so, the mining officials of the Ottoman state, suspicious such foreign enterprises, might have demanded higher standards from the French management, more carefully monitoring its wage payments. Thus, Ereğli Company workers

¹⁵ Quataert, *Coal Mines*...cit., pp. 137 and 139.

might have been more regularly paid. And, the Ereğli Company was better financed than the Courdgis and so simply better could afford to make on-time payments. And, because it was a foreign firm, the Ereğli Company might not have had the same access to Ottoman soldiers as workers as Ottoman companies.¹⁶ This final explanation perhaps also rests in the high connections of the mine operator Panos Courdgis. This Ottoman Greek reportedly had very good relations with the imperial court and with the powerful German Ambassador¹⁷ who stayed in office until 1912. Courdgis's connections may have resulted in unusual access to the military manpower available in the coalfield.¹⁸ And, given Germany's involvement, the Courdgis Company perhaps was seen as a tool for blunting competition from the French-financed Ereğli Coal Company.

Closing comments

Quantitative history is much out of fashion these days. Many potential practitioners are discouraged because the work of number crunching is long, very boring to most and sometimes quite disappointing in its results. For Ottoman historians there is perhaps an additional problem—that the data are often particularly soft and even less likely to yield usable results. Indeed, in my recent mining book, I encountered great disappointment in some ledgers that were quite full of numbers but rather empty of information.¹⁹ At present, there are few who focus on Ottoman history using quantitative analysis.²⁰

The present ledger and its collection of data, I believe, yield a vivid illustration of worker misery at the hands of indigenous capital. It makes concrete the Company's failure to pay wages to a thousand workers, perhaps one-tenth of the total workforce in the Zonguldak coalfield in the

¹⁶ Here I am ignoring the legal fiction that the Ereğli Company was nominally Ottoman.

¹⁷ Conversations with Evridiki Sifneos, Summer 2006.

¹⁸ Sultan Abdülhamit II was in the process of being deposed by the time of this ledger's compilation, but Courdgis' political networks may have remained intact.

¹⁹ Quataert, *Coal Mines*...cit., pp. 104–112, is a good example of statistical abundance yielding few results.

²⁰ Prominent among these is Şevket Pamuk and the many works he produces via such analysis, often highlighting otherwise invisible historical patterns. Moreover, he has edited an important series that stands ready for use by historians: see the *Historical Statistics Series*, the multi-volume work which he edited for the Turkish State Institute of Historical Statistics.

early 20th century. And, it recounts the heavy reliance on Ottoman soldiers for mining labor, individuals compelled to such work for a fraction of the wages of compulsory labor workers who in turn labored under their own harsh system. Finally, the ledger depicts the richness of entrepreneurial activity in the late Ottoman Empire, although of an exploitative kind, feeding off the indebtedness of the soldier-workers and the compulsory labor force. The involvement of so many different kinds of individuals with capital—merchants, mine operators, bureaucrats and a tailor—from among the Muslim, Christian and Jewish Ottoman citizenry reveals a dynamic and kinetic society in the final years of the empire. Finally, this seemingly but not actually-boring ledger provoked a great deal of speculation about broader issues ranging from inter-communal relations to the role of high political connections in labor recruitment and capital investment in the late Ottoman era.

PART THREE

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ECUMENICAL COMMUNITIES
IN THE OTTOMAN PERIPHERY

THE PILGRIMAGE AS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: JAPANESE PILGRIMS TO MECCA BETWEEN 1909–1938

SELCUK ESENBEL

Muslims celebrated the Japanese victory over Russia in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War as the victory of the oppressed against the invincible Western imperialists. The striking feat of Admiral Togo Heihachiro who sank the Baltic Fleet in the Battle of Tsushima and the subsequent conquest of Port Arthur in North Asia, made Japanese culture, women, children, games, the samurai and everything about Japan, popular overnight. Journals and papers in the Middle East were full of articles about Japan published in Arabic, Turkish, or Persian. The event inspired many Muslims to see Japan as a new form of modernity suitable to Islamic civilization. Reformists and revolutionaries such as the Young Turks who forced the abdication of the autocrat Abdulhamid II in 1908 with the declaration of the Second Constitution and a military rebellion, styled themselves as the prospective “Japan” of the Near East.¹ Much of this ardor for Japan remained little more than a romantic vision that was soon swept aside with the outbreak of the First World War, which shattered the political face of the Near East. But some Muslim actors followed this romance to its political finale as they pursued a career of Pan Islamism and nationalist defiance of Western colonial and imperial politics, both ideas frequently intertwined in transnational activities that brought them to the shores of imperial Japan.

Japan’s political and economic response to this world wide enthusiasm was to incorporate the nationalist and revolutionary dynamism of twentieth century Muslims in Asia and Africa into a joint revolt against the West, to pave the way for the Japanese empire’s emancipation of the Asian peoples, namely the destruction of the colonial empires of Britain, Holland, and Russia. Meiji Japanese officials, military officers, politicians, and nationalist activists identified what they termed the need for an Islam Policy, that was developed jointly with Muslim collaborators such

¹ R. Worringer, *Sick Man of Europe or Japan of the Near East? Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras*, in “*International Journal of Middle East Studies*”, 36, No. 2. (May 2004), pp. 207–230.

as Abdurresid Ibrahim (1857–1944) the well-known Tatar Pan Islamist activists of the age from Russia and the Ottoman areas, to address the need to expand friendly contact with the Muslims of the world in order to bolster economic and political cooperation, which would strengthen Japan's position as a young empire in Asia.

After the Manchurian invasion of 1931, Japanese Muslim relations became particularly important for the Asianist policies of the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria that had spearheaded the invasion. The rise of militarism in Japan, which destroyed the civilian governments and the establishment of Baron Hiranuma and Konoe cabinets during the late 30s and early 40s instigated a strong Asianist foreign policy that challenged the Western Powers. The informal and unofficial contact between Japanese Asianists and their Muslim comrades from the earlier Meiji period which had accelerated with the Russo-Japanese War, now became very important for developing new cultural, economic, and political ties among the Muslims in the Western colonies and the fledgling attempts of the Muslims of the Middle East and Central Asia in general, for independence in rivalry with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. By the end of the 30s, Japanese governments were explicitly interested in the economic and military importance of Southeast Asia. With the outbreak of the Second World War Japan took advantage of the Nazi German occupation of Holland and France, and occupied French Indo-China, the Philippine Islands, Singapore, Java, Sumatra, Borneo in Indonesia. In the words of the Japanese nationalists of the day, by 1942, the Japanese empire had a very large Muslim population under its authority that suddenly increased the importance of Islam Policy even more for the interests of Japan.

Many Japanese went overseas and worked as military men, merchants, businessmen, officials, political activists, intelligence agents and so on, which brought them into close contact with Muslim peoples all over Asia. Some of them became Muslims coincidentally, others did so upon orders from the authorities in Japan, and thus began the interesting history of Japanese Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina as a religious activity which had the purpose of serving international relations between Japan and Muslim political circles. Political and economic circumstances after the 1929 Great Depression and the specter of Nazi Germany in Europe that caused the Second World War helped the implementation of Islam Policy. In the meantime, however, Japanese business had already developed new commercial interests in the Islamic

world in the Near East with the decline in the economic domination of Britain and France after the First World War, flooding the Near East markets with a phenomenal increase of cheap Japanese exports of textiles, electrical instruments, toys, etc. which successfully competed against the British wares that had monopolized until then.² The objective of the Japanese Army was to cultivate Muslims in strategically significant border areas with the Soviet Union and China, and later, coupled with the interest of the Japanese Navy in the natural resources of South East Asia, Islam Policy carried a military angle as well.

Japanese Muslims and Japanese experts on Islamic Affairs became the typical intermediaries and middlemen for these policies that transpired in Muslim locations. Some had become sincerely interested in Islam as a new spiritual message, perhaps in a vein of doubting the supremacy of Western civilization, which had been the central motto of the Meiji Restoration era between 1868 and 1912. Others were Japanese versions of the romantic scholar-agent type such as T. E. Lawrence, truly believing that they were helping the cause of liberating Muslims from their Western hegemony. Having developed expertise on aspects of Muslim culture in China, India, Afganistan, Central Asia, Turkey etc., they hoped to act as colonial advisors for Islam policy at some point, similar to the 'expert turned colonial policy advisor' type in European colonial establishments, such as Snouck Hurgronje the Dutch expert of Islam who served the Dutch colonial administration's Islam Policy at some point. Ahmad Ariga Bunhachiro (1866–1946) went to India in 1892 as a businessman and met Muslims in Bombay and although he was a Christian, converted to Islam and started teaching it in Japan. On retirement in 1913 he devoted himself to propagating Islam but counted only seventy Muslim converts by 1933. Ariga later translated the Koran into Japanese in collaboration with Takahashi Goro in 1938; the second translation, the first being the one by Sakamoto Kenichi in 1920. Both translations were still from the European language versions of the Koran. Translation from the original Classical Arabic was to await the post-war era efforts of the late Professor Fujimoto Katsuji of Osaka

² Office of Strategic Services. 1943. R&A reports no. 890.3, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in the Near East" October; H. Shimizu, *The Japanese Trade Contact with the Middle East: Lessons from the Pre-oil Period*, in K. Sugihara and J. A. Allan (eds.), *Japan in the Contemporary Middle East*, London 1993, pp. 27–54.

Kansai University, who received the cultural medal of the Japanese government for his accomplishment.³

Omar Yamaoka Kotaro 1880–1959 was the first Japanese pilgrim to Mecca, accompanied by the maverick Pan Islamist Ibrahim, who pioneered close contacts with Japanese military and Pan Asianist political circles in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War. Graduating from the Department of the Russian Language, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, currently Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, popularly known as Tokyo Gaigo Dai, he served as an interpreter for the army in Manchuria and Korea. Following the steps of Ariga, Yamaoka was a member of the Black Dragons, the Kokuryukai, Amur River Society, the influential pre-war Japanese nationalist organization that spearheaded the actualization of Islam Policy in the late Meiji period as part of an Asianist agenda. Due to the interest some Japanese Army officers and intelligence men took in fostering relations with Muslims, he met with Ibrahim in Bombay during the latter's return journey to Istanbul after his six month stay in Japan, where he had formed close links with the Kokuryukai circles of politicians, intellectuals, and military elements. Having been swiftly converted to Islam by Ibrahim while in Bombay, the two comrades traveled to Arabia meeting with Arab political notables such as the Serif of Mecca, and proceeding to Istanbul, where Yamaoka gave numerous conferences to the Ottoman Turkish public, especially the Tatar students studying in Istanbul, assuring them that Japan promises to help the cause of Muslim emancipation.⁴

Hadji Nur Muhammad Tanaka Ippei performed two subsequent pilgrimages after Omar Yamaoka; one in 1924 and the other in 1934 together with Nakao Hideo. After learning Chinese at Taiwan Kyokai Gakko (School of the Association of Taiwan, currently Takushoku University), Tanaka went to China and worked as an interpreter and intelligence agent for the Japanese Army. He became interested in Islam and finally became a Muslim in 1924, converted by Chinese Muslims, before setting out on a pilgrimage to Mecca as a member of a party of Chinese Muslims. Nakao had been working in the new Japanese embassy in

³ K. Nakamura, *Early Japanese Pilgrims to Mecca*, in "Orient", XXII (1986), pp. 47–57, p. 48.

⁴ S. Esenbel, Japan and Islam Policy During the 1930s, in B. Edström, *Turning Points in Japanese History*, Richmond 2002, pp. 180–214; Id., *Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam; Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945*, in "American Historical Review", 109, 4 (October 2004), pp. 1140–1170.

Turkey and in the embassy in Russia for a long time, and had become a Muslim and married a Tatar lady. Nakao was one of the experts in the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Turkish affairs.

Finally, Hadji Saleh Suzuki Tsuyomi, perhaps the most controversial of the lot, was typical of the second generation of Japanese Muslims who were to play a major role in the invasion of South East Asia in the Pacific theatre during the Second World War, as ground agents. Suzuki had gone to Celebes at the age of 24 whereupon he converted to Islam in the Pacific region. During the war, he was to be active as a political maneuverer and organizer of Indonesian Muslims. Suzuki became the leader of the pilgrimages during the thirties prior to the outbreak of the war.⁵

There were not many Japanese converts to Islam during these years, but their importance was not so much in their numbers but in the role that they played for the purposes of Japanese empire building and concurrently aiding and abating the political activities of political Islamic groups already active on many fronts as an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist force. Nakamura explains that eight pilgrimages were organized during the years 1909–1938, but only six of them actually took place. Yamaoka Kotaro honored as the first Japanese Hadji, journeyed to Mecca with Ibrahim for the Hadj in December of 1909. Tanaka Ippei performed the second pilgrimage in July 1924 with Chinese Muslims, and the third one in March 1934 with young Japanese Muslim agents trainees. A young Japanese Koizumi Kota tried and failed to make a pilgrimage in 1929 through Central Asia after he had studied Islam, Arabic, Turkish, and Tatar languages for a year under Kurban Ali, a central figure who had settled in Japan after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia and was the community leader and imam of the Diaspora Tatars. A Bashkurd refugee, Kurban Ali was to lead the foundation of the Tokyo Muslim Press (Tokyo Mohammedan Press, Tokyo Kaikyo Insatsusho), the Tokyo Muslim School (Tokyo Kaikyo Gakko), and finally the volunteer work for the inception of the Tokyo Mosque, which was to be opened with a grand politically-charged ceremony in 1938, representing the Japanese governments full engagement with Islam Policy.⁶

The fourth Pilgrimage that took place in March 1935 showed the primary importance of Islam Policy for Japan's future interests during the

⁵ Nakamura, *Early Japanese Pilgrims*... cit., pp. 48–49.

⁶ Ibid., p. 49; A. Matsunaga, *Ayaz Ishaki and the Turco Tatars in the Far East*, in S. Esenbel and I. Chiharu, *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent*, Istanbul 2003, pp. 197–215.

thirties. Tanaka had died upon his return in 1934. The members were Hadji Saleh Suzuki Tsuyomi, Muhammad Abdul Muniam Hosokawa Susumu, Muhammad Abduralis Kori Shozo, and Yamamoto Taro. From then on, pilgrimages were organized every year. In 1936, Kori Shozo, Yamamoto Taro, and Uehara Aizan embarked upon the journey, but the pilgrimage did not reach Mecca in time because Uehara committed suicide on the way. The reasons for this are not clear but suggest that he panicked when the real purpose of the mission was deciphered by local officials. The fifth pilgrimage to Mecca was undertaken in February 1937 by Suzuki Tsuyomi, Hosokawa Susumu, Enomoto Momotaro, whilst the sixth pilgrimage took place in February 1938, again by Suzuki accompanied this time by a Manchurian Muslim Chang, who was later to become the imam of Mukden mosque supported by the Japanese authorities in Manchuria. This was the last Japanese pilgrimage before the War.⁷

Wakabayashi Han (pronounced as Nakaba or sometimes Nakabe) whose name remains an enigma of pre-war Islam activities in Japan was a member of the Kokuryukai like many others politically interested in Islam in the late Meiji period. Wakabayashi wrote *Kaikyo Sekai to Nihon*, (The World of Islam and Japan) first published in 1937 and reprinted in a number of editions during 1938, giving a full account of the 1936 pilgrimage together with a short history of contemporary Islam for the general Japanese public, with the intention of encouraging a general sympathy for Japanese authorities' new Islam orientation during the thirties. He was probably one of the many experts that the Japanese government used as an unofficial network for gathering intelligence and information. Wakabayashi was in charge of organizing at least 5 of the 6 Japanese Muslim pilgrimages which were accomplished in the end. The 200-page book first provides a summary of the Islamic faith and a brief history of Muslim peoples from the Middle Ages to modern times. Particular attention is given to Islam in China as a special potential friend of Japan. The defensive tone of the book is typical for the literature of the day, countering the prejudiced Euro-centered view of Islam as lacking in civilizing merits, the common view of many Japanese who actually adopted the negative perspective of Europeans, particularly Western missionaries, as a result of the Westernized education of the modern Japanese public since the Restoration.

⁷ Nakamura, *Early Japanese Pilgrims...* cit., p. 50.

The book is important for us as it narrated first hand accounts of the Japanese Muslim agents during the February 1936 pilgrimage. The pilgrims apparently had great difficulties in automobile and camel transport, but accomplished their mission to contact Arab leaders. Finally the important audience with King Ibn Saud and other dignitaries took place, where the Japanese group discussed future close cooperation. The occasion is typical of the manner in which such Japanese pilgrims acted as intermediaries to convey messages to the Arab dignitaries or other Muslim leaders where there was no direct diplomatic contact between Japan and these Muslim communities, who were mostly under the direct or indirect authority of some Western power. One has to remember that Saudi Arabia, and Iraq though independent, were under British tutelage and Japan had no official embassy in the country.⁸

We know that Wakabayashi and his better known brother Kyuman who had graduated from the military academy in Japan, worked for a Yamamoto Yukichi who owned a variety shop in Changsha, South China. Like many Japanese agents, Kyuman and probably Nakaba peddled wares along the roads of China in order to gather information and as a result of these street vending activities made friends among the local people. Kyuman unfortunately died at a young age in China due to illness, but he had gained trust among Chinese Muslims of Ch'ang-te, in Honan while he had been working for the Yamamoto firm so as to counter the severe Chinese anti-Japanese movement in the province. Both were also members of the Kokuryukai as they are referred to in the biographies of patriots published during the thirties.⁹ (Toa senkaku, 777).

Wakabayashi, who is apt to exaggerate his self importance in all this Islam Policy activity, nevertheless reveals the connections informing individuals like him of rather low to mid-level importance in the hierarchy of policy implementation as intelligence agents on the ground. Personally involved with the people in some communal and cultural location within the Muslim populations in Asia, either in China, or Russia, or India, these Japanese Islam specialists can be likened to “cogs in a wheel” for policy implementation that was decided upon in the higher circles of the political and military elites in Japan.

⁸ H. Wakabayashi (Nakaba), *Kaikyo Sekai to Nihon*, Tokyo 1937 (pp. 1–10, history of Islam Policy, pp. 2–38 principles of the faith, pp. 39–41 history of Islamic peoples, pp. 89–120 conversations with Ibn Saud, pp. 121–197 the account of the pilgrimage.)

⁹ Kokuryukai, *Toa senkaku shishi kiden* (Biographies of Pioneer Patriots of East Asia), Tokyo 1936, p. 777.

It is still instructive to read the narratives by these figures about how they became interested in Islam, and the predominant theme being politics for the sake of empire rather than spiritual need. Wakabayashi claims that he realized the importance of Islam Policy for Japan 27 years previously in 1912 when he was traveling in the British colony of India with Mr. Ottman the high priest of Burma and the former head of the Hindu religious congress, who was an activist opposing British imperialism. Wakabayashi explains that it was he who sent his younger brother Kyuman to China to learn about Chinese Islam, only to take up the objective himself for developing friendships among Chinese Muslims following his brother's early tragic death.¹⁰ He also claims that he repeatedly communicated the need for Islam Policy agendas to such important military actors as General Araki Sadao, Lt. General Isogaya, Major General Itagaki Seishiro, well-known military masterminds of the day, who were responsible for the Manchurian invasion. The whole effort can be interpreted today as an "Islamic card" for Japan's expanding interests on the continent. Wakabayashi also claims that he was finally able to convince the leaders of the Kokuryukai who had befriended Ibrahim back in 1908, to bring him back to Japan to help expand Islam Policy public relations activities. Ibrahim did come to Japan in 1933 for the last time and continued to serve the Islam oriented publicity and activities of the Japanese government until the last year of the War in 1944, when he died in Tokyo and was buried with an official ceremony in Tama Rei Cemetery, located on the outskirts of Tokyo today. And as a good friend of Tanaka Ippei, Wakabayashi also takes credit for guiding Tanaka into the study of the Chinese Muslim communities and converting to Islam for the patriotic cause of empire.¹¹

The most interesting section of Wakabayashi's work is the revelation about the financial sources for these new pilgrimages of Japanese Muslims in the 1930s. He explains that Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, The spinning Federation, the Kwantung Army and the south Manchurian Railway Company (Mantetsu) formed a consortium that provided the financial support for the three pilgrimages that took place at the time. The Japanese companies were very much interested in the training of experts who could be useful in forming relations with Muslims and forming friendly contacts for Japanese business beneath the "nose" of

¹⁰ Wakabayashi (Nakaba), *Kaikyo Sekai*... cit., pp. 1–2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

the European colonial authorities in the Near East. In Manchuria the military was concerned with the heightened danger of anti-Japanese Chinese nationalism that might hopefully be contained by at least befriending some elements such as Chinese and Manchurian Muslim minorities, and possibly encouraging and abating Uigur rebellion for independence in North West China, that would form a pro-Japanese regime as a buffer zone protecting Manchukuo, the puppet regime that was recently hashed out in Manchuria.

This brief foray into the history of these Japanese Muslim pilgrimages during the twentieth century shows us that the Islamic pilgrimage, though meant for religious purposes, in this case, served as an alternative form of international relations. The Hadj, pilgrimage, of the Japanese Muslims took place through the informal transnational network of Muslims communities in China, India, or South East Asia, and even Russia, across many different countries. Noteworthy is the fact that many of these Muslim Japanese were introduced into the rudiments of the journey and the principles of the faith through the aid of Muslims from Russia, China, or Manchuria, who had chosen to cooperate with the Japanese. The Japanese Asianist agenda was brought to life by Japanese Muslim actors such as Omar Yamaoka and the others who immersed themselves in this transnational network of Muslims across Asia in order to forge contacts, gather information, and pass on political messages to Muslim leaders, by-passing the European colonial authorities. Finally, this brief account of the Japanese Muslim pilgrimages invites the question of whether all of this is new or whether the Hadj, pilgrimages had also similarly served other political actors for the purpose of networking and as the means of international relations in earlier periods of history.

UNE PAGE DE ROMAN HISTORIQUE:
LE RÉCIT PAR EVLIYA ÇELEBÎ DE LA CAMPAGNE
DE SZIGETVÁR (1566)

NICOLAS VATIN

Les recherches sur Evliya Çelebi sont aussi riches et foisonnantes que son *Seyahatname*. La question de savoir dans quelle mesure on pouvait faire fond sur lui a naturellement sollicité l'intérêt des historiens. Les récents travaux de Robert Dankoff ont permis d'avoir une vue d'ensemble nuancée sur la nature de l'œuvre du grand voyageur ottoman. Je n'ai nullement l'intention, dans les quelques pages qui suivent, de revenir sur les conclusions très convaincantes de R. Dankoff¹.

Mon projet est plus modeste. Il se trouve que, travaillant sur le récit par Feridun de la campagne de Szigetvár au cours de laquelle Soliman mourut en septembre 1566², j'ai eu la curiosité de voir l'usage que fit Evliya Çelebi d'événements particulièrement célèbres et que son public devait déjà bien connaître³. Dans cette petite étude dédiée en signe de respectueuse amitié à Suraiya Faroqhi, c'est donc moins au voyageur que je m'intéresserai, qu'à l'historien dont Evliya Çelebi prend ici la posture. J'y ai tenté, bien entendu, de faire la part du vrai et du faux dans le récit, mais aussi d'en évaluer la véracité en fonction des connaissances

¹ R. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality. The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leyde-Boston 2004. On trouvera une abondante bibliographie dans cet ouvrage, ainsi que dans R. Dankoff et K. Kreiser (éds), *Materialen zu Evliya Çelebi II. A Guide to the Seyâhat-nâme of Evliya Çelebi, Bibliographie raisonnée*, Leyde 1992. Il me paraît donc inutile dans ce court article de fournir une liste, qui demeurerait lacunaire, des travaux sur la valeur des informations du *Seyahatname* ou des différentes publications partielles introduites et annotées parues ces dernières années. J'en citerai plus d'une dans les pages qui suivent. Sur les sources d'Evliya Çelebi, cependant, une mention particulière doit être faite de l'important ouvrage de M. Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde Birinci Cildinin Kaynakları Üzerinde bir Araştırma*, Istanbul 1960.

² Feridun, *Nüzhetü-l-esrari-l-ahbar der sefer-i Sigetvar*, ms. H. 1339 de la bibliothèque du palais de Topkapı (Istanbul), dont je prépare l'édition (ci dessous, Feridun).

³ Je me réfère à S. A. Kahraman et Y. Dağlı (éds), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. VI, Istanbul 2002. (ci dessous, Evliya Çelebi).

du temps, et enfin de me demander quel usage littéraire Evliya faisait de l'histoire⁴.

* * *

Il faut d'abord souligner que le récit de la campagne de Szigetvár proposé par Evliya Çelebi est, dans ses grandes lignes, conforme à ce qu'on peut savoir de la vérité historique, telle en tout cas que les sources disponibles nous permettent de l'appréhender. Ces sources sont diverses, mais il va de soi, si l'on cherche un élément de comparaison, qu'on songe d'abord aux chroniques de Feridun et Selaniki, contemporains et témoins particulièrement sûrs des événements⁵.

Il est vrai, au demeurant, que les erreurs ne manquent pas. C'est ainsi qu'Evliya rapporte qu'à peine sorti d'Istanbul, Soliman avait d'une part chargé Pertev Paşa de faire le siège d'Eger tandis que d'autre part il envoyait le grand-vizir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa en *serdâr* vers Szigetvár à la tête de 50 000 hommes⁶. En réalité, le grand-vizir tint compagnie au sultan tout au long de la campagne—et de ce fait, du reste, ne porta pas cette année-là le titre de *serdâr*, pas même après la mort de Soliman, puisque celle-ci fut cachée, en sorte que, officiellement, c'était toujours le sultan (dont le décès était nié) qui dirigeait les opérations. Pourtant, l'erreur d'Evliya peut s'expliquer par une confusion : on sait en effet qu'alors que l'armée s'approchait de la forteresse, Sokollu Mehmed partit en éclaireur avec 200 cavaliers pour examiner la place⁷. Du reste, Evliya lui-même parle plus loin de l'envoi du grand-vizir vers le fort en avant garde, un peu avant l'arrivée du sultan en personne⁸.

Evliya savait qu'il y avait à Szigetvár quatre retranchements successifs, que les Ottomans désignaient comme autant de « forts » numérotés de 1 à 4. Mais il semble avoir ignoré qu'il fallut plusieurs jours de durs combats pour s'emparer du troisième fort.

On ne comprend pas non plus pourquoi il raconte que, courant en hâte de sa résidence de Kütahya vers Istanbul après avoir été prévenu de la mort de son père par un certain Hasan Çavuş, Selim conféra à

⁴ Les textes ottomans ont été transcrits dans l'orthographe turque moderne, suivant les préférences des éditeurs de ce volume, et non les miennes.

⁵ Ils appartenaient l'un et l'autre au cercle du grand-vizir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. Pour Selaniki, je me fonde sur l'édition récente de M. İpşirli, Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selâniki*. Istanbul 1989 (ci dessous, Selaniki).

⁶ *Evliya Çelebi*... cit., p. 300.

⁷ Feridun, 23 v°.

⁸ *Evliya Çelebi*... cit., p. 301.

celui-ci, passant par Brousse, le gouvernement de cette province, sans doute pour récompenser ce messager de bon augure⁹. De fait, Hasan Çavuş, qui ignorait d'ailleurs le contenu du message qu'il avait remis au prince, avait continué son voyage vers Alep¹⁰. Il n'avait donc pas accompagné Selim à Brousse, ville où d'ailleurs aucun chroniqueur ne dit que le prince s'arrêta.

De même, Evliya évoque la présence, dans le *türbe* des princes de la mosquée Şehzade, de la tombe d'un certain Ahmed Han, qu'il définit comme le fils du prince Mehmed (fils de Soliman lui-même inhumé en ce lieu)¹¹. Or ce dernier, décédé à 21 ans, n'avait pas laissé de fils, mais une fille du nom de Hümaşah Sultan, qui mourut au début du règne de Murad III, et qui était donc encore en vie lors de la montée de Selim II sur le trône¹². Il est vrai pourtant qu'elle fut enterrée dans ce même *türbe*, auprès de son père. Le mystérieux prince Ahmed était-il donc une princesse ? Dans la mesure où l'on ne voit pas quel intérêt Evliya aurait eu, dans ce cas, à inventer un prince du sang imaginaire, on peut supposer qu'il fait ici encore une confusion, surprenante d'ailleurs de la part de ce vieux Stambouliote. Une autre hypothèse serait qu'il attribue à ce mythique Ahmed Han un quatrième tombeau, anonyme, qui se trouve en effet dans le mausolée¹³. Quoiqu'il en soit, qu'il s'agisse d'une attribution erronée ou imaginaire, on peut supposer qu'elle n'était pas du fait d'Evliya, mais généralement admise à Istanbul dans sa jeunesse, plusieurs décennies après la mort de Hümaşah Sultan. Après tout, puisque ce *türbe* était celui des *şehzade*, n'était-il pas logique d'admettre qu'il n'abritait que des princes ?

Plusieurs des inexactitudes du récit d'Evliya paraissent en effet être des erreurs de bonne foi, dictées par le bon sens d'une personne envisageant le passé selon les critères de sa propre époque. C'est ainsi que, dès lors qu'il assurait que Selim s'était arrêté à Brousse, il était normal d'attribuer à celui-ci un pèlerinage aux tombes de ses ancêtres¹⁴. De même il allait de soi, pour un homme du XVII^e siècle, qu'à l'occasion du pèlerinage à Eyüp le nouveau sultan avait ceint un sabre¹⁵. C'était cependant

⁹ Ibid., p. 305.

¹⁰ N. Vatin et G. Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé. Essai sur les morts, dépositions et événements des sultans ottomans, XIV^e–XIX^e siècle*, Paris 2003, pp. 127–128.

¹¹ *Evliya Çelebi*... cit., p. 305.

¹² G. Öransay, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdi ?* Ankara 1969, p. 189.

¹³ Cf. H. Önköl, *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, Ankara 1992, p. 140.

¹⁴ *Evliya Çelebi*... cit., p. 305.

¹⁵ Ibid.

erroné, car cette cérémonie protocolaire, qui fut un élément indispensable de l'intronisation des souverains ottomans jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire, n'apparut vraisemblablement pas avant l'intronisation d'Ahmed Ier en 1603¹⁶. Une dernière erreur « de bon sens » mérite d'être soulignée, dans la mesure où elle marqua durablement l'historiographie : Evliya signale le fait, historique, que le corps de Soliman fut provisoirement inhumé sous sa tente, mais il affirme en outre que le ventre de Soliman fut « fendu » et que « le cœur, le foie et les autres organes » furent enterrés sur place à Szigetvár, à l'endroit où fut bâti par la suite un *türbe*¹⁷. J'ai tenté ailleurs de démontrer que ce renseignement est faux : certes on construisit sur le site où Soliman avait été provisoirement enterré un mausolée (disparu depuis), mais ce ne fut pas avant l'avènement de Murad III et l'inhumation sur place des viscères du sultan est très vraisemblablement un mythe¹⁸. Cette information n'en a pas moins été généralement admise comme exacte jusqu'à aujourd'hui, pour cette même raison sans doute qui amenait Evliya Çelebi à la tenir pour sûre : dès lors qu'il y avait bel et bien un mausolée sur place, il fallait que quelqu'un, ou au moins quelque chose, y fût enterré.

* * *

Le texte d'Evliya a sans doute beaucoup fait pour la perpétuation de cette tradition. Au demeurant il n'en est pas l'inventeur, puisqu'elle apparaît à la fin du XVI^e siècle dans le *Künhü-l-ahbâr* de Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali¹⁹.

¹⁶ Cf. N. Vatin et G. Veinstein, *Le sérail ébranlé*... cit., p. 308 sqq.; C. Imber, *Die Thronbesteigungen der osmanische Sultane*, dans M. Steinicke et S. Weinfurter (éds), *Investitur und Krönungsrituale*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienne 2005, pp. 291–303, pp. 300–301.

¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi... cit., p. 302 (*naş-ı Süleyman Han'ın karnını yarup ud u amber ve müşk ü zaferan ile tuzlayup Süleyman Han'ı obası içre vücud-ı Süleyman Han'ı emaneten deyü yere defn edüp kalbini ve muzahrefat ve çiğerini hala Türbe kal'ası olan yere defn edüp*).

¹⁸ Cf. N. Vatin et G. Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*... cit., p. 388 sqq.; N. Vatin, *Un türbe sans maître. Note sur la fondation et la destination du türbe de Soliman le Magnifique à Szigetvár*, dans *Turcica XXXVII* (2005), pp. 9–42.

¹⁹ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü-l-ahbar*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Supplément turc n° 1028, 320 v° : « Les autres restes furent subrepticement enterrés en face de Szigetvár et, par la suite, on envisagea d'élever un mausolée par dessus » (*sayırlı fazilat Sigetvar mukabelesinde hafiyeten defn étdürilüb ba'd [ez-]zamân üstine türbe yapılması menvileri oldı*). C'est dans les années 1590 que Mustafa Ali rédigea sa célèbre chronique. Introduisant le récit qu'il y donne de la campagne de Szigetvár, il précise qu'il ne fait que résumer ce qu'il a écrit dans une plaquette entièrement consacrée à ce sujet, intitulée *Heft meclis* (version imprimée : Ali, *Heft meclis*, Kütübhâne-i ikdâm n° 17, Istanbul 1316/1900–01). Or ce dernier texte fut vraisemblablement composé dans l'hiver 1569–70, donc très peu de temps après les événements : cf. C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat*

Il n'est pas impossible que ce dernier ait été la source de notre auteur, encore que cela n'ait rien de certain : on peut également imaginer que la légende était entretenue sur place à Szigetvár²⁰. On est amené à se poser la même question à propos du passage où il raconte en détail comment, après la conquête, un dépôt de poudre explosa dans le quatrième fort²¹, alors que nous savons que l'arsenal était dans le troisième fort et avait explosé lors de la prise de celui-ci²². Peut-être Evliya faisait-il à nouveau une confusion ? Peut-être aussi jugeait-il que cette anecdote donnait de l'animation à son récit sans trop nuire à la vérité historique, puisqu'après tout le dépôt avait bel et bien explosé ? Mais il peut, ici encore, s'être fondé sur le récit de Gelibolulu Ali, qui situe également l'explosion après la conquête²³. Pourtant le détail du récit est suffisamment différent chez les deux auteurs pour qu'on soit plutôt tenté de supposer qu'ils se font séparément l'écho d'une même tradition.

and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600), Princeton 1986, p. 58.

En fait, le *Heft meclis* n'est guère plus détaillé que le chapitre du *Künhü-l-ahbar*, résumé consistant surtout ici à simplifier le style (cf. J. Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A Study of Mustafâ Ali of Gallipoli's Künhü l-ahbâr*, Leyde 1991, pp. 47, 77), tandis que certains passages sont recopiés mot à mot. En revanche, Ali a entretemps complété sa documentation. Il est vrai qu'il avait rédigé dans la hâte, alors qu'il n'avait pas été témoin des événements (il était à ce moment en Syrie), sans disposer sans doute à cette date de récits écrits (le cheikh Nurüddinzade Muslihüddin, qui le patrona alors et qui avait participé à la campagne, lui servit-il d'informateur ?). C'est ainsi qu'il donne dans le *Künhü-l-ahbâr* les noms de Hasan (*çavuş*, envoyé prévenir le prince Selim de la mort de son père) et de Zrinyi (le commandant de la place de Szigetvár), alors qu'il ne les fournissait pas dans le *Heft meclis*. Cf. également *infra*, note 34.

Or il est remarquable, pour notre propos, que l'indication de l'enterrement sur place des entrailles de Soliman ne soit pas donnée dans le *Heft Meclis*. On peut évidemment supposer qu'il était préférable en 1569 de rester discret sur une pratique un peu douteuse, et que c'était moins gênant vingt ans plus tard, après la disparition du grand-vizir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. Pourtant, on ne discerne aucune nuance réprobatrice, ni dans le *Künhü-l-ahbar*, ni chez Evliya Çelebi. Il me paraît donc plus probable que sur ce point, comme sur d'autres, Ali avait cherché à compléter son information, en l'occurrence en reprenant à son compte une tradition apparue postérieurement.

²⁰ On sait que Mustafa Ali fut une des principales sources d'Evliya Çelebi : cf. Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde...* cit., pp. 75–83. Cependant la comparaison du récit de la campagne de Szigetvár dans le *Seyahatname* d'une part et d'autre part dans le *Heft meclis* et le *Künhü-l-ahbar* (317 v°–321 r°) amène à conclure que, dans ce cas précis, Evliya ne se fonde probablement pas sur Mustafa Ali.

²¹ *Evliya Çelebi...* cit., p. 304.

²² Feridun, 39 r°–v° ; *Selaniki...* cit., p. 32 ; S. Budina, *Historia Szigethi totius Slavoniae fortissimi propugnaculi Solymano Turcarum Imperatore Anno MDLXVI capti Christianisque erepti*, dans J. G. Schwandtner, *Scriptorum rerum hungaricarum*, Vienne 1768, vol. I, p. 12.

²³ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Heft meclis* cit., p. 35 ; *Künhü-l-ahbar...* cit., 320 r°.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il paraît nécessaire d'insister sur le fait que nombre des inexactitudes que nous relevons dans le récit d'Evliya correspondent à l'état des connaissances de son temps.

Il en va ainsi par exemple de son récit de la rencontre de Selim II avec la troupe à Belgrade. Nous savons par Selaniki qu'un débat aux graves conséquences avait opposé Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à l'entourage du nouveau sultan sur la question de savoir si une nouvelle cérémonie d'intronisation (*cülûs*) devait être organisée devant l'armée, et que Selim II repoussa cette suggestion du grand-vizir²⁴. Certes, les officiers eurent l'occasion de faire acte d'obédience, mais après qu'on eut procédé à la prière funéraire et au transfert du corps, cérémonies qui impliquaient que Selim II était déjà pleinement sultan²⁵. Pourtant, Evliya Çelebi affirme : « Le jour où tous les soldats de l'Islam entrèrent dans Belgrade, ils purent voir ceci : Sultan Selim gagna la tente et s'assit sur le siège du *padişah*, tous les piliers de l'État renouvelèrent leur obédience²⁶. » Or Peçevi—auteur dont nous savons qu'il était également une de ses sources préférées²⁷—raconte lui aussi qu'au petit matin « le prince » (*şehzade*) monta sur le trône, accomplit son *cülûs* et fit baiser le pan de sa robe aux vizirs et ministres²⁸.

Sur d'autres points, où les renseignements fournis par Evliya ne sont pas erronés, son texte rappelle fortement la version de Peçevi, et à travers elle celle des auteurs impériaux. Il en va ainsi de la précision que c'est à Nagy-Harsány que Soliman fit étape près de Siklós, et que c'est là qu'Arslan Paşa fut exécuté²⁹. De même, Evliya, comme Peçevi et les auteurs hongrois, donne de l'importance à une sortie jusqu'aux environs de Siklós du commandant impérial de Szigetvár, Miklós Zrínyi. Feridun n'en parle pas ; Selaniki y fait une simple allusion³⁰. En revanche, on est frappé de la proximité de tonalité des récits de Peçevi et d'Evliya. Voici ce qu'écrit ce dernier :

²⁴ Selaniki...cit., pp. 48–49.

²⁵ Feridun, 108 v^o–110 r^o.

²⁶ Evliya Çelebi...cit., p. 305 (*ol gün ki cemi'i asakir-i islam şehr-i belgrad'a dahil olunca gördüler kim Selim Han otağa gelüp sandal-nişin-i padişah olup cemi'i erkan-ı devlet tecdid-i bi'at edüp*).

²⁷ Cf. M. Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde...*cit., pp. 88–92 ; K. Buğday, *Evliyâ Çelebis Anatolienreise aus dritten Band des Seyâhatnâme*, Leyde 1996, p. 189, n. 98.

²⁸ Peçevi, *Tarih*, Istanbul 1866 (repr. 1980), I, p. 423.

²⁹ Evliya Çelebi...cit., p. 301 ; Peçevi, *Tarih*...cit., I, p. 416 ; Istvánffy, *Historiarum de rebus ungaricis libri XXXIV*, Vienne 1622, p. 290.

³⁰ Selaniki, *Tarih*...cit., p. 25.

Trois *sancakbeyi* précédemment chargés de garder le fort de Pécs, qui avaient dressé leurs tentes devant le fort de Siklós, s'étaient trouvés du fait de la pluie incapables d'ouvrir les yeux et étaient tous restés sous leur tente en tirant leur manteau sur leur tête. Ce jour là, alors qu'ils étaient plongés dans un doux sommeil, disant "Le monde ignore les autres", l'individu nommé Zrínyi Miklós, qui était *ban* du fort de Szigetvár, marcha sur eux avec 5 000 cavaliers et 3 000 fantassins chrétiens. Il tua en *şehid* les *bey* et plusieurs centaines de *gazi*, en captura et enchaîna plusieurs centaines d'autres³¹.

Et voici le passage correspondant de Peçevi :

Il pleut tant que chacun, dans les corps de garde de l'officier en question³², a glissé sa tête sous les buissons, négligeant la mission de garde. On pense que les conditions ne permettent pas qu'il y ait mouvement chez l'ennemi. L'excès de la fatigue et de la pluie donne un sentiment de sécurité à cet officier et à ses hommes. Mais les maudits, qui sont restés jusqu'au matin [dans les marais] pareils à des porcs vautrés dans l'eau sale, forment plusieurs colonnes de chiens et attaquent cet officier. Ils le mettent, lui et son fils, au rang des martyrs, écrasent le reste des hommes et mettent à sac et pillent leurs biens³³.

Un dernier exemple mérite d'être donné : celui de la mort de ce même Zrínyi, à l'issue du siège de Szigetvár. Feridun en fournit une version fantaisiste et conventionnelle. Selaniki, quant à lui, rappelle les faits, sans plus de commentaires : Zrínyi, revêtu de ses plus beaux atours, ouvre les portes dans une sortie désespérée³⁴. Les auteurs hongrois, bien

³¹ Evliya Çelebi... cit., pp. 300-301 (*mukademma Peçuy kalası muhafazasına ta'yin olunan üç aded sancakbeğleri Şikloş kalası altında meks-i hiyam edüp baran zahmetinden bu beğler gözlerin açamayup herkes haymesinde başın hırkaya çeküp âlem ağyardan bî-haberdir deyü hab-ı nazda iken ol gün Sigetvar kalası banı olan Zirinski Mikloş nâm pelid-i anid beş bin atlı ve üç bin yaya küffarlar ile mezkur beğleri ol yağmur ve kar mahallinde ale'l-gafle basup beğleri ve niçe yüz aded gazileri cümle şehid edüp ve niçe yüzini esir-i bend-i zincir edüp...*) Je restitue *baran zahmetinden* (qui se trouve dans l'édition en caractères arabes, vol. VI, Istanbul 1318/1902-03) à *bârân-ı rahmetden*.

³² Mehmed, bey de Tırhala.

³³ Peçevi... cit. I, p. 415 (*bir mertebe baran müstevli olur ki mir-i mezburun karavolcuları her birisi başın bir çalıya sokub karavol kaydın ber-taraf kılır ve düşmanda hareket edecek hal yok sanır mir-i mezbur dahi asker ile kesret-i kall ve barandan emn hasıl eder müla'in ise sahr vaktına değin her biri çirkaba mustağrak olmuş bir hınzır gibi safice kilabdan bir kaç alay olup mir-i mezburi basarlar ve kendisin ve oğlın zümre-i şühedaya katarlar sayır askerin münhezim edüp ma-meleklerin garet ve hasaret ederler*).

³⁴ Selaniki, *Tarih*... cit., p. 34. De son côté Mustafa Ali, dans sa seconde version, se borne aux faits, dans un esprit d'ailleurs injurieux : « l'arc à la main et le carquois à la taille, il sortit comme un cochon armé de flèches de sa porcherie » (*Künhü-l-ahbar*... cit., 319 v° : *keman elinde terkeşi belinde oklu domuz gibi hınzırhanesinden çıktı*). Remarquons au passage qu'il avait été amené, mieux renseigné qu'en 1569, a remanier entièrement sa

entendu, mettent en valeur la noblesse de la fin du commandant de la place : constatant que tout est perdu, il fait à ses officiers et soldats un noble discours, proclamant que mieux vaut mourir au combat que d'accepter des conditions infamantes, puis il fait ouvrir les portes et marche vers l'ennemi les armes à la main³⁵. Peçevi, qui fait explicitement référence aux récits des « mécréants », souligne lui aussi que Zrínyi était un mécréant brave, qui tirait son renom de sa vaillance³⁶, avant de raconter comment il se para pour son baroud d'honneur, plaçant à son col un collier de pièces d'or en s'écriant : « Que ce soit mon présent au *gazi* qui me coupera le cou³⁷ ! » Manifestement, c'est à cette tradition que sa ratteche Evliya Çelebi quand il raconte : « Quant au *ban* fameux du nom de Zrínyi Miklós, qui commandait le fort, se disant “Plutôt mourir que de voir cela !”, il revêtit ses effets les plus magnifiques et s'élança au devant des *gazi* qui montaient à l'assaut³⁸. »

Pour une bonne part, il faut donc sans doute considérer—en tout cas en ce qui concerne le cas particulier de la campagne de Szigetvár dont il est question ici—qu'Evliya Çelebi n'écrit pas ce qui lui passe par la tête : il partage la culture historique de son temps.

* * *

première version qui était totalement erronée : « Quand il sut que les *gazi* approchaient et qu'il n'y avait pas à douter de leur assaut submergeant, il sortit pour aller au devant d'eux avec toutes sortes de marques de respect et se rendit. Renversant son drapeau de sa propre main, il abandonna le cercle des [preneurs de] mesures et de décisions. À ce moment, un audacieux *gazi* tira sur son corps pétri d'erreurs, abîma la ruine de sa vie, fit une brèche dans sa solide forteresse et la conquiert en sorte que sa tête hirsute reçut la teinture du sang de la *gaza* (*Heft meclis...cit.*, p. 35 : *çun ki guzatun kudumu ve sefk-i hücumu bi-şübhe malumu olmu, suret-i istikbal ve enva'-ı izzet ve iclal ile karşı gelip tapu kılmış ve kendi eli-ile sancağına ser-nigun edip basiret ve tedarik meclisinden yıkılmış, ol an bir gazi-i serbaz peyker-i zalalet-siriştine tıfeng-endaz olup dil viranı gibi mecruh ve kal'e-i metinesi gibi meşruh ve meftuh kılmağla ser-i nâ-traşidesi gaza kanına boyanmış*).

³⁵ Cf. Istvánffy, *Historiarum de rebus ungaricis...cit.*, pp. 299–300 ; Budina, *Historia Szigethi...cit.*, pp. 14–16 ; P. Bizarus, *Bellum pannonicum sub Maximiliano II Romanorum et Solymano Turcorum imperatoribus gestum*, dans Schwandtner, *Scriptorum rerum hungaricarum...cit.*, II, p. 387.

³⁶ Peçevi, *Tarih...cit.*, I, p. 419 : *şehir ve bahadırılık-le nam çıkarmış bir kafir-i dilir idi*.

³⁷ *Ibid.* : *boyını kesen gaziye armağan olsun*.

³⁸ Evliya Çelebi...cit., p. 303 (*amma kal'a beği olan Zirinski Mikloş nam ban-ı benam “bu hali görmekten ise ölmek yeğdir” [deyü] cümle esbab-ı ihtışamın geyüp yürüyüş eden güzâta hücum edince*).

Il ne faut évidemment pas en tirer argument pour dire qu'il fait œuvre d'historien. On retrouve dans les pages analysées ici plusieurs passages qui justifient la réputation de fantaisiste du joyeux Evliya.

Rappelons d'abord son goût pour les chiffres : d'où tire-t-il, par exemple, l'effectif de 87 000 hommes qu'il attribue à Pertev Paşa partant faire le siège d'Eger³⁹ ? Et comment croire que la sortie de Miklós Zrínyi, dont il a été question ci-dessus, fut faite avec 8 000 hommes, quand les sources impériales⁴⁰ parlent d'environ 1 500 hommes ? De même nous savons qu'Arslan Paşa—qui paya de sa tête ses initiatives malheureuses—se retira après avoir mis quelques temps le siège devant Palota, mais il est faux de dire, comme le fait Evliya, que son armée fut anihilée⁴¹.

Toujours pour donner plus de relief à son récit, Evliya se permet aussi d'enjoliver. À propos de l'étendue d'eau asséchée autour de la forteresse, Peçevî ajoutait : « Mais c'était une fondrière et un bournier où des démons se seraient noyés⁴². » Evliya reprend manifestement ce passage, sans en modifier la signification, mais en brochant : « Mais c'était un bournier inextricable où se seraient noyés un éléphant du Bengale ou un buffle d'Adana, une soue à cochon dont il était impossible à un être humain d'approcher⁴³. » En remplaçant les démons par des buffles et des éléphants, Evliya passait au style burlesque, dans le but évident d'amuser : non seulement les ennemis chrétiens étaient implicitement comparés à des cochons—ce qui devait créer un plaisant sentiment de complicité entre l'auteur et son public⁴⁴—, mais les précisions fournies sur les origines géographiques des grosses bêtes évoquées, par leur inutilité même, devaient susciter le sourire.

Evliya ne se borne pas à enjoliver le style de ses sources : il enjolive aussi les faits. Feridun—en l'occurrence le témoin le plus sûr des événements—raconte qu'après le décès de Soliman, il fit en sorte que le *kethüda* des *kapuçı* fût convoqué par les services de l'*Enderun* et chargé de transmettre au grand-vizir le mécontentement du sultan (dont on continuait à prétendre qu'il était vivant) à l'égard des ses vizirs et

³⁹ Ibid., p. 300.

⁴⁰ Budina, *Historia Szigethi*... cit., pp. 2–3 ; Bizarus, *Bellum panonicum*... cit., p. 382.

⁴¹ *Cümle Budin askerın kırıp* (Evliya Çelebi... cit., p. 301).

⁴² *Ve lakin yine içine girince divler gark olacak balçık ve bataklık idi* (Peçevî, *Tarih*... cit., I, p. 418).

⁴³ *Amma içine fil-i mengerusi ve Adana camısı girse gark olur bir batağ ü çatağ ve domuz yatağı yerler kim Beni-Adam yanına varmak muhal* (Evliya Çelebi... cit., p. 301).

⁴⁴ Au demeurant, Peçevî ou Gelibolulu Ali eux-mêmes ne se privaient pas d'utiliser le même procédé, comme on aura pu le constater dans des passages cités plus haut.

officiers, ainsi que l'ordre d'achever au plus vite la conquête de la place assiégée⁴⁵. Il s'agit donc d'une manifestation discrète et respectant le protocole habituel, ce qui était d'ailleurs essentiel si l'on souhaitait donner à croire que le maître était toujours là et que tout était normal. Evliya préfère donner à cette scène un caractère plus dramatique, et sans doute aussi plus humoristique⁴⁶ :

Sokollu s'écria à l'intérieur de la tente :

“Pitié, mon *padişah* ! Ne me détruis pas : pitié, pitié pour moi qui suis ton vieux vizir depuis si longtemps⁴⁷ !”

Et s'étrangeant, criant et gémissant, il disait :

“Qu'il en soit ainsi, mon *padişah* : nous ferons un assaut contre le fort aujourd'hui même. Pitié, mon souverain : par l'âme de tes ancêtres, ne me détruis pas ! Par Dieu, nous allons faire cet assaut tout de suite ! C'est à toi qu'il revient d'ordonner, mon *padişah*. Ne détruis pas non plus ton *kul* l'agha des janissaires, ni les 7 vizirs tes *kul* ! Je vais sur le champ distribuer 500 bourses à tous les *ocak* et nous partirons à l'assaut.”

Et tout en poussant ces plaintes, il avait laissé glisser sur son cou le voile de son turban, se déchirait lui-même le visage et les yeux, laisser couler du sang rouge sur sa barbe, et quand il sortit, tête nue⁴⁸, il convoqua l'agha des

⁴⁵ Feridûn, *Nüzhetü-l-esrar*... cit., 53 r°.

⁴⁶ Evliya Çelebi... cit., p. 303 (*Heman cenaze-i Süleyman Han'ı yine yere emaneten kodukları gibi Sokollu oba içinde bir kerre «Aman padişahım aman kıyma bana, kırk yıllık bir ihtiyar vezirinin aman aman» deyü boğularak haykırarak feryad edip «Olsun padişahım, bu gün kal'aya yürüyüş ederiz, aman hünkaram, ceddin ruhıyçün kıyma bana. Vallahi şimdi yürüyüş edelim. Emir senin padişahım. Yeniçeri ağası kulunu ve yedi vezir kullarını ne kırarsın. Ben şimdi cümle ocağa beş yüz kise verüp yürüyüş ederim» deyü feryad ederek sarığı boğazına geçmiş ve kendi kendine yüzün ve gözlerin tırnalayup ve sakalı üzere kızıl kanların akıdıp baş kabak taşra çıkdıkta yeniçeri ağası Ali Ağa'yı ve Ferhad Paşa'yı ve Anadolu beğlerbeğisi Mahmud Paşa'yı ve beşinci vezir Mustafa Paşa'yı ve Şemsi Paşa'yı ve gayr-i mir-i miran ümeraları Sokollu huzurına çağırıp eydir : «Görün ademler, ben bu sinn-i salde bir pir-i fani bir ihtiyar vezir olam. Bakın hasta dediğiniz padişahım beni ne hale koyup sarığım boğazıma geçirip yüzüm gözüm kan etdi. “Bire mel'un, bu kal'a niçün bu zamana dek feth olmadı, işte kılıç gibi kış geliyor. Benim kullarım kışa niçün kalır, tiz cellad” deyip beni musahibleri rica edip “Elbette kal'aya yürüyüş eyle, yohsa seni de ve gayri vezirleri ve ser-i karda olanları kırarım” deyü yemin etdi. şimdi benim canım padişah beni öldürmeden ben sizi evvel kırarım ve illa kal'aya yürüyüş edip bi-emrillah feth edelim, padişah kılıçından halas olalım. Ölürsək kal'a altınd[a] şehid olalım» dedikde cümle vüzera vü vükela ve erbab-ı divan Sokollu'nun sarığı boğazında ve yüzü gözü kan görünce heman cümlesi «Aman sultanım, bugün heman yürüyüş edelim. Her çi bada bad» deyip).*

⁴⁷ Littéralement «depuis 40 ans»: kırk yıllık bir ihtiyar vezirininim.

⁴⁸ Les gestes qui sont prêtés à Sokollu Mehmed Paşa sont ceux du deuil qui suit immédiatement l'annonce d'un décès (cf. Vatin et Veinstein, *Le sérail ébranlé*... cit., pp. 354–366). Aucune source—et pour cause—n'évoque de manifestation publique de deuil de la part du grand-vizir (Feridun, *Nüzhetü-l-ahbar*... cit., 50 r°, dit qu'il «déchira son col, mit son turban dans la poussière et demeura tête nue, mit le feu à sa poitrine», mais dans le secret de ses appartements). On peut néanmoins se demander si le récit imagé

janissaires Ali Ağa, Ferhad Paşa, le *beylerbeyi* d'Anatolie Mahmud Paşa, le cinquième vizir Mustafa Paşa, Şemsi Paşa, et les autres officiers supérieurs, et il leur dit :

“Voyez, hommes : que je devienne à cet âge un vieillard décrépît, un vieux vizir ! Voyez dans quel état m’a mis mon *padişah* que vous dites malade, comment il a fait glisser le voile de mon turban sur mon cou, comment il a fait couler le sang de ma face et de mes yeux ! Il nous a fait venir, moi et les intimes : “Eh bien maudit, m’a-t-il dit, pourquoi ce fort n’a-t-il pas encore été conquis ? Voilà que l’hiver tombe comme un sabre. Pourquoi mes *kul* attendent-ils l’hiver ? Vite, le bourreau !” Et puis il a juré : “Ne manque pas de lancer l’assaut contre le fort, sinon je t’élimine, toi, les autres vizirs et tous les commandants.” Eh bien maintenant, c’est moi qui vous éliminerai vous, avant que le *padişah* mon âme ne me fasse tuer. Ou alors, lançons-nous à l’assaut du fort et conquérons-le avec l’aide de Dieu, et nous échapperons ainsi au sabre du *padişah*. Si nous mourons, que ce soit en *şehid* au pied de la forteresse !”

Quand il eut dit cela, tous les vizirs, les ministres et les membres du divan, voyant le voile du turban de Sokollu sur son cou et sa face et ses yeux en sang, s’écrièrent aussitôt tous ensemble : “Grâce, mon sultan ! Aujourd’hui même nous ferons l’assaut du fort, et il en sera ce qu’il en sera !”

L’esprit de l’anecdote—si l’on fait abstraction du désir du grand-vizir de maintenir le calme et le silence—n’est pas vraiment trahi, mais on sent évidemment le désir de lui donner une forme littéraire et amusante.

Deux autres histoires, plus ou moins extraordinaires, vont dans le même sens. Dans la première, Evliya assure que le grand-vizir fit lancer vers le fort un troupeau de 10 000 chèvres portant des bougies allumées sur les cornes : l’ennemi trompé, ayant tiré sur ce qu’il prenait pour des soldats, ne put plus faire usage de son artillerie dans le premier moment de l’assaut lancé juste après⁴⁹. Il s’agit là d’un récit amusant. Le second est macabre et appartient plutôt au registre de l’humour noir. Pour faire voir à la troupe Soliman en vie, on aurait exhumé son cadavre (qui avait été provisoirement enterré sous sa tente) : vêtu, coiffé d’un voile qui laissait seulement apercevoir la barbe teinte, le corps assis sur le trône dans un ample manteau dissimulait un certain Kuzu Ali Ağa. Celui-ci, les bras passés dans les manches du sultan, faisait saluer le corps, et de

d’Evliya Çelebi n’est pas la transformation d’une scène de deuil dont les manifestations n’étaient plus de mise dans la seconde moitié du 17^e siècle (cf. Vatin et Veinstein, *Le sérail ébranlé*... cit., p. 363 sq.).

⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi... cit., p. 302.

sa propre main jaunie au safran⁵⁰ pour qu'on crût que c'était celle du malade, demandait un peigne et peignait la barbe impériale du mort⁵¹ avec une maladresse qui confirmait aux yeux des hommes que c'était bien le souverain fatigué qui bougeait⁵². Le naïf commentaire attribué à un soldat présent souligne que la macabre anecdote est bien racontée pour amuser le lecteur : « As-tu vu ? Il n'arrivait pas bien à se peigner la barbe. C'est parce qu'il est malade. C'est comme ça. Que notre *padişah* retrouve au plus tôt la santé !⁵³ »

Est-il besoin de le dire ? Ces histoires, que ne rapporte aucune des autres sources connues de moi, sont très vraisemblablement apocryphes. Il paraît difficile d'admettre que le grand-vizir ait voulu sacrifier un troupeau de 10 000 bêtes alors que son armée était bloquée depuis plusieurs semaines par un siège difficile en pays ennemi, et qu'il convenait assurément de se préoccuper de son approvisionnement⁵⁴. Du reste, Evliya raconte une histoire assez proche à propos du siège d'Özü en 1657⁵⁵. Quant à la présentation du corps exhumé, dont on peut d'ailleurs se demander si elle aurait été concrètement praticable⁵⁶, elle rappelle étrangement une bien vieille histoire concernant Mehmed Ier. À sa mort en 1421, les vizirs s'étant trouvés devant le même embarras que connaissait Sokollu Mehmed en 1566, le médecin Gerdran aurait inventé d'exhiber le sultan mort en « plaçant un page derrière le corps de telle manière

⁵⁰ Ce détail concret et un peu absurde est vraisemblablement humoristique. On ne le trouve pas dans ce qui me paraît être la source de ce récit (cf. *infra*).

⁵¹ Même remarque qu'à la note précédente. La source probable de ce récit ne parle que d'une main passée dans la barbe. Le détail concret du peigne, ajouté par Evliya, vise à rendre le récit plus vivant.

⁵² *Evliya Çelebi*... cit., pp. 302–303.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 303 : *Gördün mü sakalını bir hoş tarayamadı zira hasta-haldir eyle olur heman padişahımız sağ olsun.*

⁵⁴ Nous savons d'ailleurs que certains produits manquaient : cf. N. Vatin, *Comment on garde un secret. Une note confidentielle du grand-vizir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa en septembre 1566*, dans E. Resmeli et O. Önel (eds), *The Ottoman Empire—Myths, Realities and „Black Holes“*, Istanbul 2006, pp. 239–255.

⁵⁵ Cf. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*... cit., pp. 168–169, qui propose de chercher une source biblique à l'anecdote concernant le siège d'Özü. En tout cas la répétition de l'anecdote à propos de deux sièges différents fait qu'il n'y aurait guère de sens à rechercher, pour une histoire aussi peu probable, un fondement historique lié à l'un ou l'autre combat.

⁵⁶ Les chroniqueurs racontent différents stratagèmes imaginés pour donner à la troupe l'impression que Soliman bougeait dans la voiture qui ramenait le corps vers Belgrade, mais il ne vont pas jusqu'à parler de manipuler un cadavre de six semaines. Cf. Vatin et Veinstein, *Le sérail ébranlé*... cit., pp. 139–140.

qu'il fit bouger la main du cadavre et que celui-ci parût se soulever la barbe de la main⁵⁷ ».

Il semble assez clair que cette anecdote ancienne est la source de celle inventée par Evliya Çelebi. Rapportée par Neşri et Aşıkpaşazade⁵⁸, elle était sans doute bien connue de tous, ce qui suffisait à lui ôter par avance toute valeur historique aux yeux de l'auditoire⁵⁹. Celui-ci n'était probablement pas dupe non plus, ni de l'épopée des chèvres partant de nuit à l'assaut d'une forteresse, ni même de la mise en scène hystérique attribuée à Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. Après tout, les faits et gestes du grand-vizir étaient célèbres et le public devait savoir faire la part du vrai.

* * *

C'est sur ce point que je conclurai. Robert Dankoff estime qu'en général le public ottoman reconnaissait sans efforts à quels moments Evliya plaisantait⁶⁰. Il me semble que l'examen des quelques pages qu'il consacre à la campagne de Szigetvár vient confirmer les conclusions de R. Dankoff (qui n'en avaient, cela va sans dire, nul besoin).

Il me semble également qu'on peut en tirer le sentiment que cette complicité de l'auteur avec son public était fondée sur une communauté de culture. Culture orale combinée à des conceptions liées à leur temps : nous avons vu comment plusieurs des inexactitudes du récit

⁵⁷ Neşri, *Cihânnümâ. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlânâ Mehmed Neschrî*, F. Taeschner (éd.), Band I, Leipzig 1951, p. 148 (*meyyitin arkasına bir oğlan kodı bir vech-le ki kimesne görmedin meyyitin elin hareket etti tip meyyit kendi eli-ile sakalın sigardı*).

⁵⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, *Tarih*, F. Giese (éd.), Leipzig 1929, pp. 84–85. M. Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde...* cit., pp. 75–76 considère qu'en général Evliya utilise ces sources via Mustafa Ali de Gallipoli, mais en l'occurrence, je n'ai pas retrouvé cette anecdote dans les passages du *Künhü-l-ahbar* consacrés à la mort de Mehmed Ier (je me suis reporté à l'édition de M. et Ş. Çuhadar, A. Gül et A. Uğur, vol. I, Kayseri 1997). Du reste N. Tezcan relève quant à elle des parallèles qu'elle estime flagrants entre certains passages d'Evliya et les textes d'Aşıkpaşazade et Neşri : cf. N. Tezcan, *Manisa nach Evliya Çelebi aus dem neunten Band des seyhâhat-nâme*, Leyde 1999, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Sur le public d'Evliya Çelebi, cf. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality...* cit., pp. 185–188 : autant qu'on puisse en juger par l'analyse du texte même du *Seyahatname*, il s'agissait d'une élite cultivée, composée des patrons d'Evliya et des membres de leur entourage. On peut admettre sans trop de difficulté que ces gens lisaient les historiens : après tout, l'histoire fut longtemps le genre littéraire par excellence de la prose ottomane. Selaniki en tout cas estimait qu'un pacha se devait d'avoir une culture historique, à en juger par l'apostrophe qu'il lança à Ferhad Paşa qui élevait des objections à la politique du grand-vizir après la mort de Soliman-le-Magnifique. À l'en croire, il lui aurait dit : « N'avez-vous pas lu les ouvrages historiques ? » (*tevarih okumadınız mı ?*) : cf. Selaniki, *Tarih...* cit., I, p. 37.

⁶⁰ Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality...* cit., p. 170.

d'Evliya peuvent s'expliquer par le fait qu'il écrivait un siècle après les événements, faisant parfois sans en avoir nécessairement conscience des reconstructions *a posteriori*. Culture écrite également. Pour Gustav Bayerle, le caractère fantaisiste du *Seyahatname* tend à prouver qu'on lisait peu Peçevi, Selaniki, le *Tarih-i üngürüs* et autres récits historiques ottomans bien informés⁶¹. Il me semble que l'examen du passage étudié ici montre au contraire qu'Evliya avait lu les historiens, et que son public, vraisemblablement, ne les ignorait pas non plus. Du reste, l'opposition entre cultures orale et écrite est sans doute malheureuse. Si Evliya connaissait apparemment Peçevi, il ne se reportait sans doute pas systématiquement au texte en cours de rédaction⁶².

De toute manière, il ne prétendait probablement pas faire œuvre d'historien, en tout cas dans le passage précis analysé ici. En revanche, loin d'ignorer l'histoire, il s'en servait certainement à des fins littéraires, et non pas seulement en s'amusant à en détourner le style. J'en veux pour preuve le fait qu'alors même qu'il tirait sans doute une bonne partie de son information de textes historiques, il prétend se fonder sur les souvenirs de son père, Derviş Mehmed Zilli, qui, à l'en croire, aurait participé à la campagne⁶³, de même que ces vieux messieurs fréquentés par le jeune Evliya dans l'échoppe paternelle : le *matbah emini* Hanlı Abdi Efendi, le *rikabdar* Kuzu Ali Ağa, ou encore son maître de musique Derviş Ömer Gülşeni⁶⁴. De façon générale, on a peine à admettre que notre auteur

⁶¹ G. Bayerle, *Hungarian history according to Evliya Çelebi*, in "Journal of Turkish Studies", VIII (1984), pp. 21–24, p. 24.

⁶² Sur ce point, cf. les pages consacrées par M. van Bruinessen aux « méthodes de rédaction d'Evliya », pp. 8–12 de M. van Bruinessen et H. Boeschote, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*. Leyde 1988 : « Evliya seems to have worked partly from memory, partly from a vast collection of notes of rather disparate character, chaotically arranged » (p. 8).

⁶³ Cf. la conclusion d'*Evliya Çelebi*... cit., p. 305 : « On a rédigé de diverses façons les événements de la mort de Süleyman Han, mais c'est ainsi qu'elle m'a été brièvement contée dans les récits que m'a souvent faits mon père qui avait été un intime du souverain, avait été auprès de lui pendant les quarante huit ans de son règne et avait même assisté à sa mort » (*Süleyman Han mevtinin niçe gune ahvalin tahrir etmişler amma pedirimiz merhum musahib-i şehriyari olup kırk sekiz sene hilafetinde bile olup mematin dahi görüp sıkı kelamı olmağıyle böyle tahrir-i ihtisar olundu*). La première phrase me paraît mériter d'être soulignée : Evliya nous rappelle qu'il n'ignore pas l'histoire des historiens (dont nous avons vu qu'il se servait), mais il préférerait en raconter une autre.

⁶⁴ Sans compter un agha des janissaires à la retraite du nom de Ali. On recense en effet deux Ali Ağa ayant occupé ces fonctions au 16^e siècle. L'un, Semiz Ali, devenu grand-vizir, était décédé en 1565. L'autre, Mir-i alem Ali, avait été agha des janissaires en 1534–35 et en 1540–41 : il aurait été un vieillard en effet en 1566. Sur tous ces personnages et leur rôle auprès d'Evliya Çelebi, cf. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*... cit., pp. 160–161.

ait pu fréquenter tant d'individus décédés à plus de 110 ou 140 ans. *A fortiori* on est perplexe de voir cette bande d'amis présente aux endroits les plus inattendus : Derviş Mehmed, Kuzu Ali et Abdi Efendi s'occupent de préparer le corps de Soliman décédé avec Feridun et le *silahdar* Cafer Ağa ; un peu plus tard, c'est Kuzu Ali qui est chargé d'animer le cadavre montré à la troupe, avec la complicité de Cafer Ağa ; enfin Kuzu Ali, Abdi Efendi, Derviş Mehmed Zilli et Derviş Ömer Gülşeni se voient confier la mission d'accompagner le corps à Istanbul avec le vizir Ahmed Paşa et le cheikh Nurüddinzade. Nul sans doute ne prenait au sérieux le rôle qu'Evliya attribuait à son père et ses vieux amis, d'abord parce qu'il n'était attesté nulle part ailleurs, ensuite et surtout parce qu'Evliya lui-même, en leur prêtant trop d'importance, soulignait par là-même le caractère fantaisiste de ces peu vraisemblables vieillards. En revanche, le rôle de Cafer Ağa, d'Ahmed Paşa et du cheikh Nurüddinzade est historique⁶⁵. Et l'on voit bien comment, ici, notre auteur fait un usage littéraire de l'histoire, en introduisant parmi les faits et personnages réels des faits et des personnages inventés : cette technique, qui a fait ses preuves, est celle du roman historique⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Feridun constitue un cas intermédiaire : il est assurément un personnage historique, mais il n'assista très vraisemblablement pas à la toilette funéraire de Soliman. Si tel avait été le cas, on peut en effet penser qu'il n'aurait pas manqué d'en faire état dans son propre récit.

⁶⁶ P. N. Boratav a déjà noté que certaines pages d'Evliya Çelebi avaient la saveur d'un roman historique (« Hattâ öyle sayfalar var ki, insana, bir tarihî romanının verebileceği zevki tattırıyor »), dans un court essai où il insiste surtout sur le caractère littéraire des anecdotes : c'est par son intérêt pour l'humanité de ses personnages qu'Evliya est à ses yeux un proto-romancier ottoman. Cf. P. N. Boratav, *Evliya Çelebi'nin hikayeciliği*, in idem, *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, 1, Istanbul 1982, pp. 297–303. M. C. Baysun avait déjà signalé chez Evliya ce procédé littéraire consistant à mêler, en conteur, des anecdotes fantaisistes aux vérités historiques (p. 408 de l'article « *Evliya Çelebi* » (M. C. Baysun éd.), in *İA*, vol. 4, pp. 400–412. Dans un domaine un peu différent, cf. également l'analyse de M. Köhbach, qui montre comment, dans la description de trois églises, Evliya, suivant un même modèle de récit descriptif, insère des indications exactes au milieu de clichés, au point que les bâtiments peuvent sembler avoir perdu leur caractère propre : *Die Beschreibung der Kathedralen von Iaşi, Kaschau und Wien bei Evliya Çelebi. Klischee und Wirklichkeit*, in « *Südost-Forschungen* », XXXVIII (1979), pp. 213–222.

A CROAT'S VIEW OF OTTOMAN BOSNIA: THE TRAVELOGUE OF MATIJA MAŽURANIĆ FROM THE YEARS 1839–40

TATJANA PAIĆ-VUKIĆ AND EKREM ČAUŠEVIĆ

Introduction

In 1839 Matija Mažuranić (1817–1881), a twenty-two-year-old Croat from Novi (Vinodolski), embarked on a journey from his country, which was then a part of the Habsburg Empire, to the Ottoman province of Bosnia. There he stayed less than two months and then proceeded to Serbia. A year later, upon his return home, he told his elder brothers what he has seen and experienced there, and let them read his journal. They persuaded him to shape those records and observations into a coherent text. Published anonymously in 1842, under the title “Pogled u Bosnu ili Kratak put u onu Krajinu učinjen 1839–40. po Jednom Domorodcu” (A look at Bosnia or a short journey to that province undertaken by a native in 1839–40), it became the first integral travelogue in Croatian literature.¹ It consists of the Foreword; Part I: “A journey to Bosnia and back”; Part II: “Diverse comments on Bosnia”; and finally, a glossary entitled “A handful of Turkish barbarisms”. The language and literary value of that work, which is a true example of romantic literature, was lauded by many authors from its very publication. Apart from its treatment as a literary text, it was read, and still is, as a reliable historical source giving insight into the situation in Bosnia at that time, and not infrequently as a “mirror”. That later approach to Mažuranić's travelogue induced us to question some of the author's observations and to try to determine the factors which operated in the process of shaping his impressions of Bosnian society. In this article, which is a kind of introduction to an investigation of Croatian views of nineteenth-century Bosnia, we will also touch upon some of today's readings of that travelogue, which clearly

¹ A part of that text was translated into English by Bruce McGowan; see: *Matija Mažuranić's 'A look at Bosnia'*, in P. Oberling (ed.), *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks: A Festschrift in honor of Tibor Halasi-Kun*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 175–188. For an English translation of the whole travelogue see Matija Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, London 2007.

demonstrate the persistence of some stereotypes of Ottoman Bosnia among Croatian intellectuals.

Background and motivation

In order to understand what motivated young Mažuranić to embark on his journey, a few words should be said about his background and the political trends in Croatia at the time. Our traveller was a member of a renowned family that produced a number of prominent politicians and intellectuals. One of his elder brothers, Ivan, was a Croatian poet and vice-roy (Ban), and the other, Antun, was a linguist, writer and teacher. Matija Mažuranić himself did not have a solid formal education; he was a blacksmith and a carpenter.

Croatian political life at the time of his journey was strongly marked by the activities of the Illyrian movement of national revival, with Ljudevit Gaj as its leader, and the Mažuranić brothers as its fervent adherents. The movement called for the overcoming of Croatian regional particularities and for the cultural union of all South Slavs (who were considered descendants of the Illyrians, hence the movement's name). Bosnia was seen as a part of that Illyrian area, and its liberation from Ottoman rule was one of Gaj's main preoccupations. He warned of the danger that the Hungarians could occupy the province after the Ottoman's retreat, and asked the Russians for weapons and material support for the rebellion. He organized a network of agents and spies in Bosnia and helped Bosnian refugees in Croatia. The members of the Illyrian movement were intensively discussing the determination of Bosnia's Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants to rise up in arms.² In the year 1840 Gaj was even accused of sending to Bosnia instigators who roused people to rebellion by means of propaganda and money.³

The importance of the Bosnian issue to the Illyrian movement suggests that Mažuranić did not head for that country as a mere adventurer, even though his travelogue shows that the journey was not lacking in adventures. His aim was to inquire "into the state of that part of our Illyria,"⁴ to estimate what could be done for "the national cause", and

² M. Knezović, *Preporodna Hrvatska i Bosna i Hercegovina 1835–1849*. (the unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Zagreb), 1998, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

⁴ M. Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*, Zagreb 1938, p. XIV.

to evaluate whether rebellions of Bosnian Muslims could bring about any serious changes in that country. With all that in mind, he crossed the Sava river and stepped onto Bosnian territory. Unable to get a valid passport (*tezkere*) there, he was forced to return. He then travelled to Serbia, and afterwards crossed the Drina river to Bosnia. After a stay in quarantine, he travelled from Višegrad to Sarajevo, and there he entered into the service of Mustafa Paša Babić, the *mutesellim* of Sarajevo. One can only guess what the paša's motives were in accepting the foreigner; Mažuranić's travelogue suggests that Babić believed him when he said he would like to work as a carpenter. Later on, we find no signs of any initiative on the part of the paša to provide him with any work. It seems that Mažuranić simply stayed with his retinue, with no specific duty. Of course, one could assume that he was exposed to a kind of test and informal examination. A few days later he travelled to Travnik as a member of Mustafa Paša's suite, and stayed there for ten days while the Bosnian pašas attended consultations with the vizier. During the arduous trip back to Sarajevo, on horseback, in harsh winter, he fell ill and decided to ask the paša to dismiss him. His plan was to recover and then travel throughout Bosnia, but the paša was suspicious and demanded that he leave Bosnia, so he did.

Mažuranić's stay in Bosnia lasted less than two months. In Sarajevo and Travnik he spent about forty days, and spent the rest of his time travelling or lying ill in inns. According to his own words, he returned home without getting anything done: "I had to withdraw from Sarajevo towards Serbia feeling very sorry because I wasn't able to achieve what I had intended".⁵ Achieving the intended goal probably meant meeting the leaders of Bosnia's Catholic and Ortodox inhabitants. Forced by illness, he left just when the paša had invited him to accompany him to Fojnica for a meeting with the Catholic bishop. Allegedly, he did finally achieve his goal during his later visits to Bosnia, which are not the subject of this paper. His accounts of his later travels are so interspersed with romantic and adventurous stories that it is hard to consider them completely trustworthy. It is said that he joined the rebels (*hayduds*) there, and that he travelled to Montenegro to get arms.⁶

⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁶ S. Ježić, Matija Mažuranić, in: Matija Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., p. IX.

Mažuranić's travelogue as a historical source

In the published version of Mažuranić's travelogue some of his observations on the political situation and his estimates of further development are missing. Out of caution, his elder brothers cut out "all political things" from the text. One of the reasons for such censorship was surely the fact that Mažuranić's travelogue was the result of a journey that was not officially approved. The Austrian authorities wanted to keep their good relationship with the Ottoman Empire, and the occasional trips of Habsburg subjects who roused people in Bosnia to rebellion and unrest were against their interests. According to Metternich's policy, maintaining the Ottomans as suitable neighbours was in Austria's best interests.⁷ Therefore, we only know that Mažuranić informed his brothers that there was little chance that a rebellion of the Bosnian Muslims against the Ottoman central government would result in serious changes, since their movement was, in Mažuranić's words, predominantly religious, and not a national one. Nevertheless, he added that an uprising could occur, because the people were living in very bad conditions.⁸ He noted the hatred between the Ottoman Turks and the Muslim Bosniaks, as well as the difficult living conditions of the underprivileged Muslim inhabitants. However, what distressed him most was the mutual intolerance and discord of Bosnia's Catholic and Orthodox Christians, all of whom he considered his "Illyrian brothers".

Although incomplete, Mažuranić's travelogue had a favorable reception among Croatian readers, and had a special influence on the national revivalists and their notions of Bosnia.⁹ It was translated into German, Slovenian and Czech. It is also worth mentioning that Mažuranić's stories about Bosnian Muslims were not only spread directly through his travelogue. His brother Ivan took some published and unpublished portions of the text and transposed them into verse in his famous poem "Smrt Smail-age Čengića" (The death of Smail-aga Čengić), which was first published in 1846 and has appeared in more than eighty editions to date.

Since the 1840s, generations of readers, historians and other researchers have considered Mažuranić's account of Bosnia to be a trustworthy

⁷ M. Knezović, *Preporodna Hrvatska*... cit., p. 55.

⁸ S. Ježić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., p. IX.

⁹ M. Knezović, *Preporodna Hrvatska*... cit., p. 190.

source that gives insight into the situation in Ottoman Bosnia. However, it seems justified to expose some of Mažuranić's observations to critical examination if we start from the presumption that we should not perceive a travelogue as a text that enables us to look through the writer's eyes and see a now remote culture as it really was,¹⁰ since travelogues "include what Bakhtin would call a 'heteroglossic' dimension, recording not pure observation but the interaction between travelers and 'trav-eeles'".¹¹ The analysis of his text as a historical source should take into account the subjective and objective limitations of the traveler's perspective, which certainly had an impact on his image of Bosnia. One should therefore consider his intended goals; the addressees to whom the text was directed; the notions which he brought with him; his youth and poor formal education; the limitations of his "informants", i.e. the persons with whom he was in contact; as well as aggravating circumstances such as the hardship of travelling through Bosnia, the cold winter and finally, his illness and exhaustion. In comparison with other European travelers, Mažuranić had at least one advantage: he was able to establish direct contact with the local population due to the absence of a linguistic barrier. In everyday oral communication, members of all social and confessional groups in Bosnia used Bosnian, a Slavic language, which Mažuranić, according to his ideological tenets, called Illyrian. This means that he did not need interpreters, those mediators who, in the cases of many travellers to foreign lands, played an important role in the distortion of the image of the local population.

As for Mažuranić's previous knowledge of Bosnia, we should not completely rely on what he himself says in the foreword, namely, that Bosnia is a country almost unknown to the people in his homeland, that interest in it has completely diminished since the battles and perils of war have passed, and that he assumed the task of presenting "that nearest Turkish province" to his readers. This statement should rather be seen as a rhetorical device of a writer who wants to attract his reader's interest to the text that follows, namely to the description of his experiences in an "unexplored" country. Given the importance of Bosnia in the Illyrian programme, it would be naive to assume that he really saw it as a *terra incognita*. He must have had at least some vague

¹⁰ P. Burke, *The Discreet Charm of Milan: English Travellers in the Seventeenth Century* in *Varieties of Cultural History*, Cambridge 1997, p. 94.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

foreknowledge about that land; after all, Gaj's newspaper *Ilirske narodne novine* had a correspondent who reported regularly from Bosnia.

As a source for the political history of Bosnia, Mažuranić's text does not abound in relevant information. The author himself is the central figure of his story, as is the case in all travelogues. He informs us through detailed descriptions of his wandering, illness, troubles, a fall from a horse, and a few situations in which he narrowly escaped death. On the other hand, he says nothing about the Tanzimat reforms, which would be very important to a person interested in the condition of the Christians in Bosnia, despite the *ferman* declaring the Tanzimat arrived in Sarajevo during his stay there, and the above-mentioned consultations of the Bosnian pašas with the vizier were probably related to that declaration.

One of the reasons for this lack of "firm" information certainly lies in the elision of some parts of the text. The other reason can be found in the limitations of Mažuranić's informants. If we take a look at the individuals he communicated with during his stays in Sarajevo and Travnik and his wanderings in Bosnia, we notice that, except for a brief conversation with Mustafa Paša, a very short conversation with *beg* Filipović in Travnik, and one with a *kadı* who wanted to employ him as his interpreter, he did not get in touch with any educated person, either Muslim or Christian. Many of his impressions emerged as a mutual result of his ignorance and the poor knowledge of the people who informed him.

Bosnia: a gloomy and obscure place

Although it is not very probable that Mažuranić had read works by foreign travellers and directly taken from them patterns of writing about a "wild country", one can easily discern in his travelogue some clichés characteristic of texts written by Westerners who visited the East; the expression of cultural superiority being one of the most prevalent.¹² The European traveller looks condescendingly upon the inhabitants of the Eastern country. He lightly ascribes to them all kinds of negative attributes: they are lazy, superstitious, dirty, and ignorant. He is fascinated by magic and divination. Furthermore, he uses the East merely

¹² For a study of commonplaces in texts written by Europeans who travelled to the East, see: R. Kabbani, *Mythos Morgenland—Wie Vorurteile und Klischees unser Bild vom Orient bis heute prägten* (Transl. by G. Gockel and R. Seuß), Munich 1993.

as scenery for his own promotion; for he is not only the author of the travelogue, but its hero as well. Therefore, he glorifies his own alleged exploits and exaggerates when describing peril and suffering. He is a hero capable of surviving even under the most difficult circumstances. He traverses pathless woods, crosses wild rivers, and avoids mortal dangers. Indeed, we find a great deal of that repertoire in Mažuranić's travelogue: our traveller loses his way in the woods, crosses the wild Danube river in a boat that leaks, and is saved from the attempts on his life. Such episodes contribute to the reader's image of the writer, but they also create an image of the described country as a dangerous place inhabited by wild people.

Bosnia is presented in Mažuranić's travelogue as a gloomy and obscure place, "probably the most dangerous place in Europe of that time".¹³ In this article, we do not wish to argue for the opposite and to present Ottoman Bosnia as a quiet and peaceful country with firm laws. We wish only to stress that any approach to the author's dramatic stories of dangers that awaited the foreign traveller at that time should take into account his personal situation, which makes his perspective highly subjective and somewhat narrow. Most of the time he is tired and frightened, he loses his way, and he wanders about in unfamiliar places. Furthermore, the legends he hears from local people and inserts in his own narrative amplify the reader's image of Bosnia as a mystical, obscure country, making the borderlines between the real and the fable rather vague. It can be argued that the author's emphasis on the dangers that he experienced during his journey should serve as an excuse for his failing to achieve his goal; it might seem convenient to picture Bosnia as a dangerous place where mere survival should be considered a success for a foreigner.

Let us take a close look at one of the episodes that often attracts the attention of the researchers, and which is taken as a proof that Mažuranić was in mortal peril during his stay in Bosnia. This event takes place while the paša and his men are travelling back from Travnik to Sarajevo. One of the paša's men, Omer-čauš (*çavuş*), is allegedly afraid that Mažuranić might replace him in the retinue. After Mažuranić's fall from his horse, Omer draws his sabre and runs towards him as if he

¹³ D. Duda, *Priča i putovanje: hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovjedni žanr*, Zagreb 1998, p. 179.

intends to kill him. A few men run to Omer-čauš and suppress him.¹⁴ Soon after that, Omer-čauš attacks again; “he drew his sabre halfway, but then he seemed to be considering something, and put it back”. Then the berberbaša (*berberbaşı*) gives his own sabre to Mažuranić, pretending that he has a boil and that the sabre is hurting him, and so Omer-čauš retreats.¹⁵

In this episode, even if taken as completely authentic, one can hardly see a real intention on the part of Omer-čauš to kill the foreigner. There was obviously a kind of intolerance and insult, even bullying, but not a real attempt at killing. Omer-čauš could not have killed a man in the paša's service and passed unpunished, and he certainly knew it. The subsequent text of the travelogue indirectly reveals the real dimensions of danger: after Mažuranić's retirement from the paša's service, the same Omer-čauš accompanies him to the gates of Sarajevo, showing no intention of hurting him, even though the sick, lonely and unarmed traveller would have been easy prey.

Mažuranić frequently tells stories of dangers that threaten foreigners in Bosnia, thus presenting his readers with the impression of a life of utmost insecurity, and of an omnipresent, blind violence which does not choose its victims. He writes about men who walk in the streets by night and kill people out of whim. They allegedly do not rob their victims: “In the morning they find a young man on the street, with all his belongings: arms, money, beautiful clothes, and a watch at his bosom; nothing is missing except his head. The one who killed him was satisfied by merely staining his knife with blood”.¹⁶ However, documentary sources for the history of Sarajevo in the nineteenth century, among them Muvekkīt's *History of Bosnia*,¹⁷ the extant sharia court protocols or (a few decades prior to Mažuranić's travelogue) the chronicle by Bašeskija,¹⁸ do not speak of such a degree of insecurity and violence. For instance, Bašeskija used to record the names of the deceased inhabitants of Sarajevo, paying special attention to the cases of murder, but his chronicle does not give us the impression that life was so cheap. One can easily imagine that

¹⁴ M. Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., p. 29.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁷ S. Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne* (translated by Abdulah Polimac et al.), Sarajevo 1999.

¹⁸ M. Bašeskija, *Ljetopis (1746–1804)*, (translated from Turkish by Mehmed Mujezinović), second edition, Sarajevo 1997.

such a frightening story was told to Mažuranić by someone who wanted to scare him or trifle with him.

As for Mažuranić's comments on the legal system in Bosnia, they are not reliable at all, since the writer was inclined to draw general conclusions on the basis of single cases. Thus, seeing that some tradesmen avoid staying in quarantine by bribing the official, he concludes: "The Turks do not have any specific law or regulation, but only what they call *hadet*, i.e. custom. But *hadet* goes as it suits them".¹⁹ All in all, Mažuranić's narrow perspective, the relatively short duration of his stay in Bosnia, the limited opportunities for communication with people, his concentration on mere survival in the harsh winter—all these factors contributed to the text's relative scantiness of relevant information on the situation in that country.

The images of the Bosnian Muslims

Mažuranić's observations of the culture and mentality of the Bosnian Muslims correspond to a high degree with the images which the writer could have acquired through the newspapers published by the adherents of the Illyrian movement. (Moreover, we should not underestimate the formative role of early modern Croatian literature with Turkish themes, or, more precisely, anti-Turkish orientation, in the intellectual life of young Mažuranić, who is known to have compensated for his poor formal education with extensive reading.)²⁰ The newspapers issued by the national revivalists presented the Bosnian Muslims as "noble savages". They were viewed from a twofold perspective: enlightened (they were described as uneducated, ignorant, superstitious and greedy), as well as romantic (they were seen as carrying genuine human values: philanthropy, a sense of honour, wisdom).²¹ Mažuranić's travelogue also reveals this duality in regard to the Bosnian Muslims. Many episodes speak of their ignorance: some of them do not know what an umbrella is; others are perplexed by the wax seal on the traveller's document and try to strip it off. There is also an episode which is hard to

¹⁹ M. Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., p. 15.

²⁰ For a comprehensive study on the images of Turks (and South Slavic Muslims) in early modern Croatian literature, see: D. Đukić, *Sultanova djeca: Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar 2004.

²¹ Knezović, *Preporodna Hrvatska*... cit., pp. 84–87.

consider trustworthy: the Muslims are so ignorant and naive, that when they find the traveller's Austrian military maps and suspect that he is a spy, he succeeds in convincing them that the paper is the icon which he prays to.²² As for the romantic layers in the text, we mostly find them in the inserted popular tales and legends, and very rarely in the author's own comments. However, the negative images prevail: the Muslims are greedy, uncivilized while eating, and capable of breaking their oath if offered money; they love flattering speech, and their manner of conversation is rude and shameless. According to Mažuranić, they are lazy and capable of spending the whole day sitting on their heels. The following brief passage, which describes a place called Nova Kasaba, is illustrative of the author's views of the local Muslim inhabitants: "I liked this small place (village) very much, but, alas, if only it wasn't Turkish. You can see all of the surroundings as if they were one garden, and in the midst of the garden lies Kasaba, which stretches to the river Jadar. Over the river there was a stone bridge, which was built by kauris (infidels), as they say, but one half of it is in ruins. The other half is still standing, wide enough for the horses or men to pass one by one; but I fear that it won't last long in the hands of the Turks."²³

Since the travelogue reveals that Mažuranić spent most of his time with the paša's men—food suppliers, grooms, armourers, and the like—and with chance travellers, we can assume that his comments on the Bosnian Muslims' behavior and vulgar conversations are merely a result of his generalizations of some habits and manners which he witnessed while living with them. Similarly, some of his wrong and imprecise information on the Muslim religion are to be considered a result of both his ignorance and the limited knowledge of those who informed him. For instance, he asserts that the Muslim feasts are always in spring and winter, thus revealing that he didn't understand the difference between the solar and the lunar calendars.

The limited reliability of some parts of Mažuranić's narrative as a historical source can be further exemplified if we turn to his quotations and interpretation of some Arabic and Turkish phrases and loan words in the vernacular of the local population. For instance, everybody who knows Muslim religious formulas will notice that the writer incorrectly

²² M. Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., p. 41.

²³ Ibid., pp. 38–39.

quotes the words of the *ezan* as: "İcberi-la-a-a Alah-ila-laaaa",²⁴ and of the *shahada* as: "Evşeduh Alah, ilalah, evşeduh Muhamede nasurlah",²⁵ and that he incorrectly writes *aman* instead of *iman*. The travelogue abounds in similar examples. So, given that it stands to reason that we should not take the glossary of "Turkish barbarisms" in Mažuranić's travelogue as a completely trustworthy source for the study of the vernacular of the Bosnian population in the 1840s, we should raise the question: why is his account still approached today as a true picture of Bosnia at that time? Do Croatian researchers of this text today find the author's impressions of Ottoman Bosnia so close to their own images of that country that they see no reason to question the reliability of his assertions?

Mažuranić's travelogue today

This lack of a critical approach to Mažuranić's text is well exemplified by the following passage from a paper published in 1997, whose author without reservations calls the travelogue a "mirror", and Ottoman Bosnia—using rhetoric more appropriate to an epic poem—the "dark vilayet".

Mažuranić's authorial treatment records all that happened and all that is seen. (...) These descriptions and scenes are (...) a faithful picture of a past world, one that the mentality of Western European culture can hardly comprehend. The author's methodical procedure, which is a kind of self-censorship, and an absence of personal responses to the things seen and experienced, is in fact the only possible way of behaving on a journey where a man has to know how to survive. The realistic and naturalistic descriptions and narration reflect the petrified life of the past centuries in the land of Bosnia, the "dark vilayet" where harshness and cruelty, crudity and violence take justice in their hands, and the poor and just man is always the one who suffers.²⁶

In this text, as in some other texts by Croatian authors, we notice that attention is devoted almost entirely to the descriptions of cruel, uncivilized, and violent acts, which are generalized, while acts of mercy, compassion, and humaneness on the part of the Muslims are passed over

²⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

²⁶ K. Čorkalo, *Dva književna zrcala zemlje Bosne*, in "Riječ", III, Vol. 2, Rijeka 1997, p. 129.

in silence or only randomly mentioned. Special attention is given to the afore-mentioned episode with Omer-čauš, but the actions of the *berberbaşı*, who protects the foreigner and even lends him his sabre, does not seem to deserve a comment! As an example, we can take a look at the treatment of a long passage in which Mažuranić narrates his experiences during his journey back from Sarajevo to the Serbian border. He is very ill, and some people help him to reach an inn, where a certain Dagi-spahi takes good care of him. Some tradesmen, also Muslims, offer to pay for his food and coffee (with sugar, which was considered a special honor). Seeing him exhausted, a *hoca* advises him to pray to God according to his religion, and when he realizes that the foreigner has no strength for that, he takes the Qur'an and reads it for him. The Muslims are so considerate to the foreigner, who is incapable of moving, that they let him stay in the room while they pray.²⁷ Even when this episode is mentioned, as is the case in D. Duda's study of Mažuranić's travelogue, it is viewed only as the climax of the writer's illness and as one of the plots in the narrative, but unlike the stories of cruelty and violence, this long passage is not considered a relevant source for any conclusion about the Bosnian Muslims. It is hard to overlook the selective approach of this author, who picks the episodes of children throwing mud at the foreigner who is walking in the streets, calling it a "Turkish habit",²⁸ and concludes that cruelty and the worthlessness of human life are a constant in the behaviour of the Turks,²⁹ that justice is based on custom,³⁰ paying no attention to the examples of merciful behavior. One can only assume that such readings of Mažuranić's travelogue are directed by the author's own comments that the Muslims do not perform good deeds out of their good nature, but out of the mere aspiration for *sevap*. Those readings of (and into) Mažuranić's text prove the persistence of stereotypes of Ottoman Bosnia even on the part of authors like Duda, who is aware that any approach to a travelogue must take the historical layers into account,³¹ that a travelogue is a kind of discursive mediation of reality, and that mediation is in all its constituents an ideological act.³² Duda is successful in deconstructing the Croatian stereotypes of some

²⁷ Mažuranić, *Pogled u Bosnu*... cit., pp. 36–38.

²⁸ D. Duda, *Priča i putovanje*... cit., p. 179.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

other countries and peoples, and he is aware that the traveller's "tired eye often lacks a sense for details and differences".³³ But in his study on Mažuranić's travelogue he all of a sudden abandons that methodological approach, he uncritically assumes the author's discourse, and he persistently uses the term Turks (without quotation marks) while speaking of Bosnian Muslims. It is well known that in the middle of the nineteenth century, the noun "Turk" in Bosnia did not denote the ethnic, but the religious affiliation, while Islam was the "Turkish faith". The number of ethnic Turks in Ottoman Bosnia was almost negligible. Mažuranić was aware of the difference between the Bosnian Muslims and the Ottoman Turks, and the careful reader of his travelogue easily realizes that he does not describe the habits, mentalities and acts of the Turks: Mustafa Paša Babić, Omer-čauš, the *berberbaşı*, the tradesmen, and the *hoca* are all Bosnians.

Our aim was not to discard all of Mažuranić's observations and assertions as mere stereotypes and constructs, but to examine them critically, from the Ottomanist perspective. We conclude that it is more fruitful to approach this text as one of "the precious documents of cultural encounters",³⁴ which are the result of the "interaction between cultural stereotype and personal observation",³⁵ rather than approaching it as a trustworthy account of Bosnia around the middle of the nineteenth century.

³³ Ibid., p. 13.

³⁴ Burke, *The Discreet Charm of Milan*... cit., p. 97.

³⁵ Ibid., 101.

GLANCES AT THE GREEK ORTHODOX PRIESTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU

The history of the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical administration lacks seamless continuity because its course has been frequently interrupted by events resulting from the enmity between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox churches. To begin with the head of the Orthodox Church, I note that in April of the year 1204, when the Latin soldiers of the Fourth Crusade captured Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarch was compelled to flee the city. A Latin clergyman, the Venetian Thomas Morosini, was nominated Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek Orthodox patriarchal throne remained vacant for two years until it was restored in Nicaea, the capital-in-exile of the Byzantine state.¹ In 1450, when it became clear that the Greek Orthodox population rejected the Union of the Churches concluded in Florence (1439), the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory III realised that he could not maintain his position in the Patriarchate any more, and abandoned the Byzantine capital.² Again the patriarchal throne remained vacant, this time for approximately three years, until January 1454, when Gennadios Scholarios was appointed by the Sultan Mehmed II as the first patriarch under Ottoman rule.

Furthermore, the history of many metropolises, archbishoprics and bishoprics (*episkopai*), includes most important gaps, as the Latins did not allow the upper clergymen to reside in their sees. For instance, the Greek populations of Frankish Cyprus and Venetian Crete were deprived for approximately five centuries of high ecclesiastical authorities. On the other hand, in the old Byzantine territories, which passed under Turkish rule, the new masters, following the principles of Islam, respected the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, some important cities, which had been prestigious metropolitan sees, became impoverished and were gradually deserted by their Christian populations. As

¹ A. J. Andrea, Innocent III and the Byzantine rite, in A. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta, The Fourth Crusade and its consequences*, Paris 2005, pp. 118–119.

² D. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, London 1972, pp. 390–393.

a consequence, they ceased to be eligible as sees of metropolitan clergymen. Caesarea, for example, the second see in the hierarchy of the Byzantine empire, lost its metropolitan status during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Clergymen bearing the title of the Metropolitan of Caesarea are mentioned in the sources but this was an empty title bestowed just to honour certain senior clergymen who, however, never settled in their see.³

In contrast to the fate of the Greek Orthodox upper clergy, that of the lower clergy—that is, of the parish (*enoria*) and village priests, the *papades*—was marked by continuity even when the regions where they were located passed from Byzantine to Roman Catholic or Muslim rule. Those priests went on saying mass every Sunday and on holidays in the small churches of villages and towns, which were left in the hands of the local population by the conquerors.⁴ As they were closer to the people, priests exercised a profound influence on the community and, as we are going to see, they usually were its representatives to the foreign authorities. Among the metropolitans and bishops there often appeared distinguished theologians and scholars who attracted the interest and respect of their contemporaries. By contrast, it seems that the priests had very limited education and were sometimes harshly criticised by their contemporaries for their ignorance.⁵

Recently our knowledge of the lower clergy has substantially deepened thanks to the publication of the memoirs of a priest, Papa-Synadinos, who lived in Serres during the first half of the seventeenth century. This text, fairly unique in its genre and composed in the first-person singular, constitutes a rich source of information on the everyday life of a parish priest in a sizeable Macedonian town and offers a clear picture of the clergy of that time in general.⁶ A research programme that

³ E. A. Zachariadou, *Ten Turkish Documents concerning the Great Church (1483–1567)*, Athens 1996 (in Greek), p. 143.

⁴ Unfortunately I was unable to consult the Ph.D. thesis of P. Akanthopoulos “Η ιστορία των ενοριών του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία”, submitted to the Aristotelean University of Thessalonica in 1984.

⁵ J. Aalberts, *Ο ηθικός βίος των Κρητικών και ειδικά των κληρικών κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 15ου αιώνα και η συντέλεια του κόσμου*, *Acts of the Eighth International Cretological Congress, Byzantine and post-Byzantine Period*, B/1, Heraklion 2000, pp. 31–46.

⁶ P. Odorico, avec la collaboration de S. Asdrachas, T. Karanastassis, K. Kostis, S. Petmézas, *Conseils et Mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)*, Paris 1996; cf. the reviews of J. Straus and E. A. Zachariadou, in „*Turcica*“, 33 (2001), pp. 393–401.

we are carrying out in the Turkish archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library of Heraklion has yielded much material on the same subject and century.⁷ More precisely, the Codex nr. 3 of the Vikelaia includes 726 documents issued by one of the first *kadis* of Crete; they were written between 1669–1673, that is, the years immediately after the complete conquest of the island by the Ottomans; many of these documents involve local priests. Drawing on this material I will attempt to sketch a broader picture of the lower clergy in the seventeenth century.

At the outset, we should remark that the historical background of Serres and Crete varied considerably. The town of Serres, conquered by the Ottomans in 1383, saw its ecclesiastical administration restored within less than ten years and from that time onwards it remained under the continued guidance of its metropolitans who ordained the priests. On the other hand, Crete re-entered the Greek Orthodox world after almost 450 years of Roman Catholic rule. When the Ottomans began the conquest of the island in 1645, they found there only *papades* because the Venetians, being Roman Catholics, did not accept higher clergymen in their domains. Especially as novices, these priests encountered difficulties because they had to move to fairly remote places such as the Ionian islands or the Morea or even to Turkish territories, where they could be ordained by a metropolitan or a bishop according to the regulations of the Greek Orthodox Church. Before they could set off they first had to take permission from the Venetian authorities. Then they had to confront the roughness of the Aegean sea and the pirates who infested it; one can take an idea of the hardships involved in these sea travels from and to Crete from the story of four priests in the ‘Miracles of Saint Phanourios’, a text composed on this island.⁸ With the arrival of the Ottomans this situation changed. Following a by then well-established political principle, they hastened to restore the Greek Orthodox Church in order to win the Cretan population over to their side and also to increase their prestige in the Greek Orthodox world. The Ottomans

⁷ On the archive of Creta see E. A. Zachariadou, *The Turkish Archive of the Vikelaia Municipality Library of Herakleion (Kandiye)*, in *Balkanlar ve Italya'da şehir ve manastir arşivlerindeki türkçe belgeleri semineri* (16–17 Kasım 2000), Ankara 2003, pp. 25–29.

⁸ M. Greene, *A Shared World, Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton 2000, pp. 175–176; M. Manoussakas, Βενετικά Έγγραφα Αναφερόμενα εις την Εκκλησιαστικήν Ιστορίαν της Κρήτης του 14ου–16ου αιώ-
νος, in “*Δελτίον της Historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetaireias*” 15 (1961), pp. 177–179; cf. E. A. Zachariadou, Ιστορικά στοιχεία σ'ένα θαύμα του Αγίου Φανουρίου, in “*Archeion Pontou*”, 26 (1964), pp. 309–318.

did not even wait for the complete conquest of the island. After the occupation of Rethymnon, in 1646, a metropolitan was sent by the Ecumenical Patriarch to Crete, undoubtedly with the consent of the Sultan. This metropolitan was Neophytos Patellaros, a member of an old and rich family of Rethymnon and a relative of the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁹ The Ottomans took an additional measure, which aimed at winning the favour of the Greek Orthodox priests and monks of Crete by exempting them from the poll tax (*cizye*) for at least thirty years.¹⁰ With the surrender of Candia (Heraklion) in 1669, which meant the complete conquest of Crete, Patellaros became the metropolitan of the whole island, which, however, had been devastated by a war that had lasted almost twenty-five years; his duties were hampered by many difficulties.

After the fall of Constantinople the administration of the Byzantine emperor was officially replaced by that of the Ottoman sultan. Despite the presence of a supreme authority of a different faith, the Patriarchate was re-established and the structure of the ecclesiastical and monastic hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church survived almost unchanged with metropolitans, bishops and parish priests constituting the traditional network of its administration. The Sultan placed metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical dignitaries and functionaries, priests, but also the abbots of monasteries, monks and nuns under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch.

The Patriarch and the metropolitans, archbishops and bishops were elected by the Holy Synod but appointed by the sultan who granted them a special document, a *berat*; therefore, they constituted religious authorities recognised by the Ottoman state. The lower clergy, the *papades*, used to take on their duties without the intervention of the Holy Synod and without any official interference from the Ottoman administration. In fact, the Ottoman administration was not responsible for issuing documents that granted priests authority over their flocks. Priests answered only to the metropolitans or bishops of their districts, who ordained them and usually farmed out to them the local parish churches. Priests who possessed some capital, might be granted more than one parish church. For instance, the church authorities farmed out five churches in

⁹ T. Beneres, Νεόφυτος ο Πατελλάρος, Ο πρώτος μητροπολίτης της Κρήτης μετά την κατάκτησιν αυτής υπό των Τούρκων, in *Epeteris Hetaireias Kretikon Spoudon*, 1 (1938), pp. 2–14.

¹⁰ N. Adiyek; N. Adiyek; E. Balta, *The Poll Tax in the Years of Cretan War, Symbol of Submission and Mechanisms of Avoidance*, in *Thesaurismata*, 31 (2001), p. 343.

Serres to Papa-Synadinos for the sum of 6,000 *akçe*.¹¹ There were cases in which the notables of a town were so convinced that a particular person would be the right priest for them that they volunteered to pay the requisite sum of money to the bishop of their district who granted a parish to that particular priest.¹² If the metropolitan or the bishop of the district judged that the behaviour of a priest was not correct he could dismiss him. Only in case of a manifest scandal would the Holy Synod become involved in the affairs of individual priests.

However, the Ottoman administration did not completely ignore the *papades*: they are mentioned in the *berats* concerning patriarchal matters, metropolitans or bishops and in other Ottoman documents issued for the affairs of the Church. It was made clear that the *papades* were subordinates of the Patriarch, who commanded them usually through the metropolitan or bishop of a district. Also, it is noted that under certain circumstances the Patriarch inherited their movables; last but by no means least, they are mentioned because they were obliged to pay taxes to the Patriarch.¹³ It could be argued that, to the eyes of the Ottomans, priests constituted 'semi-official' ecclesiastical figures, comparable to the agents who operated on the fringes of the Ottoman institutional system, on behalf of but not under the direct and official control of the state. Such agents have been aptly described as 'semi-official figures' by Gilles Veinstein, who studied them in depth, especially the *naibs*, that is, agents chosen by the *kadis* to act as deputies.¹⁴

Since Byzantine times, the profession of a priest had been largely hereditary and it remained so under Ottoman domination. The memoirs of Papa-Synadinos offer a very eloquent example illustrating this unofficial custom: the father of Papa-Synadinos, a priest himself, had five sons who all became also priests.¹⁵ In the 726 Cretan documents

¹¹ Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos*... cit., p. 90.

¹² M. Cazacu, Moines savants et popes ignorants dans le monde orthodoxe post-byzantin, in D. Iogna-Prat et G. Veinstein (eds.), *Histoires des Hommes de Dieu dans l'Islam et le Christianisme*, Paris 2003, pp. 152–153.

¹³ Zachariadou, *Ten Turkish Documents*... cit., pp. 158, 161, 171, 173, 175, 180, 181, 183.

¹⁴ G. Veinstein, *Sur les na'ib ottomans (XV^{ème}–XVI^{ème} siècles)*, in "Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam", 25 (2001), pp. 247–267; cf. idem, *Semiofficial Figures in the Ottoman Institutional System (15th–17th centuries)*, unpublished paper presented at a conference "In Honor of Professor Halil Inalcik: Methods and Sources in Ottoman Studies", April 29–May 2, 2004 Harvard University.

¹⁵ Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos*... cit., pp. 528–529; cf. Cazacu... cit., *Moines savants et popes ignorants*, pp. 156–158.

of the years 1670–1673 that we examined, approximately ninety priests are mentioned. Twenty of those were sons of priests. It is possible that there were more than those twenty—for instance, some may have omitted their father's official title when giving his name; however, this is just a guess, and at any rate, the percentage—twenty out of ninety—is fairly impressive.

During the Byzantine period the state provided a regular revenue for the clergy, including the lower clergy,¹⁶ but under Latin or Ottoman domination the clergymen's income derived directly from taxes paid by their faithful flock. The collection of those taxes was a privilege granted by the sultans, who apparently adopted the Byzantine tax regulation (the *kanonikon*),¹⁷ which was to be paid by the inhabitants, the priests and the monasteries of a district in order to cover the expenses of their metropolitan or bishop; these latter, in their turn, sent their contributions to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁸ The revenues of the priests derived directly from their flock: every Sunday, the churchgoers left their little contribution on the *diskos*, that is, on a tray taken around the church on which the members of the congregation placed their coins. An additional source of income were the honorary fees that they received from peasants or poor townspeople for performing the ceremony of a wedding, a funeral or a christening. Wealthy people invited the metropolitan or the bishop of their district to bless such ceremonies. Sometimes monks interfered and performed the religious ceremonies of the poor. This constituted a clash of interests between *papades* and monks and the former resented it.¹⁹ Interestingly, it seems that at least some priests wished to secure an additional source of potential revenue besides that deriving from their profession. Papa-Synadinos, for example, despite coming from the family of a priest and being destined for a career in the church, chose to learn the art of weaving at the age of fifteen while taking lessons also in classics and in ecclesiastical matters.²⁰

¹⁶ E. Sp. Papagianni, *Τα οικονομικά του έγγαμου κλήρου στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1986.

¹⁷ "Kanonikon" (E. M. Jeffreys ed.), in A. P. Kazhdan et alii (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2, New York-Oxford 1991, p. 1102.

¹⁸ Zachariadou, *Ten Turkish Documents*... cit., pp. 99–107.

¹⁹ Chr. G. Patrinoles, *Επιστολαί Ελλήνων λογίων προς τον Πάπαν Γρηγόριον ΙΓ' (1572–1585) και τον καρδινάλιον Σιρλέτον (+1585)*, in "Επετηρίς του Μεσαίονικου Αρχείου" 17–18 (1967–1968), p. 83.

²⁰ Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos*... cit., pp. 74, 78.

On the whole, the economic situation of a priest, as reported by several passages of Papa-Synadinos, was satisfactory and sometimes excellent; such was the case of a certain Papa-Giorgis who had inherited from his father—also a priest—houses, vineyards, fields, cattle and an annual revenue of 300,000 *akçe*.²¹ The Cretan documents, which I have examined, do not report an equally satisfactory situation but this is certainly due to the catastrophic long war which had ravaged the island for twenty-five years. However, there are fairly frequent mentions of priests possessing land as well as of priests who earned some revenue from agriculture. The latter is not surprising, as most of the priests were peasants residing near the church of their village. More specifically, one can read about a priest who exchanged land in the countryside east of Candia with the daughter of another priest; he offered two houses and vineyards of three and a half *dönüm* and received a house and vineyards of the same dimensions. A convert, Hacı Hüseyin Beg ibn Abdullah, who was the grandson of a priest, took to court another priest who illegally appropriated some land of his; the affair ended in a compromise and the priest gave 6,000 *akçe* to keep the land; this was a sum corresponding to the price of a modest house in Candia. In the village of Axenti a certain Constantine, son of papa-Yanni, paid 40 *guruş* to a convert to buy his vineyards and fields; two barrels of wine were included in the deal, perhaps because the convert decided to be a good Muslim and abstain from wine. In another village to the east of Candia a priest sold a big vineyard together with a wine press to a Christian for 4,000 *akçe*.²²

Another case worth mentioning is that concerning a higher clergyman: in the summer of 1671 an exchange took place in the town of Hierapetra between its bishop and the *sancakbeyi* of Resmo (Rethymnon). The latter gave to the bishop one field and two orchards worth 501 *guruş* and received a house in exchange. The house given by the bishop was apparently, as its price suggests, of palatial standards: in the same year a house sold in Candia for 550 *gurush* consisted of two floors with eight rooms in the ground floor and five in the first one plus a reception room (*divanhane*), three yards, three gardens, one kitchen and five wells.²³

²¹ Ibid., p. 136.

²² E. Karantzikou; P. Foteinou, *Ιεροδικείο Ηρακλείου, Τρίτος Κώδικας (1669/73–1750–67)*, E. A. Zachariadou (ed.), Heraklion 2003, (hereafter: Code 3), no. 152, no. 133 and cf. no. 151, no. 359, no. 485.

²³ Code 3, nos 1 and 147.

I will now examine the place that the priests occupied within the framework of the Greek Orthodox society. While Crete was still under Venetian rule many a voice was heard pointing out the avariciousness and corruption of priests. The writings of Papa-Synadinos show that he was deeply disappointed with his contemporaries. In his days, two priests were converted to Islam. A third one abandoned his wife to live with his mistress; as expected, he was dismissed from his church. Another one was apparently a lazy drunkard, who, having ran into debt, one day simply disappeared from Serres; soon afterwards his wife married her apprentice before the *kadı*. Another priest was suspected of committing adultery; his indignant flock beat him up severely.²⁴

Despite all the reports mentioned above, the *papades* enjoyed social prestige, as is shown by the fact that they were the usual representatives of the Christian village communities to the authorities, and in some cases even had the title of the head of the village community, the *kethüda*.²⁵ Papa-Synadinos proudly describes the activities of his priest father, who repeatedly went to Constantinople to bring to the authorities' attention the grievances of the members of his parish, who were crushed by taxes and debts.²⁶ The priests appeared as leaders of the community in the *sharia* court, especially when the matter was serious. For instance, in November 1671 the inhabitants of certain villages were compelled to take out loans from the *Defterdar* of Crete, Mehmed Efendi, in order to pay their poll tax. The pattern was certainly not new. Persons who had some capital, whether Muslims or *zimmis*, offered loans, or—if they had enough power—obliged the peasants to borrow from them for their expenses. This often meant that pending debts eventually became a permanent condition of everyday life for many peasants.²⁷ In the case of the *Defterdar* Mehmed Efendi one village borrowed 920 *aslan guruş*, another one 500, two villages together 1,500, another only 150, and all the villages of the *nahiye* of Lasithi together the sum of 3,100 *guruş*; finally a village refused to borrow any money and the inhabitants asserted that they would be able to pay their poll tax on the fixed date according to

²⁴ Aalberts, *Ο ηθικός βίος των Κρητικών*...cit., footnote 5; Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos*...cit., pp. 18, 90, 136, 138, 160, 180.

²⁵ Code 3, no 581.

²⁶ Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos*...cit., p. 120.

²⁷ G. B. Dertilis, *Réseaux de crédit et stratégies du capital*, in *Banquiers, Usuriers et Paysans*, Paris 1988, pp. 33–41.

the regulation. Special documents were written and in all of them two or three priests were among those who signed for the loans.²⁸

Another serious matter for a village community was the subtraction of one of its members who was added to the members of another village community; this was bad for the calculation of the *maktu*. In two cases—always in the years 1669–1673—several inhabitants of Cretan villages went to court to claim as a one of ‘their own’ a person who had been registered by mistake among the inhabitants of another village. In those two cases the representatives of the village included one or two priests.²⁹

There were some negative reactions among the people against the clergy, also against local priests, which mainly resulted from the taxes or contributions that the clergy extracted. Occasionally, the people did not hesitate to ask for the protection of the *kadı* against those who extorted excessive duties from them, as it happened, e.g., in Nicosia in 1594.³⁰ There are mentions that some among the faithful in Crete did not respect their priests, but instead quarrelled with them and even appeared in the *Sharia* court against them. A notable case is that of a Christian widow who lived in a village and took a priest to court because he had appropriated a field that belonged to her son. She won the case by presenting three witnesses who deserve some comment. One was Mehmed *beşe*, son of Osman, apparently a Turk; the other was a certain Yannis *veled* of Marko and the third was a convert, a certain Osman *beşe*, son of Abdullah. The widow had chosen witnesses from all three categories of the inhabitants of the island. In another village a certain Constantinos took a certain Papa-Nikolo to court accusing him of appropriating a church. Papa-Nicolo proved that he had bought the church, thanks to the testimony of Mehmed ibn Abdullah and Yusuf *beşe* ibn Abdullah and of two Christians. Another Christian woman, who took a priest to court because he appropriated a field of hers, failed to win her case because the accused was able to present two Christian witnesses—one of them a *papas*—who testified before the *kadı* that the field really did belong to the priest.³¹ There are more documents that describe such cases and

²⁸ Code 3, nos 256, 522, 528, 529, 530, 581.

²⁹ Code 3, nos 67 and 290.

³⁰ Zachariadou, *Ten Turkish Documents...* cit., p. 101; R. C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640*, New York, London 1993, p. 76.

³¹ Code 3, nos 8, no. 439 no. 470.

I shall mention one more because in that case the accused is not just a priest but the metropolitan of Crete, Neophytos Patellaros, whom I have already mentioned. Fatime, the daughter of a certain Nikolo, and, as her name betrays, a convert to Islam, turned against this metropolitan because he appropriated two vineyards belonging to her. Fatime regained her two fields thanks to the testimony of a convert and of a Christian who supported her against the metropolitan.³² We must not think that the *kadı* favoured Fatime to encourage a recent convert in her person. In another case another convert who claimed a house belonging to a Christian as his own was dismissed by the judge.³³

It goes without saying that the religious and moral duty of every priest was to convince his flock that adherence to the Christian faith and pursuit of the salvation of the soul should be the top preoccupations of everyone. Still, this duty had to be performed without fanaticism, which could irritate the Muslim authorities. It was well understood that there were limits to the activities of the clergy in general. In a village of Cyprus, on a Sunday of the year 1636 the *papades* prevented a woman from entering her local church because her husband was Muslim; however, cases similar to that are rare.³⁴ The Greek Orthodox clergy was tolerant with respect to mixed marriages.

Papa-Synadinos includes in his memoirs the narrative of an episode from his life, which reveals a different kind of limit to a priest's power. He once decided to cover with frescoes the walls of one of his churches, namely that of St Paraskevi. One of the frescoes represented the last judgement and Papa-Synadinos thought that in this he had an excellent opportunity to teach the benefits of morality to his flock and to instruct them how to avoid divine punishment. Therefore he had some figures painted of people who after their death were sent to the fires of the hell: the miller who used to steal the flour; the wine merchant who used to cheat in measuring; the tailor and the weaver who tricked their customers, and so on. Some members of the congregation took these scenes as a personal insult and reacted so violently that Papa-Synadinos decided to have the presumably provocative figures of those sinners white washed.³⁵ In this case the limits to a priest's zeal were determined by a handful of shopkeepers and craftsmen of Serres.

³² Code 3, no. 445.

³³ Code 3, no. 566.

³⁴ Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus* ... cit., p. 142.

³⁵ Odorico, *Mémoires de Synadinos* ... cit., pp. 44, 296–300.

LIFE IN SARAJEVO IN THE 18TH CENTURY
(According to Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua*)

KERIMA FILAN

When in 1998 the outstanding Turkish intellectual Mina Urgan¹ published her book of memoirs titled *Bir Dinozorun Anıları*, interested readers wanted to get hold of copies. Interest in the book is not over yet. Professor Mina Urgan's 80-year life covers an unusually interesting time Turkey's history, from the fall of the Ottoman state through the foundation and development of the Republic to the modern times. However, we could not say that the readers are only interested in the book for the historical facts it contains, as other books also include a lot of these facts. In the memoirs, in which the author talks about her life with the skill of a professor of literature, history is told through many a detail, of a time that other sources do not mention. On the very first page of her memoirs, Mina Urgan explains to the reader why she undertook to write such a book: "I believe it would be useful if everybody wrote down what they know and what they remember. That is the way for us to avoid becoming a society without consciousness. If a grocer on the street corner took notes on how the houses in that street became residential buildings, what changes the residents of the street went through, how his grocery store became a market, I believe that would be interesting."²

Mina Urgan almost regretfully admits that in her life she has written neither diaries nor travelogues, she *has not written things down*, so she has forgotten many things. We forget some things because we want to forget them, says professor Urgan, and some because our memory fails.

The thought expressed by Mina Urgan at the beginning of her book, of memoirs as a way in which "a society nurtures consciousness of

¹ Minâ Urgan (1915–2000), professor of English literature, writer and translator. From 1960 she taught at the Department of Anglistics at Istanbul University. She published several books about English literature: History of English Literature, and analyses of works by Thomas Moor, Shakespeare, and Virginia Wolf. She also published a number of books of translations from English into Turkish. She is called the doyen of Turkish Anglistics for her huge contribution to the development of that academic branch, particularly for her teaching career spanning many years.

² M. Urgan, *Bir Dinozorun Anıları*, Istanbul 1998, p. 9. The book has been published in sixty editions in Turkey.

itself", irresistibly reminds us of what Mulla Mustafa was doing in Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century. He recorded everyday events believing they could be interesting "to those coming after him, in other times".³

For over 50 years Mulla Mustafa recorded everyday events and situations in Sarajevo where he lived, with the names, occupations and personal features of deceased citizens he had known in person or whom he had heard about. With these notes he filled altogether 130 of the 164 pages in his notebook, which he called *mecmua*.⁴ Mulla Mustafa's notes in the Ottoman Turkish language constitute immediate evidence of the time and people in Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century.

Fortunately, Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* has survived. In 1917 it reached Gazi Husrev-beg's library in Sarajevo, endowed by Mehmed Ševki Alajbegović, son of Ibrahim Hilmi Effendi. We can read the benefactor's name in the short text of an endowment deed written on L.4b page.⁵ The benefactor set a condition for the use of "the property" he endowed. "(The *mecmua* was) Not to be taken out of the library mentioned, not to be replaced in any way by another asset, and to be lent for reading only to those who will use it in that way..."⁶ He obviously thought that Mulla

³ This is exactly what Mulla Mustafa says in one of his notes.

⁴ The word *mecmua* comes from the Arabic language meaning "a collection", "an anthology", "collected texts". This is the meaning it also had in the Ottoman language. On the remaining 34 pages of his *mecmua*, he wrote down various texts as follows: on the first page, Mulla Mustafa wrote down the names of Ottoman sultans, from the first Osman to his time (L.1a); on the succeeding pages (L.1b–3b) he wrote down the names of several rulers in world history and the history of Islam; the following two pages contain the names of residential quarters (mahalas) in the city of Sarajevo (L.3b–4a). In the middle of the *mecmua*, on pages 46b–48b, some events from the history of Islam are noted and the names of a number of Islamic scholars; and, at the very end there are Hebrew, Cyrillic and Italian alphabets (L.156b), and the names of the deceased who Mulla Mustafa prepared for the funeral (L.157b–158a). Besides the quoted notes which, mainly, consist of personal names or names, Mulla Mustafa wrote short folk tales, witty remarks and jokes on about 15 pages of his *mecmua* (L.99a–116a), then several poems he wrote himself in the Turkish language (L.120b–122a), three folk poems in the Bosnian language (L.157a), several riddles (L.158b–160b), the folk names of some plants (L.161b) and explanations of dreams (L.150b–153a). On the last page, in the left lower corner, Mulla Mustafa wrote down, *Bu mecmû'ada yaprak 'adedi 164 temâm*. (This *mecmua* has 164 pages.).

⁵ That page was blank, so that the text of endowment having a total of 7 lines is the only one on that page.

⁶ Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* is still in the manuscript collection of the Gazi Husrev-beg library in Sarajevo today, under the call number 7340 (*Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian manuscripts*, Vol. IV, processed by F. Nametak, London-Sarajevo, 1998, p. 279).

Mustafa's *mecmua* was an asset to be well looked after. As the *mecmua* had been in the benefactor's possession for 50 years by then, as he himself claims in the text of endowment, he most likely knew its content very well. Thus the benefactor's note itself arouses interest in the text on the following *mecmua* pages. What was written down about Sarajevo's everyday life that made the benefactor set such strict conditions for the use of the *mecmua*?

This contribution will try to present in some measure, the content of the *mecmua*. But, we do not yet know who Mehmed Ševki Alajbegović was, how the *mecmua* came into his possession or what he knew about Mulla Mustafa who, judging by the available information, had died before the benefactor was born.

What we know about Mulla Mustafa

We know some details of Mulla Mustafa's life, but nothing of that goes beyond the historical meaning of his *mecmua*. In fact, what we know about him is derived from the *mecmua* in which Mulla Mustafa included some information about his own life, on several different pages.

Everything related to Mulla Mustafa's life relates to Sarajevo; therefore, he must have been born in Sarajevo. We are not sure of the year of his birth; he only wrote down that in 1217 AH, or 1802–1803 AD, he was over 70.⁷ So, it is certain that he was born about 1730.⁸

Mulla Mustafa wrote nothing about his education. A short account of how he studied under Süleyman Effendi Arnaut for a time probably refers most to his elementary education.⁹ We assume that he was trained in the *kazaz* trade (haberdashery), since he added the words, *beniüm ustam* (my master craftsman), to the name of a certain Mahmut Zaimović, a

⁷ L.142b/10–11. When indicating the original text in Mulla Mustafa's autograph *mecmua*, I quote the number of the page (here: 147b) and the number of the line on said page (here: lines 10 and 11).

⁸ Mehmed Mujezinović thinks that it was 1731 or 1732. See: M. Mujezinović, *Uvod*, in *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis (1746–1804)*, Sarajevo, 1997, p. 5. Mulla Mustafa's age can also be discerned from his note from 1795. There, he says, "I have 60 years of living memory, but I don't remember that as much grass as this ever grew, owing to abundant rains" (L.149a/14).

⁹ Writing in his *mecmua* that Süleyman Effendi Arnaut died, Mulla Mustafa made a note by his name: "...muallim-i sibyân, hoca, ihtiyâr, Yahya Paşa camiinde imam (...) bir vakit hocam idi" (teacher in a primary school, khodja, an old man, the Jahja Pasha Mosque imam, used to be my teacher). The note dates from 1774 and, as can be seen, Mulla Mustafa wrote that Süleyman Effendi had died as an old man (L.75a/5).

kazaz craftsman.¹⁰ Mulla Mustafa, however, nowhere does he mention that he entered that line of business. We can see from his notes that he worked as a religious official. In 1757 he became a teacher (*muallim-i sibyân*) in a primary school (*mekteb*), near the Ferhadija Mosque in the centre of Sarajevo.¹¹ Two years later, in 1759, he was entrusted with the positions of *imam* and *hatib*¹² at the Buzadži Hajji Hasan Mosque.¹³ From this we can see that, at the age of 25, Mulla Mustafahad had an education that enabled him to do such jobs.¹⁴ We do not know at which *madrasah* Mulla Mustafa studied, but it was certainly at one of the Sarajevo *madrasahs*.

That the milieu in which he lived recognised Mulla Mustafa's renown as a religiously educated man, is demonstrated by the title of *mulla* added to his name. He himself writes the title with his name in the *mecmua*.¹⁵ Another job that Mulla Mustafa did probably added to his renown in the Sarajevo milieu; he was a scribe, too. Thus Mulla Mustafa simultaneously did the job of a religious official and the job of a scribe. It is in this order that he listed his jobs in the note reading *bu hakîr imâm*,

¹⁰ This note is from 1784, when *kazaz* Mehmed Zaimović died (L.95a/20).

¹¹ L.7b/18–19. The school existed until 1879, when it burnt down in a fire and was never rebuilt thereafter (S. Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade turske dobe*, Sarajevo 1910, p. 330). Ferhad-beg Mosque still exists in the centre of Sarajevo, in the street named after it—Ferhadiya.

¹² *Imam* is the name for a religious official leading the congregational Muslim prayer (*namaz*). By accepting an official appointment in a mosque, the *imam* is required to lead five daily prayers. *Hatib* leads the Friday noon prayer. Usually, in one mosque the same person is both the *imam* and the *hatib*, although it is not a must.

¹³ L.7b/6–8. This mosque was built by merchant Buzadži Hajji Hasan in 963 AH (1555/56 AD) and still bears the name of the benefactor today. It is located on the corner of Logavina and Čemerlina Streets, close to the centre of the old part of the city of Sarajevo.

¹⁴ That in those years, Mulla Mustafa had just reached this important age, is confirmed by his note that, in 1755 or 1756 he grew beard. That note on page 6a/9 reads, *Sakalımı irsâl, sene 1169*. The Hijrah year of 1169 covers the time from 7th October 1755 until 25 September 1756. We can see how growing a beard was considered to be an important event in the Ottoman culture in A. Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, Istanbul 2002, p. 98.

¹⁵ To quote those places: *Bu fakîr Mulla Mustafa idüm* (L.26b/13); *Ve işte hakîr pür-taksîr Mulla Mustafa* (L.33b/12); *Ve bu hakîr kâtib Mulla Mustafa* (L.155a/6).

In a court protocol from 1775, Mulla Mustafa was entered as a witness in a case conducted before a Sarajevo quadi, and his name reads Mulla Mustafa, *imam* of the Buzadžizade Mosque. After that year he was a witness at court on two more occasions, as far as we can learn from the existing documents. Both times he was recorded under the title of *effendi*—Mustafa *Effendi*, *imam* of the Buzadžizade Mosque. Quoted according to M. Mujezinović, *Uvod*, in *Mula Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis ... cit.*, p. 5, Note 1.

kâtib dahi (I, the indigent person, imam and scribe).¹⁶ In the *mecmua*, Mulla Mustafa wrote that in 1763 he rented a small store, in the bazaar (*çarşı*—trade and crafts centre) “below the Clock Tower”¹⁷ for the purpose of his writing business. A lot of citizens must have been coming to Mulla Mustafa for his services when, in 1772, he decided to extend his offices.¹⁸ There he mentions his associate, Mulla Osman. Together they hired two or three more young men and trained them in writing.¹⁹ According to the Hijrah calendar, it was on the 1st of Muharram 1186 (4 April 1772 AD). By that time, Mulla Mustafa had already been in business as a scribe for ten years and was obviously acknowledged as such. At the time he was about 40 years old.

Mulla Mustafa transferred his duties in the mosque to his friend Mulla Fazlija Shechi “to have more freedom, as the duties are a great responsibility, and by then he had been doing it for 17–18 years.”²⁰ The freedom that Mulla Mustafa wished for lasted only a few years; from 1782 on we see him as *imam* and *hatib* at the same mosque again.

Thereafter, Mulla Mustafa recorded very little about the job he was doing. From two notes we can see that he was in business as a scribe during the following ten years.²¹ He might have continued with the job until he had a stroke in 1801 or 1802, which we learn from the note he made in 1216 AH: *İşbu senede bu hakir ü fakir damla maradına mübtelâ oldum*.²² One year before Mulla Mustafa fell ill, the administrator of the Gazi Husrev-beg *waqf* entrusted him with the duty of a *džuzhan* (*cuzhan*) in that *waqf*. As a *džuzhan*, Mulla Mustafa daily recited the Qur'an in the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque before the soul of the benefactor Husrev-beg; for the work he was doing, he was given soup and two loaves of bread (*fodule*)²³ in the soup kitchen (*imaret*). We know nothing about how Mulla Mustafa spent the last years of his life. He died in

¹⁶ The note is from 1773 and is on L. 21b/17–18.

¹⁷ L.8b/6–7. Since Mulla Mustafa provides the information that his office was below the Clock Tower, it is clear that it was in today's Mudželiti Street, opposite the west entrance to the courtyard of the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque.

¹⁸ L.18b/21–22.

¹⁹ L.18b/22.

²⁰ L.30a/17.

²¹ In 1788, Mulla Mustafa wrote that, despite the misfortunes that befell Sarajevo that year, he was doing his job as a scribe (L.56b/2–5). Five years later, he noted that his income from the writing services in 1207 AH (1792–1793 AD) was 269 groschen (L.146a/5).

²² L.142b/7.

²³ L.155a/6–7.

1809, as Mehmed Mujezinović²⁴ discovered. The last notes in his *mecmua* relate to the years of 1804/1805, which means that as an ill man he continued writing notes in his *mecmua*.

Mulla Mustafa as Basheski and Ševki

In the deed endowing Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* to the library, the benefactor Mehmed Ševki Alajbegović, wrote that the said *mecmua* was written by a Sarajevo citizen Basheski Ševki Mulla Mustafa.²⁵ The title Basheski that we see here with the name Mulla Mustafa may be related to his service in a janissary detachment, as senior and respected members of such detachments were called basheskis. However, Mulla Mustafa says nothing in his *mecmua* of himself as a basheski.²⁶ The longest name he wrote down referring to himself is *bu hakir u fakir kâtib-i âm Ševkî Mulla Mustafa Buzacîzâde Hacı Hasan câmi-i şerîfin imâm ve hatibi*.²⁷

The name of Ševki in this note, as in the one about the benefactor Alajbegović, is the poetic pseudonym of Mulla Mustafa. It features in Mulla Mustafa's poems written in the *mecmua* in Turkish. One of the poems is a *qasida* telling of the plague epidemic in Sarajevo from 1762 to 1765.²⁸ Another poem by Ševki Mulla Mustafa is also a *qasida*. It

²⁴ By the time he wrote the *Uvod* /Introduction/ for the first edition of Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* translated into Serbo-Croatian of, Mehmed Mujezinović had found that Mulla Mustafa had died on 18th August 1809, but did not know where he was buried (M. Mujezinović, *Uvod*, in *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis*...cit., p. 7). Six years later, when he published his book *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine, Knjiga I—Sarajevo*, Sarajevo 1974, in which he processed all the inscriptions on Muslim tombstones in the Sarajevo cemeteries, M. Mujezinović formulated the hypothesis that the inscription on one *nišan* /tombstone/ in the Hambina carina cemetery belonged to Mulla Mustafa (pp. 165–166).

²⁵ That part of the text reads: *Medîne-i Saraybosna ahâlisinden Bašeski Ševkî Mulla Mustafa'nun medîne-i mezbûrede vukû'a gelen vukûât u vaz'îyyâta dâir kayd edüp elli seneden berü tasarufumda bulunan işbu mecmûayı vakf*. It was written on page 4b referred to above.

²⁶ There is only one more note referring to Mulla Mustafa as a basheski. It is a court protocol of a Sarajevo qadi from 1767 listing *Mustafa-başa basheski* among the names of witnesses. That it relates to Mulla Mustafa was established by M. Mujezinović, *Uvod*, in *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis*...cit., p. 5, Note 1.

²⁷ The name, which translates as "I, the sinner and indigent person, scribe Ševki Mulla Mustafa, imam and hatib in the venerable Buzadžizade Hajji Hasan Mosque", appears on page 161b.

²⁸ On page 8a/8–17A there is a note about that huge plague epidemic that lasted three years, and the *qasida* was continued in the *mecmua* on page 48b. Although it occurs much further on than the note, it is likely that Mulla Mustafa wrote that *qasida* while

was written as a eulogy to Mahmut Bušatlija, pasha of the province of Shkodër,²⁹ who led the rebellion against the central authorities in 1786–1787.³⁰ Judging by the time when the two poems were written, Mulla Mustafa wrote poems at different periods of his life. These two *qasidas* were written within a time span of 25 years. In the meantime, he wrote several chronograms. He wrote five chronograms for the reconstruction of the court building (*mahkema*) after the fire of 1773;³¹ two are from a later period and are about the reconstruction of the Hajji Hus-sain Bridge³² after the torrent of 1792;³³ one tells of the severe winter of 1798 or 1799.³⁴ All the chronograms were written at the places where these events are described in the *mecmua*.

We may assume that Mulla Mustafa's poems, written in the *mecmua* on pages 120b–122a, were earlier poetic attempts compared to the two *qasidas* and chronograms mentioned. This seems likely because the poet's name was first signed as Mušfik or Ašik, before being crossed out and having Ševki written below it. The poet must have hesitated before using his poetic name at the time he wrote these poems, as Mehmed Mujezinović also claims.³⁵ In the *qasida* about the plague epidemic, the name Šefki was written with no hesitation, just as it appears in Mulla Mustafa's verses written some thirty years later.

The same poetic name appears in one poem in the Bosnian language written on page 122a, which is how we know that it was written by Mulla Mustafa.³⁶

the epidemic was still happening or, perhaps, immediately afterward, as he writes about the overall number of deaths during the epidemic. The *qasida* generally includes a lot of details, making it clear that the poet vividly remembers the pestilence.

²⁹ That Ottoman province covered part of today's Albania and part of Montenegro.

³⁰ *Qasida* about Mahmud Pasha was most probably written in those years. It immediately follows the notes about the disorder, on pages 53b–54a.

³¹ L.22a/12–15.

³² That is a stone bridge over the Sarajevo River Miljacka. The bridge standing at that site now is called Emperor's Bridge.

³³ L.145b/10–13.

³⁴ L.154b/13.

³⁵ M. Mujezinović, in: *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis*... cit. p. 18.

³⁶ The poems by Ševki Mulla Mustafa mentioned here are the only ones known.

Mulla Mustafa as a learned man

The insight into Mulla Mustafa's personality is not exhausted with what has been said about him so far: that he was a poet, a scribe, a teacher and a mosque official.

He was already well-informed about Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*) in his fifties. This is inferred from a note made in 1780 in which he says he acquired the knowledge of *tasawwuf* by spending time reading books and through talks to the *sheikh* (principal) of the Hajji Sinan tekke in Sarajevo:³⁷

*Bir zemandan sonra el-Hacc Sinan tekyesinün şeyhile sohbet ederken ve tasavvuf kitablari mütâlâa etmesi sebebile dâd aldıkça aldum. (...) Ve leyl ü nehâr düşüne düşüne say ede ede usanmadum tâ feth-i bâb olmadıkça ve tasavvufun künhine ermedikçe vazgeçmedüm, çalışdum. Bir gecede feth-i bâb oldı., bir nokta kaldı. İş anlandı ve bilindi, nâ'il oldum, hepüsi zâhir ü bâtın bana ma'lûm oldı.*³⁸

... A great pleasure to me were talks with the Hajji Sinan tekke's *sheikh* and reading the books about *tasawwuf*. (...) I had been thinking and working day and night until the knowledge revealed itself to me and until I understood the essence of the *tasawwuf* science, and I did not find it difficult or boring. My knowledge lit up the night, only one point remained. I understood everything, I comprehended everything, all things clear and unclear became known to me.

Mulla Mustafa did not say which books he read. He only said, in the note he made on the death of Hajji Mehmed, the *sheikh* of the Hajji Sinan tekke, that the *sheikh* used to give him "books in Arabic, along with some other books".³⁹ We can see from the same note that he discussed what he read with the *sheikh*, which were probably the talks that Mulla Mustafa referred to in the above note.⁴⁰ *Sheikh* Hajji Mehmed must have respected Mulla Mustafa if he taught him, among other things, how to write curing amulets for the sick; therefore, as he says, Mulla Mustafa also did this job successfully.⁴¹ *Sheikh* Mehmed certainly would not have disclosed the secret to those he did not consider able to understand it.⁴²

³⁷ The *tekke* of the Quaderite mystic order, known by the name of the benefactor Hajji Sinan, is still active in Sarajevo.

³⁸ L.36b/18–37b/5.

³⁹ L.81a/4.

⁴⁰ Hajji Mehmed was 80 when he died in 1777, and by then he had been *sheikh* for 40 years. Therefore, Mulla Mustafa knew him as a *sheikh* all his life.

⁴¹ L.27b/5–7.

⁴² L.81a/4–4c.

Mulla Mustafa was also occupied with acquiring positive knowledge. In 1770, he wrote that he was attending Hajji Mehmed Effendi Velihodžić's classes in astronomy and the Shari'a law.⁴³ The lectures were delivered on the *mekteb* premises near the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque.⁴⁴ However, Mulla Mustafa says he understood exact knowledge better when he understood the *tasawwuf*. The following quotation shows how important knowledge of the *tasawwuf* is to him:

*İlm-i zâhir, ilm-i bâtin ki tasavvufsuz bir işe uymaz kuş kanatla uçmadığı gibi. İlm-i zâhiri bilen dahi murada ermez deyü anladım ve ilm-i zâhirden sonra ilm-i tasavvufa teveggül ü şugl eyledüm.*⁴⁵

Positive knowledge cannot be understood without abstract knowledge, i.e., without the *tasawwuf*, just as a wingless bird cannot fly. I have understood that someone who has only positive knowledge cannot fulfil his wish; so, after the positive I turned to abstract knowledge.

Mulla Mustafa described himself as quiet-spoken, peaceful, withdrawn, and not someone who liked to put himself forward. This is why he did not give public lessons or lectures. With his knowledge he was helpful to those coming to him to learn.⁴⁶ In his *mecmua*, Mulla Mustafa wrote *şâgirdüm* (my student) beside the names of some deceased persons.⁴⁷ He wrote that he taught some, such as the qadi Mulla Jahja,⁴⁸ the Shari'a law, whilst discussing a lot about dogmatics, *tasawwuf* and soul with another student, Mulla Mujo.⁴⁹

⁴³ Hajji Mehmed Effendi Velihodžić (1722–1785) was a lecturer at the Gazi Husrev-beg *madrasah* and *khanuqah*, educational institutions of the highest rank in the Bosnia of the time. For a time he was the sheikh of the Gazi Husrev-beg *khanuqah*, where Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*), the commentaries on the Qur'an (*tefsir*) and the Prophet's tradition (*hadis*) were studied. See: Dž. Čehajić, *Gazi Husrevbegov hanekah u Sarajevu*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke", IV (1976), p. 6. In Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* we can see Velihodžić as a lecturer in astronomy, and 13 years after Mulla Mustafa wrote that he had attended his classes (L.42b/7–8).

⁴⁴ On L.16a/6–8 page, Mulla Mustafa wrote that besides himself, the lectures were attended by the brothers, Abadžić, then Mulla Ahmed Saračević, Mulla Salih who was a court recorder and *hafiz* Mulla Mahmud.

⁴⁵ L.36b/22–23.

⁴⁶ The text reads: *Amma hakîrûn pür-taksîrun tabiatı mahcub ve gayetü'l-gaye ârlı oldığından ne derse ve ne vaaza segirdem. Hemen ayağıma gelen suhtelere ders veregeldüm* (L.36b/18–19).

⁴⁷ To mention a few such notes: *Şâgirdüm bıçakçı, sarı sakallı* (L.63b/4). *Luçeviça imâmı, şâgirdüm, kazzâz, hoca. (...) Şâgirdüm Bekir, derzi* (L.63b/4). *Trebin'li sûhte, hân-kâhda gavga edüp sûhteler anı topuzile cerh ve baa'de eyyâm fevt, şâgirdüm idi* (L.75b/3). *Mulla Mehmed, şâgirdüm* (L.86b/7).

⁴⁸ L.92b/7–9.

⁴⁹ L.78b/20.

We can best judge Mulla Mustafa as a learned man by a note in which he says that he, having understood all sciences, concrete and abstract, had fulfilled his wish and that thereafter he was forbidden (*haram*) by his religion, from saying that “he does not know”.⁵⁰ Mulla Mustafa wrote this when he was (about) 50 years old.

From the first pages of the mecmua chronicle part

Mulla Mustafa started taking notes about the events and people of the milieu in which he lived in 1170 AH, which is in 1756/1757 AD. At the time, he was a young man of about 25. He began his notes with the words:

Medîne-i Saray'da ve eyâlet-i Bosna'da bazı vakâyı beyân ve tarihini beyan ederim zira kullu ma kutibe karre ve ma hufıza ferre.

I am going to record some events in the city of Sarajevo and the *eyalet* (province) of Bosnia by date, since what is recorded stays, and what is memorised vanishes.⁵¹

Thus Mulla Mustafa demonstrated that he was motivated by the wisdom of an Arabic saying to take up recording. The sentence is immediately followed by the note, “The event in which Pašo Morić, Sari Murat and Halilbašić were executed, happened in the year of 1170.” Then there follow two short notes about the events of the same year, 1170. One is about a military campaign against Montenegro, and the other about the robbery of hajjis in Arabia. The fourth note is about the earthquake that happened in 1167 AH (1753–1754 AD). “Three nights in a row during the hours of the evening, *whereupon some shocks underground could be heard exactly one year previously*”. As we can see from the contents of this note, the earthquake was recorded “in retrospect”. There are a few more short notes on page one referring to events remembered from before 1170 AH (1756–1757 AD). So, from this short excerpt of the *mecmua*’s first page it becomes apparent that the events of 1757 motivated Mulla Mustafa to make the records. Actually, in that year, the ten-year long riots in Bosnia were crushed by the executions of some twenty people in Sarajevo. As demonstrated above, this event was first recorded in one

⁵⁰ *Mademki murada erdüm andan sonra “bilmem” demem, bana haramdur bilmem demek, fe-fehm.* (L.37a/5–6).

⁵¹ L.6a/1–3. The sentence given here in italics is in the Arabic language in the original text.

sentence, like others that were written down on page L.6a. But, Mulla Mustafa immediately returned to the riots that had just finished and wrote three full pages (L.5b, L.6b i L.7a) about them.⁵²

The events of these ten years certainly made their mark on life in Sarajevo and the whole of Bosnia in the mid-18th century. They resulted from a crisis in the Ottoman state's system organisation, which was especially manifest in the interior of the state. Social and economic instability in Bosnia inflamed resistance to the local authorities. Resistance started in 1747 and grew into riots that continued until 1757.⁵³

Mulla Mustafa wrote about the events after they were over. Writing from memory, he recorded what he had observed, remembered and considered important to remember. His notes represent his views of those troubled times. What Mulla Mustafa recorded, especially the part about the last event that took place in Sarajevo on the 3rd of March 1757 indicates a state of general anarchy in Bosnia. That day seven people were killed during clashes in the city. First, a janissary aga killed the basheski Sari Murat who had been leading the riots since 1747, and then Sari Murat's followers killed 6 merchants whom they held responsible for his death.⁵⁴ The event, wrote Mulla Mustafa, "aroused such hostility towards outlaws among the townsfolk, that the following day a large number of people from various groups rose in revolt, both people who are honourable and people who are not; in three or four days they caught 23 people and strangled them to the accompaniment of cannon fire."⁵⁵

Mulla Mustafa's text about the stormy years in Bosnia is unclear in places, which may be the result of insufficient information about the circumstances of the events, but also of his youthful insecurity. However, it is certainly clear that Mulla Mustafa criticises *nizamsuzluk* (disorder),⁵⁶ he criticises the *yaramazi* (outlaws) for having no fear of representatives

⁵² The first page where Mulla Mustafa started to record events as short notes is L.6a. Mulla Mustafa probably started to write about the stormy years on page L.6b, continued on L.7a, and then went back to L.5b and finished the topic there. This is one of the two somewhat longer records of events in the *mecmua*. The other is the riot against the authorities, which were led by Mahmud Pasha Bušatlija in the Shkodër province 30 years later (1786–1787).

⁵³ The ten-year long riots were written about by: A. Sućeska, *Seljačke bune u Bosni u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, in "Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu", XIII (1965), pp. 223–239. Đ. Buturović, *Morići*, Sarajevo 1983.

⁵⁴ This happened in the very centre of the city, in the seat of the janissary *ağa*, which was where the Cathedral stands today.

⁵⁵ L.5b/10–12. Mulla Mustafa gives the names of 23 executed people.

⁵⁶ L.7a/8–9.

of the authorities,⁵⁷ and the various groups of *yaramazi* for competing in the number of their followers.⁵⁸ For Mulla Mustafa that time, and later when he mentions it, was “the time of rebellion of outlaws”.⁵⁹

Life in the city

Mulla Mustafa did not record that the situation in Sarajevo stabilised after the events of March 1757. Over the ten years or so that followed, he made very short notes on life in the city. The notes are often only a single sentence about an event, a phenomenon or a person. The aim of Mulla Mustafa's making notes was not *to describe* but *to record* in order *to be remembered*, as he said in his opening sentence. He wrote with awareness that everyday events, even the ones that seemed to be absolutely ordinary, hid within themselves features of interest worth remembering. His notes, like the *mecmua* they fill, do not have a (pre-) set form. In this respect, the only thing that Mulla Mustafa set as a task for himself in advance, was to record events and phenomena in part one of the *mecmua*, and the deaths of his fellow townspeople in part two, starting from page L.58b. However, this form was not strictly adhered to either. Mulla Mustafa could not know in advance what he would record. Nor could he know in advance how much he would write about an event or a phenomenon.⁶⁰ He recorded whatever life brought about. This is why in his *mecmua* notes appear chronologically, but without being thematically grouped, about military campaigns, fires, floods, severe colds, droughts, rainfalls; about shortages or affluence of foodstuffs; about the prices of corn, meat, drawn butter, fruit, candles; about unusual phenomena and festivities in the city. On his *mecmua* pages, records of the events follow each other, events that constitute human lives in that place and at that time, about which other sources remain silent. 18th century Sarajevo is revived in Mulla Mustafa's words.

City life went on in the bazaar (*çarşı*). The craftsmen, merchants and others did their businesses there. In the Sarajevo *çarşı*, back at that time, there were over 60 trades. There *terzije* (tailors), *kazazi* (haber-

⁵⁷ L.6b/1–2.

⁵⁸ L.7a/14.

⁵⁹ E.g. in the note from 1779 on L.84b/16 page.

⁶⁰ Thus the record of events from page L.57 is transferred to L.117b, continued until L.120a, and again interrupted and continued on page L.144a.

dashers), *kazancije* (coppersmiths), *kujuncije* (goldsmiths and silversmiths), *tabaci* (tanners), *sarači* (harnessers), *abadžije* (clothes makers), *čizmecije* (boot makers), *atari* (herbalists), *mudželiti* (bookbinders), *kovači* (blacksmiths), ironmongers, merchants, *bazerdžani* (merchants in eastern goods, cosmetics and spices) and bakers, grocers and coffee shop owners all plied their trades. Mulla Mustafa did not write about business transactions in the city. Most of the information on crafts comes from his notes about the occupations of the Sarajevo townspeople, recorded in the second part of his *mecmua*—in the necrology. The names of some parts of Sarajevo say a lot about the district, such as: *Abadžiluk*, *Čizmedžiluk*, *Kasapi*, *Kazandžiluk*, *Kovači*, *Kujundžiluk*, *Sarači*, *Tabaci*, *Zildžiluk*, *Bazerdžani*, which Mulla Mustafa mentioned when he wrote about floods, fires or other events.⁶¹ In Sarajevo, as in other Ottoman cities and towns, we can see that stores belonging to the same guilds were clustered together, leading such quarters of the bazaar (*çarşı*) to be named after crafts.⁶²

Although Mulla Mustafa's notes provide no valid insight into the business operations of the bazaar (*çarşı*), we can still follow the years of scarcity and of affluence through the prices of provisions and the notes about weather conditions, as well as some about social circumstances. In *mecmua* Mulla Mustafa mentions Sarajevo merchants and craftsmen visiting fairs in Skopje and Višegrad,⁶³ while through accidents, we learn of them being the roads of Rumelia and on the way to Egypt.⁶⁴ Although short, these notes bear witness to departures from the city, which were, just as were the arrivals of merchants and craftsmen in town, preconditions for the development of trade and crafts. In Sarajevo there were several *caravanserais* where the visiting merchants and craftsmen could store their merchandise and travel equipment. Mulla Mustafa's notes include Tashli-han, Mineci-han, Kolobara, Novi han.⁶⁵ All the caravan-serais were located in the bazaar (*çarşı*) within short distances of each other.

In the bazaar (*çarşı*) as in the city centre, *telals* (town criers) announced wartime military call-ups,⁶⁶ that tobacco should not be smoked in public,

⁶¹ E.g.: L.32a/2, L.32a/7, L.16b/18, L.75b/6, L.71b/15, L.21a/23.

⁶² Some streets in the centre of old Sarajevo still have these names today.

⁶³ L.37b/28–29, L.40a/1.

⁶⁴ L.29a/10, L.35a/20.

⁶⁵ L.9b/3, L.19a/18, L.27a/4.

⁶⁶ L.21b/7–8.

in the streets;⁶⁷ how to ration provisions at times of shortage;⁶⁸ and what clothes Christians and Jews were ordered to wear,⁶⁹ as well as births in the Sultan's family,⁷⁰ and other news that Mulla Mustafa recorded in the *mecmua*. From the bazaar (*çarşı*) hajjis set off to Makkah,⁷¹ from the *çarşı* people started out on picnics organised by craftsmen,⁷² the *çarşı* prepared statesmen's visits.⁷³ When a group of women decided to protest against poverty and shortages, they went to the bazaar (*çarşı*), into the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque's courtyard, where they expressed their dissatisfaction by shouting. As they arrived at the time the worshipers were leaving the mosque after the noon prayer—*namaz*, they encouraged other townspeople to protest too.⁷⁴ When he came to Sarajevo from somewhere else, a mute man went around the bazaar (*çarşı*) begging from store to store.⁷⁵ A mad woman came to the bazaar (*çarşı*) for several days, attacking anyone who dared to tease her.⁷⁶

Mulla Mustafa's writing store was in the bazaar (*çarşı*), right near the city's biggest mosque, and was "open to everyone".⁷⁷ Since 1763, when he started the business, Mulla Mustafa he only closed the office for one week when he fell ill with a fever.⁷⁸ On one further occasion he was absent from the city for several months, from the middle of 1781 to the beginning of 1782, when he stayed in the village of Zgošća,⁷⁹ where he went with his family "for a change", as he himself put it.⁸⁰ There are no more notes referring to his absence from the office, which would also indicate his absence from the city. Thus, like the majority of the merchants and craftsmen, Mulla Mustafa walked the distance from home to his writing store in the bazaar (*çarşı*) every day. True, it was a short

⁶⁷ L.31a/17.

⁶⁸ L.34a/11–13.

⁶⁹ L.12b/6.

⁷⁰ L.26b/7.

⁷¹ L.24b/14.

⁷² L.30a/19.

⁷³ L.25b/19.

⁷⁴ L.14b/3–5.

⁷⁵ L.33a/24–33b/5.

⁷⁶ L.34b/15–20.

⁷⁷ L.26b/11–13.

⁷⁸ L.38a/4. It was in the summer of 1780.

⁷⁹ From Mehmed Mujezinović: That is a village near Kakanj (M. Mujezinović (ed.), *Mula Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis...* cit. p. 6).

⁸⁰ L.40a/14. About that period, Mulla Mustafa wrote down only this much: "While I was in the country, a lot of things happened in the city of Sarajevo. I was not here and that is why I did not record anything." (L.40a/15–16).

distance, but Mulla Mustafa had to walk it several times a day. As *imam* of the Buzadži Hajji Hasan Mosque, he used to go to the mosque five times from dawn to the in the late evening, either from home or from the office. Mulla Mustafa obviously moved around the bazaar (*çarşı*) all the time and thus heard and saw a lot of things. What he could not or did not have time to see for himself, he learned from meeting with and talking to people. He also learned things from those who came to his office⁸¹ and by enquiring around. He would ask people in the coffee rooms when he wanted to be reliably informed about something that he wished to record.⁸² At the very beginning of the necrology, when he was young, Mulla Mustafa noted that he knew a lot people in the city of Sarajevo (*pek ziyâdesiyle vâkıf olup bildiğim ahbaplarumuzdan...*).⁸³ He must have known even more as he got older.

The learned men in the city

When middle-aged, Mulla Mustafa knew the learned men of Sarajevo well. So, in 1780 he decided to write a comment in the *mecmua* about the education of the learned men of the time, among whom he also counted himself.⁸⁴ He explained his intention as follows:

*İşbu asırda şehrimüzde ulemâyı bir parça şerh ü beyan edeyim. Benden sonra asr-i ahirde seyr edenler, bu kitabı, bu mecmuaya bakan ve nazr eden aşık teferrüc eylesün, mahzuz olsun.*⁸⁵

Let me say something about the men of learning in our city at this time. Let those who will come after me, at some other time, and look at (use) this medžmua, satisfy their curiosity and enjoy their leisure.

Judging by Mulla Mustafa's words, the sciences mastered by the Sarajevo scholars of the time were the Shari'a law, stylistics, logic, grammar, astronomy, mathematics, belles letters, and Islamic mysticism. Each of the scholars excelled in one of those sciences, or in several, but was familiar with the others too. Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić was so good at all the sciences that everybody said of him that he was a *ma'rifetli adam* (a

⁸¹ Mulla Mustafa wrote in several notes... *işitdüm, (birisinden) dinledim, dediler.*

⁸² On L.42a/25 Mulla Mustafa noted that he was able to estimate the number of deaths from the plague in 1782 because he "enquired of many people in coffee rooms how many persons died in their mahalas".

⁸³ L.58b/1.

⁸⁴ L.35b/17–37a/24.

⁸⁵ L.35b/17–18.

man who knows a lot).⁸⁶ There were also other scientists who “could not say that they were ignorant in any of the fields of knowledge”. Among them, Mulla Mustafa had words of praise for Mulla Mahmut who “answered the most difficult questions in all the sciences”. On astronomy he was the most knowledgeable among all the Sarajevo scientists; he was such a good astronomer that he could be considered another Ptolemy. Additionally, he had a good knowledge of mathematics and wrote (or was writing) some booklets on that science.⁸⁷ Ibrahim Effendi, *imam* at the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque, generally known as Begimam, also knew astronomy well. About him, Mulla Mustafa noted that there was no such an astronomer from Istanbul to Bihać.⁸⁸

Speaking about himself, Mulla Mustafa emphasised his knowledge of *tasawwuf* most. Despite his modesty, he said no scholar knew *tasawwuf* as well as he did himself. He only spoke as much about that science in relation to Hajji Mehmed, sheikh of the Hajji Sinan *tekke*, in the note on his death.

From Mulla Mustafa's notes we can see that at time knowledge was acquired both by reading books and through conversation and companionship. Here again it is mentioned that Mulla Mustafa had conversations about the sciences both when he learnt (from sheikh Mehmed) and when he taught (Mulla Mujo and Mulla Jahja). Companionship also took place at *sohbet-halve*.⁸⁹ We see Mulla Mustafa at such gatherings in 1779 when he used to meet a group of some ten friends on Wednesday evenings in Mulla Hasan Vilajetović's house. At these gatherings they said the *namaz*—prayer, they recited the Qur'an, they performed *dhikr* just like in the *tekke*, they read books, and finally they talked.⁹⁰

Knowing sciences involved the knowledge of languages—Turkish, Arabic and Persian. This is why Mulla Mustafa, commenting on the men of learning in Sarajevo, spoke about their knowledge of these languages.

⁸⁶ L.36a/2. We saw above that Mulla Mustafa had also taken lessons in astronomy and the Shari'a law with this scholar ten years before he wrote about the scholars.

⁸⁷ L.36b/6–18.

⁸⁸ We come across this note in the necrology from 1791 (L.127a/6). Begimam is mentioned as a lecturer in astronomy along with Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić back in 1738 (L.42b/7–8).

⁸⁹ This comes from the word “sohbet” (keeping company and conversing) and “halva” as it was customary for the companions during their sessions to cook halva during the party and treat themselves to the cake.

⁹⁰ L.33b/6–14.

Mulla Mustafa considered as learned those who knew the Arabic language. He defined it thus:

*Ve dahi okur yazar çok var idi, kanğı birini söylerim. Amma Arebiile pek âşina olmayanları beyan u şerh etmem kitabum taviil olmasun. Hâfızlar ve kudât efendiler vardır. Bazısı Arebiden âşina ve bazısı değildir.*⁹¹

There are many more literate people, so I don't know who I should start with. I am not going, however, to speak about those who cannot speak Arabic so as not to make this book of mine too comprehensive. There are *hafizes* and *kadıs*. Some of them can speak Arabic, some can't.⁹²

In Sarajevo there were men of learning who had a good knowledge of Persian and who read books in that language.⁹³ Mulla Mustafa noted that, in knowledge, Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić outdid even Begimam, from whom he himself learnt because he could speak Persian.⁹⁴ When someone spoke Turkish beautifully or read books in Turkish,⁹⁵ Mulla Mustafa commented that it was "as if his tongue didn't touch the palate".⁹⁶ When we read in the *mecmua* that the *vaiz* (preacher) from Amasja delivered a lecture in the mosque in Turkish, and Mulla Hassan "half in Turkish, and half in Bosnian" (*yarı Türçe yarı Bosnaca*),⁹⁷ and that Mulla Mustafa Sofo, the head of the bookbinding guild "loved to talk in Turkish all the time",⁹⁸ we comprehend that in everyday life Turkish was used more than Arabic and Persian.

Mulla Mustafa commented on almost all the scholars and their writing skills. At that time, writing was both a skill and a trade, a knowledge and an art. The men of learning in Sarajevo developed that skill, so that some excelled as competent court recorders, like Ahmed Effendi Česrija,⁹⁹ and others as skilful copyists, like Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić, who copied Vankuli's dictionary in his own hand.¹⁰⁰ Mulla Mustafa

⁹¹ L.37a/19–21.

⁹² Mulla Mustafa informs us about his knowledge of Arabic indirectly by saying that he read books in that language.

⁹³ L.93b/17, L.129a/24, L.82b/17. Mulla Mustafa criticises Hajji Mehmed Effendi of Čajnice who knows logic, stylistics and literature, and was familiar with other sciences, but was not very good at the Persian and Turkish languages (L.36a/17).

⁹⁴ L.36a/4.

⁹⁵ L.86a/15.

⁹⁶ L.95a/26. Also on L.87a/8, L.89b/27.

⁹⁷ L.36a/9, L.37a/9.

⁹⁸ L.92a/1.

⁹⁹ L.35b/20.

¹⁰⁰ L.36a/50. Mehmed Mujezinović showed that in the list of 188 books possessed by Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić, made after his death, Vankuli's dictionary (*Vankuli Lügati*) was entered as number one. This must be the one that Mulla Mustafa Basheski says was

praised Mulla Mahmut as a versatile scholar but wrote: "Well, he new many things, but he was bad at writing, he didn't have skill at it".¹⁰¹ Mulla Mustafa did not speak about his own writing skill. He did not mention himself as a poet either, although he wrote poems, as we saw above. Perhaps because he thought his competence was not great compared to that of Gurani Mejli,¹⁰² who he described as: "A learned, level-headed and gentle poet. An extraordinary poet. The truth is that he has no equal in Bosnia."¹⁰³

Mulla Mustafa says in his comments about men of learning that he cannot include all those who deserve it, so he refers "the curious users" to the pages of the *mecmua* on which he enters the deceased Sarajevans.¹⁰⁴ In the necrology, for instance, he wrote that Mustafa Zeher could speak the language of the Jews¹⁰⁵ and that the Jew Mirkado gladly conversed about astronomy.¹⁰⁶ He noted that Mulla Ahmed, a blacksmith by trade, was also a book copyist,¹⁰⁷ and that the grocer Hajji Osman copied books.¹⁰⁸ He noted that the young Begić copied Kaimija's big *Diwan*¹⁰⁹ and that Salih, with the hearing-impairment, could speak Russian, as he had been held captive in Russia.¹¹⁰ The young *zimmi* Serende could speak Greek, while the *imam* Mulla Alija was skilful at calculus.¹¹¹ Mulla

copied by Hajji Mehmed Effendi. That dictionary is the most expensive book in Velajić's library. See: M. Mujezinović, *Biblioteka Mehmed-Razi Velihodžića šejha i muderisa Husrev-begova hanikaha u Sarajevu* in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke" V–VI (1978), p. 69. Mehmed Mujezinović drew attention to the fact that Velihodžić's copy was made after Vankuli's dictionary had been first printed in 1729 and several times thereafter.

In another article, Mehmed Mujezinović noted that Hajji Mehmed Velihodžić, like the *muderis* of Gazi Husrev-beg *madrasah* in 1782, had also copied one book from the theory of *hadith*. See: M. Mujezinović, *Nekoliko rukopisa prepisanih u Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi u Sarajevu*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke", IV (1976), pp. 28–29.

¹⁰¹ L.36b/14–15.

¹⁰² Mehmed Gurani Mejli (1713–1781) was born in Sarajevo, where he received a very good education, which can be seen in his poems. He was a skilful calligrapher. He became the sheikh of Hajji Sinan's *tekke* in Sarajevo after the death of Mehmed Effendi, mentioned by Mulla Mustafa. See: H. Šabanović, *Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*, Sarajevo 1973, pp. 496–499.

¹⁰³ L.36b/3–4.

¹⁰⁴ L.37a/24.

¹⁰⁵ L.73a/11.

¹⁰⁶ L.96b/14.

¹⁰⁷ L.64b/11.

¹⁰⁸ L.76a/11.

¹⁰⁹ L.131a/19.

¹¹⁰ L.133b/19.

¹¹¹ L.137b/24.

Mustafa also recorded if someone was “educated to a certain extent”,¹¹² and if he knew that someone had a “big love of science”,¹¹³ or knew some things but was not considered a *ulama* (scholar).¹¹⁴ He also wrote in the necrology that the harnesser Gričalo was a follower of Ustuvani’s teachings.¹¹⁵

The concealed conflict in the city

From that last note we learn that the *harnesser* Gričalo belonged to the Kadizadeli group. Mulla Mustafa mentions the Sarajevo Kadizadelis in several notes in the *mecmua*, each time expressing his disagreement with them. As followers of the teachings of the Orthodox Islamic scholar Mehmed Birgivi (1522–1573) and of his followers Mehmed Kadizadeli (died 1635), after whom the movement was named, and Mehmed Ustuvani, the Kadizadelis condemned all the customs that they believed were not the practice of the Prophet Mohammed. They were such pronounced opponents of mystic orders and dervishes that Mulla Mustafa, as a suffi, a follower of the Qaderi dervish order, could not agree with them at all.

In Mulla Mustafa’s text we can discern the concealed conflict between the Kadizadelis and dervishes of the city. An open conflict once broke out in a mosque when the Kadizadelis attempted to prevent dervishes from holding the *dhikr* (joint prayer). In Mulla Mustafa’s words, “the dervishes, thank God, overpowered their opponents, who stopped starting quarrels after that. That happened in the middle of the city, at a time when the Kadizadelis were very influential.”¹¹⁶ It was in 1771.¹¹⁷

As a group, the Kadizadelis appeared in Sarajevo in 1776, according to Mulla Mustafa’s note. Their leader was a *vaiz* (preacher) from Amasja.¹¹⁸

¹¹² L.73b/21. About Hajji Ahmed Kiz, whom Mulla Mustafa described as above, Mehmed Mujezinović found that, according to the description of his property made after his death, he had 45 book volumes; see M. Mujezinović (ed.), *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis*, ... cit. p. 130, note 5).

¹¹³ L.76b/2, L.82b/17.

¹¹⁴ L.126b/22.

¹¹⁵ L.74a/5.

¹¹⁶ L.16b/13–21.

¹¹⁷ For the manuscript samples with the name of Mehmed Birgivi preserved in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see article by M. Ždralović, *Bergivi u Bosni*, in “*Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*”, 41 (1991), pp 409–423. In another paper by the same author titled *Bergivi u Bosni i Hrvatskoj*, in “*Trava od srca—Hrvatske Indije 2*”, Zagreb, 2000, pp 207–229, samples of Bergivi’s works in the manuscript collections in Croatia are quoted.

¹¹⁸ L.9a/1–2.

By that year, the *vaiz* had already stayed in Sarajevo for some time, which can be deduced from a record that he was expelled to Amasja in 1775, because “for fourteen years, since he came, in his preaching he had been accusing both the people of Sarajevo and the *sheikhulislam* and the *kazasker* and pashas and *ulama* and sheikhs and dervishes of irreligion”.¹¹⁹ Mulla Mustafa occasionally expresses his dislike for the *vaiz* from Amasja, who was considered one of the city *ulama* (scholars), but Mulla Mustafa did not respect his scholarship. he had this to say about the *vaiz*’s erudition:

*Ve anun ilmi bilinmez iken gerçi gibi bilindi ve kendüni bildürdi.*¹²⁰

You can’t say at which science he is competent, and he is known as learned, he presented himself as learned.

Although the *vaiz* from Amasja was a lecturer (*muderis*) at one of the Sarajevo *madrasahs*,¹²¹ Mulla Mustafa’s opinion about his scholarship should not be neglected, on the grounds that Mulla Mustafa is speaking about a man with whom he did not agree at all. When in 1189 AH (1775–1776 AD) the *vaiz* became a *mufti* (in Mulla Mustafa’s words, the “*vaiz* arranged that position for himself”),¹²² his ignorance became so manifest that people protested against him.¹²³ Speaking about how the people expressed their dissatisfaction with the *mufti*, Mulla Mustafa wrote the following:

*Fetvalar yangur yungur olmagile azl olındı.*¹²⁴

His *fetve* (legal decisions/solutions) made no sense, so he was removed from office.

However, the Kadizadelis remained influential in Sarajevo during the thirty odd years that followed. This can be seen in Mulla Mustafa’s notes about how, on two occasions, in 1779 and 1798, they banned acrobatic performances in the city. Mulla Mustafa did not approve of such Kadizadelis’ intolerance. In August 1779, he wrote in connection with the case:

¹¹⁹ L. 24b/17–19.

¹²⁰ L.36a/12.

¹²¹ His name was Abdullah Effendi. Based on an order from 1767, his salary was fixed for the duty of a *muderis* in the Sarajevo *madrasah* Inadija. See: M. Mujezinović, in *Mulla Mustafa Bašeskija: Ljetopis*...cit. p. 97, note 3.

¹²² L.26a/16–19. After his expulsion from Sarajevo in 1775, the *vaiz* returned in the same year. Thus he was absent from this city for only a few months.

¹²³ L.26b/1–3.

¹²⁴ L.36a/12–13.

*Şehr-i Saray öyle bir şehirdür içinde bazı kadizadeli vardır, peygamber bazı şeylere ruhsat verse anlar inad edüp körlük ederlerdi.*¹²⁵

Sarajevo is a city where there are such Kadizadelis who out of spite would not accept certain things even if the Prophet himself approved of them.

The Kadizadelis seem to have been more influential in Sarajevo than in some other places. Prevented from performing in Sarajevo, the acrobats went to Visoko, a little town some thirty kilometres from Sarajevo, so that many Sarajevans went there to watch them.¹²⁶ The same situation repeated itself twenty years later. The acrobats went to Visoko again, and again the people from Sarajevo went there to see their skills. Mulla Mustafa said:

*Bunca ibâdullahı zahmete koşdılar. Kadizadeliden seyr gelmez, usret doğar.*¹²⁷

They put so many people to inconvenience! No good but only trouble can come from the Kadizadelis.

Mulla Mustafa was absolutely clear in his mind about the Kadizadelis. So, his notes in the necrology that a deceased Sarajevo citizen was either a Kadizadeli or loved dervishes were neither casual nor unimportant.

The tough side of the life in Sarajevo

Taken chronologically by year, the necrology is especially extensive during the time the plague was rife. The pestilence took so many lives. The first plague epidemic Mulla Mustafa mentions hit Sarajevo at the very beginning of 1762. It broke out in the city when a Čabrić from the Vratnik quarter returned from a trip infected.¹²⁸ In three years of the plague epidemic, about 15,000 people died in Sarajevo alone.¹²⁹ At that time Sarajevo had about 20,000 residents.

A very bad epidemic of plague ravaged the city 20 years later, in the spring and summer of 1783. It was particularly bad in May, when, for a

¹²⁵ L.35a/7–8.

¹²⁶ L.35a/12–13.

¹²⁷ L.154a/17–19.

¹²⁸ L.62b/1. Čabrić died on the first day of that Hijrah year, 1 Muharram 1176 (23 July 1762), so he was the first to be recorded in the necrology for that year.

¹²⁹ L.8a/9–16. Mulla Mustafa noted the number of deceased as 15,000 in his *qasida* in which he writes about that severe epidemic.

while, dozens of people died every day.¹³⁰ In one year the pest took 8,000 lives.¹³¹ Mulla Mustafa's two daughters also died.¹³² Writing about that epidemic, Mulla Mustaffa compared it to that of the beginning of the sixties.¹³³ The disease would reappear both between two severe epidemics and after them.¹³⁴

The plague definitely did not only have a strong demographic and economic impact on the people, but a psychological one as well. When in 1770 eighty-one children died in Sarajevo, it was believed that the measles were the cause of death, but there were also rumours that it could have been the plague.¹³⁵ Occasionally epidemics of other diseases would strike. Many a child's life was taken by the children's diseases of measles, whooping cough and mumps. A bad form of mumps appeared in 1771 killing many children. Mulla Mustafa's one-year old son Ahmed also died in that epidemic.¹³⁶

Infectious diseases were a serious misfortune because of the resulting high mortality rate. Floods and fires caused huge material damage, but there were human casualties as well. Floods did not threaten residential quarters, but the overflowing Miljacka, which runs through the city, was a threat to the bazaar (*çarşı*). Sometimes a bigger summer shower was sufficient to flood the whole of the bazaar (*çarşı*).¹³⁷ On one such occasion, in Mulla Mustafa's words, *Başçarşı* was like a sea.¹³⁸ The torrent left the bazaar (*çarşı*) covered in mud, in places as high as a man. Cleaning up would take several days with the participation of volunteers.¹³⁹

Of the 1783 flood, Mulla Mustafa noted that he had never seen such a big Miljacka torrent although he had lived to see so many of them. Stand-

¹³⁰ L.41b/18–19.

¹³¹ Speaking about that plague epidemic in Sarajevo on the basis of letters from the Venetian health administration, Daniel Panzac comes up with a hypothesis that 16,000 people died in Sarajevo. Relying on Mulla Mustafa's calculation, we can suppose that Panzac's number refers to a larger region, because during the summer months of that year the plague raged in Travnik, Mostar and some other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then in Split, Sinj and Šibenik (D. Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Veba (1700–1850)*, Istanbul, 1997, p. 28).

¹³² L.41b/25.

¹³³ L.42a/23.

¹³⁴ There were plague epidemics in 1771, 1781, 1782, 1793, 1795.

¹³⁵ L.15b/26–27.

¹³⁶ L.18a/6–13.

¹³⁷ Such a flood happened in 1776 (L.28a/14–16).

¹³⁸ That flood happened in June 1778 (L.32a/2).

¹³⁹ Mulla Mustafa recorded such a state in the summer of 1796 (L.149b/15–18).

ing on the bridge, he watched the water hitting the water mill roofs.¹⁴⁰ Obviously, the torrent was unusually big, but it did not take the bridges away, which had happened some ten years earlier, in the mid-November 1791. When, after the lightning, thunder and huge rains, dawn broke, only Šeherćehaja's Bridge was still standing. The Miljacka could not be crossed using the others.¹⁴¹

Fires were another big misfortune. Although infrequent, fires occasionally broke out on two consecutive nights.¹⁴² Fires sometimes developed to an enormous, even catastrophic extent. Such fires would burn dozens of stores in the bazaar (*çarşı*).¹⁴³ The heaviest fire in Mulla Mustafa's lifetime happened in 1788. Writing about that calamity, Mulla Mustafa says:

*Fetihden sonra şehrimüzde hezâr kerre yangı olmuştur, böyle yangı bir zaman olmamıştır.*¹⁴⁴

In Sarajevo, since that city was conquered, thousands of fires have broken out, but never so harassing.

The drought that occurred in that period helped the fire to spread uncontrolled; it was late June. Mulla Mustafa says the major reason that the disaster could not be prevented was because so many men were involved in a military campaign, so that few strong men, able to help with putting out the fire, remained in the city.¹⁴⁵ The fire spread so fiercely that the whole bazaar (*çarşı*) was burning. Mulla Mustafa's office burnt out too.¹⁴⁶

Despite that calamity, Mulla Mustafa carried on with his job of a scribe. Left without his office, he would sit in the Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque's graveyard and write letters, mainly from Sarajevo women to their husbands and sons on the frontlines.¹⁴⁷ They expressed their worries for them and complained about their hard lives. In July that year, for example, wheat was twice as expensive as it had been at the same time in the previous year, partly due to the drought and partly due to the wars.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ L.42b/3.

¹⁴¹ L.144a/15–17.

¹⁴² Two successive fires happened on 1 and 2 February 1790 (L.119a/16–17).

¹⁴³ One such fire was in 1776. Mulla Mustafa writes that there were a lot of fires in that year. (L.28b/16).

¹⁴⁴ L.56a/20.

¹⁴⁵ L.56a/17.

¹⁴⁶ L.56b/6.

¹⁴⁷ L.56b/6–7.

¹⁴⁸ L.56b/10–12.

Only misfortune brought so many women to town. Seldom did women seem to outnumber men in the Sarajevo bazaar (*çarşı*) as they did that summer. Most of the stores at the bazaar (*çarşı*) were closed anyway, as 3,000 men had left the city for the war.¹⁴⁹

Muvekit writes that most Sarajevans returned from the front when they learned about the fire.¹⁵⁰ At that time, the Sarajevans were in the west borderland of the Ottoman Empire. They were defending Dubica, Banja Luka, Ostrovica, Gradiška and Bijeljina against Austrian troops. Before the arrival of the Sarajevo troops at the front, the Dubica fortress had already been successfully defended once. The newly arrived troops stayed at the front for three to four months, but there was no fighting. The soldiers started to get letters from home about the shortages and disaster that had befallen Sarajevo. As the Austrians were not attacking, the soldiers did not see any reason for staying at the front any longer while misery set in at home. For that reason many of them returned home either having obtained permission or without it.¹⁵¹ Austria, nevertheless, attacked and took Dubica early in September 1788. About 20 Sarajevans lost their lives in only one battle near Dubica.¹⁵²

That was one of the most difficult periods for Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century. In historical surveys, that was the time of the Turkish-Austrian war caused by Austria's declaring war on the Ottomans early in 1788, as a sign of their alliance with Russia, upon whom the Ottomans had declared war over some matters of dispute six months previously. Such sentences, so common in historical surveys, tell nothing of the destinies of ordinary people.

History books write about the period of 20 years before that as the Turkish-Russian war; about the Russian occupation of Crimea, which was an important issue in Ottoman foreign policy; about the opening of the Black Sea for Russian trade, which had an impact on the Ottoman state's economy. But there is no mention of the war with Montenegro in 1768 and the conquest of Ostrog. In the battles in Montenegro 13 people were killed from Sarajevo alone. Some troops in the Montenegro campaign died of natural causes, some of a disease, some of cold.¹⁵³ It was so difficult to wage war in the rocky regions of Montenegro that some

¹⁴⁹ L.55b/29–56a/7.

¹⁵⁰ S. Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne* 1, Sarajevo, 1999, p. 608.

¹⁵¹ L.56b/13–57a/16.

¹⁵² L.57a/1.

¹⁵³ L.67a/11–67b/6.

Bosnian soldiers said they would rather go to remote battlefields than to the Montenegrin ones.¹⁵⁴ Early in 1769, 100 cavalry *colours* were raised in Bosnia and sent to a much more distant battlefield, to the border near Očakovo, Bender and Hotin, to fight against an army composed of Russian and Polish troops.¹⁵⁵ On that occasion forty *colours* left Sarajevo, each with 15–20 troops.¹⁵⁶ As that war lasted for several years, a lot of troops were needed from all the settled parts of the Empire and *fermans* (orders) were sent to Bosnia, demanding the listing of all soldiers for the purpose of going to war.¹⁵⁷

For those who remained in the city during the wars, life must have been tough. Most of the skilled men were absent, economically threatening their families. Even those who, for health or other reasons, did not go to war had to provide war support. During wartime, foodstuffs would become more expensive. Added to all this, families were worried about the lives of their male members. Sometimes very young men would go to war, as in the summer of 1791, when Mulla Mustafa's fifteen-year-old son Mustafa went, along with his equally young fellows.¹⁵⁸ Fortunately, peace was soon made with Austria,¹⁵⁹ and as an expression of joy guns were fired,¹⁶⁰ as is customary on such occasions.

The merry side of life

Just as the announcement of war or news about losses on the frontlines caused people worries and fear, so every time peace was made it was an occasion of general festivities. As such news brought enormous relief, people did not wait long to celebrate; festivities started as soon as *beşâret* (the good news) arrived. Once during Mulla Mustafa's lifetime, false news of military success on the front reached Sarajevo. The *ferman* with the alleged good news was about a victory of the Ottoman troops over the Russian and Polish troops. That was in the middle of 1769, three months after the Bosnian troops had left for the eastern front. People

¹⁵⁴ L.10a/6–7.

¹⁵⁵ Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*...cit., p. 546.

¹⁵⁶ L.11b/14.

¹⁵⁷ Mulla Mustafa noted that in 1771, 10 to 15 Bosniaks were killed near Bucharest in battles with Russians. (L.18b/1–2).

¹⁵⁸ L.144a/2.

¹⁵⁹ That was the peace treaty signed at Sistovo on 4 August 1791.

¹⁶⁰ L.144a/10.

rejoiced and celebrated for three days with the firing of guns. Only after that did the news prove to be false.¹⁶¹ The event motivated Mulla Mustafa to pledge his word, that in the future he would be patient and record the news only after he has assured himself of its validity.¹⁶² Fortunately, the false *ferman* was an exception.

Other occasions of general festivity, besides good news from the fronts, were the sultan's accession to the throne, the sultan's birthday and the births of the sultan's children. On such occasions, the bazaar (*çarşı*) was decorated; the stores were ornamented with various inscriptions and paper decorations in the shapes of flowers, crescents, stars, and bouquets. On the days of festivities people came to see the decorated *çarşı*, stopping especially in front of stores with unusual decorations. In 1776, on the occasion of the birth of Khatidja, sultan Abdul Hamid's daughter, Mulla Mustafa decorated his office so beautifully that "all the townsfolk came to see the office."¹⁶³

Mulla Mustafa informs us about other amusements. Most frequently mentioned in his *mecmua* are the picnics organised by some of the guilds celebrating promotions of master craftsmen and journeymen. Picnics would last several days. They were held in summer, according to Mulla Mustafa's notes, usually late in August and early in September, except when fasting fell during that time. The heads of all the guilds were invited to such picnics, as well as the heads of the janissary detachments, men of learning, and guests from outside the city.¹⁶⁴ The food for the guests was provided by the guild organising the picnic. Various kinds of *pilaff* and *halva*, and even *baklava*, were prepared.¹⁶⁵ In September 1777, the harnessers' guild held a picnic that was long remembered. For that occasion a man from the inland regions came to Sarajevo and organised fireworks and performed strange tricks with fire. As the picnic was in the vicinity of the city, on the banks of the Miljacka, people went out in the evening in huge numbers to watch that attraction.¹⁶⁶

Mulla Mustafa described such picnics in more detail in the years between 1770 and 1778. This could have been the time when he took

¹⁶¹ L.12b/21–23.

¹⁶² L.13a/19–20.

¹⁶³ L.26b/13–18.

¹⁶⁴ L.15b/2–4.

¹⁶⁵ For example, there were baklavas for the *čebedžije* (blanket makers) picnic in 1770 (L.15b/4).

¹⁶⁶ L.30b/ 11–12.

part as a guest, which he recorded in 1770,¹⁶⁷ or when he performed the writing services needed for the picnic by the guild, which he noted in 1777 concerning that year's *mutapči's* picnic (artisans making things of hair-cloth).¹⁶⁸

Besides these arranged picnics for specific occasions, people went for outings and organised games and entertainment in summer. Mulla Mustafa mentions his trip to the popular resort of Nišan in the summer of 1777.¹⁶⁹ Bakije was a place where people enjoyed games such as stone throwing contests. The 1785 notes mention horse races, which "normally took place in the field".¹⁷⁰ Occasionally Mulla Mustafa recorded *Bajram* (Eid) festivities but he made no detailed descriptions of them.¹⁷¹ Sometimes acrobats would come to the city. We cannot reliably discern from Mulla Mustafa's notes whether the acrobats had occasion to entertain the people in Sarajevo, since they had twice been prevented from doing so by the Kadizadelis, as mentioned above.

How Mulla Mustafa wrote

In his *mecmua* notes, Mulla Mustafa brought before our eyes life in Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century. Emphasis is placed on certain areas of everyday life as the notes disclose them. Since he was writing his notes with an awareness that they might be used "at some other times", Mulla Mustafa wrote them so that they could revive the recorded event, state or personality. Life is put into his notes primarily by the dates. The dates make it possible "to match the time to its space",¹⁷² which is what makes them convincing.

Mulla Mustafa's sentences also lend persuasiveness to his notes. He did not "polish up" his sentences, they are usually short, and those rare long ones are barely comprehensible in places. In several instances Mulla Mustafa himself corrected the grammatical form of a word, but some errors, however, slipped through. The orthography in his text does not

¹⁶⁷ L.15b/3.

¹⁶⁸ L.30a/21.

¹⁶⁹ L.29b/15. One gets a beautiful view of Sarajevo from Nišan. In recent years, since a coffee-room was opened there, Nišan has again become Sarajevans' favourite site to have a rest over a coffee and a meal.

¹⁷⁰ L.45b/3–5.

¹⁷¹ L.21a/1.

¹⁷² We said above that Mulla Mustafa mentioned dates as early as the introductory sentence of the *mecmua* chronicle section.

correspond to that used in the high literature.¹⁷³ About Mulla Mustafa as a chronicler, we may say that, while writing he does not pay attention to the formal side of the text, but rather to its content. This is why, to use his expression, there is no balance, although perhaps we should rather say there is precision. It is exactly because he is preoccupied with the meaning and not the form, that it was possible for Mulla Mustafa to use a Bosnian word occasionally or a short sentence in Ottoman Turkish right in the middle of a text. It is hard to believe that translating such words, however good the translation, would be as efficient in conveying the meaning as writing them in Bosnian.¹⁷⁴

Mulla Mustafa often reaches for comparisons. His notes impress as images, since it is through images that comparison has the strongest effect. Mulla Mustafa's "pictures" turn witty, critical, and gently ironic when the comparison develops into a phrase.¹⁷⁵ I read with a smile how agas were frightened of the rebel citizens—"as if *hazret Azrail* had appeared before them".¹⁷⁶ It would be hard to figure out how a janissary aga is helpless before the people rushing at his seat, "as if he were in the middle of the sea" and confused, "as if he didn't know what his right or his left was", had the "picture" the people reflected not been recorded for us: the people "spoke whatever came into their minds", threw whatever could be thrown, and thus ruined their protest against the authorities "as the pilaff is spoilt when it turns into mash".¹⁷⁷ Such comparisons help us not only to understand *what* happened but also *how* it happened.

In a sense, Mulla Mustafa discloses his views of the events he records by comparisons. His views can also be discerned from the proverbs he introduces into his text. Sometimes the proverbs disclose only his attitude and complement his own comments on what he is writing about; sometimes they point to a situation proved so strongly by experience, that it can best be understood when reduced to a "universal" saying.

¹⁷³ Concerning this, see K. Filan, *Ortografske karakteristike Ljetopisa Mulla Mustafe Bašeskije*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 49 (2000) pp. 19–43.

¹⁷⁴ About Bosnian words and sentences in Mulla Mustafa, see Id., *Jezične jedinice na bosanskom jeziku u Ljetopisu Mulla Mustafe Bašeskije*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 51 (2003), pp. 9–29.

¹⁷⁵ I analysed the phrases in Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua* in the article *Rûz-nâme'de Birleşik Fiiller*, in "Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı—Belleten", 2001/I–II (2003), pp. 115–128.

¹⁷⁶ L.14b/22.

¹⁷⁷ L.14b/3–13.

When expressed in his own words, Mulla Mustafa's comments are short and concise, almost like sayings or slogans. His comments radiate modesty. Mulla Mustafa recommends modesty as a human attribute in several notes in the *mecmua*, and he himself was, in his own words, *tevâzûî sâhibi* (modest). When in 1777 he wrote that, in a distinguished family, an accident had happened to a child, Mulla Mustafa added: "Such a big misfortune is a warning to others. Modesty is a good attribute; we should nurture modesty in ourselves. So you should understand."¹⁷⁸

When making such comments, Mulla Mustafa becomes close as a man, as a humanist. Because of such comments in Mulla Mustafa's *mecmua*, we find a Sarajevo which was not only recorded in a documentary but experienced emotionally as well. It is precisely because he did not only observe but also experienced the life around him, that Mulla Mustafa could notice what remained hidden for others. Therefore, Mulla Mustafa's notes did not only describe Sarajevo but they partly shaped its picture. With all of their meanings, they depict Mulla Mustafa's personality, and one place at one time. At the same time they indelibly record him himself in the history and culture of Sarajevo and Bosnia.

¹⁷⁸ L.30b/23.

KONJIC (KONIÇE, BELGRADCIK)
FROM HAMLET ON THE HIGHWAY TO MUSLIM TOWN¹

MACHIEL KIEL

Konjica is a delightful Turkish town with a bridge that rivals that of Mostar, and should on no account be missed.

(M. Holbach, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, London 1910, p. 41).

Characteristics

Konjic is a pleasant little town on the River Neretva, halfway between Sarajevo and Mostar on the main North-South artery from the Balkan interior to the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Its development from a hamlet of a few houses below a small medieval castle into a Muslim town, with half a dozen mosques, a number of schools, *hans*, dervish convents and hot baths was the result of a combination of factors: the Pax Ottomanica and the need for a market and an administrative centre of a vast rural area, to which should be added its excellent geographic location. The development of this place was vigorously supported, but not exclusively determined, by the work of a number of pious founders from the middle ranks of Ottoman society. In the following we shall briefly describe how this town grew from hamlet on the highway to Muslim town and treat the history of its buildings, as well as its transformation through the turbulence of the 20th century. No great theories are set forth but a piece of micro-history of a little-known Ottoman town situated to the spot where Bosnia ends and the Hercegovina begins.

¹ This article is the fruit of many journeys through Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1967/70, 1988 and regular visits in 1998–2005 during my function as advisor to UNESCO for Bosnia. It profited greatly from a year as visiting professor at Harvard University (2000/01), made possible by a generous Aga Khan Fellowship Islamic Architecture, and work in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and Ankara, as well as by work in the Oriental Institute and the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo, sponsored by the Netherlands Organisation for the Promotion of Scientific Research Z.W.O. /N.W.O., The Hague, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (D.F.G.), Bonn.

We dedicate this story of a little-known town, only one stone in a vast mosaic, to Suraiya Faroghi, who did so much to improve our knowledge of the Ottoman city.

Geographic location

The area in which Konjic was to emerge had been settled since prehistoric times. It is a small, elongated basin on both sides of the Neretva river at 280 m above sea level, at the point where the little Trašanica River, coming from the north-east, joins the Neretva. The basin of Konjic is surrounded by the highest mountains of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Prenj (2102 m) and Bjelašnica (2067 m). Prenj is often snow-capped until well into June. In spite of this the climate of Konjic is still half-Mediterranean, as is its vegetation, with wine and other plants needing much sun. Bosnia, with its dark mountain forests and cold winters, begins just north of Konjic. The town is the northernmost of the Hercegovina and the third largest of that country as to population (1991: 13.726 inhabitants, of which the half was Muslim).

Middle Ages

Konjic has two predecessors, a Roman and a medieval one. The remains of a Roman *Mitraeum*, suggesting the presence of at least a Roman military colony, were discovered in 1897. The administrative district (*župa*) of Neretva is known to have existed since the 10th century.² The name of this district is mentioned again in 1244 and 1323.³ Konjic itself appears in the sources for the first time in 1382.⁴ A late source, Pietro di Luccari's "Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Ra[g]usa" from 1605, mentions that a certain Hvalimir built a castle in Konjic.⁵ Luccari's account makes clear

² The source is Pope Dukljanin. See the edition of F. Šišić, *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, Beograd 1928, with the Latin, Italian and Old-Croat versions. Also: M. Vego, *Naselja Bosanske Srednjovjekovne Države*, Sarajevo 1957, p. 57.

³ L. Thalloczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter*, München, Leipzig 1914, p. 14.

⁴ K. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag 1879, p. 80.

⁵ Ragusa, 1790, p. 15. The original Venetian edition of 1605 was reprinted in 1978 in the series *Historiae Urbium et Regionum Italiae Rariores*, CXXXVIII, N.S. 54, by Arnaldo Forni Editions.

that this must have been shortly before the year 1400. Until May 1404 this castle was in the possession of the powerful Sanković family. The castle, called Biograd or Belgrad, was situated above the present day Hotel Igman, but nothing remains of it except the site.⁶ After 1404 Konjic was in the hands of the Hranić family of Hum, today's Hercegovina. Here, on the border between his territory and Bosnia, Vojvode Sandalj Hranić (1392–1435) built a toll station, against which the merchants of Dubrovnik protested vigorously.⁷ There are notes from 1444, 1448 and 1454 showing that the castle was in the possession of Sandalj's successor, Herceg (Duke) Stjepan Vukčić (1435–1466).⁸ In the same period, the Franciscan monks appear to have had a monastery in Konjic, which is mentioned in the description of the Vicariate Bosnia from 1514.⁹ It was to disappear shortly afterwards.

The Ottomans must have annexed the upper Neretva valley between 1466 and 1468. We first get Konjic in the picture in 1477, in the detailed Ottoman census of the Hercegovina, carried out between 1475 and 1477. The register mentions it as: "the Bazar of Belgrad itself, belonging to the Vilayet of Neretva, *timar* of the mentioned [Ahmed of Niš] soldier of the castle of Mostar." Konjic then had 13 Christian households, but the fact that it is called a "market place" shows that it was more than an ordinary village.¹⁰ No mention is made of the castle, or a garrison in it, which would imply that it was either dismantled by the Ottomans or previously deserted by its Hercegovinan garrison. The memory of the castle lived on in the Ottoman name of the place: "Belgradcık," meaning "Small White Castle" which was used instead of, or together with, the name Konjic. The diminutive form "cık/džik" was most probably used to distinguish it from the more important Belgrad/Glamoč, a hundred km to the north-west. The relatively small number of inhabitants of the settlement has to be explained as the result of its being located along the main road through the Herzegovina. In the 1440s a civil war had raged

⁶ M. Vego, *Naselja*... cit., p. 57. H. Kreševljaković and H. Kapidžić, *Stari Hercegovački gradovi*, in "Naše Starine", II (1954), pp. 9–22, and H. Kreševljaković, *Stari Bosanski Gradovi*, in "Naše Starine", I (1953), pp. 7–45, (both "classics" about this subject) do not mention the castle of Konjic/Biograd/Belgradžik, suggesting that it cannot have been of importance.

⁷ Ć. Stojanović, *Stare Srpske povelje i pisma*, I, No. 299, Beograd 1906.

⁸ Thalloczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens*... cit., pp. 361, 379 and 398.

⁹ Published by D. Mandić, *Acta Franciscana*, tom I, Mostar 1939, pp. 9–11.

¹⁰ The 1475/77 register has integrally been published by A. Aličić, *Poimenični Popis Sandžaka Vilajeta Hercegovina*. Sarajevo 1985, p. 449f.

between the Bosnian king and the rebellious (Herceg) Stjepan Vukčić-Kosača, and the middle Neretva valley was the area where the two forces directly touched each other. On top of this we have to assume the effects of Ottoman military actions, but nothing is recorded about them.¹¹

Ottoman Konjic, 15th–17th centuries

From 1475 on, the settlement witnessed a slow but steady growth and transformation, which can be followed with help of the Ottoman defters of 1485, 1516 (T.D. 56), 1528, 1550 (T.D. 284), 1574 (T.D. 533) and 1604 (T.K.G.M. 475). In the 16th century, the transformation from hamlet to town was but slow. Between 1475 and 1530, the place doubled in size. In 1530, the register T.D. 167 (p. 513) mentions the *bazar-i Belgrad* as having 14 Muslim households and 15 households of Christians, altogether 29 households or about 135–145 inhabitants.

The register of the *sancak* of Klis from 1574/75 shows that in 44 years, the place had trippled in size and had become Muslim for the large majority (T.D. 533), and it notes that it was the centre of the *nahiye* Neretva. The settlement had grown to three wards, the *mahalle-i Tapanca Ahmed* with 69 households, the *mahalle-i Gorna Konjic* with seven households, two of which were Christian, and the *mahalle-i Gebran*, with 13 Christian households. Thus we have a total of 89 households, or about 420–440 inhabitants, 84% of whom were Muslims. The tax the town had to pay was 5.502 *akçe*, 5.043 of which was on actual production. It is interesting to see that almost a quarter of this sum came from wine production. One indicator of the settlement's role as a market is the height of the market dues, 18% of the total sum. Cereals were also produced within the territory of the town, with oats and mixed grains (*mahlut*) making up 44% of the total tax. The tithe of wheat, the pillar of the economy and largest tax-producing crop in most parts of the Balkans, was only 10% of the entire sum in Konjic. A note accompanying the description of the town explicitly mentions that land within its territory which could be used for agriculture was very limited, with the inhabit-

¹¹ For details about eventful late medieval period see: S. M. Čirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić-Kosača i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1964 (292 pages, rich bibliography, German summary on pp. 281–292. For the same period see also J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, Ann Arbor 1987, pp. 577–590. On the Ottoman conquest of the area, however, nothing is known, not even the exact date when the small castle of Konjic was taken.

ants mostly earning their livelihood with handicrafts and trade. They were, therefore, by imperial decree, freed from all extra-ordinary taxes and duties towards the state, and tithe was only taken from those who were actually engaged in agricultural production.

The 1604 description of the *nahiye-i Neretva* now calls its centre *kasaba-i Belgradcık*, showing that of a further expansion of the settlement and the transformation of its status to that of a town, albeit small. We also see a further spread of Islam. The register mentions a *cemaat-i Müslümanan* of 49 households, a *mahalle* of Hadži Abdi with 26, a *mahalle* of Süleyman Bey with 36, and “the bazar of Neretva itself,” with a “*mahalle* of the Christians,” with six Muslim households and only two Christian ones, 114 household in all, 98% of them Muslims.¹² This still seems very small and unimportant for the standards of our time, but in fact Konjic had grown from a hamlet of about 50–60 inhabitants to a small town of 550–600, which for that time and place is considerable. In the late Middle Ages, Konjic and its district had been a stronghold of the Bosnian Church. By 1604 it was almost entirely Muslim.¹³

Initially the *nahiye* Neretva was part of the *sancak* Hersek and resorted under the large *kadılık* of Nevesinje. When the strong Dalmatian fortress of Klis, overlooking the Venetian port city of Split (Spalato), was conquered in March 1537, the newly acquired territories were constituted to form a new *sancak*. To give this new unit more body the northern part of *sancak* of Hersek, with the Konjic area, and an important slice of the western districts of the *sancak* of Bosna were added to Klis. In the *tahrirs* of 1550, 1574 and 1604 Konjic appears as the southern most district of the new unit. During the Cretan War, in 1648, the Venetians succeeded in retaking Klis, but the Ottomans kept most of the province, and until the reforms of the mid-19th century, they continued to call it “*sancak* of Klis”. Konjic seems to have remained within the judicial district of Nevesinje till the beginning of the 17th century. In the middle of

¹² The demographic content of the 1604 register has been published by Ahmed S. Alilić, *Privredna i konfesionalna struktura stanovništva u Hercegovini krajem XVI stoljeća*, in “*Prilozi za orientalnu filologiju*”, 40 (1990), pp. 125–192. Belgradžik on p. 161.

¹³ Heinrich Renner, who knew Bosnia very well, handed down what was locally well known, namely that the last living Bogomil family, Helež from the village of Dobočani near Konjic converted to Islam just before the beginning of the Austrian occupation (*Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer*, Berlin 1896, p. 231). The locally well known academic painter and hermit, Lazar Drljača, held himself for the last of the Bogomils. He was buried beneath a symbolic “*stećak*” in the yard of the Šantić-Villa in the village of Borci (10 km S.E. of Konjic), where he had lived (M. Njavro, *Herzegowina, Geschichte, Kultur, Kunst, Naturschönheiten*, Zagreb 1985, p. 62).

March of 1633 (*eva'il-i Ramazan* 1042), it is first mentioned as an independent judicial unit under the name of "*kadılık of Belgradcık*," with Konjic as seat. As such it appears in the official list of the *kadılıks* of Ottoman Europe from 1667/68.¹⁴

The construction of a bridge linking the suburb of Neretva on the right (east) bank with Konjic proper on the west bank of the river must have given an impetus to the development of the settlement. This bridge was the work of Karadjoz (Karagöz) Bey, the most important benefactor of the Herzegovina, and was part of an extensive program to foster Islamic culture in this province. In Konjic, this man had also built a *han* for the travellers as well as a *mekteb* for the instruction of Muslim youths. Both buildings were situated close to the bridge, as is stated in the *vakfiye* of Karadjoz Bey, dated February 1570 (*eva'il Ramadan* 977)¹⁵ and must have been built in the 1560s.

Around the same time as the construction of the bridge, *han* and school of Karadjoz Bey, an otherwise unknown Tapanca Ahmed had a *mescit* built in Konjic. He provided the sum of 4000 *akçe* for it as a source of income, as well as the rent from 30 houses he possessed in the *mahalle* of Varda. This *vakf* is first mentioned in the *vakf* section at the end of the *tahrir defter* of the *sancak* of Klis from 1574 (T.D. 533) and again in the 1604 *defter* of the same province (T.K.G.M. 475). This *mescit* is most probably the forerunner of the "Vardačka Džamija," still standing at the northern end of the old town.¹⁶

¹⁴ For the administrative situation see: H. Šababović, *Bosanski Pašalik, Postanak i upravná podjela*, Sarajevo 1959; and: F. Spaho, *Defteri za Kliški Sandžak iz XVI i početka XVII stoljeća*, in: "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 34 (1984), pp. 137–162. For the official lists of *kadılıks* from 1667/68 see: M. K. Özergin, *Rumeli Kadılıklarına 1078 düzenlemesi*, in *Or.Prof. İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*. Ankara 1976, pp. 252–309. For Konjic we read there: "Belgradcık, in the *sancak* of Hersek, 20 days [from Istanbul], near it is the Nahiye of Riva. Near it flows the river called Neterva." The 17th century Ottoman *kadılık* system knew 12 ranks. Konjic, being small and new, had the lowest rank.

¹⁵ This *vakfiye*, a beautifully calligraphed booklet written in Arabic, is preserved in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo as *vakfiye* No 178. A Serbo-Croat translation of it was published by M. Mujić in Lejla Gazić and A. Aličić (eds.), *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine (XV–XVI vijek)*, Sarajevo 1985, pp. 159–168.

¹⁶ Cf. F. Spaho, *Džamije i njihovi vakufi u gradovima Kliškog Sandžaka*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke", V–VI (1978), pp. 217–230.

The *mescit* of Tabanica Ahmed is the only one mentioned in the register. This means that, either Islamic building activity had not yet advanced very far in Konjic, or, as in the case of Karadjoz Bey, the *vakf* property for the maintenance of the objects in Konjic were situated in other districts and therefore not mentioned in the description of the *vakfs* of Konjic. We know this from many other places in the Balkans. We cannot know more because no *vakufnames* of Konjic seem to have been preserved outside that of Hudaverdi

Little more than a decade after the works of Karadjoz Bey, another provincial grandee, Hudaverdi Mehmed Bey, son of Ali, built a mosque in Konjic, which still stands today, on high ground on the south-eastern edge of the town, just below Musalla Hill, and was certainly intended to be the centre of a newly-founded Muslim *mahalle*. It is popularly known as Repovačka Džamija. According to the local traditions, Hudaverdi Bey was a native of Konjic.¹⁷ His mosque was, for the greater part, maintained by the yearly rent of a sum of 140.000 silver *dirhem*. The mosque was staffed with 12 men, five of them who would daily recite a section of the Kur'an. According to an annex to the *vakfiye*, Hudaverdi's brother, Lutfi Hodža, provided 1600 silver *dirhem* for the maintenance of the Musalla he had built "near the town (*kasaba*) of Konjic." It was a large grass-paved field surrounded by a stone wall of one and a half meters height that existed until World War II.¹⁸

Other mosques were to follow, such as the well-built Yunus Čauš or Čarši Džamija, situated in the middle of the old shopping district.

Mehmed Bey, (see note 18) and one 20th century *vakfiye*. See: Z. Fajić, *Popis Vakuf-nama iz Bosne i Hercegovine koje se nalaze u Gazi Husrev-begovog Biblioteci u Sarajevu*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke", V-VI (1978), pp. 245-302, where 1102 *vakfiyes* are described. There is a change that the Archives of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara has copies of more *vakfiyes* from Konjic, but it requires a great effort to cheque this, because the greater part of the materials concerning the Balkans in this vast archive, is not sufficiently accessible.

Curiously enough Špaho mixed the *mescit* of Tabanica Ahmed with the Tekijska Džamija of Mehmed Čauš, which he wants to be built in 1559, whereas its "Bauinschrift" clearly has 1648. His argument was, that this mosque, which he thought to be identical with Hudaverdi Mehmed Bey's, can be the same as that of Tabanica Ahmed because both had their revenue from the interest of a sum of ready money instead of the more usual urban or landed property. In fact the *vakfiye* of Hudaverdi Bey is for the mosque now known as "Repovačka" as Hadžibegić and Buturović made clear (see note 18).

¹⁷ M. Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine*, III. Sarajevo 1982, p. 428.

¹⁸ For the text of the *vakfiye* see the Serbo-Croat translation, also by Mujić, in: Gazić and Aličić (eds.), *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine...cit.*, pp. 187-192. Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika...cit.*, p. 428 mixed up the Mehmed Čauš Mosque (also known as Tekijska Džamija) with the Repovačka Mosque. The study of H. Hadžibegić and D. Buturović, *Berat Hudaverdi Bosna Mehmed-Bega (1592)*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 12/13 (1962/62), pp. 152f. makes very clear which is which. According to this detailed study, written by people who knew the area very well, Hudaverdi had lived in a large tower-house in the village of Poslisje (now called "Repovci") above Bradina (10 km north of Konjic, on the Sarajevo road). The tower, because of its size called "Velika Kula" is mentioned as extant in a court document of 1822. Hudaverdi's three sons (signatories of the 1579 *vakfiye*) can be found as large fee-holders (*zaims*) in the early 17th century *defters*. Their descendants can be followed until deep in the 19th century. It can be argued that the curious popular name of the mosque "Repovačka Džamija" has its origin in the name of the village where the founder came from: Repovci/Poslisje.

According to its beautifully calligraphed Arabic inscription 1033 (1623/4), a certain Ibrahim “brought this building to life again, revived it” (*ihyâ*). This implies that there had been a previous one, perhaps a *mescit*, which had been destroyed by fire or something else. Because the inhabitants of Konjic call the building we see today the “Mosque of Junus Čauš,” this person must have been its original founder. In the yard of the mosque, they even point to a white marble gravestone, crowned with a turban, as the grave of the founder, Junus. But the stone, alas bears no inscription. According to the family chronicle of Mehmed Faik Alagić (“Ali Ağa’s son”) this Junus was a brother of the other important promotor of Islamic Konjic, Mehmed Čauš. According to the story in the “chronicle,” they were descendants of Salih, who in 1462 had come to Bosnia with Sultan Mehmed II. Salih lived in a tower house (*kula*) in the village of Gornja Bijela (6 km south of Konjic, on the Bijela Brook) which still existed when Faik Alagić wrote (1894). Salih had a son called Abdullah, who very probably is identical with the Hadji Abdi, founder of a *mahalle* as mentioned in *tahrir defters* of 1574 and 1604. He died in Gornja Bijela in 962 (1555) and left two sons, Mehmed and Junus. According to the same family chronicle they entered the service of the sultan court in 985 (1577/78) and acquired the rank of Čauš (*çavuş*). The brothers are mentioned in the History of Naima, as having accompanied Sultan Mehmed III (1595–1603) in the Battle of Haç Ovası (Mezőkeresztes) in Hungary (1596).¹⁹ Next to the Junus Čauš Mosque stood, at least till the 1960s, a “*medrese* of Junus Čauš,” which according to the expert on Ottoman educational structures in Bosnia, Madžida Bećirbegović, was dated “in the 17th century.”²⁰ Junus must have died as a relatively young man and, according to the family chronicle, left no posterity. There is problem with his identity because the *vakfiye* of the foundations of the other brother (Mehmed Čauš, see *infra*) only mentions an “Ibrahim Efendi” as a brother of Mehmed Čauš and has

¹⁹ This highly interesting document was published by V. Bogičević, in *Spomenik Srpska Akademija Nauka* CX, Beograd 1961, pp. 47–78. Local Bosnian historians think this chronicle is a specific 19th century creation, where the author wants to link up with an old family and therefore invented people at places where the documents leave gaps. Yet it contains much controllably correct information. For details: note 21 *infra*. I would like to thank Dr. Nenad Filipović of Princeton University for his valuable comments on the chronicle.

²⁰ M. Bećirbegović, *Prosveteni objekti islamske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini*, in “*Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*,” XX–XXI (1970/71), pp. 223–364; Konjic on pp. 282 and 294f.

stipulations for extra prayers and Kur'an recitation for the benefit of his soul. We prefer to leave whether Yunus and Ibrahim are two names for one person or Mehmed Faik Bey made a grave error an open question.

In 1648, when he was an old man, Mehmed Čauš (*Bey*), the other brother, constructed the most important group of Islamic buildings of Konjic, of which the mosque, popularly known as "Tekijska Džamija," still exists. These buildings were situated directly on the banks of the Neretva, about 200 metres upstream from the bridge of Karadjoz Bey. According to the *vakfiye*, they included a *tekke* with ten cells for dervishes of the Halvetiye order, a public kitchen (*imaret*), a tower house for him to live in himself and a *hamam* in the Prkansko *mahalle*. The *vakfiye* is supposed to have been written on the 18 *Zilhicce* of 1031, but the year must be a misreading of 1061.²¹ The mosque is an elegant domed

²¹ The inscription of the Tekijska Mosque was published twice by Mujezinović, who also published the inscription of the Yunus Čauš Mosque, first as *Turski nadpisi iz 17. vijeka u nekoliko mjesta Bosne i Hercegovine*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", XII–XIII (1965), pp. 189–90. and 198–199. later, unchanged, in Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika... cit.*, pp. 423f. and 427f. The two were also published by E. H. Ayverdi, *Avrupada Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, II, 3, Istanbul 1982, pp. 211f., with a minor correction. Both authors calculated the chronogram containing the date of construction of the mosque as 1058, which is indeed the value of the words "ola makbûl bu hayrî." The chronicle of Mehmed Faik Bey from 1894 was, according to its author, partly written on the basis of what was remembered in the family, partly on what was written in the *vakfiye* of Mehmed Čauš (which he dated one generation too early) and other papers. Most of the data in the chronicle seem more or less in order but it is very likely that some family members have fallen out. Especially between the two brothers and Hadži Abdi, their supposed father, who can only have been their grandfather. The original of the *vakfiye* was destroyed during Second World War but an official translation in Serbo-Croat, made in *Ševval* 1350 (March 1932) at the court of the Sheriat in Konjic was preserved and published by D. Buturović, *Dvije Konjičke Vakufname*, in "Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva", 29, fascicule 7/8 (1966), pp. 305–309. The inscription we see on the mosque today is authentic and the date of construction cannot be doubted. It is 1058, or A.D. 1648. Somewhere in the transcript or translation of the *vakfiye* a mistake must have been made. Dates in Ottoman vakfiyes are usually given in Arabic and not in Ottoman Turkish. We suggest that 1061 has to be read instead of 1031. When written hastily or unclear "ahadi sittin wa elf" can easily be taken for "ahadi sülsin wa elf" as the difference in Arabic writing is very little, especially when the text is not preserved in perfect shape. It is also clear that the date of the mosque as given on the inscription was not clear to the authors who wrote about it. The system of Ebcad Hesabı is known only to very few people. Mehmed Faik misread the date of the *vakfiye* and from this wrong date stem a number of mis-identifications of the Tekijska Mosque and mis-interpretations of its date of construction by all who wrote about it (Buturović, Džemal Čehajić, Derviš Korkut, Mujezinović and Fehim Spaho). It must also have influenced Mehmed Faik's reconstruction of his family history. But Mehmed Čauš, as a young man, could have accompanied Sultan Mehmed III in 1596 to the battlefield of Haç Ovası and could have built his *küllîye* in Konjic in 1648 and have a *vakfiye* drawn up in 1651 (H. 1061). He was then in his eighties, an appropriate age to think about preparations for one's

structure, originally covered with lead. During repairs to damage sustained in the Second World War, it was covered with sheets of copper, which over time acquired a beautiful green patina. The Junus Čauš and the Repovačka mosques have pyramid-shaped wooden roofs covered with big slates and are flanked by high and slender minarets. One more mosque must also have been built in the first half of the 17th century: the Prkanjska Mosque on the right bank, inland from the bridgehead, making, together with the Vardačka Mosque, a total of five.

In the 17th century Konjic must have seen a period of rapid development. The increasing number of mosques illustrate this growth, as do some travel accounts. Athanasio Georgiceo, in his "Relazione" of 1626, mentions that "Coinizza" had 300/400 houses, fully inhabited, and was situated 6/7 hours from Split.²² In 1655, Bishop Marian Maravić, in his rapport to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome, mentions that "Kogniz on the river Neretva has 400 houses of Turks (= Muslims) and 5 mosques."²³

Two years after Maravić, in March of 1658, the French traveller Quiclet passed through Konjic on his way from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo via Ljubinje, Nevesinje and Glavatičevo and left us a rarely detailed description of one of its important buildings. This was a *han*, which most probably has to be identified with that of Karadjoz Mehmed Bey. Quiclet wrote:

afterlife. It should be added that Mehmed Faik Alagić mixed Haç Ovası (Mezőkeresztes) with the better known Mohács. It should also be added that the family of Mehmed Faik, who himself had been Ottoman *kaymakam* of Visoko and administrator of the same place under the Austrians, still produced important people in Bosnian society. Faik's son Čukrija was Director of the Gymnasium of Tuzla. Derviš Buturović, who published the *vakfiye*, was a descendant of the last Sheikhs of the *tekke* of Mehmed Čauš. The original of the family chronicle was kept in the Bosnian State Archives, in the fond "Otkupa i poklona" No 805. The *hamam*, mentioned in the *vakfiye* of Mehmed Čauš, existed till 1909, when it was torn down on order of *vakf* administration. From its stones a *mekteb* for girls was made. In 1952 Hamdija Kreševljaković could still see a marble water basin of this *hamam* (kurna) standing in the yard of the school. Kreševljaković thought that Hudaverdi Mehmed Čauš (1579) had been the founder of the *hamam*, but remarked that it was not mentioned in Hudaverdi's *vakfiye* and was first mentioned in the written sources in 1662. Kreševljaković, it should be added, could not make use of the *vakfiye* of Mehmed Čauš from 1648 (H. Kreševljaković, *Banje u Bosni i Hercegovini* (1462–1916), Beograd 1937 and Sarajevo 1952, pp. 103–104. of the 1952 edition.

²² Published in original old Italian by M.N. Batinić, *Izvjeste A. Georgicea god. 1529*, in "Starine Jugoslovenska Akademija za Znanosti i Umjetnosti", XVII (1885), pp. 116–150. Konjic on p. 138.

²³ "Kogniz presso il fiume Nerenta ha case dei Turchi Nr. 400 moschee 5." Published by Eusebius Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica ab anno 925 usque ad anno 1752*, Zagreb 1892, pp. 475–479.

Finally we arrived in Cognitha, which is a borough situated at a distance of one and a half day's travel from Bosna Saray. It has three very beautiful ('fort jolie') mosques. We came after midnight to sleep in a *Han* or *Kiarvansarai*, which is like our covered markets in France, or better like a grange, or a great stables, or corps de garde, where there are wooden columns in the middle to tie the horses of the travellers, and all along the sides, in the interior, much like a platform, small chimneys, one after the other. There the *Hangi*, or master of the place, gave us as much firewood as we wanted against payment, but for ourselves and for the horses nothing had to be paid for lodging because it is a pious foundation of some rich, charitable person to receive strangers and travellers. Our beds were made between two such chimneys, using the mattresses, carpets and blankets, which anyone who travels in this country has to supply himself.²⁴

The most detailed description of Ottoman Konjic in the 17th century is of Evliya Çelebi, who visited the town in 1664. From his description it is clear that in two centuries of Ottoman rule Konjic had developed from a hamlet of a few houses to a respectable town, and had also grown further since the account by Bishop Maravić of 1655. With about 2500/3000 inhabitants, the town clearly clearly had reached the limit of expansion possible within the existing geographical and institutional context. After listing the town's notables, Evliya mentions that Konjic was situated on both sides of the Neretva in a small plain surrounded by mountains, having vineyards and gardens in abundance. It was divided into six mahalles and had 600 houses covered with slates. There were no houses of great families (*hânedân*), but all of them had vast gardens. A large wooden bridge connected both parts of the town. Konjic had eight places of Islamic worship (*mihrrabs*) one of which was particularly pleasant and imposing. [This can only be the Tekijska Džamija] Also there were two colleges for higher Islamic education (*medrese*), three mekteps, two dervish convents (*hankah*) and a small hot bath and two khans, one of which was situated in the Čaršija [Can only be Karadžoz Bey's *han*]. Most of the 75 shops of this market street were blacksmiths' workshops, where swords and knives were made from the iron mined in the mountains nearby. The inhabitants of Konjic were, according to Evliya, friendly to the traveller and stranger and were for the greater part craftsmen or merchants.²⁵

²⁴ *Le Voyage de M. Quiclet a Constantinople par terre*, Paris 1660, pp. 46–47.

²⁵ *Seyahatnâme*, (İkdam) VI, Istanbul 2003, pp. 488f. Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1967, pp. 470–471. The difference in numbers of mosques, eight by Evliya, five by the other travellers from the 17th to 19th century, can

Not much is known of dervish life in Konjic besides the names of some Halvetiyye Sheikhs and the year they died. The Halveti *tekke* was active till the end of the 19th century. Still vaguer is the information on the existence of a Bektashi *tekke* in Konjic. Its former presence is remembered by some local Konjic' families, called Bektašić. They told the linguist-historian Nimetullah Hafiz of Prizren that their forefathers had come from Skopje and had founded a Bektashi *tekke* in Konjic.²⁶ These two orders bring us to the number of two *tekkes* as mentioned by Evliya. Our knowledge of the institutions of higher Islamic learning in Konjic is similarly weak. Evliya mentioned two medreses, but this can be a literary cliché only. The Bosnian *salnâmes* of the last years of Ottoman rule do mention only one medrese in Konjic, the one of "Yunus Čauš." This institution was still standing in the 1960s, as mentioned before. Dervish life and institutions for higher education in Konjic deserve closer study.

The way the urban plan of the town came into being was entirely the result of its geographic location. Its development was spontaneous and was only supported, not guided, by the intervention of some pious founders. These were, as we saw, members of the lower military and the administration originating from the district. At the spot where the little Trašanica River flows into the Neretva, the great river makes a sharp

be explained by Evliya's habit not to count only the mosques proper but the number of mihrabs. The Halveti *tekke* and *medrese(s)* certainly had a room with a mihrab, giving eight places of the Islamic prayer. The original Bektashi *tekkes* had no *mihrab*, as the believers sat circle-wise along the walls of their sacuary, facing each other because in their beliefs it is in the face of man that God's countenance is reflected, making the mihrab superfluous.

²⁶ N. Hafiz, Le développement du Bektachisme en Yougoslavie, in: A. Popović and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Bektachiyya. Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Istanbul 1995, pp. 341–350. See also the critic survey of Dž. Cehajić, *Bektashis and Islam in Bosnia and Hercegovina*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke", V–VI (1978), pp. 83–90; and A. Popović, *A propos des tekkes Bektashis de Bosnie-Herzégovine*, in A. Temimi (ed.), *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel*, Zaghwan 1999, pp. 419–428. For the Halvetiyye dervish order see: Dž. Cehajić, *Derviški Redovi u Jugoslovenskim Zemljama*, Sarajevo 1986, pp. 79–122; and especially: N. Clayer, *Mystique et Etat, L'Ordre Halveti dans l'aire Balkanique depuis le XV^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Leiden-New York 1994, with extracts from the Konjic *vakfiye* of Mehmed Čauš in French translation (pp. 162–163.). For the development of their doctrines: art. "Khalwatiyya" (F. de Jong ed.) in: E.I.², IV (1978), pp. 991–993. See also: B. G. Martin, *A Short History of the Halwatiyya Order of Dervishes*, in N. Keddie (ed.) *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, Los Angeles 1972, pp. 275–305. It should be added that the *vakfiye* of Mehmed Čauš only indicates in an indirect manner that the *tekke* was to be for the Halvetiyye order, stipulating that after the noon prayer the *wird* of Seyyid Yahya Shirvani, the real founder of the order, had to be recited (cf. Clayer, *Les Halvetis*... cit., p. 156, n. 51, and Buturović, *Dvije Koničke vakufname*... cit., p. 307).

turn to the north-west. This has created a space in the form of the Greek letter Y. The oldest part of the town, Konjic proper, developed as a long, stretched-out settlement of basically one street with houses facing the river as well as the street. The houses had gardens behind them, and little lanes lined with houses went inland, ending where the mountain slopes begin. The same pattern was repeated on the opposite bank, the old Christian suburb, and on both sides of the Trašanica. From the old stone bridge a street ran a distance inland, crossing the main street of the Čaršija at a right angle. It is there that the *khan* of Karadžoz Bey was built, followed by the Čaršijska Mosque and *medrese* in 1623/24. The *hamam* of Karadžoz must also have been there. The building complex around the Tekijska Mosque was built on the same main street of old Konjic, evidently to form a new *mahalle*. The family chronicle of Mehmed-Faik Alagić explicitly mentions that at the time of its construction there were no houses from there to the Čaršija near the bridge.²⁷ It is the area around the Tekijska Mosque that even today has kept something of the flavour of a suburban area on the edge of a town. One other mosque of old Konjic, the Prkanjska, was built to the north of the Čaršija, near the confluence of the Trašanica. Still further north, on the north-eastern “leg” of the Y, the Catholic part of the town developed, around its own church, which in the first half of the 20th century was rebuilt in grand style. The Serbians, evidently latecomers in Konjic, settled on the southern leg of the Y, along the east bank of the Neretva.

Konjic in the 19th and early 20th century

In the 18th century, like many other places in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the town must have stagnated and even declined.

The earliest available data after the Evliya's account are contained in the “Handwörterbuch” of Maximilian Thielen of 1828, a compilation of the latest available data. Thielen noted that:

Konicz is a border town towards Dalmatia, situated in the Sandjak of Hersek—Herzegowina, in a small and beautiful valley formed by the mountains Ivan Planina, Lipeta and Vrabach, and lies on the banks of the great Narenta river, which cuts the town in two parts. Over this river leads

²⁷ Bogićević, *Spomenik*...cit., p. 49.

a stone built-bridge. The town is not fortified and has about 300 houses built of wood and five stone-built mosques.²⁸

Other information is contained in the work of the German consul in Sarajevo, Otto Blau, who visited the town several times between 1861 and 1872. According to Blau "Konjitz" was a double-town, Neretva on the right bank being predominantly Christian, and Konjitz on the left bank exclusively inhabited by Muslims. Blau further noted that the "Turkish quarter has very much decayed. The previously important trade is completely down and is restricted to the exportation of wine and fruit from the region and the fabrication of blankets for horses."²⁹

Changes came when in 1878 the Austrians occupied the Hercegovina. The construction of the railway from Sarajevo to Mostar and the Dalmatian harbour of Ploče again revived the importance of Konjic as station on a main road. In the 1880's, Heinrich Renner mentions that the town had 2000 inhabitants, gives an illustration of the railway and a panoramic photograph of the town and adds that many strangers had settled down in Konjic.³⁰ The Austrian census of 1910 shows the extent of the demographic changes. In that year, the town had 461 houses, with 2,382 inhabitants. They broke down into 1,217 Muslims, 837 Croats, 294 Serbs, four Jews and 16 "others."³¹ Thus, from constituting 98% Muslims, as in 1604, the Islamic population of the town now had only 51%. In the administrative district of Konjic, with 28,073 inhabitants, the Muslims, with 54%, barely fared better. The numbers not only reflect the transformations caused by migration, in or out, but especially the difference in family size between Muslims and Christians as well. It is interesting to see that the after 32 years of progressive and enlightened Austrian rule the population of Konjic had not even reached its mid-17th century level.

²⁸ M. F. Thielen, *Die europäische Türkei, Ein Handwörterbuch für Zeitungsleser*, Wien 1828, p. 148.

²⁹ O. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, Berlin 1877, p. 29. It is interesting to see that as early as 1475 wine production had been very important for the economy of Konjic. In that year, according to the tahrir defter, the tax on wine alone made up almost the half of the entire tax load on agricultural products (Aličić, *Poimenični Popis*... cit., pp. 449f.).

³⁰ Renner, *Durch Bosnien*... cit., pp. 229–232.

³¹ *Resultati popisa žitelstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. Oktobra 1910*, Sarajevo 1912, pp. 338–339.

In the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Konjic did not see great development and survived relatively well during World War II, although it suffered from occasional artillery bombardment and the decline of the Muslim population. The greatest cultural loss was the destruction of the beautiful 17th century Ottoman stone bridge, which was blown up in the last weeks of the war.

Rapid transformation after 1945

For Konjic the half century of Socialist Yugoslavia meant a time of explosive growth. The foundation of industrial plants, metallurgy, woodworks and furniture factories, increased traffic and the development of tourism (mountaineering) allowed a much larger population to live in the town. This population partly came down from the mountain villages, where expansion of the agricultural surface was not possible, also because life in towns was regarded more attractive. It turned Konjic the fastest-growing town of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This expansion is very clearly visible in the population numbers from 1948 to 1991:

1948	2.767	inhabitants
1953	4.469	"
1961	6.165	"
1971	8.434	"
1981	11.545	"
1991	13.726	"

From the 1980s onward, a slow but persistent trend is observable in the growth pattern of the various segments of the population. Between 1981 and 1991 the Serbs remained at 18% of the total population and the Croats at 22%. The Muslims, however, increased from 43 to 49% and did this basically at the expense of those who had declared themselves "Yugoslavs in 1981."³² This group is generally held to be have been predominantly of Muslim, or have mixed origin, and now identified itself with Islam. In other words, a further polarization between the three communities is observable.

³² For the population numbers of 1948 to 1991 see: *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb 1995 (Državni Zavod za Statistika).

The rapid growth of the town's population was paralleled by a wholesale rebuilding of most of the settlement. The construction of a new and wide bridge over the Neretva at the point where she takes up the Trašanica and another one over the smaller river was fundamental. The old stone bridge over the Neretva, of which the pillars remained, was rebuilt with wood and came only to serve as footbridge. As the new Neretva Bridge attracted all the traffic, the entire town centre moved northward and unfolded around the two bridges, thus transforming the town's overall appearance. At the same time the two little river plains to the south of the town, the Gorni and Dolni Polje, became a heavily built up district of the new Konjic.

In the time of Socialist Yugoslavia, the Tekijska Džamija, damaged during WW II, was carefully restored. At the same time the Musalla, overlooking the Repovačka Džamija, was demolished and on its site a huge cemetery for Partisans fallen during the war, was laid out. The area around the mosque, disused for a long time, was transformed into a lapidarium by placing a number of medieval tombstones, *stećak* there, rescued from medieval cemeteries, that disappeared under water when in the 1960s the great artificial lake of Jablanica was created in the 1960s.

The 1990s

During the Bosnian war of 1992/95, the Neretva valley saw heavy fighting. The town also suffered badly but escaped the worst. Enough war-damaged buildings could still be seen in Konjic in the summer of the year 2001, but on the whole the situation was not as bad as in Mostar, and no religious buildings of the three communities were deliberately blown up and removed, as was the case in many other places in the country. In 2006 most of the war damage was repaired. As a result of the war, the greater part of the Serbs of Konjic fled or otherwise left the town, their place partly being taken by refugees from other places. The overall population of Konjic must be lower than before the war and must have a more pronounced Muslim element, but exact numbers are not available. By the spring of 2000, after repairs to war damage, the monumental Tekijska Džamija was again in excellent shape. The Repovačka Mosque above the old bridgehead on the east bank was also restored. Works on Čaršijska Džamija was completed in 2001. It is around these buildings, and not in the modern centre around the confluence of the Neretva and the Trašanica rivers, that the atmosphere of the old Muslim town of the 19th century can still be sensed.

The preserved buildings

The Neretva Bridge of Konjic ranked among the best works of Ottoman civil architecture in the entire Balkans. It is often identified as the work of Karadžoz Bey from the 1560s, when Konjic was slowly being transformed from village to town, but this is not correct. Karadžoz had a wooden bridge made, situated about 20 metres downstream from the present one. A bridge built of wood is mentioned, for example, by Evliya Çelebi in 1664. In the beginning of the 17th century Karadžoz' bridge was destroyed, most probably during a big flood. On its site, a new bridge was built by another mecenas from Mostar, Hadji Bali ben Mehmed, shortly before 1612. In that year Hadji Bali had the *vakfiye* for his buildings in various places in the Hercegovina: a mosque, *medrese* and *mekteb* in Mostar, a caravansaray in Borci and two bridges over the Neretva, one of which was in Konjic. This wooden bridge served till 1660. What happened with it is related in a graffito written in Ottoman Turkish on the walls of the Čaršija, or Ibrahim Bey Mosque:

In the year 1071, at the beginning of *Rebiu'l-Evvel* [early November of 1660] the bridge was knocked down. Let it not be forgotten.³³

There was a wooden bridge over the river four years later, as mentioned by Evliya, most probably the reconstructed bridge of Hadji Bali. According to an Ottoman inscription (extant till its destruction in 1945), the stone bridge, the pride of the town until World War II, had been built in the year 1093 (1682). This date is also mentioned in the "family chronicle" of Mehmed Faik Alagić, which was not used in this context. Alagić adds that it was built for the sum of 95 purses of *akçe* by "Blagaja Haseći Alaga" (=Blagaylı Haseki Ali Ağa), a Sultan's servant, then residing in Istanbul, and that the construction took two years to complete.³⁴

The chronicle of Mehmed Faik is said to have been a 19th century fake. Yet it contains much valuable and genuine information. As to the date of construction and the identity of the builder of the bridge we should add an Ottoman document, also not used in connection with the bridge. This is a sultanic order, a *ferman*, of Mehmed IV (1648–1687), preserved

³³ For photograph plans and drawings of this bridge see: Dž. Čelić and M. Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1969, pp. 178–183. For the *vakfiye* of Hadji Bali: H. Hasandedić, *Mostarski Vakifi i njihovih vakufi*, Mostar 2000, pp. 72–77. For the graffito of 1660: K. Gujić, *Najljepši turski mostovi u Bosne i Hercegovine*, in *Kalendar Gajret*, Sarajevo 1934, p. 241.

³⁴ Bogićević, *Spomenik...* cit., pp. 50f.

in the archive of the monastery of the Franciscan order in Mostar, dated *evâsî-i cemaziu'l-ahır* of the year 1097 (2–12 March 1685). It mentions that the recently built great stone bridge of Konjic (Belgradcık) was the work of “Haseki Hadji Ali Ağa Kolaković from Blagaj and orders the *kadı* of Mostar that it was no longer necessary to maintain the wooden bridge of the *vakf* of Hadji Bali.”³⁵

The bridge spanned the river in five mighty arches of different size, resting on four pillars, and it was 80,80 m long. The four pillars still stand today, supporting the wooden footbridge. There were plans in late Socialist Yugoslavia to reconstruct the bridge in its original form. The Bosnian War prevented this. The weak economy and other huge problems make it difficult today. However, the quality of the work is so outstanding, and the importance for Konjic is so great that it should be reconstructed in the near future.

In fact, with the disappearance of the bridge, only three monuments still stand that constitute a link with the past. All three are 16th–17th century Ottoman mosques. The churches of the Catholic and Serbian communities are from the 20th century and architecturally and historically less important. The khans and the hamam disappeared long ago without leaving traces in memory.

The Repovačka Mosque is apparently the oldest in town. It is a rather simple square structure with walls of broken stone, which are covered by a coat of plaster. It has a flat wooden ceiling and a pyramid-shaped roof covered with big slates. The minaret is of the same simple construction as the bulk of the masonry. It rises on the left side of the mosque when facing the entrance, a rarity in the country. Its balcony does not rest on stalactites, as in classical Ottoman architecture, but on a bell-shaped ring of consoles. The mosque had been long in disuse but was restored in 1998/90.³⁶ In 1992 it suffered substantial damage but has been well repaired after the war.

³⁵ For the 1685 *ferman* see: H. Hasandedić, *Orientalna zbirka provincijalata Hercegovankih Franjevacâ i Mostaru*, in “Hercegovina, Časopis za kulturno i istorijsko Nasledje”, VI (1986), p. 227. The two sources given here are sufficient to show how groundless some 19th century stories are, which were recorded by the various Western travelers. The bridge was by some seen as a work of the Romans, by others of the Croation King Hvalimir of the end of the 7th (sic!) century, or by the Ottoman Vizier “Ahmed Pasha Köprülü in 1715”. The Vizier was by then almost 40 years dead; he died in 1676; cf. the article “Köprülü” (T. Gökbilgin and R. C. Repp eds.), in *E.I.*², vol. V, pp. 256–263. The real King Hvalimir lived in the 12th century.

³⁶ A photograph depicting the mosque in decay is given by Č. Džomba and N. Tomašević (eds.), *Treasures of Yugoslavia, An encyclopedic touring guide*, Beograd

Architecturally of more importance is the Čaršijska Mosque, which also has a square inner space (8,50 × 8,50 m inside) but is covered by a wooden inset dome on an octagonal base, giving a rich architectural impression. The mosque is rather well built, of cut stone and has a beautiful, slender and tall minaret. The upper part, above the balcony, was shot away during the war, but was in reconstruction in 2000. and finished in 2001, as mentioned above.

Above the entrance of the mosque is a beautifully calligraphed inscription of six hemistichs, written in Arabic, as mentioned before.

In English it would read:

Thanks God, Ibrahim was in (his) expenditure a friend of mankind
He spent (his) money and brought back to life a mosque
I say on the date of its rebirth: "It is the place of the Pious and House of
the Worshippers" [= 1033, Oct. 1623–Oct. 1624]³⁷ m

In the yard of the mosque are a number of 19th century beautifully carved white marble gravestones of important citizens of Konjic, among them Ferhad Bey, son of Ahmed from 1255 (1839/40) and, more important, that of Derviš-Pasha Čengić from 1292 (1874).

The most important of the preserved Ottoman buildings in Konjic, once part of a whole socio-religious complex, is the Mosque of Mehmed Čauš or Tekijska Džamija in the southern part of the old town. It is placed in a spacious walled garden shaded with old trees. In this garden, some fifty of old Ottoman grave stones from the 19th century have been preserved, adorned with turbans and with inscriptions giving the name and year of the person buried below them. Among them we find at least three members of the family of the founder: Ago Alagić ben Džafer, 1271 (1854/55), Džafer Ağa Alagić ben Muhamed, 1293 (1876) and Hadži Muhamed Alagić, 1318 (1900). Džafer Ağa ben (Mullah) Muhamed, it should be added, was the father of Muhamed Faik Alagić, the author of the rare "family chronicler" of Konjic.

The mosque has a square groundplan, 9.80 × 9.80 m with an inner space of only 8.20 m. It can accommodate up to a hundred faithful, or more than the entire adult male population of the mahalle as it was in the 17th century. The tall dome does not sit directly on the cubic body but has a double intermediary section in between. The square body is

1980, p. 292. The war damage is mentioned in the Newsletter of the O.I.C., I.R.C.C.A. No. 31 of April 1993, Istanbul, special issue Bosnia-Herzegovina, pp. 39f.

³⁷ For publications of his text see Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika*... cit. and Ayverdi, *Avrupada Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*... cit.

first transformed into an octagon by cutting the four corners obliquely and then placing a slightly smaller, likewise octagonal tambour over it. The dome itself sits on this tambour. This solution is not common in Bosnia-Herzegovina and shows a considerable amount of sophistication that one would not directly expect in a small provincial town like Konjic. The three elements are separated from each other in a clear manner by accentuated cornices. In the interior, the dome sits on four simple squinches. The mosque is extremely well lit by two rows of two windows in the mihrab wall and the lateral walls and by 'oxen eyes' in the middle of the wall above them. More light comes through eight windows in the tambour, one in each of its eight sides. The eight corners of the tambour are further articulated with the help of pilasters. Proportionally, the mosque is much higher than most of the Bosnian mosques, which gives it a tone of elegance and monumentality. A very high minaret with a fluted shaft, which even heightens the effect it gives, further enhances the vertical aspect. A porch of wood resting on slender wooden posts precedes the square prayer hall. It is the product of restoration in the past. Originally the mosque might have had a porch with three domes on four columns, but these disappeared long ago and possible traces of it are now covered under the plaster and whitewash of the masonry, preventing closer inspection.

The mosque of Mehmed Čauš is well dated by an inscription of four half verses in Ottoman Turkish, correctly put in the *hecez*-metrum

(v - - - / v - - - / v - - - / v - - -)

It is written in very elegant *sülüs* script and cut in a slab of stone of 45 × 72 cm. The middle part of the inscription was damaged by the bombardment of the Second World War. The missing letters were supplied by a clear pre-war transcript in the *Zbornik of Muhammed Enveri Kadić*, preserved in the Gazi Husrev-begova Library in Sarajevo.³⁸ The

³⁸ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, *Zbornik M. Enveri Kadić*, IV, p. 121. Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika*... cit., pp. 427f. In his comments on the inscription Mujezinović also confused Mehmed Čauš Bey with Hudaverdi Mehmed Bey of 1579 (cf. note 18) and took the latter as founder of the mosque and the "Mehmed Bey" mentioned in the 1648 inscription, as the person who restored the mosque, which he assumes, must have been damaged or destroyed during an unknown catastrophe.

chronogram—*ola makhbûl bu hayriñ*—vital to the reconstruction of the life and identity of the founder, has survived undamaged.

We suggest the following English translation:

With his goods, and with his soul, Mehmed Bey is asking for the satisfaction of God.

By wishing to perform a good deed he has completed (the edifice of) good deeds.

The angels in the sky have all prayed for the owner of this good deed:

They uttered its date [by saying]: May your good deed be well taken (by every body).³⁹

The original *külliye* of Mehmed Čauš Bey, of which only the mosque survives, was built on a long strip of land between the street and the river, determining the layout of the various buildings. We have to imagine the medrese on one side of the mosque, accompanied by the tower house of the founder, and the *tekke*, *mekteb* and public kitchen on its other side.

According to the *vakfiye* the complex of Mehmed Čauš was financed by a sum of ready money. This was the half of the 700.000 *akçe* Mehmed Čauš possessed.

Thus 350.000 *akçe* was given as *vakf*, which had to be lent to reliable merchants for a yearly profit of 10%. From the expected yearly revenue of 35.000 *akçe* the *hatib*, *imam*, the two *muezzins*, Sheykh of the *tekke* and his 10 *mürids*, the cook, the baker, and the three teachers of the school (of whom one female teacher to instruct girls) had to be paid. Twice a day free food was given to the staff and the dervishes, as well as to travelers and guest of the *tekke* and to the poor of the neighbourhood. Thirty *okka* (nearly 40 metric kilograms) of wheat had to be used to bake the daily bread, 10 *okka* for soup. All in all the foundation of Mehmed Čauš in Konjic ranked among the most important of all the Hercegovina, surpassed in its number of buildings only by the *vakfs* of Karadjoz Bey and Koski Mehmed Paša in the *sancak* capital of Mostar.⁴⁰ It was this single

³⁹ On this place I would like to remember Prof. Şinasi Tekin of Harvard University, veteran specialist of Ottoman poetry and literature for his valuable help in interpreting this inscription. Mujezinović took the words “*tamâm idüb*” as a sign that there had been previous mosque, which after imagined damage, was completed (*tamâm*) by Mehmed Bey. This, however, was not at all meant in the text.

⁴⁰ Karadjoz Mehmed Bey’s *vakf* capital was 300.000 *akçe*, but also included the rent 42 shops and a number of water mills. Yet his (Karadjoz’) building program was much larger than that of Konjic. Koski Mehmed Paša included a monumental domed mosque

most important group of buildings that helped to transform Konjic, as it did, from a hamlet on the highway to a true Islamic town.

Postscript

In 2007 the old bridge of Konjic was entirely reconstructed in its original shape.

from 1618/19, a *şadırvan* and water supply system, and a dervish convent with 9 cells, but the revenue producing capital was only 200.000 akçe (for Karadžoz *vakfiye* see note 15; for Koski Mehmed's: B. Džaka, *Vakuf-nama Koski Muhamed-paše iz Mostara*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 44/45 (1996), pp. 301–331; and H. Hasandedić, *Mostarski Vakifi*... cit., pp. 19–33.

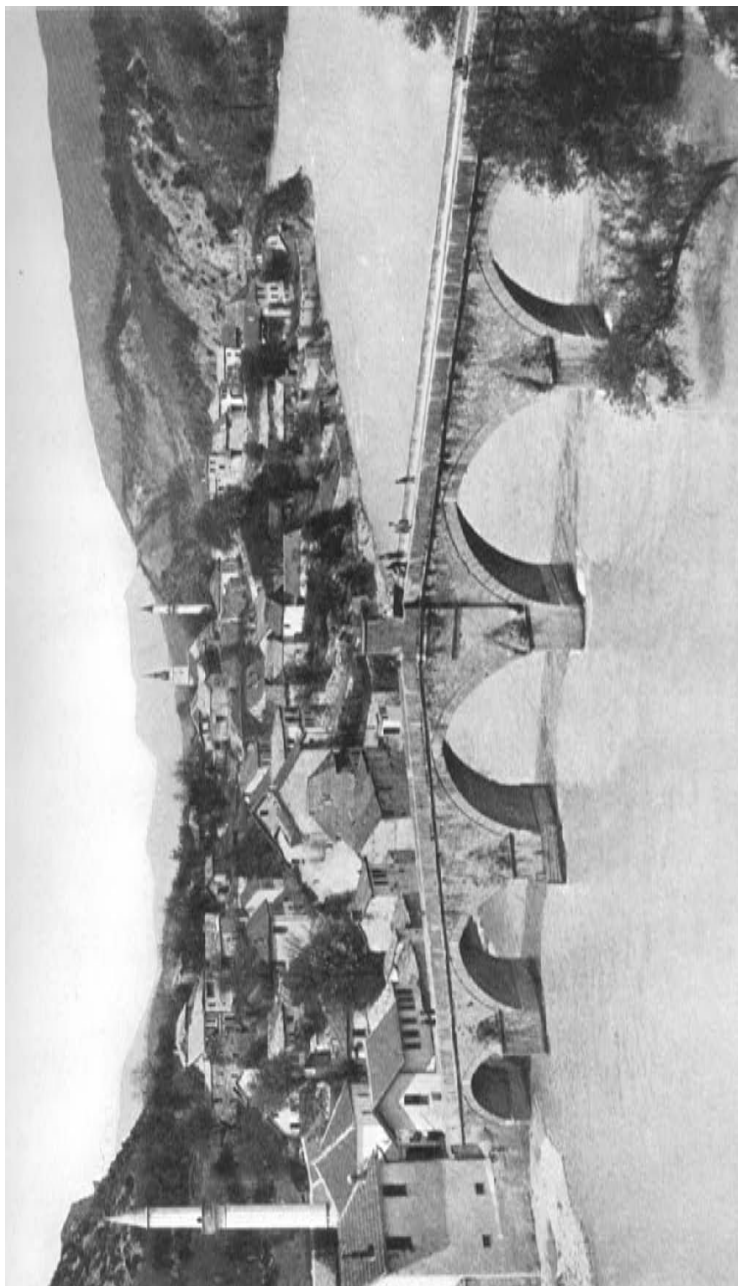


Fig. 1. *The Old Bridge of Konjic (1685). Photo from 1932.*



Fig. 2. *Tekijska Džamija* (1648). Photo from 1985.

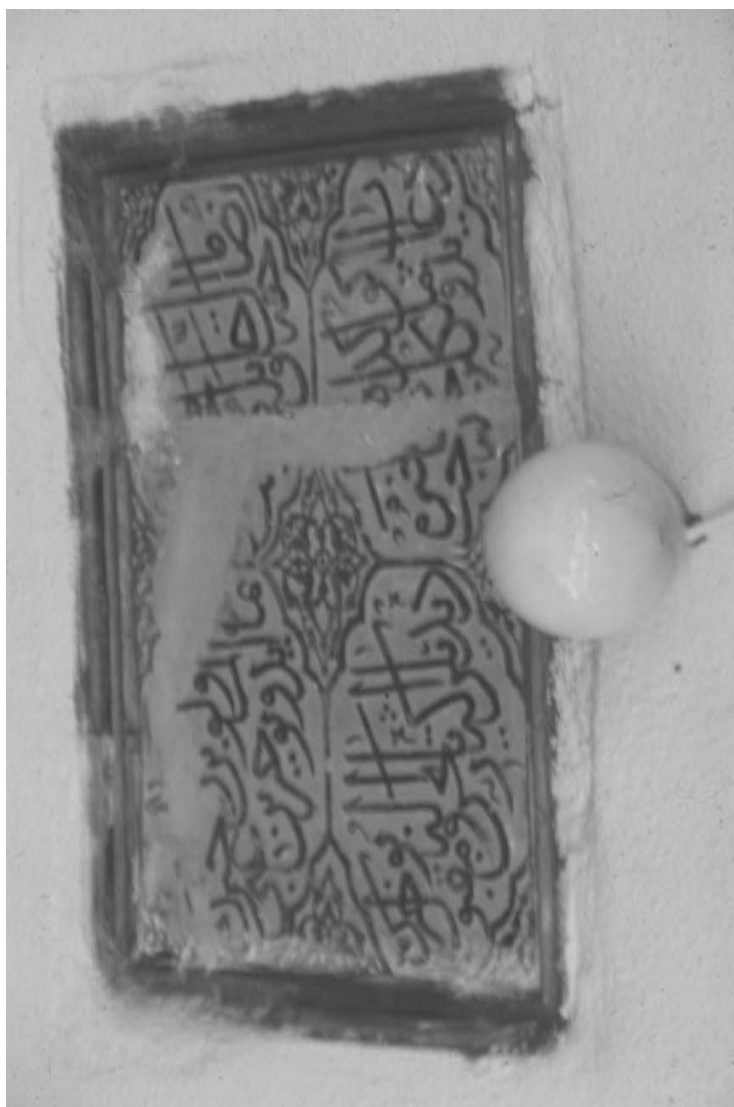


Fig. 3. Tekijska Džamija, inscription of 1058/1648.



Fig. 4. Repovačka Džamija of Hudaverdi Mehmed Bey, 1579. Photo from 1985.

OLD PLAYERS AND NEW IN THE TRANSITION OF CYPRUS TO OTTOMAN RULE

VERA COSTANTINI

On an unspecified day in 1578 an *odabaşı* of the Ottoman Court, Mustafa Ağa, his brother Mehmed Bey, two female slaves, a younger male slave and two servants disembarked together on the island of Cyprus with the aim of computing a secret mission.¹ Contrary to all expectations, the expedition was not to be led by the two Muslim gentlemen, but by the two girls, who led the group from the city of Mâğôsa to an unnamed place in the hinterland of what was then the small port centre of Tuzla.

Following the indications of the two slave girls, the group moved on until reaching a spring near the village of Voroklini. The group pitched a tent in which, safe from prying eyes, the servants started digging. Meanwhile, as a further precaution, the three slaves intercepted and warded off the peasants flowing to the spring. Later the peasants would talk of having recognised the two maidens and the boy as being the children of the feudal landlord who had owned five villages in the surrounding countryside. They said he was 'a wealthy aristocrat whose family had been captured and separated during the time of the conquest'.² As the *qâdî* of Kîrîne, who was possibly involved in the plan, had not hesitated in providing the necessary travel papers for undertaking this venture and allowing the group to leave the island, the sultan suspected that treasure buried before the war had been retrieved and ferreted away. After all, it was reasonable to think that the prospect of a handsome ransom could have motivated not only Mustafa Ağa (who owned the three slaves) and his brother, but also, naturally, those directly concerned, who saw the success of the expedition as their only hope of freedom. The investigation was reopened following the discovery of some gold coins (*qôrôna altûnî*) of unknown origin at Mustafa Ağa and Mehmed Bey's father's home. During the interrogation carried out by the *qâdî* of Istanbul, the brothers came up with two contradictory versions of the expedition, arousing further suspicion amongst central government officials.

¹ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 35, *hüküm* 455, 23 Cemaziülahir 986 (27 August 1578).

² *Ibidem*.

Under Ottoman law, the action was not seen as the legitimate repossession of a private inheritance, but rather as the theft of goods that the conquest had rendered 'public property', seeing as it constituted part of the booty for the Ottoman army and the imperial government.³

This episode was one of many involving the almost 14,000 prisoners captured at Nicosia on 9 September 1570.⁴ According to a census taken by the Venetians during the siege, the population seeking refuge within the city walls reached 56,000, more than double the number of inhabitants registered in times of peace (20–25,000).⁵ Worried about the dangers of an enemy invasion, many peasants sought refuge in the capital, whose city walls had been fortified by the Venetians over the previous 30 years. After three months of siege, the Ottoman cavalry broke through the breach opened by the artillery and began to sack the city, killing many people. They mainly killed soldiers, but also civilians and members of the clergy. In the following hours a wider sector of the population was captured and inventoried in an apposite register. Knowing that the campaign was still far from over, Lala Mustafa Pasha, commander in chief of the Ottoman army, was determined to make Famagosta surrender, demonstrating the sorry fate awaiting those who, like the citizens of Nicosia, tried to withstand the victorious advance of his troops. Echoes of the catastrophic events at Nicosia were also evident in the Ottoman census of Cyprus, carried out at the end of 1572, in which the once populous capital of the previous regime contained no more than 220 *khâne*, 11 bachelors and 3 invalids, figures that were more in keeping with a medium-large village.⁶

Slavery would not lead to the same fate for all those prisoners—soldiers, religious men, nobles, artisans and peasants—who were about to be integrated with the lowliest status into Ottoman society. A few days

³ "Pendjik", in *EP*, vol. VIII, pp. 293–294.

⁴ BOA, *Mâliyeden Müdevver, defter 5471* (V. Costantini, *Destini di guerra. L'inventario ottomano dei prigionieri di Nicosia (September 1570)*, in "Studi Veneziani", N.S. XLV (2003), p. 236).

⁵ B. Arbel, *Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule (1473–1571). A Demographic Study*, in Id., *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries*, V, Aldershot 2000, pp. 183–215, p. 197.

⁶ The original *Defter-i mufasssal-i livâ-i Qıbrıs* may be found in Ankara: *Tapu-Kadastro* 64 (1572) BT (H. W. Lowry, *The Ottoman liva kanunnames contained in the Defter-i Hakani*, in Id., *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century*, Istanbul 1992, pp. 19–46, p. 36). A microfilmed version is available in: Fondazione Cini, Microfilmoteca dell'Istituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, *Registro del catasto di Cipro*—Bobina 1.

after the conquest, prisoners of war (*esîr*) were internally differentiated, prompted by the joint influence of the social origin of each individual slave on the one hand and by the circumstances of the war on the other. Lala Mustafa Pasha reserved for himself some Venetian patricians and children of the wealthy Cypriot nobility, such as the de Nores and Podocataro families. His plan was effective, as the Venetian prisoners and members of the Cypriot nobility were the first—though not the only—to have their ransoms paid. The Venetian authorities barricaded in Famagosta did not hesitate in paying the ransoms of Francesco da Milan and Alfonso Bragadin, two soldiers whose military ability would be highly valuable in the course of the lengthy siege ahead.⁷ Giovanni Falier, though a patrician of the Republic of Saint Mark, was taken prisoner by the pasha of Aleppo and freed a few months later by the Venetian consul residing in the Syrian city.⁸ The payment of ransoms usually involved individual families, but, as the sultan wrote to the Ağa of the Janissaries, after the fall of Nicosia the *bailo* himself and the Venetian merchants of the capital offered a large sum to the Ottoman administration with the aim of freeing as many Cypriot slaves as possible.⁹ As was specified in another imperial letter, it was not just a question of freeing any prisoner, but rather aristocrats and their families (*beyler ve beyzâdeler*).¹⁰ On the other hand, the *bailo* deliberately did not pay the ransom of some of the noble Cypriots taken to Istanbul. Destined to serve in the galleys of the Arsenal, they were more useful to the Republic, still at war, as spies and sabotage agents. In fact, the *bailo* was held responsible for their attempt to set fire to a wing of the arsenal in Istanbul, in January 1571, and his decision not to pay ransoms can be viewed in this context.¹¹

Basically, belonging to a higher social class was a factor of undoubted privilege and not even slavery proved to be an exception to this rule. The far-sightedness of one of the relatives of the three slaves, who had apparently buried money in the vicinity of one of his villages, offered them an important opportunity to regain their lost freedom. Unfortunately, the Ottoman documents from which we learn this story do not reveal much information about the three protagonists, merely defining them

⁷ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 84, *Relatione venuta da Costantinopoli 18 april 1571 di quello che sia avvenuto in Nicosia alla presa di quella città*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ BOA, *Mühimme defteri* 16, *hüküm* 587, 16 Cemâziülahir 979 (5 November 1571).

¹⁰ Ivi, *hüküm* 351, 22 Cemâziülahir 979 (11 November 1571).

¹¹ ASV, *Senato Secreta. Dispacchi ambasciatori Costantinopoli*, filza 5, cc. 331r.–336r., lett. 75, 3 January 1570 *m.v.*

as *Qıbrıs Frenk câryleri ve oğlânı*. However, one of the texts mentions a phrase with which the peasants were in the habit of calling the dead feudal landlord, but the phonetic Ottoman orthography does not allow us to identify a precise name.¹² In the list of 'important' prisoners compiled by the *bailo*, these three youths do not appear together, but it is likely that the presence of the two girls was ignored in order to underline the importance of the boy, particularly as he was heir to an important title. This was probably also the case of the 'little Count of Tripoli', whose father was struck by a poisoned arrow on the same day as the sack of Nicosia.¹³ Together with his cousin, the son of Zuanne de Nores, and four other noble Cypriots, this young boy was cited in the *bailo's* list as being the personal prisoner of Lala Mustafa Pasha.¹⁴ As we know from the records, the pasha already held a much greater number of prisoners than the six mentioned by the *bailo*, but the latter only cited the most important or most renowned, perhaps taking it for granted that they were accompanied by their mothers, sisters and female cousins. It is likely that all of the de Nores—one of the oldest Cypriot noble families¹⁵ of which the 'little Count' of Tripoli was a member—family members were captured as a single group and reserved for Lala Mustafa Pasha. Later, in Istanbul, some of the pasha's personal prisoners were sold or given away to other Ottoman dignitaries, as were some Cypriot ladies, who were sent on to Eskişaray shortly after their transfer to Istanbul.¹⁶

However, it seems hard to understand how the *bailo* could not have arranged for the release of the son of the Count of Tripoli. Of course, the boy had lost all his adult male relatives, and was possibly too young to demand and manage his own release with the Venetian authorities; after all, the fall of Famagosta and the capitulation of Venice as the last crusade ruler of the East had led to the irremediable end of any political relevance of the Frankish Count of Tripoli title: an epoch was over and the Venetian government could not have been particularly enthusiastic about the prospect of freeing and financially supporting all the orphans of Cypriot nobility, especially as this was a prerogative that was not their duty.

¹² Şin+elif+şin+vav+nun?+ye. This could have been the Frankish name 'Sansón', or 'Giasón', a given name widespread in the Frankish de Nores family.

¹³ G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 3. London 1948, p. 978.

¹⁴ ASV, *Collegio Relazioni*, b. 84, *Relatione venuta da Costantinopoli*...cit.

¹⁵ B. Arbel, *The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A new Interpretation*, in Id., *Cyprus, the Franks*...cit., VI, p. 180.

¹⁶ BOA, *Mühimme defteri* 16, *hüküm* 108, 7 Receb 979 (25 November 1571).

Whatever their name, three people of the lowest social status returned to Cyprus six years after these tragic events. The island was governed by a State whose victory against the Venetian Republic signalled the end of the wealth and power of their family. Concerned as they were about the success of the expedition, they had no time or energy to waste lingering over the changes that had taken place on their island. However, we can imagine that the widespread poverty, the apparent disappearance of the Latin population, the reinstated role of the Orthodox clergy and the distancing of the Christian population from the larger cities could not have escaped their attention.

Cypriot Franks in Ottoman Cyprus: an Antinomy?

As mentioned previously, the three slaves in question were classified as *Frenk* by the sultan's sources. This category indicated in the widest sense of the word any non-Muslim, and therefore Western, foreigner within the Empire's borders.¹⁷ Like other equally generic terms, the denomination *Frenk* was used to qualify a wide range of people, such as merchants, travellers and diplomats. The Venetian mercantile colony in Istanbul, for example, was called *Venediklü tâ'ifesi* or, if little precision was required, it came under the much broader term *Frenk tâ'ifesi*, which could also include Ragusans, the French and members of other Western nations trading in the Ottoman capital.¹⁸ On the island of Andros, *Frenk* defined Catholic families, who were in a different category to Orthodox ones (*Rum*).¹⁹ However, Yosef Nasi, though known as the 'leader of the nation of Messia', was called *Frenk bey oğlu* in the dispatches of Süleyman the Magnificent with the probable intention of underlining his Western origins.²⁰ In the case of Cyprus, whose inhabitants were referred to in imperial letters preceding the conflict as 'people' or 'subjects' (*Qıbrıs halqı* or *Qıbrıs re'âyâsı*), the term *Frenk*, particularly in the post-war context, could also indicate a Venetian or anyone else, whether Latin or Greek,

¹⁷ M. Elliot, *Dress codes in the Ottoman Empire: the case of the Franks*, in S. Faroqhi and Ch. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman costumes. From Textile to Identity*, Istanbul 2004, pp. 103–123, p. 103.

¹⁸ Among the many examples, BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 16, *hüküm* 587, 16 Cemâziül-ahir 979 (5 November 1571).

¹⁹ T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı*, Yayın Nu: 28, 6 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri* (972/1564–1565), Ankara 1995, *hüküm* 252, 11 Rebiülevvel 972 (17 October 1564).

²⁰ İvi, *hüküm* 942, 26 Şaban 972 (29 March 1565).

who had been banished from the island for having demonstrated their loyalty to the previous rulers.

Seeking refuge within the Venetian fortifications was considered an act of loyalty towards the Republic of Saint Mark, though the war itself led to very different fates for the besieged of the two fortresses: if the Nicosians paid the higher price, finding themselves victims of a vast operation of capture that was also rhetorical, the civilians seeking refuge in Famagosta left the city undisturbed in April 1571, after Marcantonio Bragadin, worried about the famine raging within the city walls, obtained a safe conduct for them with Lala Mustafa Pasha promising that they would not be ill-treated.²¹ The intensity of the Ottoman retaliation against demonstrations of loyalty to Venetian rule was thus subject to the changing circumstances of the conflict, which was translated concretely into a more fortunate end for the civilians of Famagosta. In the large fortified city, the 1572 Ottoman census registered individuals with undoubtedly Latin names: Lûçya, Qârôlina, Qôrdelya, Bernardô, Niqôlô (which in the villages took the Greek form Niqôlâ), Tômâzô (rather than Tômâ), Lyônardô and so on.²² These individuals were the last, exiguous exponents of a form of syncretic and eclectic society that for centuries had characterised Cypriot urban society and that had been particularly encouraged by Venetian rule in the sense of a growing intermingling between the Greek and Latin elements of the nobility and, with ensuing acculturation, of the entire Nicosia and Famagosta population.²³ The integration of the remaining Cypriots into the Ottoman system would lead to the end of this merged social and cultural reality.

The cases of individuals who, though involved with the previous rule, remained on Cyprus, were so reduced as to render the generalisation of their common conduct impossible. During the war and, more particularly, after the capitulation of Nicosia, some exponents of noble rank,

²¹ A. Gatto, *Narratione del terribile assedio e della resa di Famagosta nell'anno 1571*, P. Catizzani (ed.), Orvieto 1895, p. 52; P. Valderio, *La guerra di Cipro*, (G. Grivaud and N. Patapiou eds.), Nicosia 1996, pp. 133–34; Hill, *A History...* cit. vol. 3, pp. 1008–1009.

²² Fondazione Cini, Microfilmoteca dell'Istituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, *Registro del catasto di Cipro*—Bobina 1, *Nefs-i Mâğôsa der cezîre-i Qıbrıs*, pp. 63–73.

²³ Cypriot nobility was distinguished by a deep interconfessional character, cf. B. Arbel, *Résistance ou collaboration? Les Chypriotes sous la domination vénitienne*, in Id., *Cyprus, the Franks...* cit., VIII, p. 135 and Id., *Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: the Case of the Synglitico Family*, ivi, VII, pp. 336–337.

anticipating the growing successes of the Ottoman troops, tried to use the surrender of the fortress of Cerine and conversion to Islam as a means of maintaining their social privilege. Though this only occurred in three isolated cases, it is nevertheless an example of a possible means of integrating the nobility into the Ottoman system. Throughout the course of the centuries-long history of the conflicts between the Empire and the Republic, episodes of surrender were extremely rare. The neutral vocation of Venice in the modern age did not stop its governors from expecting their generals to defend their positions to the death. Those who did not perform this duty were tried and condemned on their return to Venice, as was the case with Girolamo Zane after the first sallies with the Holy League fleet.²⁴ Particularly in the late sixteenth-century, the severity of the Venetian government was directly proportional with its inability to face the Ottoman army without the aid of foreign powers. In the context of the Holy League, it concerned the desire to place individual guilt onto a commander for the Republic's international military failure. Of the five soldiers who ceded Cerine, two, Giovanni Maria Mudazzo and Alfonso Palazzo, negotiated the possibility of returning to Venice, where they were tried and condemned to life imprisonment.²⁵ The other three, each of them Cypriot noblemen, became Muslims and entered into the service of Lala Mustafa Pasha, who quickly rewarded them with the assignation of *tımâr* and, a few months later, awarded them special local administrative roles, such as that of port captain of Kîrîne.²⁶

The primarily purely political conceptualisation of which categories to banish from the island would subsequently extend to all Catholics, including members of the minor clergy, who were certainly never particularly favoured by the Venetian authorities.²⁷ Stefano Lusignano, author of an account of the history of Cyprus, explicitly recalls that Lala Mustafa Pasha conceded to the Famagosta population 'that they may live as Christians, though not of the Latin Church, to whom neither

²⁴ U. Tucci, *Il processo a Girolamo Zane mancato difensore di Cipro*, in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto*, Florence 1974, pp. 409–433.

²⁵ Hill, *The History...* cit., vol. 3, p. 988ⁿ.

²⁶ BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci, Rûus Kalemî, defter* 221bis, p. 51, 24 Rebi'ülâhir 978 (25 September 1570) and p. 139, 27 Zilhicce 978 (22 May 1571).

²⁷ ASV, *Collegio Relazioni*, b. 84, *Relazione di Alvise Da Ponte*, 16 November 1553.

church, home, nor any thing will be conceded'.²⁸ Thus for the remaining inhabitants assimilation to Orthodox Christianity was the only officially acknowledged means of living on the island.

The fate of the Catholic clergy appears to be somewhat fragmented into a range of individual destinies, which were thus more exposed to chance and changing circumstances. Among the dead and the prisoners of Nicosia were also numerous exponents of the high Latin and Orthodox clergy, whose members were either of Cypriot nobility or the Venetian patrician class.²⁹ Some negotiated their departure for Venice, Crete or any other colony of the *stato da mar*, whilst others, profiting from the close ties that had united the two religious branches during the Venetian epoch, sought refuge and were admitted to Orthodox monasteries.³⁰

The Cistercian monastery of Bellapays was assessed in 1572 and registered in the *mufassal defteri* under the name of *mânâstır-i Delâpâys*. The administration counted on extracting 1,000 *aqçe* of taxes from the monastery's properties, possibly indicating that it was still a functioning establishment, seeing as abandoned monasteries were distinguished by the adjective *khâlî* (deserted).³¹ Almost a century later, the same monastery appeared on a list that the Ottoman authorities had commissioned the archbishop of Cyprus to compile, of all the convents functioning on the island.³² At least some of the Catholic monastic establishments were gradually converted to Orthodoxy and re-colonised by Greek monks,

²⁸ S. Lusignano, *Chorographia et brevis historia universale dell'isola di Cipro*. Bologna 1573, cited in J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus from the coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the commencements of the British occupation (AD 45–AD 1878) together with some account of the Latin and other churches existing in the island*, New York 1901, p. 194.

²⁹ Hill, *A History...* cit., p. 982 and Hackett, *A History...* cit., p. 195. On the presence of clergymen among the prisoners of Lala Mustafa Pasha, cf. Costantini, *Destini di guerra...* cit., p. 238.

³⁰ 'Ils feignaient d'être Grecs-Orthodoxes (...). Dans le haut clergé Grec (...) plusieurs Latins nobles avaient pénétré comme moines, en profitant des anciennes épigamies et autres relations de leurs familles avec les familles grecques, ainsi que de la contexture entre les deux sociétés, Grecque et Latine de l'île' C. P. Kyrris, *L'importance sociale de la conversion à l'Islam (volontaire ou non) d'une section des classes dirigeantes de Chypre pendant les premiers siècles de l'occupation turque (1570–fin du XVII^e siècle)*, in *Actes du premier congrès international des études balcaniques et sud-est européennes* (Sofia, 26 agosto–1 settembre 1966), Sofia 1969, pp. 437–462, p. 455.

³¹ Fondazione Cini, Microfilmoteca dell'Istituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, *Registro del catasto di Cipro*—Bobina 1, *Mânâstır-i Delâpâys tâb'i Kirine*, p. 168.

³² BOA, *Mâliyyeden Müdevver, defter 8428*, pp. 356–358.

who, as we shall see, became leading players in redefining the role and aspect of the local Orthodox Church.

Place names also underwent some important changes, with the Latin names of many villages and cities abandoned in favour of their Greek versions: San Zuan Morosini, situated in the district of Saline,³³ was registered as Ayô Yânî Môrôtînî, Cerine as Kîrîne and so on.³⁴ The end of the political relevance of the Latin element of the island had made way for decidedly Greek-sounding place names that, transcribed in the Ottoman alphabet of the new rulers, experienced unprecedented administrative plausibility.

Together with the language of the administration, urban culture was perhaps the sector that saw the greatest changes. In contrast to villages, which maintained their layout, albeit experiencing a serious demographic crisis due to the recent conflict and the plague epidemics that followed,³⁵ the cities of Nicosia and Famagosta underwent some fundamental changes, such as the banishment of all Christians from within the city walls.³⁶ The governor of Qaraman, Hasan Bey, wrote to the sultan that within the fortress of Mâğôsa the military personnel and, more generally, the Muslims, numbered less than 1,000 compared to a much higher number of Christians.³⁷ He urged the sultan to consider the risk—that until then had been underestimated—to which the militias were exposed. He adopted the strategy, which had been so effective in Rhodes, of banishing Christians from the fortified perimeter, ordaining their transfer to a nearby suburb, known as a *vâroş*.³⁸ The expulsion of the Christians from the fortress of Mâğôsa was accompanied by a decree forbidding the imperial authorities of the island to force Christians to sell their homes cheaply: each property had to be sold ‘at its true price’, calculated on the basis of its worth during the Venetian epoch.³⁹ In the absence of such a parameter of worth, the imperial treasury (*mevqufât*) held the properties. In Lefqôşa, as in Rhodes and, later, Mâğôsa, artisans,

³³ ASV, *Avogaria di Comun, Miscellanea Civile*, 179.C., *Il numero di tutti li francomati del regno di Cipro*.

³⁴ Fondazione Cini, Microfilmoteca dell’Istituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, *Registro del catasto di Cipro*—Bobina 1, p. 421 and p. 145.

³⁵ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 23, *hüküm* 372, 28 Receb 981 (23 November 1573).

³⁶ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, *hüküm* 135, 24 Ramazan 980 (28 January 1573).

³⁷ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 18, *hüküm* 277, 17 Şevval 979 (3 March 1572).

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

an indispensable part of the city's daily life, were the only Christians allowed to remain within the urban perimeter.⁴⁰

During their brief stay in Măğôsa, while Mustafa Ağa and his brother were pretending to look for a house to rent in order to fool the Ottoman authorities, made curious by the real reason for their arrival on Cyprus, the three siblings, just like the Venetian merchants who at that time were beginning to return to the island,⁴¹ would have immediately noticed the radical change that the city had undergone: now there were only soldiers and artisans within the walls, dozens of abandoned churches and the only Gothic cathedral of San Nicola had been transformed into a mosque surrounded by minarets.⁴² Beyond the city walls was a single, composite suburb containing the remnants of an urban society cleansed of the elements that policy and circumstances deemed incompatible with the foundation of the new Ottoman province of Cyprus. Destined to remain foreigners or estranged from the history of the island, the Venetian *Frenk* returned for commercial reasons, whereas the Cypriot nobility returned in order to recoup a corner of the past that the terrain had subtracted from the tumultuous transformations of the present.

Bishops of Cyprus, the Sultan's Agents

The disappearance of the aristocracy led to a lack of local power that the Ottoman authorities, entirely ignorant of the territory, tried to fill by investing in the prerogatives of the Orthodox clergy. Naturally, the history of relations between the Greek Church and the Ottoman Empire in the decades following the conquest saw changeable fortunes that nevertheless were part of a general scheme, in which the archbishop of Nicosia, appearing in Ottoman documents under the name of *bâş pisqôpôz*, other bishops and hegumens of a few large monasteries acted as the middlemen between central and local Ottoman government.⁴³ Indubi-

⁴⁰ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, *hüküm* 374, 8 Zilkâde 980 (12 March 1573).

⁴¹ The first Venetian consul in Cyprus was appointed in that very year, 1578 (ASV, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, II serie, busta 26, *Memoria mercantile* n. 128, *Parte prima*).

⁴² Of the 32 churches located within the walls of Măğôsa, 30 were sold to private purchasers, the proceeds of the sale being paid to the provincial treasury. As for the other two, Saint Nicolas was converted into a mosque, while Saint George was kept in function, in order to meet the demand of the few Orthodox artisans left in the city (BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 26, *hüküm* 304, 18 Zilhicce 979, 2 May 1572). As for the construction of the first minarets, see BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 12, *hüküm* 1211, 17 Zilhicce 979 (1 May 1572).

⁴³ "Kubrus", (A. H. de Groot ed.), in *IE*², vol. 5, p. 304.

tably this duality was of great significance: as emerges from Ottoman documents conserved at the monastery of Kykko, the Cypriot clergy were adept at defining and redefining their own political middlemen depending on circumstances and requirements and did not hesitate in sending representatives to Istanbul to protect their interests, thus avoiding the mediation of local government, consisting of the *beğlerbeği*. In reality, the strategy of avoiding confrontation with the local political middleman and instead trying to create a dialogue with the superior authorities, went through different phases and gradations: in 1572 the hegumen of Çiqo (Kykko) went to the *beğlerbeği* of Nicosia about a controversy in the jurisdiction of the *nâbi* of Lefqa.⁴⁴ However, just eleven years later a group of monasteries, which were also acting on behalf of some of the subjects, managed to send a representative to the same capital, until finally the sultan intervened on the subject of abuses perpetrated by taxmen collecting agricultural revenue.⁴⁵ On this occasion, an order was sent from Istanbul to the *beğlerbeği* and to the *defterdâr* of Cyprus, officially asking them to verify that the tenancy of the land in which the tax revenue was the object of contention had effectively been assigned to the protesting communities, and to ascertain whether the taxes had been accurate during the previous decade. The final admonition, in which the sultan hoped that similar protestations would not be repeated, possibly meant that there were other episodes in which local communities appealed to sublime imperial justice to defend them from local abuses, or to confer a superior legitimacy to their political action in the territory. What can be understood from the sources consulted is that on Cyprus the clergy was the first to seek a middleman from off the island who was superior to the *beğlerbeği*.

Analyses of documents conserved at the monastery of Kykko throws new light onto the phenomenon of the sale of ecclesiastical assets, occurring in the Ottoman Empire by the order of Selim II and legally supported by the promulgation of a *fetva* by Ebussu'ud Efendi.⁴⁶ According to the most recent interpretations, this edict, jointly motivated by an urgent need for liquid assets on the eve of action in Cyprus, offered

⁴⁴ I. P. Theoharidis, *Οθωμανικά έγγραφα 1572–1839*, vol. 1. Nicosia 1993, p. 3, doc. 1, Safer 980 (July 1572).

⁴⁵ *Ivi*, p. 9, doc. 4, 21 Muharrem 991 (14 February 1583).

⁴⁶ J. C. Alexander, (Alexandroupolos), *The Lord gives and the Lord takes away: Athens and the confiscation affair of 1568–1969*, in The National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute for Byzantine Research, *Mount Athens in the 14th–16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, pp. 149–200.

some monasteries the possibility of reaching more stable and permanent juridical formulations regarding their property, the tenancy of which had been theirs for centuries.⁴⁷ Selim II imposed the sale of properties run by monasteries throughout the entire Empire, with the clause that they could then be repurchased by the highest bidder. This often turned out to be the monasteries themselves, with whom the sum to be paid was always negotiated. In the case of the communities of Mount Athos, however, as in that of other monastic establishments, negotiations also included a redefinition of how individual monasteries could formulate the ownership rights of the properties in question. In particular, the monks decided that the property was not so much for individuals, but the entire community, a fact that simplified problems of succession, protected the properties from possible interference and at the same time acknowledged the monasteries as both individual entities and plural middlemen. It should not surprise us that this arrangement met with resistance on the part of the provincial Ottoman authorities.⁴⁸ However, there was also discontent amongst the monks, to such an extent that the Venetian *bailo*, though a prisoner, made sure that an invitation to mobilise 'against the common enemy', constituting the tyrant Selim II, reached the patriarch of Constantinople on the eve of the battle of Lepanto, a concomitant proposal that remained unheeded.⁴⁹ It would now be appropriate to consider if and how the confiscation edict was applied on Cyprus. We have already seen that immediately after the war, banishing Christian subjects from Lefqôşa and Mâğôşa constituted a priority for the security of Ottoman rule on the island. This measure, along with the sale of numerous properties, was also part of the process of selling property on the entire island after it had been conquered.⁵⁰ This latter process had nothing to do with the *fetva* and its consequences, but the peculiar circumstances of the Cypriot province ensured that the two incidents were intersected, albeit in different times and ways.

In particular, the monasteries did not suffer the same fate as the numerous churches and their respective assets standing within the city walls. We have to wait until 1586 before discovering the effective nomination of an agent employed to sell ecclesiastical properties, in

⁴⁷ Ivi, p. 168.

⁴⁸ Ivi, p. 169.

⁴⁹ Tsipanlis, *La posizione della comunità...* cit., in Tiepolo e Tonetti, *I Greci...* cit., p. 140.

⁵⁰ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, *hüküm* 135, 24 Ramazan 980 (28 January 1583).

the person of Abuzâde Ahmed Çavuş (*evqâfı furukhtuna me'mûr olân Abuzâde demekle ma'aruf olân Ahmed Çavuş*).⁵¹ At this stage the bishops (*pisqôpôlar*) must have already interfered considerably in the sales, because two years later we find them legitimated by being appointed *mültezîm*.⁵² There are many participants involved on five different juridical levels: the Şey'lülislâm, whose *fetva* constituted initiating the process; Abûzâde Ahmed Çavuş, put in charge by the central government of selling ecclesiastical properties, which were sold for a total of 700,000 *akçe* to the bishops; in turn the bishops, holding the deed (*iltizâm*) of sale, represented the nexus between the seller (the State) and the purchasers. The presence of the *mültezîm* not only demonstrated the Ottoman State's need to be able to dispose of a vast sum in a short space of time, but, dealing specifically with the bishops, also highlighted the Cypriot clergy's plan of 'independently' managing the redistribution of property without running the risk of seeing it put into the hands of potentially higher bidders. In other words, the fact that the *mültezîm* were bishops indicates a preferential line of local acquisition, but we could add that it also gave them the control of attributing properties to one monastery or to another. The *re'âyâ* who wanted to repurchase their property, whether in the city or in the countryside, could not or perhaps did not know how to take advantage of this right to pre-emption and they often found themselves exposed to the abuses of the military. In the case of the monasteries, it is also interesting to see that the archbishop of Lefqôşa could not or did not want to take on the role of *mültezîm* alone, sharing it instead with other bishops, which probably permitted a more widespread control of the island. We can also deduce that the negotiation process between the bishops and the monks was not without dissension: properties belonging to the monastery of Kykko, for example, were initially valued at 150,000 *akçe*, but we know from a document of 1586 that the bishops, following deferred payment, tried to raise the price, asking Gregory, the head of the monastic community in Kykko, to come up with 100,000 *aspri* more.⁵³ The entrepreneurial hegumen, however, did not agree and went before the governor and the treasurer of Cyprus, asking that the price of the *evqâf* be returned to the amount originally established: the properties included buildings, vineyards, orchards and

⁵¹ Theoharidis, Οθωμανικά έγγραφα 1572–1839... cit., pp. 16–17, doc. 7, Safer 994 (February 1586).

⁵² Ivi, pp. 22–25, d. 10, Safer 997 (February 1588).

⁵³ Ivi, pp. 16–17, doc. 7, Safer 994 (February 1586).

some mills (already the object of contention between the communities of Kykko), along with some private properties,⁵⁴ silver, grain and barley all for a sum of 150,000 *akçe*, part of which had already been handed over to Abûzâde Ahmed Çavuş. Two years later another document attested that the sum equivalent to the value of the *evqâf* of Kykko, 120,000 *akçe*, plus interest (7,000 *akçe*), had been paid by the hegumen Gregory to the bishops in exchange for ownership rights to these properties. Still, these inevitable snags did not hinder the process or the desire to redistribute a vast sum of properties within and not beyond the perimeter of the clergy: in 1589 a Muslim subject by the name of Qurd Subâşî stated that he had paid Abûzâde Ahmed Çavuş to guarantee him ownership of the church of Ayô Niqôlô, probably an abandoned Latin complex, and its surrounding land. Seeing as the monks of Kykko laid claim to this property, like all those belonging to the Catholic Church, the governor of Cyprus himself intervened to protect the interests of the powerful monastery. He asked the *qâdî* of Hîrsôqi to invite Qurd Subâşî to give up any claim for that land, seeing as Gregory had paid for it before him.⁵⁵ The monks of Kykko then hastened to send some religious figures to Ayô Niqôlô to give the impression that this was a thriving community and above all under the auspices of Kykko. In the aforementioned 16th-century list we can perhaps identify Ayô Niqôlô in the monastery of Ayâ Niqôla İstami, an already fully functioning establishment.⁵⁶

What still has to be explained is why the assets of Kykko monastery were put up for sale by the Ottoman State at least a decade after the promulgation of the *fetva*, unlike the churches of Mâğôsa and many other properties on the island. Naturally, it may not be the case that just because the assets in question were put up for sale, about which we possess official documentation, they were necessarily sold within a short space of time, as we do not know precisely when this occurred. The very presence of the *mültezîm* possibly indicates an attempt to speed up a rather long and contentious process, particularly as it was taking place in a recently conquered territory in which, in the eyes of the newcomers, ownership rights to movable and immovable assets were still uncertain. As for every *iltizâm*, people were needed to nurture their own interests in the venture, though these had to be compatible with those of

⁵⁴ Ivi, pp. 2–3, doc. 1, Safer 980 (July 1572).

⁵⁵ Ivi, pp. 26–27, doc. 11, Cûmaziülevvel 997 (March 1589).

⁵⁶ BOA, *Mâliyyeden Müdevver, defter* 8428, pp. 356–358.

the Court. Thus the double negotiation, first between the Ottoman State and the *mültezîm*, then between the latter and the hegumens, must have taken up more time than expected, whereas the provincial government needed to expel the Christians and their clergy, thus relinquishing their ownership rights to the properties situated therein, from the fortress walls of Mâğôsa as soon as possible. Furthermore, immediately after the conquest, and right up to the sale, taxes not only on agricultural revenue coming from properties managed by Kykko monastery were part of a broader fiscal unit (*muqat'a*), into which the taxes that the State collected from the entire district poured. Therefore, before the sale, the Ottoman State anticipated exercising a tax imposition equal to that already employed on facilities tenanted by other Cypriot subjects. Documents testify to arguments about the right of tenancy that each litigant had claimed as their own since the Venetian epoch. The absence of Venetian documents attesting to a map of landed properties on the island and the departure of the aristocracy and the high clergy must have, in this sense, helped the remaining prelates and monks to broaden the boundaries of their own claims. On behalf of the Ottoman State, ecclesiastical figures sold properties that were possibly the subject of perpetual contention to other ecclesiastical figures. On a local level, this process must have assumed great importance, in the sense of a progression towards the certainty of entitlement, thus placing the reinstated Orthodox clergy in a legally unassailable and socially hegemonic position.⁵⁷

Conclusion

What happened to the slaves who guided their master from Famagosta to Voroklini? The documents examined do not allow us to follow their next steps: the Ottoman authorities were understandably more concerned with retracing the treasure than with the two girls and their brother, particularly as the three siblings had already managed to buy a ticket out of the sultan's territories and out of their slavery. Where did this journey lead to, if it is true that they undertook it? Undoubtedly, they headed towards Venice, the only place those of a noble Cypriot background could enjoy a semblance of social standing. In 1584 the

⁵⁷ On the further developments of this situation see Th. Papadopoulos, *Orthodox Church and Civil Authority*, in "Journal of Contemporary History", II, 4 (1967), pp. 201–209.

office of the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* compiled a list of 'gentildonne cipriote che habitano alla Zudeca'.⁵⁸ The request to increase the pension that they received from the Serenissima to the sum of 150 ducats had convinced the authorities to carry out a check. The list includes the names of many other Cypriot noble families: Pentasilea Costanzo, Creusa Vilasaut, Laura and Lucrezia de Nores. That the latter were the protagonists of our story is little more than conjecture. Certainly, if in 1576 the two Cypriot women had regained their freedom, thanks to the farsightedness of their father and their own initiative, and if in 1584 they were still alive, then they were in Venice, probably on the Giudecca, an island much closer to the city to which many Cypriot families owed the conservation of their social standing for a century.

⁵⁸ ASV, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, I series, b. 136, 27 February 1584.

PART FOUR

THE MEDITERRANEAN—ECUMENICAL COMMUNITIES
BETWEEN POLITICAL POWERS

MARITIME TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MEDITERRANEAN:
THE CASE OF THE SHIP GIRARDA (1575–1581)

BENJAMIN ARBEL

Introduction

The main protagonist of this study is a ship, bearing the name Sant'Antonio da Padova, but more commonly called Girarda, or Ghirarda, according to the Venetian custom of calling ships after their owners—in this case the Venetian entrepreneur Antonio Girardi, or Ghirardi (both forms appear in the documents). The ship was the subject of a dispute between the ship owner, Antonio Girardi—a Venetian citizen—and a partnership of Jewish entrepreneurs in Ottoman Istanbul. As it often happens in matters related to international maritime trade, the dispute could not be resolved without political contacts between governments. Thus, what had started as a private disagreement developed into a protracted crisis that added just another ingredient to the already complex relations between three major Mediterranean powers: the Ottoman Empire, Venice and Spain.

What follows is mainly based on Venetian sources. They include the correspondence between Venetian organs of government and the Venetian *Baili* (permanent representatives) in Istanbul, the Venetian ambassador in Spain and the Venetian secretary, or plenipotentiary, in Naples. Occasionally, copies of Ottoman documents (normally translated into Italian) also appear among these letters. Considering its protracted nature, its link to the highest echelons of government of several Mediterranean powers, one can expect that further research in other archives may produce more material on this affair. However, its main outlines can be followed on the basis of the material presented here. The first part of this paper is therefore essentially a reconstruction of the events, based on Venice's diplomatic correspondence. The second part includes a historical analysis of these developments and their contextualization within the larger framework of the Mediterranean world during the 1570s and early 1580s.

The unfolding of the affair

In the month of June 1576, a special envoy, the *Çavuş* Hasan, reached Venice, carrying with him a Sultanic letter (*name-i hümayun*) issued on 21 February 1576 (n.s.) by Sultan Murad III.¹ According to this document, Antonio Girardi, a Venetian ship-owner, had been sent with his ship to Istanbul by what seems to be a partnership including several of his Venetian relatives. In Istanbul he loaded 2,000 cantars of alum belonging to a partnership of two local Jewish entrepreneurs, Salomon son of Joseph and Salomon son of Jacob, to the value of 4,000 ducats, as well as other goods, promising to transport this cargo to Venice and deliver it to the agents of the two Istanbul merchants.² The ship was pledged as surety for the deal, which was legalized in the chancery of the Venetian *Bailo*, Antonio Tiepolo (*Bailo*: 1573–76). However, Girardi is claimed to have fraudulently taken the ship to Messina, where he sold the vessel and its cargo. Sultan Murad admonished the Republic that if it was really interested in the continuation of peace, it had to bring the culprits to trial, so that the Sultan's subjects would be compensated for their losses.

The formal letter presented the matter in a somewhat simplified manner, but the nature of the dispute had already been known in Venice for some time, and some of its details were specified in an IOU, dated 4 March 1575, which was also brought from Istanbul by the same *Çavuş* Hasan. According to this document, Antonio Girardi confessed owing Salomon Todesco [son of Joseph] two sums of money: 2,870 ducats and 4 aspers, and 582,003 *aspers* respectively.³ Part of this debt must have originated from a previous business deal,⁴ whereas another part could

¹ Archivio di Stato di Venezia [henceforth: ASV], Lettere e scritture turchesche [henceforth: LST], busta 3 (blue), old No.: A-2, ff. [blue] 81–82 (pencil numbering: ff. 93–94); ASV, Documenti Turchi, Inventario Bombacci, No. 530 (3° c. 127).

² Antonio Girardi has been erroneously described as Jew, see M.P. Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore. Inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia*, Venice 1994, p. 175. The same author states that the alum was purchased by Antonio's relatives in Venice, but the Sultanic letter cited here presents the affair differently. The Girardi, or Ghirardi, were, in fact, *Cittadini originarii* of Venice, one of whom even served as secretary of the Senate. The name of their ship, 'Sant'Antonio da Padova', also indicates their Christian identity, see ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci [henceforth: Cons. X], secreti, reg. 11, f. 138; ASV, Documenti Turchi, Inventario Bombacci, No. 498 (pencil numbering: 3° c. 96).

³ ASV, Documenti Turchi, Inventario Bombacci, No. 497 (pencil numbering: 3° c. 95), 4 March 1575.

⁴ According to Maria-Pia Pedani, at the root of the dispute was a deal between the Istanbul businessmen Salomon, son of Jacob Todesco and Salomon, son of Joseph Carai

have served as a further surety, besides the ship and the personal engagement of Girardi and his brother (the ship's clerk), for the consignment of the alum in Venice to the agents of the Istanbul merchants.

The mission of the *Çavuş* to Venice in June 1576 was in fact a measure taken after a series of contestations that had taken place in Istanbul for several months. The earliest reference to the dispute is to be found in a letter from the Venetian Senate to the *Bailo*, dated 12 May 1575.⁵ An attempt to regain their cargo was made by the Istanbul Jewish businessmen in August 1575, by bringing to court and causing the arrest of Gasparo Girardi, Antonio's cousin.⁶ But since this measure did not produce the expected result, the Jewish partnership, represented by Salomon Todesco, which seems to have had easy access to the Grand Vizier, used the latter to exert pressure on the two Venetian *Baili* (the outgoing *Bailo*, Antonio Tiepolo, and the new one, Giovanni Correr), as well as on the special Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, sent to Istanbul to congratulate Murad III on his accession to the throne.⁷ According to the dispatches of the Venetian diplomats, the Grand vizier, Mehmet Pasha, was always ready to collaborate with Todesco and his partners and, in disregard of the *Bailo*'s immunity, as guaranteed in the peace agreement with Venice, repeatedly sent his *çavuş* to the *Bailo*'s residence, demanding immediate compensation of the Jewish businessmen.⁸

on the one hand, and several members of the Ghirardi (or Girardi) family from Venice on the other hand, concerning gems given in surety by Antonio Girardi to the two Salomons, a dispute further complicated by the Girardi affair. See Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore*...cit., p. 175.

⁵ ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni Costantinopoli [henceforward: Delib. CP], reg. 4, f. 125, 21 May 1575. The Senate's reference to "quello Girardo debitore di Rabbi Salomon" may indicate that at this stage the Senate wrongly understood that the creditor was Dr. Salomon Ashkenazi, the Grand Vizier's physician and counselor, usually referred to in Venice's diplomatic correspondence as "Rabbi Salamon".

⁶ ASV, Capi del Cosiglio dei Dieci [henceforth: Capi X], Lettere da Costantinopoli [henceforth: Lettere CP], busta 4, Nos. 200–201 (12 Aug. 1575). Pedani, *In nome del gran Signore*...cit., p. 175. On 26 Nov. 1577, it was rumoured in Istanbul that the new *Bailo*, Nicolo Barbarigo, arrived with money from the Girardi family to ransom Girardi's son (probably referring to the son of Antonio's uncle), see ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 32 (25 Nov. 1577).

⁷ ASV, Capi X, busta 4, Nos. 200–201, 12 Aug. 1575. Cf. the similar tactics used by the Segura family in B. Arbel, *Trading Nations. Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden 1995, pp. 95–144.

⁸ On 9 March 1577 the *çavuş* claimed he had orders not to leave the *Bailo*'s mansion unless paid, but after being deprived of food and sleeping facilities he left, declaring he had no intention of dying on account of the Jews, having only a servant behind. But he returned the following day and was allotted a room normally reserved for the Janissaries. See ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 147v, 10 March 1577; on 26 May 1577, the *Bailo* reported about another visit of a *çavuş*, this time to bring him a summons to court. The *Bailo*

The prospect of another private dispute menacing the peace, achieved with great difficulty and a high price only a few years before, seriously worried the Venetian government. A criminal trial was therefore arranged in Venice against Antonio Girardi, and, according to a letter from the Senate to the *Bailo*, dated 31 December 1575, the Council of Forty for criminal affairs even issued a sentence against him.⁹ The Senate must have hoped that this would somehow assuage the Ottoman authorities, but, apparently, this was not the case.

The Girardi affair became one of the *Bailo's* main occupations for several years. Their reports concerning actions taken in this regard are instructive in several respects, not least for revealing the *Bailo's* ability to act within the Ottoman corridors of government. After hearing that the affair was brought before the Sultan, the *Bailo* decided to address Sultan Murad personally. The Sultan, however, decided to delegate the case to the *kadı* of Istanbul.¹⁰ According to formal agreements between Venice and the Porte, the Venetian diplomatic representatives were immune from judicial persecution for transgressions perpetrated by other Venetian subjects, yet this principle had not always been kept to the letter.¹¹ However, *Bailo* Giovanni Correr had already prepared himself for this eventuality as well. He succeeded in getting from the Mufti of Istanbul what he described as "a favourable declaration" concerning his own position with respect to the agreement signed in his chancery between the fugitive Venetian ship-owner and the local Jewish businessmen.¹²

replied he will send his interpreter instead, just as a demonstration of good will; see ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 152v; on 2 August the *Bailo* again reported about another visit of a *çavuş*, carrying another request to pay the money to the Todesco partnership; see *ibid.*, f. 157v; on 26 Dec. a *çavuş* appeared at the *Bailo's* house accompanied by one of the Todesco brothers, demanding a letter ordering that the ship be delivered to their agents in Venice, *ibid.*, 167v; on 18 and 19 June 1579 the *Bailo* reported about the appearance of a *çavuş* in his mansion on three consecutive days, with similar requests, *ibid.*, f. 221–221v; on 19 June 1579, the *çavuş* accompanied the Todeschi brothers and Salomon Ashkenazi, who had meanwhile raised his own financial claims for money disbursed by him in rescuing the Girarda, see Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 89; another visit of a *çavuş* in the *Bailo's* house is referred to in the Senate's letter to the *Bailo* on 14 January 1580 m.v. (= more veneto): Senato Delib. CP, reg. 6, f. 48.

⁹ ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 25v–26, 31 Dec. 1575.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 57, 13 Apr. 1577 [in response to the *Bailo's* letter related to these developments].

¹¹ Cf. Arbel, *Trading Nations*... cit., pp. 118–119.

¹² ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 57.

Back in Venice, the Senate was annoyed by the possibility of having the *Bailo* put on trial, and expressed its discontent in official letters addressed to the Sultan and to the Grand Vizier, instructing the *Bailo* at the same time to do his utmost to reverse this decision.¹³ At the beginning of September 1577, when a new *Bailo* was about to leave for Istanbul, he was also provided with letters to the Sultan and to the Grand Vizier in this regard.¹⁴ Eventually, neither *Bailo* Correr, nor his successor, Nicolò Barbarigo, was forced to appear in the *kadi's* court.

Meanwhile a dramatic turn of events occurred in southern Italy. According to a report of the Venetian envoy there, dated of 5 Sept. 1577, Antonio Girardi had been assassinated "by a few Muslims".¹⁵ No further details are provided, probably because neither the Venetian government nor the Ottoman Porte was really interested in the fate of the poor fellow. In fact, the Girarda crisis now had a life of its own, independent of its original perpetrator, since the Jewish businessmen were apparently not looking for personal vendetta, but rather for material compensation for their losses.

What seemed to be a beginning of a solution appeared only towards the end of 1577, that is about two years after Antonio Girardi's flight and well after the mission of the *Çavuş* Hasan to Venice, which did not succeed in solving the matter.¹⁶ The figure who was conducive in leading the affair towards a solution was the experienced Jewish physician, Dr. Salomon Ashkenazi, who had already proven himself to be a first rate secret adviser and behind-the-scenes expert in conflict management.¹⁷ According to his later testimony he was practically forced to step in, but this was a claim that was not raised until he himself had to confront the Todesco firm, when the Jewish entrepreneurs refused to compensate him for the expenses he incurred in repairing and liberating the Girarda in the Kingdom of Naples. Indeed, by force of an agreement that had been signed on 9 December 1577 between him and Salomon Todesco in the *Bailo's* house at Pera,¹⁸ the physician's agent in Venice, a certain Giacomo Pera, sent to the Kingdom of Naples a Corfiote shipmaster,

¹³ Ibid., ff. 57–59, 13 April 1577; ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 154, 3 June 1577.

¹⁴ ASV, Senato Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 75, 5 Sept. 1577.

¹⁵ ASV, Annali, f. 160.

¹⁶ ASV, Senato Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 41v, 6 July 1546.

¹⁷ See Arbel, *Trading Nations*... cit., pp. 77–94.

¹⁸ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 52.

called Alessandro Schilizzi, to take hold of the ship, repair it and return it to Venetian territory.

In the meantime, however, another development risked jeopardizing the whole operation. It transpired that before being assassinated, Antonio Girardi had sold half the shares of his ship to a Ragusan citizen, and the latter was reluctant to renounce what he considered to be his rightful ownership. The Venetian council of Ten, fearing new judicial complications in foreign territory, instructed the Venetian plenipotentiary in Naples to act quickly so as to assure a renunciation on the part of the said Ragusan of his claim to half of the ship, authorizing the Venetian representative to disburse, discreetly and unofficially, 1,500 ducats for this purpose. This was considered a reasonable price, in view of the ship's poor condition and the dubious character of the Ragusan's claim, for when the latter bought his half share, the ship had already been pledged to the Jewish partnership and its owner had already been declared a fugitive.¹⁹

Getting things under control in the Kingdom of Naples, dominated by Spain was not easily achieved by the Venetian representative. The Ragusan merchant was apparently not easy to please, which forced the Council of Ten to raise its offer by 300 ducats. According to the letter of the Venetian envoy, even Schilizzi, the Corfiote shipmaster in charge of salvaging the Girarda, was lagging behind with his assigned job. Schilizzi claimed that the condition of the Girarda, which had been moved for 16 months in the port of Taranto, had deteriorated tremendously. He described it as lying practically under water, and consequently, he encountered great technical difficulties in rendering it seaworthy again. In any case, as far as the Republic was concerned, the main consideration was not the cost of the repairs but getting the Todesco partnership off the *Bailo's* back. The Venetian secretary in Naples was therefore instructed to try and buy the ship himself as first priority, and only if local authorities insisted, to give a pledge for half the ship's share.²⁰ This was apparently not an easy task, since the Senate saw fit to ask the Venetian ambassador in Madrid to intervene as well, so as to prevent the delegation of the case to a local

¹⁹ ASV, Senato Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 65v, 5 Sept. 1577 (the Senate informs the *Bailo* about the Ragusan) Consiglio dei Dieci, Secreti [henceforth: X, Secreti], reg. 11, f. 148, 24 January 1577 m.v. (instructions of the Council of Ten).

²⁰ ASV, X, Secreti, reg. 11, ff. 150v, 154v (15 Feb. 1577 m.v. and 4 April 1578); *ibid.*, f. 177 (20 Dec. 1578); *ibid.*, 178v (10 Jan. 1578 m.v.); ff. 179v–180 (24 Jan. 1578 m.v.). For Schilizzi's letter from Taranto, describing his technical difficulties, see ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 53, 5 Aug. 1578.

court in the Kingdom of Naples. Only on 27 June 1578 could the Senate inform the *Bailo* about the success of its diplomatic efforts at the Spanish court, resulting in King Philip II's instruction to his Viceroy in Naples to liberate the ship and not acknowledge the claims of the Ragusan citizen.²¹

But that was still not the end of the affair. It must have been terribly frustrating for the Venetian government to confront new problems whenever it appeared that a final solution of the Girarda crisis was imminent. Thus, between July and November 1578, the *Bailo* was again pestered by the Jewish businessmen, who were pushing forward their demand to be compensated for the alum cargo; and in the Kingdom of Naples, Schilizzi claimed to be short of money to complete his repairs of the Girarda in the port of Taranto. Dr. Salomon Ashkenazi's agent in Venice was then encouraged by the Venetian authorities to send more money to Schilizzi.²² However, as already indicated, when asking the Todesco partnership for a refund of his expenses, the Jewish physician received a blunt refusal. The furious doctor then clarified that he intended to cause the ship to be mortgaged in his favour pending full satisfaction of this debt, which, as he claimed, amounted to 2,700 ducats.²³ And this, in turn, would have again prevented any appeasement of the Todesco partnership. Was there any hope at all to bring the crisis to an end? Apparently, Fortune was not smiling upon Venice during those years.

In any case, the Girarda must have finally left the Kingdom of Naples at the beginning of June 1579.²⁴ It is still unclear whether the ship actually reached Istria, its declared destination. What transpires from the Senate's letter to the *Bailo*, written on 29 July 1578, is another

²¹ ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 184. From this phrasing one can deduce that the deal that the secretary was empowered to reach with the Ragusan merchant did not come through.

²² ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 5, ff. 101 (14 Aug. 1578), 106 (12 Sept.), 112 (22 Nov.)

²³ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, Nos. 59–60 (2 Nov. 1578); *ibid.*, Nos. 85 & 89 (18–19 June 1579, with reference to earlier reports on the same in the *Bailo*'s letters dated 20 Set., 27 Oct. and 2 November).

²⁴ The Girarda was still in the Kingdom of Naples in January 1579. The repairs must have lasted a few more months, since in January 1578 m.v., the ship was still in the port of Taranto, as it transpires from the Council of Ten's deliberations of 20 December 1578 and 10 January 1578 m.v., see ASV, X, Secreti, reg. 11, ff. 177, 178v. The ship must have left that port shortly later, for the *Bailo* wrote on 18 June 1579 that he had received information through Dr. Ashkenazi that the ship had meanwhile reached Istria, a Venetian territory: ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 221.

unexpected event, which, as far as Venice was concerned was a real stroke of luck. According to the Senate's letter, The Girarda was wrecked when trying to enter the port of Venice. Its shipmaster, Schilizzi, however, had been prudent enough to insure it to the value of 4,000 ducats. It appears that the burden of compensating Todesco and Company now reverted to an unspecified insurance company.²⁵

But even that turn of events did not persuade the Todesco partnership to leave the *Bailo* in peace. Since the Girarda left Taranto without its original cargo, the Jewish businessmen demanded to nominate in the *Bailo*'s chancery an agent who would fetch the cargo from the Kingdom of Naples.²⁶ Thus, in October 1579 the affair still remained unsettled, and none of the persons involved seems to have been satisfied.

A new crisis arose at the beginning of October 1579, when Scassi, the *Bailo*'s official interpreter (*dragoman*), was arrested. But *Bailo* Nicolò Barbarigo, who in his letters accused the Todesco partnership of bribing the Grand vizier in order to renew the pressure on him, now turned to a counter-attack.²⁷ He refused to accept the correspondence of Jewish businessmen, which was normally sent with the *Bailo*'s courier to Venice. When Jewish merchants asked him to reconsider his move, the *Bailo* demanded that the Todesco brothers and Salomon Carai first be excommunicated by the Jewish rabbis.²⁸

In December 1579 the Porte intended to send the Çavuş Hasan on another mission to Venice, carrying a new letter concerning the same affair from Sultan Murad III to the Doge.²⁹ Hasan's presence in Venice is recorded in June 1580.³⁰ This time, however, he also carried a letter from the two *Kadiaskers*, the chief judges of the Ottoman empire, the contents of which can be inferred from the Senate's answer of 25 June, discarding three claims contained in it: according to the Senate's reply, *Bailo* Tiepolo's legalization of the agreement signed in his chancery between

²⁵ ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 143v (29 July 1579). It is noteworthy that the sum of 4,000 ducats was also the value of the alum, as reported in the above-mentioned Sultanic letter.

²⁶ The *Bailo* refused, but finally agreed that a power of attorney be stipulated elsewhere, only to be legalized by him *post factum*: ASV, Annali, f. 221v, 19 June 1579.

²⁷ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 79, 11 Oct. 1579. Scassi was liberated two days later, as can be learned from the Senate's decision of 21 November; see ASV, Senato Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 156v (21 Nov. 1579).

²⁸ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, No. 104, 13 Oct. 1579.

²⁹ ASV, LST, Inventario Bombaci, Nos. 610 (3° c. 88 or 86)—a letter recommending the Çavuş Hasan, 28 Dec. 1579; *ibid.*, 612 (8° c. 40)—letter to the Doge and Signory.

³⁰ Pedani, *In nome del gran Signore*... *cit.*, p. 207.

Antonio Girardi and the two Jewish businessmen did not entail any personal obligation on his part, exactly as similar attestation by Ottoman *kadıs* did not confer any personal obligation on theirs. Second, it was true that *Bailo* Tiepolo had collected money due to Antonio Girardi on account of a wool deal, but it was also true that the same money was later disbursed to Dr. Salomon Ashkenazi, as creditor of Antonio Girardi, in conformity with a sentence of the *kadı* of Pera. Finally, the Girardi and Cechinelli families in Venice did not place any surety for Antonio Girardi; on the contrary, Girardi owed them great sums of money, for jewels and other goods sent to him.³¹ Briefly, judging from the Senate's reply, the demands brought by the *Çavuş* on this second mission did not concern the ship *Girarda* anymore, but other claims somehow related to the *Girarda* affair.

Yet only at the beginning of January 1581 could the new *Bailo*, Paolo Contarini, inform the Council of Ten that the *Girarda* crisis came to a final solution, through a compromise arranged by Doctor Salomon Ashkenazi.³² Thus, after nearly six years, the affair of the ship *Girarda* came to a close. The rich documentation that it left behind in the Venetian archives allows us to make some general observations.

The Mediterranean dimensions of the Girarda crisis

It is impressive to discover how, for about six years, an affair involving one ship and a few merchants occupied governments and diplomats around the Mediterranean. The two Doges, Sebastiano Venier and Nicolo da Ponte and their Signory, Sultan Murad III and his two of his Grand Viziers, his two *Kadiaskers*, King Philip II, his Council of State and his Viceroy in Naples, Venetian ambassadors and *Baili* in Istanbul and Madrid, and even the French ambassador at the Porte, were all active in trying to solve the crisis.³³

³¹ ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 6, f. 31 (25 June 1580)

³² ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 6, f. 50 (19 Feb. 1580 m.v., with reference to the *Bailo*'s letters); ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 6, No. 1, 5 March 1581. The *Bailo* did report, however, that he gave 200 ducats to "Rabi Salamon" [presumably Dr. Salomon Ashkenazi] and 200 more to the Ottoman dragoman, Orem Bey. As early as 14 Feb. 1577 m.v., the Ten already informed the *Bailo* to transfer the 10,000 ducats that had been allotted by them in October for solving this crisis in CP to Corfu, to be spent there on the fortifications of the Venetian colony, see ASV, Cons. X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 152.

³³ ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 147 (the Venetian ambassador reports about his discussion with the King of Spain), 2 March 1577; *ibid.*, f. 148, the same reports about the

In fact, to understand the importance attributed both in Venice and Istanbul to the Girarda affair, we have to put it into the wider context of the complicated relationship between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire during those years. The affair of the ship Girarda risked jeopardizing the still unstable peace, reached with enormous efforts in 1573 after the long and bloody war over Cyprus. A new Sultan was reigning in Istanbul, and the huge sum of money that Venice was obliged to pay by the peace agreement had not yet been fully disbursed.³⁴ At the background of the Girarda affair, and not totally unrelated to it, were also the negotiations concerning the borders in Dalmatia and Venetian requests to regain territories occupied there by the Ottomans during the war of Cyprus; ongoing contacts concerning the mutual liberation of prisoners; attempts to curtail the commercial rivalry of Ancona in the trade between Italy and the Ottoman empire; efforts to abolish Ottoman restrictions on exportation of certain goods; and efforts to reach an armistice agreement between Spain and the Ottoman empire, in which Venice and the figures negotiating the Girarda affair, such as the ambassador, the *Baili*, the Grand Vizier, Salomon Ashkenazi, were all involved.³⁵ Besides, attempts by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the English Crown to secure a firm foothold for their respective merchants in Istanbul also threatened Venetian hegemony in the Levantine trade.³⁶ Such threats and the fears engendered by them could only increase in view of the assassination of the Grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmet (consid-

debate of the question in the council of state, and the decision to sequester the ship and its cargo but not to start legal procedures against Girardi before collecting sufficient evidence, 29 March 1577. See also ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 97, 11 Oct. 1579 (intervention of the French ambassador at the Porte).

³⁴ When in 1577 the newly elected *Bailo* chose as his secretary the Senate's secretary Giacomo Girardi, the council of Ten intervened, fearing that this would only add another complication to the already intricate and protracted affair whose conclusion was not yet assured, and chose Gabriel Cavazza to fill that office. See ASV, Cons. X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 138, 17 Sept. 1577.

³⁵ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2, London 1973, pp. 1143–1185; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. IV: *The Sixteenth Century*, Philadelphia 1984, pp. 1096–1098; ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 4, Nos. 200–201 (12 Aug. 1575), 215 (25 Aug. 1575), 217–223 (26 Aug. 1575); *ibid.*, busta 5, Nos. 19 (3 Feb. 1576), 122 (24 Dec. 1579), 206 (5 Jan. 1579 m.v.), 139–140 (26 Feb. 1579 m.v.; ASV, Annali 1574–79, ff. 63 (26 May 1575), 90 (20 Oct. 1575).

³⁶ S.A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582*. Oxford 1977; F. Diaz, *Il granducato di Toscana. I Medici*. Turin 1976; G. Galasso (ed.), *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 13, p. 251 ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 55 (25 Oct. 1578).

ered to be relatively favorable to the Republic), in 1578, and the renewal of war on the Persian front.³⁷

The Girarda affair should also be considered in the framework of Venice's repeated clashes with Spain, resulting from the sequestration of Venetian ships carrying on board Jews, Muslims and/or cargo belonging to them. It was not easy to handle claims of Ottoman Jews on a ship anchored in Spanish territory, where Jews and their property were not supposed to sojourn, and where Ottomans were considered as enemies. Indeed, during the same years in which the Girarda affair was being negotiated in Naples and in the Escorial, Venice was also trying to liberate the ship *Marinona*, which had been sequestered after seeking shelter from a storm in the port of Brindisi, with cargoes belonging to "Jews and Turks".³⁸

Maritime trade was particularly susceptible to such situations of crisis, since every single merchant vessel normally represented an investment of a large amount of capital, which could easily be carried away beyond the control of investors and their political protectors. The geopolitical situation of the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II and Murad III invited this kind of complications, considering, on the one hand, the tension between the Spanish and Ottoman empires, and on the other hand the proximity of their territories and the relative ease of crossing over to the other side: the Strait of Otranto, through which one could pass from Spanish to Ottoman territory and vice-versa is only 45–55 nautical miles wide (85–100 km). Also related to the maritime dimension of this crisis is the important function of maritime insurance, which provided at least a partial solution for the reimbursement of sums owed by Antonio Girardi to Todesco and Company.

Maritime trade between Venice and Istanbul was unimaginable without the formal treaties between the two states that formalized the conditions under which such trade could operate. Yet formal agreements could not prevent frauds by individuals, and when such frauds were considered a threat to vested interests of at least one of the parties concerned, the peace agreement was not respected to the letter. On the

³⁷ H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, London 1977, pp. 215–216.

³⁸ ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 151, 19 April 1577 (The Senate's instructions to the ambassador in Spain); *ibid.*, f. 152, 13 May 1577, (the ambassador in Spain writing to the Senate on this account); *ibid.*, f. 171, letter from Venetian ambassador in Spain concerning the seizure of a ship on its way to Ancona and the *Marinona*, 20 January 1577 m.v.

Ottoman side, the foremost interest in this sphere seems to have been the protection of Ottoman subjects against frauds committed by their foreign trading partners. Such transgressions were seen as an affront upon the Sultan himself.³⁹ The Girarda affair was not the first incident of its kind, as indicated by the Grand Vizier to the *kadı* of Istanbul, since a French ship had similarly escaped some time before from Alexandria to Naples.⁴⁰ In Istanbul it was deemed more important to prevent phenomena of this kind than to respect the diplomatic immunity of the Venetian *Bailo*. Consequently, ambassadors were not allowed to leave Istanbul, *Baili* were summoned to the *kadı*'s court and repeatedly harassed by official envoys of the Porte (*Çavuş*), who demanded that the *Baili* compensate Ottoman subjects for losses incurred as a result of commercial disputes with Venetian subjects.⁴¹

Venice's vested interests were threefold: in general terms, the commercial Republic was interested in allowing maritime trade to function smoothly, as the Senate wrote to the King of Spain in August 1575: "if such transgressions are left without punishment, trade of all nations would suffer great harm".⁴² This general interest was linked to two others, more specifically related to the Ottoman Empire: to maintain the peace, which had been achieved with so many sacrifices, and to protect the diplomatic immunity of its representatives in Ottoman lands.⁴³

Corruption seems to have played a central role in attempting to solve crisis situations. The Venetian representatives repeatedly emphasized their conviction that the troubles they had to undergo in this, as in other similar affairs, resulted from bribes offered to the pashas by the Jew-

³⁹ Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore*... cit., p. 176.

⁴⁰ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 4, Nos. 200–201, 12 Aug. 1575: "questo fuggire in terre aliene che haveva fatto questa nave Girarda era cosa di grandissima consideratione, havendo ancora fatto il medesimo un'altra nave francese fuggita s'Alessandria et andata a Napoli, per dove non era noleggiata".

⁴¹ S. Faroghi, *Before 1600: Ottoman Attitudes towards Merchants from Latin Christendom*, in "Turcica" 1 (1997), pp. 69–104, p. 77. For other transgressions of this article, see Arbel, *Trading Nations*... cit., 118–130 (Ambassador Cavalli and *Bailo* Soranzo during the Segura-Saruq dispute, 1567).

⁴² ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 146, 3 January 1576 m.v. (il danno che riceverebbe il negocio della mercantia di tutte le nationi in ogni parte, se non gli fosse dato il debito castigo).

⁴³ As phrased by the council of Ten in its instructions to the *Bailo* on 3 Oct. 1577: "perché con tal via si metterebbe disturbo nelli negotii delli principi, quando li loro representanti non fuseno sicuri dalle calunnie et vanie de particolari": ASV, Cons. X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 140v

ish merchants of Istanbul. Thus, the ambassador Jacopo Soranzo conveyed in 1575 rumours that the Salomon Todesco took upon himself the expenses for roofing a mosque that was being constructed at Pera under the patronage of Mehmet Pasha, to the amount of 2,000 ducats, in addition to half the sum he was hoping to wrest from the Venetians.⁴⁴ But the Venetians themselves also tried to win over Ottoman officials, including Mehmet Sokoli, on many occasions by offering presents and money.⁴⁵ In fact, defending the principle of the *Bailo's* immunity was much more important for Venice than accommodating the Jewish merchants of Istanbul, who, as Venice was ready to admit, were cheated by a Venetian citizen. In a secret order sent the *Bailo* in January 1577, he was allowed to spend between 10,000 and 20,000 ducats, that is more than what the Todeschi demanded, in "persuading" the Ottoman rulers to leave the *Bailo* alone.⁴⁶ The *Bailo* was not quick to spend the money, which was finally allotted to other purposes.⁴⁷

The dispatches of the *Baili* also allow us to unveil the tensions, fears and uncertainties that seem to have characterized the first years of Murad III's reign. Through the *Bailo's* trusted informants one gets a glimpse at the atmosphere at the centre of Ottoman power, when powerful pashas were afraid to rouse the anger of the young and still inexperienced Sultan. As *Bailo* Jacopo Soranzo put it: "There is instability now more than ever, and the Pasha [i.e. the Grand Vizier] is trying to satisfy everybody".⁴⁸ Some months later, when explaining to his government his compliance with the Sultan's decision to delegate the Girarda case to the *kadı* of Istanbul, the *Bailo* wrote: "I was also fearing to enrage a young ruler by opposing his decision; at the same time that these things happened he [refused to receive] the French ambassador, sending him

⁴⁴ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 4, Nos. 200–201, 15 Aug. 1575.

⁴⁵ During the Girarda affair, the Venetians offered the Grand vizier 5,000 ducats, but according to the *Bailo*, he responded by saying that he would not accept even 10,000: ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, Nos. 16–17, 28 Nov. 1576.

⁴⁶ ASV, Cons. X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 115, 5 Jan. 1576 mv.; on 3 Oct. 1577 the sum allotted to this scope was limited to 10,000 ducats, and the money expected to be collected from the sell of the Girarda and its cargo, was supposed to cover this sum, *ibid.*, f. 140v. The presents brought to the Pasha by the *Baili* were not considered as a bribe, of course, see, for ex. ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 5, No. 32, 26 Nov. 1577.

⁴⁷ ASV, Cons. X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 152.

⁴⁸ ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 147v, 10 March 1577 ("se mai ci fo instabilità vi è adesso, et S.M. vuol dare satisfattion a tutti").

always to the Grand Vizier, and many powerful figures were deposed and put under enquiry and trial for different reasons since my arrival".⁴⁹

Another interesting facet of this affair concerns its repercussions in different legal milieus. As already noted, Antonio Girardi was put on trial in Venice *in absentia*, although the details of this judicial case still remain obscure. Yet Venice refused to the demand transmitted by the Ottoman *Çavuş* in 1576, to force Girardi's relatives in Venice to reimburse the fugitive's debts. As long as no proof was produced of their association with Antonio's affairs or of their involvement in his escape, the Republic refused to give in to Ottoman pressure to bringing them to trial or to send them to Istanbul.⁵⁰

When the *Bailo* claimed that he was not to be held responsible for the misconduct of private Venetian merchants, Sultan Murad III decided to relegate the decision to the *kadı* of Istanbul. As Uriel Heyd explained some time ago, the Ottomans preferred to leave judicial decisions, including those based on the secular legislation of the Sultans, in the hands of *kadis*.⁵¹ In this case this policy must have coincided with a wish to ward off the pressure exerted by the merchants on the Divan, and to get rid of their repeated vociferous appeals, so vividly described in the *Bailo's* letters.⁵² From the Venetian point of view this was a risky procedure, since the *kadı* was not necessarily bound by an obligation to respect his diplomatic immunity.⁵³ Another interesting aspect arising from one of the *Bailo's* report is the Grand vizier's attempt, reported by the *Bailo*, to instruct the *kadı* how to proceed in this case, by trying to persuade him to impose a fine of 13,000 ducats on the Venetian ambassador and *Baili* as a deterrent against similar frauds.⁵⁴ No less interesting

⁴⁹ ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 152v, 26 May 1577: "Dubitai anche irritar un Sig.r giovane con oppormi alla sua deliberatione, et scrissi in quel medesimo tempo ch'egli havea mandato l'ambasciator di Franza sempre dal bassà, et quanti homeni grandi sono sta' deposti doppo ch'io son qui, tutti ha remessi da esser inquiriti et giudicati, chi a questo et chi a quello".

⁵⁰ ASV, Senato, Delib. CP, reg. 5, f. 41v, 6 July 1576.

⁵¹ U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973, pp. 215–219.

⁵² E.g. ASV, Annali 1574–79, f. 221, 18 June 1579 ("gridando nel Divano: alla giustitia, alla giustitia, fin al sangue, fin al sangue et fino alla morte voremo vederla").

⁵³ The *Bailo* Soranzo considered this arrangement as the lesser evil, but the Senate was extremely preoccupied and ordered him to do his utmost to prevent his being summoned before the *kadı*, see ASV, Annali 1574–79, p. 150, 13 April 1577.

⁵⁴ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 4, Nos. 200–201, 12 Aug. 1575: "Onde chi non provedesse con qualche straordinaria dimostratione saria causa che la robba delli musulmani et altri sudditi del S.or andaria in preda con grande facilità, et però che facesse una

is the *Bailo's* success in obtaining from the *müftü* a statement, which he intended to use only as a last recourse, as well as the indirect contact established between the *kadı* of Istanbul and the *Bailo*, through his *dragoman*, by which the *kadı* reported to the *Baili* his conversation with the Grand Vizier.⁵⁵ Finally, the direct and official correspondence between the Signory and the two *Kadıaskers*, the chief judges of the Ottoman Empire, concerning judicial matters related to the Girardi affair is also worthy of notice. The channels of communication between Venetians and Ottomans, both on private and on official levels, were apparently quite diversified. Maria-Pia Pedani has tracked over sixty Ottoman diplomatic missions to Venice during the sixteenth century,⁵⁶ and the Venetian *Baili* and ambassadors in Istanbul, as well as Venetian consuls in Syria and Egypt were constantly in touch with various representatives of Ottoman state and society, and their reports on the Ottoman world are unique in their richness and detail. There was certainly no other Western state with such a developed system of communication with the Ottoman world as the Venetian Republic.

Considering that the Girarda dispute was essentially one between Ottoman and Venetian subjects, a judicial solution was a complicated matter indeed. It became even more so, when the ship anchored at Taranto in southern Italy and a Ragusan citizen claimed to have shares in it. It was now up to the Spanish authorities to decide how to proceed in this matter, and for a while it seemed, to Venice's consternation, that the case would be relegated to a Neapolitan court. The Spanish Council of State was not in a hurry, preferring to collect sufficient evidence before deciding to bring Ghirardi to trial. Antonio Girardi's death provided a comfortable solution, and the Viceroy in Naples was then instructed to let the Venetians take care of the ship,⁵⁷ after declaring the case to be "an

sententia contra di me Ambasciator et contra il *Bailo* de ducati 13,000 venetiani a favor de Salamon Todesco, per li sudditi della sopradetta nave fuggita."

⁵⁵ ASV, Capi X, Lettere CP, busta 4, Nos. 200–201 (12 Aug. 1575)

⁵⁶ Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore*... cit., p. 2.

⁵⁷ The Venetian secretary in Naples, Antelmi, and Salomon Ashkenazi's agent, Pera, or more precisely Pera's agent, the shipmaster Schilizzi, were the figures who took care of the repairs of the Girarda, which was already in a rather bad condition, before they could arrange its sailing to Venetian territory. See, for example the reference to Secretary Antelmi's report of 5 Sept. 1577 in ASV, Annali, f. 160, and Senate's letter of the same day to the Grand Vizier, promising that the Venetian secretary in Naples would assist agents of the Todeschi who would come to Naples to deal with the liberation of the ship, *ibid.*, 160v. The same letter includes a report about the murder of Antonio Girardi. Further references can be found *ibid.*, f. 168, 7 Dec. 1577.

affair of State", enabling the political authorities to forego normal legal procedures in the name of State interests.⁵⁸

All three Mediterranean powers attributed great importance to legal procedures in their own territories, which not only reflected the concept of territorial and jurisdictional sovereignty, but also allowed them to exert their influence in a more indirect and discrete manner. But all three regimes were also ready to apply other means, when needed, to defend their vested interests. Their *modus operandi* is a consequence of tension between vested interests of the different powers involved, and a general interest not to let the crisis deteriorate into a full scale confrontation. What seems to have kept this tension in balance was the importance attributed by all parties to maritime trade.

In fact, the Girarda carried a cargo of alum, which brings us to an economic aspect of this affair. The history of alum production and trade in medieval and early modern times has enjoyed new interest in recent years.⁵⁹ Yet no sufficient attention has been given, I believe, to the growing demand for Ottoman alum on the part of Venetian industries during the sixteenth century. During that century, Venice became Italy's foremost industrial centre, and its textile and leather industries were in need of growing quantities of alum of various sorts and qualities. Admittedly, the Papacy was trying to impose a ban on the acquisition of Ottoman alum, aiming at forcing Catholic states to acquire alum from the Tolfa mine in the Papal States. The fact that several Christian powers, including Venice, ignored the papal ban has already been observed, but scholars tend to accept Delumeau's opinion that the amount of alum exported from Ottoman territories westwards during the sixteenth century were rather small.⁶⁰ My preliminary impression from the still patchy but consistent evidence is that Venice not only ignored papal bans in this regard, preferring to import alum from the east rather than from the port of Civitavecchia, from which the Tolfa alum was normally shipped, but

⁵⁸ As was specified in the instructions of the Council of Ten to the Secretary in Naples, ASV, Cons X, Secreti, reg. 11, f. 149, 24 Januray 1577 mv.

⁵⁹ See J. Delumeau, *L'alun de Rome*. Paris 1962; S. Faruqi, *Alum Production and Alum Trade in the Ottoman Empire (about 1560–1830)*, in "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", 71 (1979), pp. 153–175; G. Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVI^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 2004, pp. 323–341; *L'alun de Méditerranée. Colloque international, Naples-Lipari, juin 2003*, Napoli-Aix-en Provence 2005. (Collection Jean Bérard, No. 23).

⁶⁰ Delumeau, *L'alun de Rome*... cit., pp. 52–53, 181–205. Cf. Faruqi, *Alum Production*, ... cit., p. 165, n. 50; Poumarède, *Pour en finir*... cit., p. 340.

also that the quantities involved were rather large. As a matter of fact, Venetian ships had little to do around Civitavecchia apart from loading alum, whereas in the area of the Aegean, where Ottoman alum could be found, there were many other business opportunities that could be combined with the importation of this precious mineral. Thus, alum could serve as ballast on the return journey, with other types of merchandise moving eastwards and westwards on board the same vessels.⁶¹ It should be noted that another big crisis that was jeopardizing relations between Venice and the Porte had also to do with the shipment of large quantities of alum from Ottoman territories to Venice in the 1560s.⁶² On that occasion Jewish entrepreneurs were holding in lease the alum mines of Maronia and Goduz, and it is interesting to note that in the case of the Girarda, less than a decade later, other Jewish businessmen in Istanbul were again involved in shipping this mineral to Venice. Thus, a single shipment of alum imported by Hayyim Saruq into Venice in the 1560s was roughly equivalent to the entire yearly production of the Phocaea mines in the mid-fifteenth century, and only slightly less than the yearly yield of the Tolfa mines between 1566 and 1578.⁶³

From the perspective of Jewish history the affair of the Girarda offers still another proof for the importance of Jews in the trade between the Ottoman Empire and Venice and other centres in Italy during those decades. As a matter of fact this phenomenon characterized the greater part of the sixteenth century, and was not confined to Istanbul, but could also be encountered in Syria, Egypt and the Balkans. The Girarda affair reconfirms the main features of this development, which have already been presented elsewhere,⁶⁴ emphasizing once again the impressive accessibility of Jewish merchants to the centres of Ottoman power, and their use of this ability to push forward their business interests and assure, when necessary, full political and diplomatic protection on the part of the Ottoman state. One is also impressed by the consistent attitude of the Ottoman rulers in providing political backing to their Jewish entrepreneurs on various occasions.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 339.

⁶² Arbel, *Trading Nations*... cit., pp. 104–108.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 106–107.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ To the two examples already mentioned—the Hayyim Saruq bankruptcy, when the Porte supported the Segura, the present crisis around the Girarda, when the Ottomans were backing the partnership of the Salomon and Israel Todesco and Salomon Carai,

Scholars specializing in the history of the Islamic Orient often express their reserve concerning the use of Western sources for the study of the Islamic East, including, of course, the Ottoman Empire. Testimonies on Eastern realities originating in the West are often considered as biased, distorted or utterly unreliable. The premises and success of the anti-Orientalist campaign rooted in Edward Said's famous book further enhanced such convictions. Although this stand can often be shown to be justified, the systematic exclusion of Western sources for the study of the Islamic Levant seems to be too high a price. After all, one has to admit that every source, of whatever provenance, has its own limitations that have to be taken into consideration, and Ottoman sources too are not always reliable testimonies for Ottoman realities.⁶⁶ On the other hand, there are periods and subjects for which Eastern sources in general, and Ottoman ones in particular, are relatively scarce and limited in nature,⁶⁷ compared to Western sources, and particularly to Venetian ones, which often also contain copies and even originals of Ottoman documents, and are the product of long and intensive contact and acquaintance with the Ottoman world. This is particularly true when dealing with international maritime trade, including its political and institutional repercussions, as I hope to have demonstrated in the present paper, despite a certain bias that undoubtedly results from the reliance on sources mainly preserved in the Venetian archives.⁶⁸

Finally, a last word on Antonio Girardi. We would probably never have encountered his name had he not fled with his ship from Istanbul to the Kingdom of Naples. Throughout the present paper it was taken for granted that he was a crook, since none of the parties concerned (except him, of course) doubted this fact. His tragic end will probably also prevent us from ever getting to his version of the affair. But shouldn't we grant him at least the benefit of doubt?

one can add the backing given to Joseph Nassi in his financial dispute with the King of France, leading to sequestration of French ships in Alexandria, see *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Faruqi, *Before 1600... cit.*, p. 71.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–74.

⁶⁸ For a different opinion, see *ibid.*, p. 72.

LA LINGUA FRANCA : UN OUTIL DE COMMUNICATION

DANIEL PANZAC

Du XVI^e au début du XIX^e siècle, les Européens présents au Levant et en Barbarie sont avant tout des diplomates en poste dans l'Empire ottoman, ambassadeurs et consuls, mais aussi des négociants, des navigateurs et des voyageurs. Les premiers disposent d'interprètes officiels, les drogman, et les derniers recrutent sur place des drogman occasionnels¹. Par contre, les autres, quotidiennement conduits à entrer en relations avec des sujets du Grand Seigneur, doivent trouver d'autres solutions. Les négociants établis dans les échelles pratiquant uniquement le commerce de gros à l'exportation comme à l'importation emploient des courtiers ottomans, généralement recrutés parmi les sujets minoritaires de l'Empire, Arméniens, Grecs et Juifs. Ils leur servent d'intermédiaires avec les marchands locaux car ils connaissent à la fois le turc ou l'arabe mais également la langue de leur employeur. Ce dernier par contre, en cas de différend avec les autorités locales, a alors recours au drogman de son consulat.

A part certains marchands, les autres Européens concernés sont principalement les capitaines des navires marchands qui pratiquent la caravane maritime. Cette expression désigne le grand cabotage effectué en Méditerranée entre les ports de l'Empire ottoman par des bâtiments de commerce européens au profit d'affréteurs sujets du sultan. L'établissement du contrat d'affrètement entre les deux parties a lieu dans la chancellerie du consulat dont relève le navire et ses clauses sont débattues et réglées entre le capitaine et l'affréteur grâce à l'entremise de l'interprète, le drogman, qui guide en quelque sorte la main du chancelier sur son registre. Mais une fois à bord, amariné ou non, astreints durant de longues semaines à un séjour inconfortable sur des navires de dimensions le plus souvent modestes, au milieu d'hommes d'équipage qui leur sont étrangers par les mœurs, la religion et la langue, les voyageurs ottomans ont à résoudre un problème crucial : comment communiquer avec eux ? Il ne s'agit évidemment pas d'entamer des discussions théologiques ou

¹ F. Hitzel (éd.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, Paris 1997.

politiques, mais s'enquérir des prochaines escales, s'inquiéter du temps à venir, se procurer de l'eau, se plaindre de l'entassement, apaiser de petits différends, se soucier de la cargaison, bref obtenir des réponses simples à des inquiétudes légitimes et de résoudre quotidiennement les divers problèmes matériels suscités par le voyage et la promiscuité qui règne à bord. Or, ce moyen de communication existe, c'est la *lingua franca*.

Apparue vraisemblablement au XV^e siècle dans les principaux ports de Méditerranée orientale où étaient établies d'importantes colonies de marchands italiens, elle gagne la Méditerranée occidentale à partir du XVI^e siècle. L'implantation, en Afrique du Nord, de présides hispaniques, temporaires ou définitifs, la présence sans cesse croissante d'esclaves ainsi que de renégats européens, en grande majorité originaires des rives septentrionales de la Méditerranée, tout comme l'extension du commerce maritime, favorisent le développement et l'usage de ce que l'on peut qualifier de langue de nécessité. Cela signifie que les membres de chaque communauté linguistique parlent entre eux leur propre langue, mais qu'ils peuvent utiliser cet idiome quand le besoin d'entre en contact avec des représentants d'un groupe différent se fait sentir. En ce sens, seule une petite minorité, amenée pour des raisons professionnelles à entrer en contact avec des étrangers, est à même d'avoir recours à elle.

La *lingua franca* est considérée comme le pidgin en usage en Méditerranée du XVI^e au début du XIX^e siècle². On appelle ainsi une langue générée de façon spontanée par un mélange d'autres langues dont l'une au moins domine largement les autres et sert de moyen de communication entre des locuteurs parlant des langues différentes. A noter que les pidgins peuvent se transformer en langues à part entière et devenir des langues maternelles dans certaines populations : ce sont alors des langues créoles³. Bon nombre de voyageurs européens ont d'ailleurs évoqué cette langue franque « baragouin facile et plaisant » comme l'écrit le Père Dan en 1635, et que Charles Etienne de La Condamine définit de façon plus précise en 1731 :

Le Mauresque est la langue du pays [*régence d'Alger*]. Les Turcs parlent turc entre eux, mais la langue dont se servent les uns et les autres pour se faire entendre aux Européens est ce qu'on appelle la Langue Franque. On dit qu'on la parle dans tout le Levant et dans tous les ports de la Médi-

² Le mot pidgin serait la déformation chinoise du mot anglais business.

³ J. Wansbrough, *Lingua franca in the Mediterranean*, Richmond 1996.

terrannée, avec cette différence que celle qui est en usage du côté Est plus en avant vers le Levant est un mélange de provençal, de grec vulgaire et surtout d'Italien corrompu, au lieu que celle que l'on parle à Alger, et qu'on appelle aussi Petit Mauresque, tient beaucoup plus de l'Espagnol.

En 1830, peu avant le départ de l'expédition d'Alger, un éditeur marseillais publie un « Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers à l'usage des Français en Afrique »⁴. L'auteur, anonyme, précise que :

La langue franque ou petit mauresque [...] est encore employée par les habitants des villes maritimes, dans leurs rapports avec les Européens. Cet idiome, qui ne sert qu'aux usages familiers de la vie, et aux rapports commerciaux les moins compliqués, n'a ni orthographe, ni règles grammaticales bien établies ; il diffère même sur plusieurs points suivant les villes où il est parlé. [...]

Si la base de la lingua franca est l'italien, on relève des apports d'importance variable tirés de l'espagnol, du français, du provençal, de l'arabe et du turc. En respectant l'orthographe du Dictionnaire, voici, à titre d'exemple, les mots provenant de l'arabe :

Armoire : casana
 Artichaut : carchouf
 Baril : barmîl
 Bât : srija (maghrébin)
 Berger : raï
 Bride : eskima
 Citron : limoun
 Diable : chetan
 Etrenne : bakchich
 Fou : maboul
 Garnison : nouba
 Hameau : douar
 Janissaire : yoldach (turc)
 Jujube : aneb
 Langouste : papas

⁴ Cifoletti, *La lingua franca mediterranea*, Padoue 1989, pp. 71–150. La préface du dictionnaire se termine ainsi : « Notre recueil facilitera les communications des Français avec les habitants du pays sur lequel ils vont combattre, et avec son aide, il n'est aucun de nos compatriotes qui ne puisse se passer d'interprète, et en servir au besoin ».

Malheureux : meskin
 Marché : fondouk
 Miroir : mareïa
 Mûre (fruit) : tout
 Nègre : ousif
 Peste : abouba (maghrébin)
 Pistache : festouk
 Portefaix : piskeri (de Biskra)
 Printemps : roubié
 Riz : rouss
 Serviette : fouta
 Vestibule : skifa

Inversement, des termes d'origine italienne sont passés dans l'arabe, vraisemblablement par l'intermédiaire de la lingua franca, car il s'agit de termes relevant de la navigation et du commerce. Le meilleur exemple est celui de la chronique d'un négociant de Tripoli de Libye, Hasan al-Faqih Hasan qui, bien que rédigé en arabe au XIX^e siècle, comporte un certain nombre de ces vocables⁵ :

Bûlissiya : police de chargement
 Barcû : barque
 Brikanti : brigantin (type de navire)
 Duganire : douanier
 Kuntrâtû : contrat
 Karantîna : quarantaine
 Kûmissyiûn : commission
 Kunsûl : consul
 Nûlû : nolis (affrètement)

Il s'agit d'une langue uniquement parlée qui cherche à obtenir le meilleur rendement de communication en utilisant les termes les plus élémentaires entre des gens parlant des langues différentes. C'est donc une langue très simplifiée, tant dans son vocabulaire que dans sa grammaire, avec des normes et une structure clairement reconnaissables mais jamais

⁵ N. Lafi, *La langue des marchands de tripoli au XIX^e siècle: langue franque et langue arabe dans un port méditerranéen*, dans J. Dakhli (éd.), *Trames de langues. Usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 2004, pp. 215-222.

vraiment définies. C'est une langue très souple qui évolue sans peine et se plie sans effort aux influences locales dominantes. Le dictionnaire de 1830 recense 2113 mots avec de nombreux doublons dus, par exemple, aux deux versions, espagnole et italienne, du même mot : *parlar/ablar*, *molto/mucho*, *testa/cabesa*, *dona/moukera*, *laborar/trabarar*. Le pluriel des mots, substantifs ou adjectifs, n'existe pas, pas plus que la distinction entre masculin et féminin. Le dictionnaire de 1830 mentionne les pronoms, mais ils sont souvent éliminés de même que les prépositions. Les verbes ne sont utilisés qu'à l'infinitif et leur terminaison est soit en *ar*, soit en *ir*. Employé seul, il exprime l'impératif mais aussi le présent et l'imparfait. Le futur et le conditionnel sont généralement rendus avec l'aide de *bisogno* qui précède le verbe. Il n'existe qu'un seul auxiliaire, *star*, être, car avoir, *avir* ou *tenir*, signifie seulement la possession. La subordination s'exprime soit par une simple juxtaposition, soit par quelques conjonctions, comme *si* ou *se*, *quando* ou *birké*. Enfin on double l'adverbe lorsqu'on veut insister sur l'importance d'un acte ou d'une observation.

On ne possède pas, et pour cause, de textes originaux importants écrits en lingua franca. Toutefois, dans les années 1824–1825, la correspondance du consul du royaume de Piémont-Sardaigne à Tripoli rapporte quelques phrases prononcées dans cette langue par le pacha Yusuf Karamanli qui, manifestement, la connaissait. Il s'agit d'un différend à propos d'un changement de consul effectué sans le versement de la donative traditionnelle.

Mi conoscer ti aver bona cabesa, piro Re Sardinia mandar sempri Consul senza rigal [...] Ti star Consul o no star? Mi non entender, cosi aver fatto Re Sardinia per Ugo (*ancien consul*), i tratato con Sardinia no dicir questo [...] Cristiane star furbi, Barodi (*autre consul*) star morto, i Re Sardinia mandar ti Tripoli, birké tener bona cabesa i procura non pagar rigal⁶.

En fait, la lingua franca n'a été utilisée par écrit qu'en Europe dans des pièces de théâtre à des fins comiques. Les paroles du célèbre ballet du Mamamouchi, dans le *Bourgeois gentilhomme* de Molière, sont en lingua franca tout comme certains des dialogues des pièces de Goldoni

⁶ Cifoletti, *La lingua franca*... cit., pp. 186–187. « Je sais que tu as une bonne tête (que tu es bon), cependant le roi de Sardaigne envoie toujours un consul sans cadeau [...] Es-tu consul ou non? Je ne comprends pas que le roi de Sardaigne ait agi de la sorte avec Ugo, car le traité avec la Sardaigne ne dit rien à ce sujet [...] Les chrétiens sont des imposteurs, Parodi est mort, le roi de Sardaigne t'a envoyé à Tripoli parce que tu es quelqu'un de bien mais tu n'as pas apporté de cadeau ».

à Venise⁷. Il s'agit là d'auteurs trop connus pour citer leurs œuvres. Par bonheur, nous possédons le texte de deux chansons populaires vénitiennes du XVIII^e siècle publiées par un érudit vénitien de la fin du XIX^e siècle, V. Melameni, écrite en langue franque et dont les titres sont évocateurs. Il nous a paru intéressant de citer une strophe de chacune d'elle choisies en raison de leur connotation commerciale :

El mercanto armeno

D'Armenia vegnira
E stara mercanta
De gioia tegnira
In quantita tanta
E de China porcelana :
Chi voler comprar ?
Bela puta veneziana
Piaxer tanto che, per Diana,
Se ela mi amar
Tuto quanto mi donar⁸

Un turco inamora

Mi mercanta venezian
Mio negozio stabilir,
Et per zorno de dar man
Gran palazza mi fornir ;
Tarapata ta ta ta
D'alegrezza cuor mi fa ;
Tarapata ta ta ta
O mi quanto inamorà !
Andrinopola mai più
Non andar a veder mi⁹.

⁷ Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702), auteur des *Voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Égypte et la Barbarie*, passe pour avoir été l'informateur de Molière au sujet de la lingua franca utilisée également dans *Le Sicilien ou l'Amour peintre*. Goldoni a fréquemment utilisé la lingua franca qui, pour des Vénitiens, offrait de savoureuses possibilités comiques. Parmi ses pièces, il convient de citer : *L'impresario delle Smirne et Lugrezia romana a Costantinopoli*, *La conversazione*, *La fiera di Sinigaglia*, *Le pettegolezzi delle donne*, *La famiglia dell'antiquario*, *le Femmine puntigliose*. Je remercie le prof. Daria Perocco de l'université de Padoue de m'avoir indiqué ces œuvres.

⁸ Cifoletti, *La lingua franca*... cit., pp. 241–242. « Le marchand arménien : Je suis venu d'Arménie et je suis marchand de bijoux. J'en possède beaucoup ainsi que de la porcelaine de Chine. Qui veut en acheter ? Les belles putains vénitiennes me plaisent tant que, par Diane, si une m'aime, je lui en donnerai beaucoup ».

⁹ Ibid., pp. 243–244. « Un Turc amoureux : Les marchands vénitiens m'aideront à établir un commerce, et un jour j'aurai un grand palais ; Tarapata ta ta ta, j'ai le coeur

Ces exemples permettent d'apprécier la simplicité de cette langue qui ne présentait pas de grandes difficultés d'apprentissage. A des degrés divers, bon nombre d'affréteurs ottomans la pratiquaient afin de pouvoir s'entretenir tant bien que mal avec les Européens. Pour les caravaniers, originaires de Venise, de Raguse ou encore des ports provençaux, parler la lingua franca n'offrait évidemment aucune difficulté. On l'aura compris, la lingua franca n'existait pas uniquement pour distraire les courtisans de Louis XIV ou les amateurs de théâtre vénitiens, mais avant tout pour permettre aux hommes des rives de la Méditerranée de communiquer.

Le Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou Petit Mauresque

Cet ouvrage, unique en son genre, présente le grand intérêt d'avoir compilé sinon la totalité du vocabulaire de cette langue¹⁰, du moins une très grande majorité des termes employés couramment au cours du premier tiers du XIX^e siècle en Méditerranée. Cet idiome va être de moins en moins utilisé à la suite des événements politiques qui vont se produire dans la région, le premier d'entre eux étant évidemment la prise d'Alger par la France en 1830. Il nous a paru intéressant d'extraire de ce dictionnaire les mots qui ont trait à deux activités fondamentales qui animent les rapports entre Ottomans et Européens pratiquant la caravane maritime : le commerce et la navigation.

Sans vouloir nous livrer à une étude lexicographique, l'examen même succinct de ces deux lexiques montre bien qu'ils se limitent à des fonctions et des actes simples et très concrets. Dans celui qui concerne le commerce, 141 termes, on relève d'abord ceux indispensables à un négociant voyageur : bagage, balance, cadenas, caisse, charge, coffre, emballer, emporter, entrepôt, expédier, magasin, marchandise, mesurer, paquet, peser, poids, portefaix, sac, tonneau, transport. Une autre partie comporte les mots ayant trait au commerce proprement dit : acheter, affaire, baisser, besoin, boutique, échanger, fixer, garantie, marché, négociant, offre, qualité, quantité, rembourser, solder, valeur, vente. Les procédés commerciaux impliquent un minimum de pratiques comptables et financières : argent, bourse, change, compter, dépôt, dette, écrire,

plein de joie, Tarapata ta ta ta, oh je suis si amoureux que je ne retournerai jamais à Andrinople.»

¹⁰ encore appelée *sabir* au Maghreb, de l'espagnol *saber*, savoir.

écu, estimer, gage, intérêt, lettre, monnaie, numéro, payer, profit, piastre, registre, traite, sauf-conduit, sceller, signature, société, solder un compte, solvable. Enfin, faire du commerce entraîne des risques variés et la lingua franca reflète parfaitement ce corollaire du négoce : dépouiller, dévaliser, falsifier, frauder, fripon, impunité, perte, préjudice, spoliation, trafiquer, vol, voleur.

Nous avons relevé 145 termes relatifs à la navigation que l'on peut répartir en quatre thèmes principaux. Le premier traite des bâtiments proprement dits : ancre, artimon, bâbord, barre, bateau, cale, canot, chaîne, chaloupe, corde, échelle, embarcation, escadre, galère, goudron, gouvernail, navire, pavillon, port, proue, rame, sabord, sentine, tillac, timon, vaisseau, voile. Le second concerne le personnel : amiral, capitaine, commandant, lieutenant, marin, matelot, officier, pilote, rameur, timonier. La manœuvre et la navigation constituent le troisième thème : amarrer, calme, canal, cap, carte, couler, convoi, débarquer, départ, détroit, escorte, étoile, golfe, horizon, île, Levant, lieue, mer, nager, naufrage, navigation, péril, port, quai, rade, rocher, signal, Sud, Sud-Ouest, Sud-Est, tempête, tonnerre, veiller, vent, virer, voguer. Enfin un certain nombre de termes présentent une connotation militaire : affût, alarme, artillerie, bataille, blesser, bombarder, bombe, boulet, canon, canonnier, combat, fusil, guerre, munition, pistolet, poudre, sabre, salve de canon, tuer, viser¹¹.

Les lacunes apparaissent ici plus aisément que dans le lexique du commerce. Ainsi, les points cardinaux Est, Ouest, et Nord n'y figurent pas. Seul le Sud est mentionné pour les orientations intermédiaires. Le terme bâbord y est mentionné mais celui de tribord est absent. En revanche, les mots barque, bateau, canot, chaloupe, embarcation sont uniformément traduits par lanchia révélant, ou plutôt confirmant, ainsi la pauvreté du vocabulaire de la lingua franca ce qu'atteste la comparaison avec de véritables langues possédant un réel vocabulaire spécifique. Le vocabulaire nautique turc du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle qui est à peu près exclusivement d'origine grecque et italienne compte 878 mots¹². Le relevé des vocables maritimes en usage à Rabat-Salé comprend 753 entrées dont 60 % d'origine arabe, 30 % d'origine espagnole et le reste rattachés à des termes ita-

¹¹ Ils ne figurent pas dans notre relevé car la plupart s'appliquent aussi bien à l'armée qu'à la marine.

¹² H. et R. Kahane et A. Tietze, (éds.), *The lingua franca in the Levant: Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*. Urbana 1958.

liens, français, turcs et berbères¹³. Enfin, le volume consacré à la marine à voile du *Dictionnaire de la marine à voile et à vapeur* de Bonnefoux et Paris publié au milieu du XIX^e siècle, comprend cinq mille mots et inclut en outre un « Vocabulaire anglo-français des termes principaux de la marine à voiles » qui compte 1508 termes.

Malgré ces évidentes faiblesses, à une époque où les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident étaient beaucoup plus fréquentes et pacifiques qu'on ne l'imagine généralement, la lingua franca, avec une grande économie de mots et de formes grammaticales, a contribué à faciliter contacts et échanges.

Lexique

Le commerce

Acheter	Cromprar
Acheteur	Cromprador
Affaire	Conto
Argent, monnaie	Aspra
Associé	Compagnio
Bagage	Roba
Baïsser	Bassar
Balance	Bilancia
Besoin	Bisognio
Boîte	Scatola
Bourse	Borsa
Boutique	Botéga
Cadenas	Sarradoura
Cahier	Libro
Caisse	Cassa
Change	Cambio
Changer	Cambiar
Charge	Cargo
Charger	Cargar
Coffre	Cassa
Commerce	Commercio
Compte	Conto
Compter	Contar
Déclarer	Diskiarar
Dépêche	Carta

¹³ L. Maziane, *Le vocabulaire maritime de Salé le Neuf aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, dans J. Dakhli (éd.), *Trames de langues. Usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb*. Paris 2004, pp. 97–104.

Dépenser	Dispendir
Dépôt	Deposito
Dépouiller	Spoliar
Dévaliser	Forar roba
Devoir	Dévir
Donner	Donar
Echange	Escambio
Echanger	Escambiar
Ecrire	Scrivir
Ecu	Scudo
Effacer	Scarfar
Egal à	Cosa come
Emballer	Emballar
Employer	Impiégar
Emporter	Forar, portar fora
Emprunter	Imprestar
Enrichir	Enrikir
Entrepôt	Déposito
Envelopper	Involtar
Etrenne	Bakchich
Expédier	Spédir
Fabricant	Fabricanté
Fabriquer	Fabricar
Falsifier	Mescolar
Fixer	Fixar
Franc (monnaie)	Franco
Frauder	Falcifiar
Fripon	Ladron
Gage	Impégnio
Gagner	Gouadagniar
Gain	Gouadagnio
Garantir	Guarantir, servir
Garantie	Guarantia
Générosité	Dgénérosita
Gratification	Gratificatzion
Gratis	Dgiaba
Habile	Habilé
Impunité	Impounita
Industrie	Industria
Intérêt	Intéresso
Intéressé	Intéressato
Interprète	Drogman, truchement
Lettre	Lettera, carta
Magasin	Magazino
Marchand	Mercanté
Marchandise	Mercantzia
Marché	Fondouk

Mesure	Mizoura
Mesurer	Mizourar
Monnaie	Aspra
Négociant	mercanté
Noter	Notar
Numéro	Nouméro
Offre	Offertà
Offrir	Offérir
Opulent	Molto riko
Or	Oro
Papier	Carta
Paquet	Paketo
Partager	Spartir
Payer	Pagar
Perdre	Perdir
Perte	Perdita
Peser	Pesar
Piastre	Douro
Pièce	Tocco
Poids	Pedzo
Posséder	Tenir
Préjudice	Danno
Prêter	Prestar
Prix	Pretzo
Probité	Probità
Profit	Proffito
Propriétaire	Maestro, padron
Qualité	Quoualita
Quantité	Quouantita
Quantar	Cantar
Réclamer	Riclarar
Recompter	Contar di nouovo
Refus	Rifouso
Refuser	Rifousar
Registre	Libro
Rembourser	Rimborsar
Rente	Rendita
Riche	Rico
Richesse	Riketza
Sac	Sacco
Sauf-conduit	Passeporto
Sceau-cachet	Taba
Sceller	Mettir taba
Seing	Firma
Signer	Firmar
Sincère	Sincéro
Sincérité	Sincérité

Société	Sociéta, compagnia
Solder	Pagar
Solder un compte	Spachiar oun conto
Solvable	Solido
Soustraire	Forar
Spéculation	Spéculatzion
Spoliation	Spoliatzion
Surpayer	Pagar tropo
Titre	Titolo
Tonneau	Barmil
Transport	Transporto
Transporter	Transportar
Trésor	Tésoro
Truchement	Trucheman
Usure	Ousoura
Valeur	Valor
Valoir	Valir
Vente	Vendita
Vol	Volo
Voler	Volar
Voleur	Ladron

La navigation

Alarme	Paoura
Amarrer	Légar
Amarré	Légato
Amiral	Amiranté
Ancre	Ancora
Arme	Arma
Armement	Armamento
Armer	Armar
Artimon (mât d')	Arbéro d'artimon
Avant	Avanti
Bâbord	Babord
Barque	Lanchia
Barre	Barra
Bateau	Batello, Lanchia
Blesser	Piagar
Blessure	Piaga
Bombarde	Bombarda'
Briser	Rompir
Brisé	Roto
Cale	Cala
Calme	Bonassa
Canal	Canalé
Canot	Lanchia
Cap	Capo

Capitaine	Captan
Carte	Carta
Chaîne	Caténa
Chaloupe	Lanchia
Chef	Capo
Commandant	Commandanté
Commander	Commandar
Corsaire	Corsan
Couler	Cascar
Corde	Corda
Corsaire	Corsan
Danger	Péricolo
Débarquement	Sbarco
Débarquer	Sbarcar
Décharger	Scaricar
Départ	Partenza
Désarmement	Désarmamento
Désarmer	Disarmar
Détroit	Distrito
Eau	Agoua
Echelle	Escala
Embarcation	Lanchia
Enchaîner	Incadénar
Ennemi	Némigo
Epée	Spada
Escadre	Escadra
Escorte	Scorta
Escorter	Dar scorta
Etoile	Stella
Gabarre	Polacra
Galère	Galéra
Galiote	Galiota
Golfe	Gosso (?)
Goudron	Catramé
Gouvernail	Timone
Horizon	Orizzonte
Ile	Izola
Incursion	Incourtzioné
Janissaire	Yoldach
Lanterne	Fanal
Levant	Lévanté
Lieue	léga
Lieutenant	Ténenté
Marin	Mariniéro
Matelot	Mariniéro
Mer	Maré
Nage	Natatzion

Nager	Natar
Naufrage	Nofragio
Naval	Navalé
Navigation	Navigatzion
Naviguer	Navigar
Navire	Bastimento
Officier	Oficialé'
Pavillon	Bandiéra
Péril	Péricolo
Périr	Périr
Pilote	Piloto
Pont	Ponté
Port	Porto
Proue	Proua
Quai	Scala
Rade	Rada
Rame	Rama
Ramer	Ramar
Rameur	Mariniéré
Rembarquer	Rimbarcar
Renégat	Rinégato
Rocher	Rocca
Sabord	Sabordo
Sandal	Sandal
Scorbut	Scorbut
Sentine	Senténa
Signal	Signal
Signaler	Far signal
Solde (paye)	Paga
Sud	Metzo giorno, schiroco
Sud-Est	Schiroko leventi
Sud-Ouest	Schiroko ponenti
Tempête	Tempesta
Tillac	Ponté
Timon	Timoun
Timonier	Timoniéré
Tonnerre	Touono
Uniforme	Vestito
Vaisseau	Navé
Veille	Vigilia, gouarda
Veiller	Vigilar, guouardar
Vent	Vento
Vice-amiral	Amirante
Virer	Dgirar
Viser	Mirar
Vivres	Mangiara
Voguer	Vogar
Voile	Vela

ON THE EDGE OF EMPIRES:
DUBROVNIK AND ANAVARIN BETWEEN ISTANBUL
AND VENICE

FARIBA ZARINEBAF

*Oh, why are you so boastful?
vain human pride?
The higher you stretch your wings,
The lower you'll fall again . . .
The wheel of fortune goes round and round
It doesn't stop turning
He who was on top is now on the bottom
He who was on the bottom rises to the top*

*O Pure and gentle maidens
Who atop the glorious and holy mountain
Recite dear songs with power sweet
Tell me now, too
How the merciless knights
Killed the young sultan of the East
In his own Constantinople*

Ivan Gundulić: *Osman*¹

The epic poem “Osman” was written by Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638), who belonged to the aristocratic and literary elite of Dubrovnik, celebrating Polish victory over the Turks in 1621 (battle of Hotin) and the tragic murder of Osman II at the hands of the janissaries during a palace revolt in 1622. “Osman” remained unpublished for the fear of arousing Turkish anger until the nineteenth century. The epic “Osman” reflected the prevailing attitudes towards the Turks among some members of the

¹ I would like to dedicate this article to Suraiya Faroghi for her unending dedication and exemplary scholarship as well as mentoring. This paper was presented at the *10th International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey: The Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire*, in Venice in 1995. I would like to thank the Archives of Dubrovnik, the Başbakanlık Archives in Istanbul as well as Vesna Miović-Perić and Andrew Wachtel for their support.

Gundulić died before completing his epic. “Osman” was finally completed by Ivan Mažuranić in 1844. T. Butler, *Monumenta Serbocroatica*, Ann Arbor 1980, pp. 267–273. See also, Z. Zlatar, *The Slavic Epic, Gundulić's Osman*, New York 1995.

literary elite in Dubrovnik in the seventeenth century. In contrast to this literary genre, diplomatic exchanges between Dubrovnik and Istanbul and the petitions of merchants and residents of Dubrovnik to the Porte display a more conciliatory tone towards the Ottoman sultan. The divided loyalty of the people of Dubrovnik to the Ottoman empire and Venice was typical of the mentality of the people in frontier areas.² Dubrovnik became the center of anti-Ottoman activities, where a part of the patrician class sided with Archduke Ferdinand in 1537 against the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I. (1520–1560).³ When Sultan Süleyman renewed the commercial privileges of the Ragusan merchants that granted them freedom of trade in all Ottoman realms at 2 percent *ad valorem* customs duties and provided protection against Venice in the sixteenth century, Dubrovnik was brought into the Ottoman fold.⁴ The official policy of Dubrovnik followed the practical requirements of trade and diplomacy in the context of international and regional power dynamics. Moreover, Dubrovnik lacked her own military power to defend herself against the Ottoman empire, Venice, and local bandits. The patrician class took seriously the growing power of the Ottoman empire in the Balkans and the Adriatic.

Dubrovnik struggled to maintain her autonomy by using one power off against the other or serving both at the same time. For example, in a petition submitted by the residents and the Council of Dubrovnik to the Porte in 1632 regarding the Venetian takeover of the island of Lastuve, the Council addressed the sultan as “my sublime, benevolent, and just king” (*saadetli, merhametli, ve âdaletli padişâhim*). They also referred to themselves as the “tribute paying subjects” (*haraçgüzar reaya*). In the same petition, Venice was described as a powerful but hostile state. The petition asked the Sublime Porte to pressure Venice into giving up the control of the island and several villages. One might find similar petitions addressed to the Senate of Venice against oppressive Ottoman officials. These diplomatic sources expose the divided but complex loyalties of different social groups in Dubrovnik to Venice and their Ottoman overlords. The religious divide between East and West, Islam and

² Zlatar, *The Slavic Epic*...cit., pp. 17–18.

³ Ibid., pp. 18–22. Zlatar argues that the Slavic epic written in the Italian Renaissance milieu of Dubrovnik calling for a primordial south Slavic unity was reflective of the strong anti-Ottoman sentiments in Dalmatia and among the Croatian nobility.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 30–33.

Christianity does not reflect the complex and multi-layered identities and interests of people and different social groups who inhabited the borderlands of these two powerful states.⁵ The history of the Mediterranean and Adriatic port cities is beginning to receive more attention with access to Ottoman as well as Venetian and local sources.

This paper will examine the impact of Ottoman rule on the tributary city of Dubrovnik and the Morea with a focus on the town of Anavarin. A comparative study of Ottoman and Venetian administrative policies in their respective commercial colonies and tributary states will shed light on the economic and political conditions in regions that laid on the edges of both states. Dubrovnik and the Morea shared a unique past under Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman rules.⁶

Dubrovnik between Venice and Istanbul

The origins of Dubrovnik (sometimes called Ragusa) can be traced to the 7th century when Avars and Slavs captured and destroyed the Roman town of Epidaurum (now Cavtat) in 614 A.D. Refugees from there settled in the islet of Lausa, later known as Ragusa (in Italian and Arabic sources). The system of protective ramparts, forts and walls (1940 meters), natural barriers, and a Byzantine fleet defended the city against sea raids until the 12th century. A Croatian community settled in the mainland opposite the islet of Ragusa called Dubrovnik. In time, the channel connecting the two (now called Placa Stradum) became silted and the link between the islet and the mainland grew stronger in the

⁵ See E. R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople, Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore 2006.

⁶ F. Zarinebaf, J. Davis and J. Bennet, *An Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece: The Southwestern Morea in the 18th century*, Athens, 2005; N. H. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship according to the Firmans of Murad III (1575–1595)*, The Hague 1967; Z. Zlatar, *Between the Double Eagle and the Crescent: The Republic of Dubrovnik and the Origins of the Eastern Question*, Boulder 1992; H. Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Vol. One (1300–1600), Cambridge, pp. 256–270; S. Faroqhi, *The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–30*, in H. Islamoğlu-Inan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 311–344; Id., *The Ottoman World and the World Around It*, London 2004, pp. 89–91. R. Harris, *Dubrovnik, A History*, London 2003. I have consulted Ottoman archives in Dubrovnik which contains more than 15000 Ottoman *firmans*, petitions, and correspondence from the late fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. I have also consulted Dubrovnik registers in the Başbakanlık Archives.

11th and 12th centuries. The city grew under Byzantine rule from 7th to 12th century and emerged as the principal maritime port and emporium in the western Balkans with connections to Adriatic cities as well as towns in Bosnia and Serbia. It was the main rival of Venice on the Adriatic until it fell under Venetian control in 1204, which lasted for 150 years, leaving her imprint on the city. The city gained its present shape with regulated streets in the 13th century. Dubrovnik housed a mixed population of Latins and Croats. An Iberian-Ottoman Jewish community settled there as well as Avlonya and Venice and prospered under Ottoman rule as a result of migration Ottoman protection, and trading opportunities as Ottoman subjects.⁷ A Venetian Rector and bishop represented the authority of Venice but Dubrovnik managed to negotiate its commercial relations not only with the Italian coastal cities but also with those in present day Albania and Epirus.

Venice monopolized the overseas trade in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, undermining the trade of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik developed an alternative land trade in the interior with mining industries. Ragusan colonies settled all over Serbia, Bosnia,⁸ and Bulgaria. Since its stony soil did not allow for much growth, the republic had to turn her energies to sea trade. Dubrovnik became a transit port, importing from the Balkans metals, silver, timber, wool, hides, and slaves, and exporting wine, oil, salt, woolen textiles and arms.⁹ It also exported Venetian luxury goods to the Balkans and Dubrovnik became the main exporter of silver and salt in the region. By the fifteenth century, it was the main port on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the third in the region after Venice and Ancona.¹⁰ Dubrovnik was also active in the Levant trade and imported large quantities of pepper and spices to Italy.¹¹ She gained her autonomy from Venice with the peace treaty of Zadar in 1358. Dubrovnik fell under the suzerainty of Hungary and gained its constitutional right as a Republic in exchange for a yearly tribute to the Ottomans until the battle of Mohács (1526).

The Republic was ruled by a Rector (*knez*) elected by its citizens every month and a Senate of 45 members. The Senate was aided by a Council

⁷ Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*... cit., pp. 266–70.

⁸ For the Ragusan colonies in Bosnia, see D. Kovačević, *Trgovina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, Sarajevo 1961, pp. 83–85.

⁹ Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*... cit., p. 25.

¹⁰ It acquired the islands of Lastovo (1252) Miljet (1345) and the Pelješac peninsula (1333) by the end of the 14th century and Konavle and Cavtat in the fifteenth century.

¹¹ Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*... cit., p. 257.

of 300 members drawn from the landowning nobility that had legislative power. The main Council elected a minor council (11 members) that functioned like a supreme court and enjoyed executive authority. In time, the senators were appointed for life. The Senate negotiated and ratified treaties, appointed envoys and consuls and passed bills on administrative, commercial, and political matters. Its relation with Venice was characterized by rivalry and friendship, collaboration and competition. A sizeable Ragusan community of patricians, traders, and commoners lived in Venice and Istanbul in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²

The Ottoman policy towards Dubrovnik was influenced by commercial interests in the Adriatic, rivalry with Venice, and the control of western Balkans. Dubrovnik made contacts with local Ottoman officials when the Ottomans emerged as the dominant power in the Balkans. When Murad II (1421–1451) annexed Serbia in 1439, Dubrovnik became a tributary state. The city had to pay a yearly tribute of 1000 ducats to the sultan; in return it obtained a charter (*ahdnâme*) in 1442, making Dubrovnik an autonomous principality of the Ottoman empire.¹³ Mehmed II drew a new charter in 1458 and increased the tribute to 1500 ducats a year. He raised the annual tribute again to 12,500 ducats after completely annexing Serbia (1459) and Hercegovina in 1481. The charter abolished all internal dues except for one customs due of 4 percent to be paid in Istanbul and Edirne and gave the merchants of Dubrovnik freedom of trade in all Ottoman lands and ports. It also banned the export of silver to Italy.¹⁴ Ragusan merchants traded as Ottoman subjects. This charter was even more advantageous than a similar one granted to the Genoese in Galata, when they submitted peacefully to Mehmed II (1451–1481) during the siege of Istanbul in 1453.

Subsequent Ottoman sultans renewed the charter, treated Ragusans as their special subjects, granted the merchants freedom of trade all over the empire, reduced the customs fee to as low as 2 percent *ad valorem*, and guaranteed them protection against Venice and Bosnian local governors and Venice. The Porte sent numerous imperial orders (*fermans*) to Bosnian officials in response to the petitions of Ragusan Rector (*knez*) and Consul (*elçi*) about high customs dues. Moreover, diplomatic agreements with Venice were crucial in guaranteeing

¹² B. Krekić, *Contribution to the Study of Ragusan Presence in Venice in the Fourteenth century*, in "Dubrovnik Annals", 5 (2001), pp. 7–45.

¹³ Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*... cit., p. 27.

¹⁴ Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History*... cit., pp. 266–70.

Venetian neutrality towards Dubrovnik as an Ottoman tributary state.¹⁵ Dubrovnik maintained full autonomy and minted her own coins. After the Ottoman-Venetian peace in 1573, trade in the Dalmatian coast expanded considerably. Venice made Split the principal port of trade with the Ottoman empire. The Ottomans helped turn Avlonya from a naval base into a commercial port in the sixteenth century. Sarajevo became the terminus of caravan trade in the Balkans.¹⁶ Ottoman subjects from Bosnia became very active in trade with Dubrovnik and many merchants settled in Venice. The Ottomans actively supported Venice's rivals, Ancona and Dubrovnik.

Ragusan colonies and consuls were established in Belgrade,¹⁷ Sarajevo,¹⁸ Novi Pazar, Plovdiv, Buda, Pest, Sofia as well as Edirne, Istanbul, and the Black Sea. Ragusan merchants also served as tax farmers of mines in Bosnia and Bulgaria. The trade of Dubrovnik prospered, her merchants accumulated considerable wealth through trade and tax farming, and the city possessed 180 ships in 1585. Dubrovnik had one of the leading merchant fleets in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean by 1580. Ragusan merchants purchased grain in Izmir, Foca, Ephesus and Patras and shipped it to Dubrovnik and Istanbul. An Ottoman community represented by the tax collector (*emin*) resided in the *Lazaretto* located at the northern suburb of Ploče in Dubrovnik, where Ottoman merchants underwent quarantine. (map 2) Ottoman merchants were not officially allowed into the walled town to intermingle with Ragusans but many violated this rule. Nevertheless Ottomans did enter the walled town from time to time. In a report by the Pope's visitor G. Sormani from Dubrovnik in 1573, he stated that visitors from the Ottoman empire visited the cathedral where secular dancing music

¹⁵ In a diplomatic agreement between Sultan Süleyman I. and Venice in 1540, the latter had to maintain friendly relations with all Ottoman ports on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic and prevent piracy and return stolen goods and captives. See, the text of the 1540 Ottoman-Venetian agreement (*ahdname*) available in Venetian archives published by T. Gökbilgin, *Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Vesikalar*, in "Belgeler", 1 (1964), pp. 121–128.

¹⁶ For the importance of Sarajevo as a trade center see Behija Zlatar, *Sarajaevo kao trgovački centar bosanskog sandžaka u XVI vijeku*, in "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju", 38 (1989), pp. 225–40.

¹⁷ *Istorija Beograda* I. Belgrade 1974, pp. 423–462 points out that the largest Dubrovnik settlement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries existed in Belgrade.

¹⁸ Zlatar, *Sarajaevo kao trgovački centar*... cit., p. 227 emphasizes that it was the biggest colony in the whole Balkans at the end of the fifteenth century.

was played especially for them.¹⁹ In response to complains about drunk Turks, the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia ordered the closing of taverns near the frontier with Dubrovnik in April 23, 1731.²⁰ The authorities of Dubrovnik even considered in April 1774 to put to the pillory any female Christian who entered the Lazaretto with a Turk though it was never put into effect.²¹ The *emins* were usually Bosnian or Hecegovinian *ağas*, collected customs and controlled the sale of salt to Ottoman subjects. They also oversaw the quarantine of Ottoman subjects. The *emins* were the unofficial representatives of the Ottoman government and took care of the rights of Ottoman subjects and intervened in disputes between them and the Ragusans. They were not always in good terms with Ragusans and often abused their authority. The Ragusans submitted petitions to the *kadıs* in Mostar, Novi, and Sarajevo to settle disputes and to report the abusive conduct of Ottoman officials. For example, several Ragusan merchants and residents in Mostar presented petitions to the *kadı* of Mostar about the oppressive conduct of *emin* Salih Başı for over-charging customs dues and collecting illegal fees (*kara marlik akçesi*), beating up porters, and creating several illegal custom stations in 1640.²² The *kadı* submitted this petition with the names of eight Muslim witnesses to the Porte. This case also highlights the growing concern of Ragusan merchants about the rise of other ports like Split (1590) and Avlonya that enjoyed the protection of Venice and the Ottoman empire. Ragusan merchants avoided Venice and concentrated their trade with Ancona.²³

To promote the trade of Split, Venetian customs agents charged full customs dues on the ships of Dubrovnik in Venetian harbors in the seventeenth century. A petition by the ship owners (*beys*) of Dubrovnik, Maro Berogole, Miho Sorĝo and Lastel to the *kadı*'s court in Plevlja in 1042/1632 complained about Venetian raids and capture of their three ships in the island of Miljet contrary to the Ottoman charter and agreements. Three Muslim merchants and eye-witnesses from Alexandria testified in the court in favor of the Ragusans.²⁴ The Venetian claimed

¹⁹ Vatican Archives quoted in Vesna Miović-Perić, *Ottoman Empire and Republic of Dubrovnik*, Dubrovnik 2001, p. 15.

²⁰ DAD, Acta Turcarum, 4806.

²¹ DAD, Acta Consilii Rogatorum, vol. 183, folio 69. (Quoted in Miović-Perić, *Ottoman Empire*... cit.)

²² Dubrovnik State Archives (DAD), Acta Turcarum, C6/41a.

²³ Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*... cit., p. 262.

²⁴ DAD, Acta Turcarum, C6/45a. In another petition, two months later, the same Ragusan complained to the court about the capture and raid of one of their ships on its

an exclusive right to maintain a fleet of warships to protect the Adriatic but failed to end the piracy of Berber corsairs.²⁵ Dubrovnik turned to the Ottomans for protection against Venice and pirates.²⁶

The trade of Dubrovnik picked up as the Ottoman state banned trade with the Venetian-held port city of Split during the Cretan wars. An order issued by the governor of Hersek to the Rector and Council of Dubrovnik commanded the closing of the port of Split and the passage of all merchant ships from Dubrovnik due to war against Venice in 1683 (Candian war). He set up a tax collector, *emin Uruc ağa* in Dubrovnik to take care of the affairs of merchants without any interference.²⁷ Another order to the *kadı* of Mostar, Novi, and others commanded them to encourage all merchants to export their goods through Dubrovnik in 1703 and arrest anyone who went to other ports.²⁸

But the Cretan wars (1645–1699) and the subsequent Morean war (1684–1699) resulted in a great disorder and instability in the vicinity of Dubrovnik and led to increased banditry by Vlachs, Muslims, and Christian residents of Dubrovnik and Herecegovina.²⁹ Uskoks³⁰ and Ottoman privateers attacked the ships of Dubrovnik, violating the principles of the Ottoman charter.³¹ Dubrovnik was caught in the conflict between the Ottoman empire and Venice on several occasions. The Consul of Dubrovnik presented several petitions to the Porte complaining about bandits and the Tripolitan (north African) pirates. Several imperial orders to the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia emphasized the tributary status (*haraç-güzar*) of Dubrovnik for 400 years, the loyalty of Dubrovnik to Ottoman rulers, and the requirement of freedom of trade and protection accord-

way to Ancona by a Venetian captain. The court in Plevlja made an investigation and recorded the testimony of Muslim eye-witnesses; see DAD, Acta Turcarum, C6/46a.

²⁵ Miović-Perić, *The conflict between Dubrovnik and Venice, 1751–1754*, in “*Dubrovnik Annals*”, 1 (1997), pp. 71–96, p. 73.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁷ DAD, C2/18a.

²⁸ DAD, C2/13a.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ For the Uskoks see C. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*, Ithaca 1992.

³¹ N. Vekarić, *The Population of the Dubrovnik Republic in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, in “*Dubrovnik Annals*”, 2 (1998), pp. 7–28, pp. 7–8. According to a census and tax record, the population of Dubrovnik grew to 90,000 inhabitants by the end of the fifteenth century as a result of growing prosperity and the settlement of Christian refugees from Bosnia and Serbia during the Ottoman invasions. It fell to 25,000 in the second half of the seventeenth century due to the earthquake of 1667, epidemics and the Candian war between Venice and the Ottoman empire.

ing to the charter.³² Several orders were also issued to the *kadıs* and *beys* of Hercegovina (in Ottoman Hersek) and Nova to capture bandits who raided the caravans of Ragusan merchants and took them into captivity in 1660 and 1669.³³ They also commanded not to collect illegal dues from Ragusan merchants in 1681 contrary to the treaties of friendship.³⁴ The Porte issued imperial orders to the *beys* and *kadıs* of Hercegovina to allow Ragusan merchants to purchase sheep, oil, and honey and food-stuff in 1078/1667 and 1681.³⁵

Relations with Istanbul were not always smooth and were subject to intrigues within the court, greed, accusations of duplicity and the ups and downs of Ottoman-Venetian relations. For example, the grand vizier Kara Mustafa pasha accused Ragusans for charging Ottoman merchants higher fees during the Cretan wars and imposed on Dubrovnik a high reparation fee. To show his rage, he imprisoned seven tribute ambassadors in the Yedi Kule fortress prison in Istanbul in 1678.³⁶ The Ragusans wrote to the Senate in Dubrovnik about their terrible conditions in Yedi Kule in 1679.³⁷ One Nikolica Bona died in prison in Silistre. Fortunately the Sultan's hostility towards Ragusans did not last too long.

In the face of growing instability and banditry in the region, the Ottoman central government was highly concerned about the protection of Ragusan merchants and the flow of trade without any interference from local authorities. Several petitions by the tribute ambassador to Istanbul concerned the collection of illegal dues by Osman Pasha the commander of the fortress of Trebinje (7–8 dinars and 1–2 *guruş* per *yük*) on salt and other goods in various Ottoman lands contrary to the Ottoman charter. They also complained that Osman Pasha had set up other ports for the export of oil, wax, and honey, thus harming the trade of Dubrovnik in 1720. An order was issued to Osman Pasha not to harm the merchants of Dubrovnik contrary to the imperial *ahdnâme*.³⁸ Osman Pasha, however, did not heed this order and continued his activities for seven years. Another order to the *sanacakbeyi* of Hercegovina in 1727 commanded

³² BBA, Dubrovnik Defteri, 15/3; p. 63; Dubrovnik Archives, Acta Turcarum.

³³ DAD, Acta Turcarum, C2/14a, C2/19a.

³⁴ DAD, Acta Turcarum, C1/3.

³⁵ DAD, Acta Turcarum, C1/3.

³⁶ DAD, Acta et Diplomata, vol. 1800, no. 10. Z. Zlatar, *Kara Mustapha Pasha and the Republic of Dubrovnik (1667–1678): A New Interpretation*, in "Balcanica", VIII (1977), pp. 201–216.

³⁷ DAD, Acta et Diplomata, vol. 1833, no. 14.

³⁸ DAD, Acta Turcarum C2/6a.

him to prevent Osman Pasha from collecting illegal dues and setting up illegal ports in Novi and Risan. The merchants were required to bring their goods to Dubrovnik. The *bey* of Hersek was ordered to arrest and punish anyone who violated this rule.³⁹

The growing banditry and violence, however, undermined the safety of the residents and merchants of Dubrovnik. When a certain Mustafa and three of his friends from Ljubinje murdered Hristo, a Ragusan resident, an imperial order was issued to the *defterdar* of Bosnia in response to the petition of the Rector (*knez*), to arrest and prosecute Mustafa and his friends according to the *shari'a* in CII 1163/April 1750.⁴⁰ The imperial order emphasized the protection of Ragusan subjects under the treaty of friendship. Another petition by Mehmed, the *emin* of Dubrovnik to the Porte in 1165/1751 complained about the claim of debt and the abusive conduct of a Greek captain, Mikhailo Franzini towards a resident of Dubrovnik. He claimed that after the debt was collected from his property and was paid off, the Greek Captain demanded the latter's imprisonment, driving him into utter poverty and forcing him to even sell his clothes.⁴¹ Tripolitan corsairs from Tunisia, Tripoli, and Algiers also harmed Ragusan trade in the Mediterranean during the eighteenth century.⁴² A certain Yusuf Pasha Karamanlı from Tripoli captured a Ragusan ship that belonged to Ivo Bozović in 1796 and refused to release it even after an imperial order was issued by Selim III. The Ragusans were finally able to gain the release of the ship and the captives by offering 500 gold coins and eight guns.⁴³ The exchange of prisoners and their ransom was a frequent activity in Dubrovnik. This development reflects the decline of Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean and in North Africa. The senate in Dubrovnik was always ready to offer gifts and more tribute to gain the support of the sultan and the grand vizier in Istanbul to protect her ships from pirates and her merchants from brigands in neighboring states.

Tension grew between Dubrovnik and local officials in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The merchants and consuls of Dubrovnik had to constantly refer to *ahdnâmes* and imperial orders issued by the sultans to

³⁹ Acta Turcarum, C1/6a.

⁴⁰ Acta Turcarum, C2/1a.

⁴¹ Acta Turcarum, C6/62a.

⁴² D. Panzac, *Les corsaires barbaresques, la fin d'une épopée 1800–1820*, Paris 1999 shows the manner in which corsairs operated during the 18th century.

⁴³ DAD, Acta et Diplomata, vol. 3194/v, no. 1, 51.

negotiate their freedom of passage, lower customs dues, and protection with local governors in Bosnia and Ottoman officials. The Ottoman victory in the Morea in 1715 created some stability that helped Dubrovnik recover from the Ottoman-Venetian wars. Trade between the Morea and Dubrovnik picked up again. The Ottoman authorities allowed the shipment of grain from Morea to Dubrovnik under Ottoman protection in 1737 and asked the authorities in Dubrovnik and Bosnia to store them in safe places until they were sent to Istanbul on land.⁴⁴ The Ottoman policy in the Morea aimed at bringing it under firm central control after defeating Venice in 1715 and establishing the traditional *timar* system.

The Morea between Venice and Istanbul

Venice gained control of the fortresses of Modon (Methoni) and Koron from the Byzantine empire (ruled 900–1204) in 1205 and held them for three centuries until 1430. The northern part of the Morea (old Anavarin, Kalamata, Andrusa, and Arcadia) was controlled by the crusading Frankish state through a chain of fortifications that girded small villages. The twin cities of Modon and Koron were the “right eye of Venice” since they were strategically placed at the tip of the Peloponnese and served as a military base for the re-conquest of Crete in 1363. Venice governed the region by appointing fortress commanders and governors every two years. Venice tried to end piracy by fortifying Modon and Koron. Modon became the main port for the Republic of Venice for merchant ships on their way to the eastern Mediterranean ports and for travelers to the Holy Land. Its population was a mixture of Greeks, Latins, Jews, Gypsies, and Turks. The main crops were cereals, olives, wine, raisins, figs, oranges, acorns, honey, and wax, cattle, salt and silk. Its wine was known for its excellent quality.⁴⁵ Frankish rule in the north declined in the fourteenth century, (the Black Death in 1347–48) followed by weak Byzantine control (tributary relations with Ottoman sultans) that ended in 1430 as a result of Turkish raids.

According to Tursun beg, Mehmed II turned his attention from Serbia to Morea in 1458 due to growing discontent among his army and the promise of rich spoils in the Morea. Mehmed II imposed a crushing

⁴⁴ DAD, C1/9a.

⁴⁵ J. L. Davis (ed.) *Sandy Pylos, An Archeological History from Nestor to Navarino*, Austin 1998, pp. 215–228.

defeat on Venice, ending the tributary relationship with Byzantine despots in 1459. He conquered most of the Morea except for the fortresses of Modon, Koron, Anabolu, Manafşe, and Anavarin between 1459 and 1461. During the conquest, the Ottoman armies took much booty. According to Tursun beg, "every tent had the appearance of a slave market with pretty young girls and boys."⁴⁶ Venice briefly occupied the Morea from 1499–1503. Bayezid II annexed all the former Venetian fortresses by 1503. He ordered the construction of the fortress of Anavarin-i cedid in the sheltered bay of Anavarin to protect it against attacks from the sea in 1572. The great bay of Anavarin was well sheltered behind the island of Spacteria, offering safe havens for smaller vessels.

Mehmed II established full central control, turned the land into *miri* and *timar*. The Morea became an Ottoman stronghold with 8–9 provinces and 23 *sancaks* (districts), ruled and garrisoned by fortress commanders, *sancakbeyis*, *timar* holding *sipahi* and *kadis*. The Ottoman presence was limited in number but was most visible in fortresses and the provincial center of Tripoliçe where Turks settled. The majority of the tax paying *reaya* was Greek Orthodox while a small Jewish community resided in towns throughout the Morea. The population of the Morea grew steadily in the sixteenth century, remained stable in the first half of the seventeenth century and declined again during the Cretan wars and the second Ottoman conquest in 1715.⁴⁷ There was no radical change in the ethno-religious composition of the population. Turks represented only about 15 percent of the population.

The fortress of Anavarin-i cedid was the center of both military and civilian settlement. There was a mosque, two Islamic schools, and a *kadi's* court. The Turks and Greeks lived in separate communities that were physically divided by the walls of the fortress. Very few Turks lived in villages outside the fortress although many owned property in the countryside.

Ottoman rulers lowered the tax burden on the peasants and distributed it more evenly than was the case under Byzantine and Venetian rule. In the following century, the number of abandoned and unculti-

⁴⁶ H. Inalcık and R. Murphy, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Chicago 1978, pp. 43–44.

⁴⁷ The population of the district of Modon, including Anavarin contained 80 (little more than 10 percent) Muslim households, 564 Christian households, 27 Jewish households and 22 Gypsies and others, totaling 702 households according to a census taken during the reign of Selim I (TT 80).

vated settlements (*mezraas*) dropped by 30 percent while the number of villages increased slightly in the sixteenth century. The revenues from cereals (45%), viticulture (35%), and silk cocoons (6%) of the Morea supported the expenses of local fortresses, the households of provincial rulers and officials and tax farmers. The economy of most of the Morea was based on subsistence agriculture and produced some surplus that was consumed locally, paid the fiscal demands of the state, and was sent to Istanbul (olive oil). The Morea exported some quantities of raisin, wine, and olive oil to Venice. Ships brought some grain to Dubrovnik that was later re-exported to Istanbul during the 18th century. Contraband trade to Venice and piracy grew when Ottoman authority declined.

The Ottoman conquest of Crete undermined Venetian position in the Mediterranean in 1669. But this victory was short-lived when the Holy League imposed a crushing defeat on the Ottoman empire in 1685. The treaty of Sremski Karlovci ceded the Morea to Venice in 1699. The long Ottoman-Venetian struggles over Crete and the Ottoman-Holy League wars, which lasted for almost three decades, resulted in economic devastation in the frontier areas and a major economic and political crisis for the Ottoman state. There was widespread depopulation in the Morea in 1700.

The Venetian authorities encouraged people from central Greece and the Aegean (Chios) islands to settle there. Much of the agricultural land was abandoned or was left uncultivated. The Venetians farmed out the revenues of villages to tax farmers. Most of the surplus on cereals, olive oil, wine, wool, and silk were exported to Venice. The Venetian occupation lasted only three decades. An large army (110,00 men) led by Grand Vizier Ali Pasha defeated the Venetians and reoccupied the Morea in September 1715. Anavarin was taken peacefully but the retreating Venetian army set fire to the fortress and caused considerable damage to the property as they fled. The Ottoman-Venetian war in 1715 led to further population decline and substantial destruction to property.⁴⁸ One-third of the properties were described in tax register (TT 880) as uninhabited or empty.

The Ottoman policy in the Morea was to revive the economy and encourage the local inhabitants to return and cultivate the land. The

⁴⁸ According to the Ottoman census taken in 1716, Anavarin-i cedit had 29 households in the outer suburb and 160 damaged Muslim houses inside the fortress.

Ottoman state restored the *timar* system due to the strategic and economic importance of the Morea. Gradually, the tax farming system replaced the *timar* system and janissary *ağas*, local officials, and Istanbul based tax farmers including Ottoman princesses took over the surplus production in the Morea. This development coincided with the decline of Ottoman central control in the Morea, growing banditry, the worsening conditions of the Greek peasants, and the local quest for autonomy, setting the stage for the Greek rebellion of 1790 and 1821.

Moreover, the arrival of English, Dutch, and French merchant ships to the Mediterranean ports expanded the maritime trade of the Morea with western powers. Greek merchants became active in trade of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, strengthening their ties to Western Europe and Russia and turning their gaze away from Istanbul.

Conclusion

The ability of Dubrovnik to negotiate its autonomy under Ottoman protection through a charter in the fifteenth century helped her prosper and expand further her trade with Ottoman ports and towns. The Morea, on the other hand, was incorporated into the Ottoman central administration by force in the fifteenth century and did not enjoy the same degree of autonomy and commercial development as Dubrovnik. Conflict between Venice and the Ottoman empire during the Cretan wars in the seventeenth century harmed the economies of both Dubrovnik and the Morea. Venice regained the control of the Morea in 1699 and held it until 1715, when the Ottomans reoccupied the whole region and renewed the *timar* system. During these wars, the economy of the Morea suffered and a good proportion of its population (Greeks and Turks) fled to Venice and Istanbul. Furthermore, the Ottoman-Venetian wars led to growing tensions between Dubrovnik and Venice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The growing piracy on the Mediterranean and banditry in the Ottoman Balkan frontier undermined the economic well being of these regions. The decline of Ottoman central authority was an important factor in the growing political instability that set the stage for the rise of regional autonomy, external intervention, ethnic and religious tensions, and growing nationalism in the nineteenth century. Ivan Gundulić's epic "Osman" reflected the growing nationalist sentiments of a larger section of the population in Dubrovnik and the Balkan provinces.

“DES MELONS POUR LA COUR DU SANCAK BEG”:
SPLIT ET SON ARRIÈRE-PAYS OTTOMAN À TRAVERS
LES REGISTRES DE COMPTE DE L'ADMINISTRATION
VÉNITIENNE DANS LES ANNÉES 1570*¹

OLIVER JENS SCHMITT

La Dalmatie vénitienne des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles n'est pas vraiment l'un des sujets de prédilection de l'historiographie récente. Même les historiens croates passent rapidement sur ces deux siècles, à l'exception bien sûr des grandes synthèses d'histoire dalmate². Au niveau international, la Dalmatie pâtit du grand intérêt qu'inspirent les provinces grecques de la Sérénissime³ et du précepte *slavica non leguntur*, en vertu duquel même les grands travaux des médiévistes croates n'ont guère reçu l'attention qu'ils mériteraient⁴. La même observation est malheureusement valable en ce qui concerne l'apport précieux des modernistes et ottomanistes croates et bosniaques⁵. Le présent article poursuit un triple but : rappeler

* Je tiens à remercier Guillaume Saint-Guillain de la correction du texte français.

¹ Les toponymes sont donnés sous leur forme croate en précisant aussi la version italienne entre parenthèses. Les anthroponymes respectent en revanche les formes originales telles qu'elles apparaissent dans les sources. Nous souhaitons ainsi rendre justice à l'incertitude des identités ethniques dans une région en majorité slave.

² G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, 2 vol. Zagreb 1944; Id., *Povijest Splita*, 2 vol. Split 1957–1958; I. Pederin, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409–1797)*, Dubrovnik 1990; G. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Zara 1941.

³ V. l'article, d'ailleurs excellent, de B. Arbel, *Le colonie d'òltremare*, dans A. Tenenti-U. Tucci (éd.), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 5. Venise 1996, pp. 947–985 et G. Gullino, *Le frontieri navali*, dans Tenenti—Tucci... cit. vol. 4, pp. 62–79.

⁴ T. Raukar, *Zadar u XV stoljeću*, Zagreb 1977; T. Raukar et al. (éd.), *Prošlost Zadra. Zadar pod mletačkom upravom 1409–1797*, Zadar 1987; T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje*, Zagreb 1997; J. Kolanović, *Šibenik u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb 1995; M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo 1967; V. Gligo—V. Rismondo—L. Šimunković—M. Berket, *Zlatna knjiga grada Splita—Libro d'oro della comunità di Spalato*, 2 vol., Split 1996–2006; un matériel énorme, mais pas toujours bien digéré, est mis à disposition par I. Pederin, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji*, Dubrovnik 1990; Id., *Die venezianische Verwaltung Dalmatiens und ihre Organe (XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert)*, dans “*Studi veneziani*” 12 (1987), pp. 99–164. On lira avec profit l'article de A. Malz, *Frühneuzeitliche Modernisierung als Sackgasse: Die dalmatinische Städtewelt vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, dans C. Goehrke—B. Pietrow—Ennker (éd.), *Städte im östlichen Europa*, Zurich 2006, pp. 103–133.

⁵ M. S. Traljić, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo na zadarskoj krajini XVII stoljeće*, dans “*Radovi zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*”,

l'intérêt de la Dalmatie vénitienne de la première époque moderne comme sujet de recherche, attirer l'attention sur les trésors des archives de Zadar et présenter un type de sources peu étudiées⁶, les livres de compte de l'administration financière d'un important centre urbain de cette région.

But ambitieux, réalisation plus modeste. Ce dont il s'agit ici, c'est d'évaluer les possibilités d'interprétation d'un registre de 60 folios (soit 120 pages) intitulé par un archiviste italoophone du XIX^e siècle *Quaderno di cassa della Camera Fiscale di Spalato dall'anno 1572 al Febbraio 1575 sotto il Reggimento Conti Capit(ani). Veneti N(obili) H(omini) Andrea Michel e Giov(anni) Falier*, autrement dit un registre de caisse de la chambre fiscale de Split (en italien Spalato) durant les trois années qui suivirent la bataille de Lépante et la guerre vénéto-ottomane en Dalmatie⁷.

C'est moins la grande histoire événementielle qui surgit à la lecture des sèches entrées de ce registre que la vie quotidienne d'une société méditerranéenne aux frontières avec le monde ottoman des Balkans, presque asphyxiée par la pression militaire, les escarmouches quotidiennes, la proximité des forteresses ennemies; une société dont la vie se déroule sur la mer, dont la survivance dépend de la communication avec l'Adriatique toujours vénitienne et chrétienne; mais qui fait aussi le lien entre monde continental et monde maritime et occupe ainsi une position fragile et toujours menacée. Une frontière dangereuse donc, mais qui est en même temps le théâtre d'une osmose sociale et économique

4–5 (1958/59) pp. 409–424; Id., *Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća*, dans "Radovi instituta jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru" 11–12 (1965), pp. 203–227; F. D. Spaho, *Splitsko zaleđe u prvim turskim popisima*, dans "Acta historica-oeconomica Iugoslaviae" 13 (1986), pp. 47–86; F. D. Spaho, *Skradinska nahija 1574. godina*, dans "Acta historica-oeconomica Iugoslaviae" 16 (1989), pp. 79–107; K. Jurin Starčević, *Demografska kretanja u selima srednjodalmatinskog zaleđa u 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća*, dans "Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju" 54 (2004) pp. 139–167. Cette observation ne vaut pas pour le projet international sur le région de la frontière militaire; v. D. Roksandić, *Triplex confinium ili o granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti 1500–1800*, Zagreb 2003.

⁶ À l'exception d'un article de J. Vrandečić, *Had an Ottoman combatant any chance to win the love of the daughter of the Rector of the Dalmatian town Zadar? (Islam in Ottoman Dalmatia in the 16th and 17th century and its coexistence with the Christian world of neighboring Venetian Dalmatia)*, dans "Sveučilište u Splitu. Filozofski fakultet Zadar. Radovi. Razdio povijesnih znanosti" 21 (1994/95), pp. 163–184.

⁷ Državni arhiv u Zadru. Arhiv Splita. Kutija 160. Blagajničke knjige Svezak 172.

entre la côte et son arrière-pays immédiat, soumise aux péripéties de la grande politique et aux appétits des petits seigneurs bosniaques⁸.

1.

Afin de situer cette source dans son contexte historique, il convient de rappeler la situation de Split à l'époque de la bataille de Lépante. Quand éclata en 1570 la guerre vénéto-ottomane, la Dalmatie n'y était guère préparée : ses forteresses se trouvaient dans un état pitoyable, leurs remparts négligés, leurs garnisons faibles. C'était le cas de Split qui devait faire face aux Ottomans du *voyvodalik* de Klis (ital. Clissa), forteresse située à une dizaine de kilomètres à peine de la ville, sur un rocher inaccessible qui barrait la route de la côte vers l'arrière-pays. Les Ottomans du sancak de frontière pouvaient mobiliser entre 8 000 et 10 000 guerriers, sans parler des 3 000 fantassins de la région de Klis, en majorité des *martolos*, chrétiens orthodoxes sous domination ottomane, population typique des régions frontalières⁹. La guerre ne tarda pas à mal tourner pour les Vénitiens : au printemps 1571, les villes de Ulcinj (Dulcigno) et Bar (Antivari) tombèrent aux mains des Ottomans dont la flotte pénétra dans les bouches de Kotor (*Boka kotorska*, *Bocche di Cattaro*), tandis que des navires attaquaient les îles de Korčula (Curzola) et Hvar (Lesina) et approchaient de Split¹⁰. L'arrivée de la flotte chrétienne sous le commandement de Don Juan d'Autriche força les Ottomans à retirer leurs navires de l'Adriatique, mais elle ne les empêcha pas de poursuivre leurs attaques sur la terre ferme. Ces attaques avaient commencé avant même la déclaration de guerre ; en mars 1570, entre 2 000 et 3 000 Ottomans tentèrent de s'emparer du faubourg (*borgo*) de Split, mais furent repoussés par les défenseurs. À partir de ce moment, Split fut harcelée sans cesse par des raids ottomans : plusieurs de leurs capitaines tombèrent dans ces escarmouches, comme le *dizdar* de Klis, Hüseyin Crnić *ağa* et *alaybeyi* Sokolović, mais cela n'empêcha pas leurs troupes de remporter

⁸ Tomislav Raukar a dédié un article très important au commerce de Split dans les premières décennies des attaques ottomanes : *Jadranski gospodarski sustavi: Split 1475–1500*, dans “*Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*” 480 (2000), pp. 49–125.

⁹ G. Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI–XVIII veka*, Belgrade 1970 ; p. 79. Sur l'immigration valaque en Dalmatie, notamment dans la zone de Makarska au sud de Split v. Starčević, *Demografska kretanja*, ... cit., pp. 143s.

¹⁰ G. Novak, *Commissiones et relationes venetae*. vol. 4. Zagreb 1964, p. 131.

plusieurs succès considérables : dans l'été 1570, ils s'emparèrent des petites forteresses de Solin (Salona) et Vranjic, près de Split, et serrèrent de plus près la ville assiégée. En août, les combattants des deux bords furent considérablement affaiblis par la peste qui sévissait à Klis et à Split; mais les Vénitiens se montrèrent incapables de saisir l'occasion offerte par la trahison de gouverneur de Klis qui leur ouvrit les portes de cette forteresse : le manque de munition les contraignit à évacuer cette position si importante après peu de jours¹¹. Lorsqu'en 1573 la paix fut conclue, la société de Split était profondément marquée par les conséquences d'une guerre désastreuse : sur 1 500 hommes capables de porter des armes au début du conflit, seuls 400 avaient survécu à la peste et aux combats, sans parler des pertes subies par la population civile, femmes, enfants, personnes âgées, qui ne comptaient guère dans le rapport du gouverneur vénitien¹². La période de paix, d'ailleurs relative, qui suivit s'avéra donc difficile : il fallait renforcer les fortifications de la ville, apaiser les voisins ottomans et affronter la disette, particulièrement durant l'hiver 1573/1574. En 1575, la ville et ce qui restait de son district comptait 3 695 habitants, dont 840 hommes aptes au service militaire¹³. C'est dans ce contexte politique difficile que s'inscrit l'analyse du registre de la chambre fiscale.

2. *Administration et société locale*

Acquise à la République de Venise entre 1409 et 1420, la Dalmatie vénitienne fut réduite par l'expansion ottomane, dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, à quelques forteresses et aux îles avoisinantes. Zadar (Zara), Šibenik (Sebenico), Split et Kotor (Cattaro) formaient une chaîne de défense qui protégeait les routes maritimes. À l'exception de Zadar, aucune de ces villes ne disposait d'un arrière-pays étendu : elles dépendaient presque complètement des communications maritimes qui garantissaient seules l'approvisionnement en blé et en munition et constituaient le seul lien avec le monde chrétien. Cela ne signifiait pas pour autant que tout contact avec l'hinterland balkanique était coupé. Pendant les périodes de paix relative—les petits raids de frontière ne cessaient jamais—les produits de l'agriculture et surtout de l'élevage étaient

¹¹ Ibid., p. 132.

¹² Ibid., p. 133.

¹³ Novak, *Povijest Splita*... cit., p. 1010 et sq.

transportés à Šibenik, principal port d'exportation : c'était à Šibenik que les Morlaques, pasteurs transhumants des montagnes de confession orthodoxe, vendaient leurs animaux (surtout des porcs), le fameux fromage morlaque, si demandé à Venise, et la laine¹⁴. Split, quant à elle, attirait aussi des caravanes des Balkans. Le proviseur (*provveditore*) Andrea Michiel, qui gouvernait Split au début des années 70 du XVI^e siècle, parle des *molte mercantie dalla parte di sopra*¹⁵. Mais la grande époque de la "Scala di Spalato" n'était pas encore venue : avant la guerre de 1570, Split vivait surtout de l'agriculture, bien modeste il faut le dire, *alli più estremi confini de Turchi de tutte l'altre (scil. città) di Dalmatia*¹⁶.

La ville, son faubourg, ses alentours ruraux formaient un ensemble défensif avec le complexe de fortifications de Omiš (Almissa) au sud de Split, à l'embouchure de la Cetina ; les îles de Hvar et Vis (Lissa) et la petite ville de Trogir (Traù) au nord. Split était encerclée par plusieurs forteresses ottomanes : Solin, Vranjic, Klis. La soumission par les Ottomans de la haute vallée de Poljica au sud de Split bloquait les communications terrestres avec Omiš. Le gouverneur général de Venise en Dalmatie résidait à Zadar¹⁷ : Split était administrée par un proviseur (*provedditore*) qui tenait aussi lieu à la fois de commandant de la garnison, de juge et de responsable de l'administration fiscale. Il disposait de plusieurs unités militaires (v. ci-dessous) et d'une petite équipe d'administration (chancelier, scribe de la chambre fiscale). Parmi ces fonctionnaires, il faut évoquer le médecin juif de Split, et le traducteur de la correspondance croate (*scrittore et interprete de lettere schiave*), Nicolò de Martinis (Registre f. 32r).

Le pouvoir du gouverneur n'était pas absolu : le patriciat de Split gardait jalousement ses privilèges garantis par Venise dans l'acte de cession de 1420. Les patriciens administraient leur propre caisse fiscale en mettant aux enchères leurs droits, surtout sur les îles de Hvar et Vis. Ils cachaient leurs livres de compte au gouverneur qui n'avait donc pas

¹⁴ J. Kolanović, *Izvori za povijest trgovine i pomorstva srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova s osobitim osvrtom na Šibenik*, dans "Adriatica marittima" 3 (1979), pp. 63–150.

¹⁵ Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., p. 133.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁷ M. Novak, *Kako i kada je došlo do formiranja službe Generalnog providura Dalmacije i Albanije*, dans "Radovi instituta jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru" 15 (1968), pp. 91–112 ; Id., *Zadar glavni grad mletačke Dalmacije i Albanije*, dans "Radovi instituta jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru" 11–12 (1965), pp. 187–202.

accès à ces ressources communales¹⁸. Les patriciens refusaient même de mettre à contribution leur caisse pour la défense de la ville. Ce refus s'explique partiellement par le vieux conflit qui opposait les patriciens aux *populares*, schisme social que l'on observe dans presque toutes les villes dalmates¹⁹. La chambre fiscale d'État disposait de la *trigesima* et de la douane sur les animaux importés (*datio de li ronzini*), toutes deux affermées. Ces deux taxes rapportaient à l'État respectivement 1 400 et 500 ducats. Les dépenses à couvrir dépassaient cependant largement ces rentrées.

Parmi les patriciens, une fraction pro-vénitienne était dominée par la famille Cambi. Piero Cambi détenait la charge de scribe de la chambre vénitienne (f. 31v) : les Vénitiens l'estimaient comme un homme érudit (*persona de lettere*²⁰). Il disposait d'une fortune considérable qui lui permettait d'avancer à l'administration plusieurs milliers de ducats pour la paye des mercenaires²¹. Grâce à notre registre, on peut même suivre ses achats de parchemin pour son travail (f. 7r : "*per un libro longo coperto de bergamina bianca comprato da miser Ieronimo Zanobi per tenir chonto dele municioni*"). Piero Cambi s'occupait aussi des chambres de Trogir ; il faisait donc le trajet jusqu'au petit port au nord de Split (f. 11v).

Francesco Cambi, autre membre de la même famille, commandait la compagnie croate de la garnison (*capitanio de Chrovatti*, f. 35v), engagée spécialement par le gouverneur Michiel : "*valoroso et prudente capitanio et così nel tempo l'armata venne in colfo come della peste stette intrepido essortando quelli cittadini a spendervi la vita ad honore di Vostra Serenità faciendo di et notte ogni sorte di fatica per tenerli in buona dispositione et in anemarli, tene spie nel paese turchesco d'ordine mio... pagandole del suo, per le qual si seppe gl'andamenti di nemici*"²². Francesco Cambi fit transporter à ses propres frais des mercenaires de Šibenik à Split (f. 1v), mais alla lui-même aussi à Zadar "*per negotii publici*" (f. 19r).

¹⁸ Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., pp. 134s.

¹⁹ M. Novak-Sambrailo, *Plemići, građani i pučani u Zadru (XV-XVII st., dans "Radovi instituta jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru"* 19 (1972), pp. 167-186.

²⁰ Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., p. 134.

²¹ Ibid. Par exemple f. 1v : "*Piero Canbi per spese fatte nel far conzar due vasse per poter alogiar dentro soldati videlicet a casa dredo il palato che fu dele sorele del capetan del borgo vechio et l'altra de ser Anbroso de Lorenzi in tuto lire quatordesse soldi quatordesse e mezo*".

²² Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., p. 133.

3. La défense²³

La défense de Split était confiée à plusieurs catégories de mercenaires et, en temps de guerre, à tous les hommes capables de porter les armes (*homini di fattione*). On distinguait entre les mercenaires italiens, les “Levantins” et la compagnie croate. Sous le terme de “Levantin” se cachent les célèbres *stradioti*, cavalerie légère recrutée dans la partie orthodoxe de l’État d’Outre-Mer vénitien, des Grecs et des Albanais principalement.

Les Croates formaient la deuxième unité non-italienne, commandée par le capitaine Zuan Radosevich, “*capitanio de Chrovatti*” (f. 4r et 38r).

Au fil du registre, on rencontre les noms des membres de cette société militaire si métissée : Italiens, Croates, Albanais et Grecs. Des postes importantes étaient confiées aux non-Italiens, comme au Grec Piero Mussuro (Mousouros), châtelain d’Omiš (f. 31r) qui y servait avec les officiers italiens Domenico da Salò et Lodovico Terzago ; ils commandaient des soldats qui s’appelaient, par exemple, Luca Voinovich ou Zan Gollocordich (f. 31r). Todoro Vlami est mentionné comme “*capitanio de Levantini*” (f. 35v). Parmi les soldats, les artilleurs revêtaient une importance particulière (f. 29v) : à Split, Piero Zarevich figure sur la liste des mercenaires comme “*capo de bombardieri*”. Ces officiers avançaient souvent des chandelles et de l’huile pour l’éclairage des postes de garde (f. 19r).

Pendant le siège de Split, Venise réussit à mobiliser aussi les Uskokes (f. 4r), population de réfugiés chrétiens concentrés dans la forteresse de Senj (allemand. Zengg ; italien. Segna) en Dalmatie septentrionale, qui entretenaient sur la frontière l’état de guerre larvée avec les Ottomans et tous ceux qui vivaient en paix avec ces derniers (c’est pourquoi, une fois la paix conclue, les Uskokes se muèrent en ennemis acharnés de Venise)²⁴. À Split, ils se battaient sous le commandement du capitaine Pavella Matiashevich (f. 50r).

²³ J. Vrandečić, *The “Military Revolution” in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Dalmatia*, dans : “*Melikov Zbornik*”, Ljubljana 2001, pp. 293–310.

²⁴ Cf. C. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj*, Ithaca 1992.

4. *Les fortifications*

Le souci principal de l'administration vénitienne après la fin des combats fut la reconstruction des remparts de Split. Le gouverneur Michiel en donne une description sombre :

muraglie antiquissime et in luochi molto debile et per la longa pace d'anni 36 in circa, nel qual tempo non gli è sta fatto alcuno reparo, erano tutte rovinate, di modo che non si poteva camminare intorno, massimamente la notte, nè pur starvi sopra in piedi, et dalla parte di San Domenico cioè verso Levante, era una torre rovinata più delli duj terzi, da dove li nemici potevano entrarvi nella città quando loro piaceva senza difficoltà, fo di necessario per conservatione di detta città di rovinarla affatti, et levarvi una cortina imparo con l'altre muraglie, et farvi li solleri alle torri per ponervi l'artellaria, et farvi li parapeti, cabioni, et in molti luogi egualizzare le mure, le strongatte acciòchè li avesse possuto caminarvi intorno, et più si conveniva farmi diverse bombardiere et altri simili servitij necessarij.²⁵

Les caisses de l'administration étant presque vides, le gouverneur devait recourir à l'aide volontaire des patriciens de Split. La famille Cambi donnait l'exemple en mettant à sa disposition ses moyens privés, exemple vite imité par d'autres membres de l'élite spatine²⁶. Cet engagement des patriciens rendait possible la mobilisation de nombreux artisans et ouvriers.

En temps de guerre, leur premier devoir était de transformer des maisons privées, des monastères et des églises en logements pour les troupes que Venise avait précipitamment transférées à Split²⁷. Piero Cambi préparait ainsi une maison *dredo il palazzo che fu dele sorele del capitan del borgo vechio* et une autre, appartenant à ser Ambroso de Lorenzo (f. 1v).

Mais beaucoup de soldats étaient cantonnés dans des maisons privées. Les loyers étaient remboursés par la chambre fiscale : on trouve les cas de Zuan Radosevich, capitaine des Croates (f. 4r), Zorzi da Modena et Zuane de Dulcigno, pour lesquels Francesco Cambi avait avancé le loyer (f. 5r) ; les stratiotes vivaient aussi dans des appartements privés, comme Zuane Renesi, Cesare Vlami, Nicolò Lluca et Nicolò Vlami (f. 15v).

²⁵ Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., p. 129.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁷ Gligo—Rismondo—Šimunković—Berket, *Zlatna knjiga*... cit., vol. 1, pp. 532–534.

Pour les travaux, il fallait importer par mer le matériel, surtout le bois et les planches. Le bois venait souvent des îles, par exemple de Hvar. Le patricien Piero d'Alberti fournissait des *tavolle d'albero* au chantier (f. 23v) et vendit 1 270 pierres pour la construction des remparts (f. 50r). Madonna Vittoria d'Alberti fournit 165 quarts de chaux en poudre et *in pasta* (f. 50r). Xore Tissich transporta avec neuf marins des "*taolle*" à Split (f. 19r). La distribution du matériel, le transport du port au chantier était d'habitude effectué par des femmes; on croise ainsi une Franuza Vesanova qui porta avec neuf autres femmes 450 planches *dalla marina al magazen in piazza* (f. 19v). Les mêmes femmes déchargèrent probablement le bateau de Nicolò Barzovich (f. 22r). Avant de commencer les travaux, certains endroits qui servaient de poubelles publiques devaient être nettoyés par des ouvriers comme Stepano Medulich et Zorzi Movich (f. 21v). Zorzi da Sebenico et un ouvrier accomplissaient le même travail au château et dans le fossé (f. 28v). Des tuiles étaient fournies par la Scuola del Sacratissimo Corpo di Cristo, une de ces nombreuses fraternités qui constituaient les organisations charitables des non-patriciens de langue slave (f. 24r).

Les factures des artisans reflètent les travaux entrepris durant et après le siège. Nicolò Burgadello avait construit une nouvelle porte dans la tour de l'arsenal (f. 20r, *per poter intrar della parte della città*). Beaucoup d'argent était dépensé pour fortifier des postes de garde (f. 22r) : pour ce travail, l'administration vénitienne employa les charpentiers Vincenzo, Ieronimo Basilich, Francesco Vaselich et Damian Luxich et leurs ouvriers (f. 22r). Le même Vincenzo fabriqua des chaises pour les gardes *della marina* (f. 23v). On rénova aussi la vieille loggia (f. 27v). L'importance des échelles sur les remparts, mentionnée dans le rapport de Michiel, est confirmée par le registre (f. 28v : *una schala per le mure del castelo*). Luca Bidich, Simon Radich et Zorzi Tisicich construisirent des échelles *in cinque luogi le scalte attorno le mure della città* (f. 32v). On construisit des batteries pour les canons qui étaient placées dans leurs positions par le charpentier Luca de Lupis (f. 50v).

5. Les communications

Après la chute de Solin et Vranjic, le territoire de Split se limitait à une bande de quelques 5 ou 6 km devant les remparts. Toutes les communications terrestres passaient sous les yeux des Ottomans. Tout mouvement devant les portes était dangereux, comme le prouvent les enlèvements

de paysans et d'enfants par des maraudeurs ottomans. Les communications officielles avec les autres villes vénitiennes, le transport des troupes, du matériel militaire, des munitions, tout cela devait emprunter la voie maritime. L'administration vénitienne, ne disposant pas de sa propre flottille, recourait aux services de petits capitaines locaux dont les noms remplissent les pages de notre registre.

La correspondance officielle circulait par des courriers maritimes; on rencontre ces *servizi pubblici* presque à chaque page du registre: Lorenzo de Luxa de Zadar faisait le trajet de Zadar à Split (f. 19r), Antonio Maroevich avec trois *compagni* alla à Trogir (19 janvier 1572; f. 19v), Francesco Chovasich emprunta avec ses deux fils le même chemin pour porter des lettres (21 octobre 1571; f. 19v); en août 1571, Stefano Tisicich, Antonio Mathovich, Francesco Covacich et Francesco Firischovich s'occupèrent du courrier entre Split et Zadar (f. 23r). En temps de crise, donc, des barques prenaient la mer tous les sept jours (16 août, 21 août, 28 août 1571).

La route terrestre était réservée aux échanges officiels avec les Ottomans; ainsi, Stefano Parvossaglich fit le chemin de Split à Knin, accompagné d'un Ottoman, afin de porter une lettre au gouverneur du *sancak* (14 août 1574; f. 48r). En automne 1574, le capitaine Zuane Pasini et deux compagnons se rendirent à Klis, en mission officielle (f. 52r).

Des petits patrons de navires portaient aussi la paye aux mercenaires d'Omiš: Zuane Forner fit le trajet de Split à cette forteresse en compagnie du scribe de la chambre fiscale qui resta quatre jours à Omiš, un port situé au sud de Split (3 janvier 1573; f. 11v).

En temps de guerre, des renforts étaient envoyés de Zadar, place principale en Dalmatie, dans les villes menacées: ser Gregorio de Rinaldo, *patron de barca*, mena le capitaine Giulio Pizzancari et ses hommes de Zadar à Split (14 juin 1572; f. 6r); Zan Caliocich, *patron de una brazeta*, transporta en même temps les stradiotes Dimitro Manchi et Zuan Brsich avec leurs familles et leur avoir.

Pendant la guerre, les mouvements de troupes et de munitions étaient organisés par la voie maritime: alors que les Vénitiens préparaient une attaque contre la forteresse de Makarska (Macarsca) au sud de Split, les capitaines Domenego Crisanovich, Michiel Cozunovich, Pietro Dominovich, Francesco Siriszievich, Gregor Grignaz et Sfelin Oliza furent chargés de transporter des soldats et des munitions sur le champ de bataille (20 décembre 1572; f. 11v). Ser Domenego da Cattaro conduisit le capitaine Alessandro Grimani, sa famille et quinze chevaliers avec

leurs chevaux de Trogir à Split (13 juin 1574; f. 45v). Ser Gregor de Rinaldo accompagna le capitaine Giulio Pizzancari à Hvar (f. 6r). Les opérations devant Solin étaient aussi soutenues par la route maritime; Ieronimo Negodich et deux marins devaient reconduire un canon endommagé du champ de bataille à Split (f. 22v). Outre les munitions, ces barques transportaient aussi l'eau, si précieuse en été dans la Dalmatie aride (f. 23v). En août 1574, l'administration vénitienne séquestra au tonnelier Paulo Rosso cinq tonneaux *nele qual fo portata aqua per uso dele gente che se oponevano alli nemici* (f. 58r).

Parfois, des patriciens spalatins organisaient eux-mêmes ces transports maritimes; le capitaine Francesco Cambi paya les patrons Stefano Bastianovich, Marco Bishopovich, Francesco Georgovich et Nicolò Consevuich qui menèrent des renforts de Šibenik à Split (f. 1v). En cas d'urgence, les Vénitiens confisquaient des bateaux, comme en août 1575 quand une attaque contre Vranjic fut entreprise avec des *legnam*i de ser Zuan da Sabion (f. 59v).

Le gouverneur choisissait de préférence la route maritime quand il voulait se rendre à la campagne: dans l'été 1574, il lui fallait entreprendre une enquête à propos d'un vol de bétail commis par des sujets ottomans. Il se rendit sur les lieux du crime avec quarante soldats *per intender chi fuseno i ladri*. Il quitta Split pour les Kašteli, villages situés dans les environs de cette ville, d'abord en direction de Castel Canbi, puis de Castel Vituri où l'Uskoke Doimo le reçut avec du pain et du vin; d'autres habitants fournirent un mouton et du fromage, l'administrateur de l'archevêque offrit des boissons et des rafraîchissements aux soldats et aux Uskokes du gouverneur. Toute l'expédition rentra le même soir, *chontro il vento*, voyage pendant lequel deux rames furent cassées (f. 58v).

6. Les voisins

Une fois la guerre terminée, l'administration vénitienne chercha un *modus vivendi* avec les voisins ottomans, trop proches des portes de la ville. En fait, la culture de la zone agricole restreinte qui se trouvait encore sous domination vénitienne dépendait complètement de la bonne volonté des officiers ottomans de Solin, de Klis et du *sancakbeyi* à Knin. Supérieurs en nombre et en matériel de guerre, sûrs de leur victoire dans la guerre sur le continent, les Ottomans ne tardaient pas à profiter de la faiblesse militaire et de l'angoisse des Vénitiens et de leurs sujets spalatins. Les contacts avec les Ottomans commencèrent à se

ranimer quelques semaines après la conclusion de la paix : le gouverneur de Split fit envoyer du sucre et des sucreries au voyvode (commandant) de Solin (f. 29r, septembre 1573) et du drap à un courtisan du *sancakbeyi* de Klis (f. 29r). Peu après, le premier officier ottoman arriva à Split ; c'était Mustafa Celanović, *beşli ağası* dans la forteresse de Klis, qui, avec ses trois serviteurs, fut invité à dîner (f. 29r). Les Vénitiens se hâtèrent de renouer le contact avec le puissant *sancakbeyi* lui-même, en lui envoyant du sucre, des sucreries, des melons, des pastèques, d'autres fruits et du vin de Malvoisie (f. 29r). Ces cadeaux encouragèrent le dizdar de Solin, Ismail ağa, à se rendre à son tour à Split pour y jouir de l'hospitalité vénitienne. Tandis que Mustafa Celanović était venu avec seulement trois hommes, Ismail se montra moins modeste : lui et ses quinze compagnons se régalerent de deux chèvres (*caperetti*), de vin pour une valeur de trois livres et quatre sous, du vin de Malvoisie pour cinq livres, sans oublier l'huile, le vinaigre, les poissons et les fruits (f. 29v). Le frère d'Ismail imita promptement son exemple et se fit offrir des sucreries et d'autres rafraîchissements (f. 29v). L'appétit vint en visitant Split : Ömer, un autre frère d'Ismail, s'y rendit à son tour, cette fois-ci pour rendre aux Vénitiens deux enfants enlevés par des Ottomans. Il se fit accompagner par les frères du voyvode de Cetina (f. 31v, novembre 1573). Cette visite coûta aux Vénitiens 66 livres, une rançon à peine déguisée. Les Ottomans se firent servir un copieux repas : un mouton, des poulets, du pain, du vin, de la salade, de la moutarde (f. 32v). Quelques temps plus tard, Ismail ağa, Mustafa Celanović et Peri ağa Motuzović, *dizdar* de la petite place d'Obrovac (ital. Obrovazzo) continuèrent ce défilé des visiteurs ottomans. Comme leur région était infestée par la peste, on les hébergea dans le faubourg, ce qui ne les empêcha pas de consommer du pain, de l'huile, des sucreries, du sucre, sans oublier le bon vin de Murter. Le comte et capitaine de Split, Zuan (Giovanni) Falier, se vit contraint d'inviter ces hôtes à dîner dans son palais : Mustafa Celanović et quinze Ottomans y mangèrent un mouton entier, quatre poulets, une tarte, du sucre, du pain ; ils ne dédaignèrent pas le vin de Murter et quelques sucreries (6 décembre 1573 ; f. 32r). On n'est donc pas surpris de lire que le voyvode du *sancakbeyi* de Klis ne tarda pas à passer à son tour par Split ; avec les dix hommes qui composaient sa suite, il se concentra essentiellement sur le dessert : du sucre, des sucreries, du vin de Malvoisie (f. 34r).

Ces courtes visites d'une journée ne furent qu'un début : une fois qu'ils eurent pris goût de dîner à Split et d'en revenir couverts de cadeaux, les officiers ottomans commencèrent à allonger la durée de leur séjours

dans cette ville. Ismail ağa de Solin ne revint pas seul : ses camarades en poste dans des places plus éloignées ne voulurent pas manquer l'aubaine de goûter à la bonne cuisine spalatine : avec Celal ağa, *dizdar* de Sinj (Signa), Mustafa, voyvode de Ferhatbeg, *sancakbeyi* de Bosnie, et une cavalcade de 50 cavaliers, il entra dans Split pour y conduire des négociations avec le gouverneur. Lui et sa suite furent logés dans les palais de Francesco de Geremia et de Matteo Charvaffinich et laissèrent une facture assez imposante ; de grandes quantités de vin et de Malvoisie, du sucre et des sucreries, 16 chèvres, 16 poulets, un volume impressionnant d'orge pour les chevaux, le tout pour une somme qui atteignait 307 livres (f. 44v). À l'occasion du dîner, les chambres furent illuminées de chandelles blanches (mai 1574). Presqu'au même moment, la soif du *sancakbeyi* à Klis fut apaisée par un cadeau de vin de Malvoisie (24 mai 1574 ; f. 45r) ; plus tard, en septembre 1574, les Ottomans demandèrent d'autres cadeaux en alcool (f. 49r : *Malvassia... mandatta in don al Sangiacco essendo dal detto ricercata*), parfois dans des bouteilles de verre (f. 45v : *doi fiaschi de vero coperti de guoro nelli quali fu mandato uno secchio e mezo de Malvasia al Sangiacco de Clissa essendo dal prefato ricercata*).

Une autre délégation ottomane fut également comblée de cadeaux ; du savon pour Ibrahim bey, *céhaya* du *sancakbeyi* de Bosnie ; du sucre, du fromage de Plaisance, du vin blanc, une bouteille de Malvasie... La même générosité bénéficia à la délégation conduite par quelques ağa qui, avec une vingtaine de soldats, se rendirent à Split en août 1574, *per ricevere li Reizi che furono schiavi sopra la galea del Clementissimo Proveditor dell'armata* (f. 48r), et auxquels on servit le menu habituel (pain, vin, moutons, chèvres, poules et sucreries). En automne 1574, la peste n'empêcha pas le voyvode du nouveau *sancakbeyi* de Klis de recevoir des cadeaux à Split (f. 52r : *non li si conciede intrar nella città rispetto all'interdetto della peste che ora si atrova nel paese*) ; après un dîner opulent (mouton, vin...), il s'en retourna dans ses foyers en y emportant du riz, des raisins secs et du sucre (f. 52r). La liste des hôtes ottomans à Split semble interminable.

Il est évident que ces "visites", cachées sous le prétexte de *negocii publici*, n'étaient rien d'autre que des extorsions obtenues par le chantage, des mesures arbitraires des officiers de frontière qui leur permettaient de s'assurer même en temps de paix des gratifications extraordinaires ; les Vénitiens n'avaient pas d'autre choix que de s'y soumettre : ils n'osaient pas barrer à ces voisins puissants et violents l'entrée dans la ville. La paix était précaire, la République, affaiblie par la victoire sanglante de

Lépante, souhaitait la tranquillité sur sa frontière adriatique, même si le prix de cette tranquillité était de devoir étancher les gorges assoiffées des Musulmans bosniaques avec les vins locaux aussi bien qu'avec ceux qui étaient importés de l'extérieur. Notre registre n'offre qu'un aperçu de ces relations inégales avec ces voisins exigeants, mais les visites menaçantes de délégations ottomanes pesaient aussi ailleurs qu'à Split sur les caisses des gouverneurs vénitiens.

Une autre forme de visite n'était toutefois pas moins embarrassante : ville frontière, Split représentait un espoir pour les esclaves chrétiens de l'Empire ottomans et pour ceux de ses habitants qui désiraient se convertir ou se reconverter à la foi chrétienne. L'administration vénitienne remboursait donc les Spalatins qui recueillaient ces réfugiés, comme par exemple l'artisan Piero Urmano qui hébergeait *tre Turchi venuti in questa città per batezarsi* (22 août 1572 ; f. 16r). Le patricien Jacomo Caogrosso fit même don de drap précieux à un certain "*Machemet Turco*" qui était passé à Split *per farsi Chrestiano et ora si chiama Zuane* (5 février 1572 ; f. 1v).

7. Service de renseignement

La proximité des Ottomans et la menace qu'ils faisaient peser sur Split nécessitaient un service de renseignement efficace et l'organisation de patrouilles nocturnes. La population paysanne se prêtait volontiers à cette mission dangereuse mais dont le succès était nécessaire à leurs propres intérêts dans la mesure où il permettait de garantir un minimum de sécurité aux champs et aux pâturages entourant Split. Des *spie* s'approchaient ainsi des forteresses ottomanes de Solin et de Klis, comme ce Martin Bidich et ses compagnons qui espionnèrent les troupes ennemies (14 juin 1572 ; f. 17r) ; des *spie notturni* étaient stipendiés et *mandati fuori in campagna per suspecto di nemici* (f. 17v) ; Marco Callinterna surveillait la campagne avec trois compagnons *al tempo che il sangiacco s'atrovò acampato a Salona per rispetto delli ladri non venissero far alli nostri qualche dano* (f. 34r).

Ce réseau d'espionnage était en bonne partie organisé par la noble famille spatatine des Cambi qui envoyait, sur ordre du proviseur, « des espions dans le pays turc, en les payant par leurs propres moyens »²⁸.

²⁸ Novak, *Commissiones*... cit., p. 133.

Dans le *no man's land*, Venise acceptait volontiers les services des Morlaques et les rémunérait comme le montre le cas d'un Morlaque qui dénonça des Ottomans qui avaient enlevé un enfant chrétien; ce Morlaque reçut en récompense une pièce de drap rouge (f. 34r). Mais les paysans et les soldats ne fournissaient pas seulement des informations. Trois paysans présentèrent des têtes de quatre Ottomans et en furent également récompensés; il en alla de même pour un soldat de la compagnie du capitaine Vincenzo Damonte qui avait coupé la tête de Mehmet, *čehaya* de Klis (f. 6r). En février 1575, le gouverneur remboursa à plusieurs habitants du haut plateau de Poljica qui gardaient la frontière *per il suspetto... per la morte de Signor Turcho* (f. 59r). Le gouverneur vénitien Andrea Michiel loua auprès de ses supérieurs les bons services de ces *spie schiavi* qui procuraient des informations indispensables aux officiers italiens au service de Venise²⁹.

Conclusion

L'analyse d'un seul registre de la chambre vénitienne de Split n'autorise pas à tirer des conclusions trop ambitieuses, mais elle permet d'observer de près une société urbaine qui sort lentement d'une crise militaire grave et qui essaie de rétablir les contacts avec un voisinage ottoman difficile, menaçant, toujours prêt à exercer une pression militaire. Rejetée vers la mer, cette société de frontière vit grâce aux communications maritimes tout en se raccrochant aux derniers postes de défense maintenus sur le continent. C'est une garnison très mélangée qui garantit la sécurité de Split: des Italiens, des Croates de la région et des Uskokes de Senj, des Albanais, des Grecs. Ils sont en garnison dans les places fortes aux alentours de Split, surtout dans la zone de fortification d'Omiš au sud de la ville. Leur action est soutenue par celle des espions locaux, paysans de la campagne et du haut plateau de Poljica qui suivent de près les mouvements des Ottomans. En fait, des deux côtés de la frontière, une population à la loyauté imprécise essaie de survivre en cédant davantage à la pression ottomane.

Mais Split doit plus encore sa survie à la politique des "cadeaux", au bakchich que les officiers ottomans demandent à l'administration vénitienne: "invitations" incessantes, dîners, bacchanales, consommation

²⁹ Ibid., p. 130.

d'alcool impressionnante pour des dignitaires ottomans. Les communications avec l'arrière-pays sont ainsi renouées, mais elles demeurent ténues. La ville se fortifie et se prépare au prochain conflit, qui semble inévitable.

En analysant ce registre, il faut tenir compte du fait qu'il ne reflète qu'un segment de la vie socioéconomique de Split, à savoir l'activité de l'administration vénitienne. Ne fut-ce que pour appréhender la gestion de la commune, il faudrait recourir aux archives propres de cette institution ; pour reconstruire les structures sociales et les liens économiques avec les Balkans et le monde adriatique, il conviendrait de se pencher sur le fond des notaires de Split. Cet article aurait atteint son but s'il poussait d'autres historiens à explorer les richesses des archives de Zadar.

THE MORAL ECONOMIES OF THE PRE-MODERN
MEDITERRANEAN. PRELIMINARIES TO THE STUDY
OF CROSS-CULTURAL MIGRATION DURING THE LONG
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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As a frequent traveler between Canada and the United States, I have observed the transformation of the 49th parallel since September 11, 2001.¹ What was once one of the most low-key and pacific transit points in the modern world has now become a flashpoint on the frontline between “civilizations,” an imaginary crusade in a virtual Mediterranean where, in Samuel P. Huntington’s updated version of the Pirenne thesis, the heirs of Muhammad and Charlemagne vie for global dominance.² Even a routine flight from Vancouver or a car crossing between Lansdowne, Ontario and Alexandria Bay, New York may trigger a border incident. Most of these unpleasant exchanges occur when Canadian Muslims or Middle Easterners attempt to visit or return through the United States.

Ottawa has protested the harassment, imprisonment, and even “extraordinary rendition” of its citizens. In one of many incidents, U.S. Agents at Toronto’s Pearson International singled out a middle aged couple of South Asian background who were bound for Washington, D.C. Upon learning of their plans to attend the annual conference of the Islamic Society of North America, the officers detained them. At the end of the interrogation, an agent put a popular spin on the policies behind

¹ A draft of this paper (“The Passport of Religion: Conversion and the Mediterranean Frontier, 1450–1800.”) was presented at “Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World, 1600–1800,” (Session 2, Economy and Society in the Early Modern Mediterranean), The UCLA Center for 17th- and 18th-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, December 6–7, 2002. Thanks go to Gabriel Piterburg, Teofilo Ruiz, and Geoffrey Symcox for inviting me to participate in this conference. After numerous interruptions, including migration from my homeland, New York City, to Canada, Vera Costantini’s forbearance and encouragement has finally enabled me to complete it for this special festschrift.

² *The Coming Clash of Civilizations?*, in “*Foreign Affairs*”, 72 (1993), pp. 22–49.

government's precautions: "Islam and America," he reportedly chastised the Canadians, "don't mix very well."³

Like the U. S. border agent who offered his own version of Huntington's theories, the Harvard political scientist popularized themes in Mediterranean historiography for mass consumption. In the years following the Soviet collapse, as the optimism over the prospects of globalization withered before post-Cold War blowback, Huntington shopped for a new model to replace the old rivalry between capitalism and communism. His well known 1993 essay, "The Clash of Civilizations" broadcast a version of Henri Pirenne's long discredited contention that Europe's 'dark ages' owed to Islam as a new global framework.⁴ Yet within a decade he realized this foreign policy required a domestic corollary. In his 2004 *Who are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, his ruminations of the impact of migration, particularly from Latin America, on the political culture of the United States, this champion of the West as the only truly "modern and universal civilization" turned from the Other outside to the cultural threat within: "Hispanization" has become the chief threat to American values.⁵

Ottomanists in North America have not been spared the fallout from Huntington's "clash of civilization" notions in our classrooms and an increasingly xenophobic public sphere. We would be the first to dispute the history upon which his theory was based. Yet before dismissing Huntington's interpretation out of hand, we must also concede that the political scientist actually vulgarized a certain vintage of Mediterranean historiography. Although many have recognized the imprint of Bernard Lewis' writings on Huntington's original argument, indeed the very phraseology of the "clash of civilizations" (as well as being the probable source of the Pirenne thesis) often missed is the fact that in the book-

³ C. Krauss, *On Border Ire, Canada Says: Blame U.S.*, in "New York Times", November 8, 2002. In the case of the "deported" Maher Arar, the United States has yet to accept the assurances of the Canadian government that he is not a terrorist, see *The Globe and Mail*, December 22, 2006, p. 1 "U.S. Snubs Canada's Arar Plea."

⁴ To B. Lewis, *The Roots of Muslim Rage*, in "The Atlantic Monthly", 266 (September 1990) is owed the key phrase, "the clash of civilizations." See Id, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery*. Oxford 1995 But the ideas ultimately should be traced to Henri Pirenne who began *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. New York 1939 as a series of university lectures in Algeria. On Pirenne's intellectual peccadilloes, including his anti-Semitic historiography see, J. Mundy, *Henry Pirenne: a European Historian*, in "The Journal of European Economic History", 6 (1977), pp. 473-480.

⁵ S. P. Huntington, *Who are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, New York 2004.

length exposition of the argument, Huntington shelved Lewis' work. In its place, he found authority for his claims in Fernand Braudel's corpus of research on world history.⁶

Of course, Huntington paid little attention to the historian's magisterial study *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*.⁷ He plucked ideas and information from other, more accessible works. He especially found useful those studies where Braudel embraced an explicitly Weberian typology of religions which served as molds for differences in the organization of material life.⁸ But that does not mean that Huntington's own extrapolation of conflict in terms of rival civilizations and his corollary that cross-civilizational migration poses a threat to the integrity of national identity is alien to the *La Méditerranée*. In reconstructing his own vision of future conflict, Huntington stumbled upon one of the central contradictions in Braudel's chef d'oeuvre: his inability to come to terms with motivations behind Spain's policies of forced expulsion of religious minorities and the failure of the capitalist or demographic conjuncture outlined in volume one to fully explain the policies of states or the "events" he observed in volume two.⁹

Positing a meaningful connection between the Braudel who furnished the post-war generation with its most comprehensive and integrated visions of the Mediterranean world and the Cold War ideologue who has projected a twenty-first century torn between rival cultural zones. Braudel was, after all, one of the few European historians to grant the Ottoman Empire a place as an equal actor in the historiography of the Mediterranean and a market system which despite conflict remained interdependent. It was the author of *La Méditerranée* who welcomed the collaboration of several generations of Ottoman researchers inside and

⁶ See Idem., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking World Order*, New York 1996.

⁷ All citations in the notes are from F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1966.

⁸ Idem., *Grammaire des civilisations/A History of Civilizations*, trans. Richard Mayne, New York 1994; P. Steiner, *Capitalisme et modernité: l'impasse sur Max Weber?* in M. Aymard; A. Caillée (eds.), *Lire Braudel*, Paris 1988, pp. 133–156, p. 139.

⁹ For a polemic against Braudel's use of culture which lacks system or synthesis, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, London, Malden/MA 2000. See A. Husain's perceptive critique of this work as well as the treatment of culture in Braudel's opus, *Introduction: Approaching the Religious Cultures of the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*, in A. A. Husain; K. Fleming (eds.), *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700*. Oxford 2007.

outside Turkey. Conceptually, Braudel's project could not seem to be more distant from Pirenne's projection of the *mare nostrum* as an eternal battleground between forces of good and evil, progress and regression. Nor did he agree with Weber, who privileged Protestantism in the origins of capitalism.¹⁰ For Braudel, the protagonists were the market and demography, impersonal "events" and structures which admitted neither religion nor country.

Yet Ottomanists must admit that even the grotesque caricature of the Mediterranean past that finds its way into Huntington's theories has important correspondences with the Braudelian system: Huntington discovered another historian who seemed all too ready to fall back on his mentor Henri Pirenne.¹¹ Despite proclamations concerning the inevitability of capitalist conjuncture in the first volume of his Mediterranean system, his attempts to deal with the "history of events" in volume, lead him to appeal to primordial cultural divisions. In fact, it was by postulating the implacably opposing forces of Islam and Christendom that Braudel was able to resolve his own "Hispanic problem:" providing an historical explanation for the repeated ethnic cleansing of Iberian minorities that punctuated his study of the long sixteenth century during the time of Philip II.¹² Transcendent categories like civilization (and empire), poor attempts to hinge an economic "base" to political "superstructure," that have been bequeathed to his social scientific admirers across the ideological spectrum.¹³

Thus, Ottomanists, despite our rejection of Huntington's anachronistic and simplistic adaptation of the Braudel-Pirenne thesis for present-day purposes, may still find that he has performed some minor service for the field of Mediterranean historiography. Above all he draws our attention to the need to reopen the discussion of political change in the Mediterranean and to reconsider religious refugees within more inclusive patterns of migration which accelerated over the course of the long sixteenth century. Indeed, it only by supplementing and adjusting the Braudelian approach to the Mediterranean early modern world through

¹⁰ F. Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*, Baltimore 1990, p. 67.

¹¹ On Pirenne's influence, idem., *Ma formation d'historien*, in idem (ed.), *Écrits sur l'histoire II*. Paris 1990, pp. 9–30.

¹² *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*, Baltimore 1977.

¹³ See Hilmar Kaiser's relevant critique of the world-systems school's Ottomanists in H. Kaiser (ed.), *Imperialism, Racism, and Development Theories: The Construction of a Dominant Paradigm on Ottoman Armenians*, Ann Arbor 1997.

the insights gained from research on Ottoman social, political, and economic history especially the wide-ranging and culturally nuanced historiography practiced by Suraiya Faroqhi¹⁴ and a generation of scholars whom she has taught and influenced, that it may be possible to adapt and restore Braudel's key notion of the unity to the common sea of our inquiry.

Braudel and the Conundrum of Cross-Cultural Migration

Most memorable about the first volume of Braudel's study on the historic Mediterranean to my mind, is the degree to which the historian captured both the antiquity of a place, its seemingly immutable geological formations and its eternal motion, the waves crashing upon shores, currents and tides, whose unruly currents limited all but short-distance coastal navigation for many months of the year. As he reconstructed rock and water, Braudel underlined that motion was an endemic feature of this ecological zone, an essential supplement for the rocky and infertile lands that embraced the sea. Some of this motion owed to the seasonal paths of shepherds whose subsistence economies depended on the seasonal descent and ascent from forested mountains into valleys for pasturage. Peasants fled the bonds of serfdom in the countryside to the relative freedom of cities of manufacture and trade. Profit and luxuries prompted more daring exploits: without such exchanges of commodities, common and costly, there would be no prospect for growth. Regardless of its political master, the Mediterranean disposed human displacement of long and short hauls, to claim a share of pepper or silk, or in times of dearth, cereals or chestnuts.

Yet if it was this circulation of human beings and commodities that propelled every greater dependence, urbanization and exchange,¹⁵ the fact remains that Braudel's examples of long distance, cross-cultural migrations, over the breadth and length of the sea are few. Indeed, he seems to suggest, by laying out the terrain of events in volume two, that the political units, at times actors in his narrative of wars and conflict, are forces which restrain movement. As he catalogues the various vessels of humanity—states, monarchies, empires and finally civilizations,

¹⁴ Among many works, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around it, 1540s to 1774*, London 2004.

¹⁵ Braudel, *La Méditerranée*... cit., II., p. 517.

he suggested that despite the armadas which brought Ottoman ships as far as Malta and the forays of Christian pirates and states in Aegean and occasionally, opportune passages by Christians to Islam, human exchange between these cultural realms was only erratic and limited to the necessity. That is migration, is not part of this story: while we hear of defectors from west to east, the renegades, he tells us little of the large scale movements of persons, including tens of thousands of captives or slaves, whose movement and subsequent integration (or lack thereof) transformed the receiving societies as well those which they had left.¹⁶

By opening a new chapter dedicated to “civilizations” the reader’s suspicions that Braudel has abandoned his path in volume will be increased. Indeed, he proposed in short order that his readers accept, a priori, a primary cultural divide which prevented the union of the Mediterranean’s shores and markets. There were too many loose ends; too many phenomenon that he could not explain otherwise; something failed: if capitalism plowed highways over mountains and parted the seas, belief systems created boundaries that rendered communication slow, incomplete, and, to his mind, inherently transgressive.¹⁷ Like a Greek chorus overseeing the foibles of gods and men, the historian-narrator explained this inscrutable force in the following terms:¹⁸

Les civilisations sont les personnages les plus complexes, les plus contradictoires de Méditerranéen. A peine leur reconnaît-on une qualité que la qualité opposée leur est acquise. Les civilisations sont fraternelles, libérales, main en même temps exclusives et revêches; elles reçoivent les visites des autres, elles les rendent aussi: pacifiques, elles sont, non moins, guerrières; d’une étonnantes fixité...

And he returns to the Pirennian schema: the common communicative medium of the sea was in reality divided into “deux Méditerranées, commandées par des maitres ennemis,” [which are] “physiquement, économiquement, culturellement, différentes l’une de l’autre.”¹⁹

¹⁶ This portion derives from comments made on Feb. 22, 1999 when I discussed Sanjay Subrahmanyam (École des Hautes Études, Paris)’s “The Qualified Virtues of Comparison: Circulation and Asymmetry in Two Mediterranean, 1400–1800”, presented at the Kevorkian Center Research Workshop, New York University; see also R. C. Davis, *Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast*, in *Past & Present*, 172 (2001), pp. 87–124.

¹⁷ Braudel, *La Méditerranée*... cit., II, p. 517.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 106–7.

In sundering the sea in a few pens strokes the common medium of exchange that he painstakingly reconstructed in volume one, he simultaneously rejected another no less possible solution: to postulate a theory of a unified, Mediterranean civilization. Half-heartedly Braudel did consider this option but shortly rejected it. There might have been, he speculated, a Mediterranean of trading cities, such as the mercantile cities of Venice, Leghorn, Istanbul and Alexandria which served as an example of a "Mediterranean culture, made up of merchants and sailors, and bandits."²⁰ But his cursory discussion of this option omits many of other candidates: the cities of the Maghreb such as Tunis, Sale, and Algiers where the thousands of former Englishmen, Italians, Corsicans, and Spaniards, "turned Turk" made up considerable portion of the elite, the intermingled cultures and religious communities that formed in the early modern Balkans and Asia Minor, and Iberia, until the mass expulsions of non-Catholics. In fact, it was a default unity that was greater than the sum of its parts: a Christian north that was as different from Europe beyond the Pyrenees as the Muslim Maghreb was from the Africa beyond the Sahara. With it, he also denied that "minorities" like the Greeks and the Jews were the connective tissue of a resilient diversity, a Roman cultural ecumene that outlived S. N. Goitein's "middle, middle ages".²¹

In volume two, therefore under Braudel's cultural scalpel, the Mediterranean peoples become atavistic cultures, "scars", a patina over more solid and unalloyed metals of Latin Christendom and Islamdom. Whether in jest, with a trace of earnest perplexity or pure annoyance, the word "betrayal" recurs with frequency in discussions concerning the peoples who inhabit the middle Mediterranean. Merchants who travel between war and peace to opposite shores betray their co-religionists; entire ethnic groups: the Greeks, a civilization apart, are accused of disloyalty to their putative Latin brothers because they appear to prefer Muslim overlords. The Jews, Braudel told us, "live for themselves," a caption that would certainly be read, in the immediate post-War, as a questionable double entendre, alluding to both the uncertain allegiances

²⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

²¹ S. N. Goitein, *The Unity of the Mediterranean World in the 'Middle' Middle Ages*, in "Studia Islamica", 12 (1960), pp. 29–42; and idem, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Community of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. Berkeley 1967. For a recent addition to this literature, see I. Baghdiantz McCabe, G. Harlaftis and I. P. Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Oxford 2005.

as much as the cultural aloofness needed for a minority to maintain its cultural specificity.

That is not to say that societies within the main civilizational blocks proved anymore compliant than those who bridged the divide. Indeed, the lack of uniformity within a single civilization was even more problematic for his narrative. By uniting Europe's Dutch, English and German north with its Mezzogiorno and Midi, Braudel's use of civilization as single, simplified handle on complex and often contradictory social structures, institutions and policies, forced him to reckon with disconcerting irregularities which could not simply be characterized as fluctuations from a norm, or in a simile borrowed from physics, to "Brownian movements."²² As an historian of the south, of Catholic Spain in particular, he tried to attribute culture to a certain geographical determinism: that, as he postulated, physical barriers such as the Alps and the Pyrenees may have blocked the passage of the ideas informing the Reformation and Enlightenment from reaching the Mediterranean.²³ But even with this gesture, he found it impossible to assign the Spain of the Inquisition and the Papal states of Italy an equal role in the Whiggish narrative which marched toward modern democracy.²⁴

We should not forget that although Huntington might now voice his unabashedly bigotry toward Hispanics, rejecting their membership in this imagined nation called the West, that the timing of Braudel's first and second editions rendered him acutely sensitive to early Spain's multiple assaults on minorities. In the post-war period and during the Algerian war, these persecutions, which entailed not only forced conversion, imprisonments and torture, but culminated in mass expulsion bore many painful referents. Nonetheless, he rejected the charge of "racism of state"²⁵ as the culture behind policies and human practices, in favor of an impersonal and historical actor—civilization. The consequence of this conceptual choice was that Braudel also eliminated the topic of

²² Braudel, *La Méditerranée* . . . cit., II, p. 757.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

²⁴ There are many parallels with Greece, see M. Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge 1987, p. 7.

²⁵ See R. de Zayas, *Les Moriques et le racisme d'état*, Paris 1992; and J. C. Orozco, *Errantes expulsados: Normativas Jurídicas contro Gitanos, Judios, Moriscos*, Cordoba 1991; D. Nirenberg, *Das Konzept von Rassen in der Forschung über mittelalterlichen iberischen Antijudaismus*, in C. Cluse; A. Haverkamp; I. Y. Yuval (eds.), *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext in kulturell-räumlich vergleichender Betrachtung von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Hannover, 2003, pp. 49–74.

the repeated expulsions of minorities from the domain of migration proper.

These tragedies, although Braudel subjected them to pages of scrutiny, served instead as illustrations of the power of the historical forces which animate volume one and two respectively. The 1492 expulsion order of Iberia's Jews following the conquest of Grenada became a case study in the economic causation that was mapped out in volume one. In this instance economism dictated the sacrifice of extraneous details, the disciplining or suppressing of complexities, and pushing religion, culture and politics through a Mathusian gristmill. His verdict, rendered with a chillingly utilitarian logic was the following: in an age of overpopulation, Iberia's Jewish communities, that is, those who remained after the murders, forced conversions and flight of 1391, had become a "surplus" people. Despite its apparent cruelty, it was a type of necessary population exchange: the wholesale transfer of a people from an overpopulated corner of the Western Mediterranean to the "empty" lands in the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia. Nor would Spain suffer the loss of their peculiar talents and services. Another bourgeoisie quickly filled their places: the "international" Genoese replaced the native Sephardim who now found new business opportunities in an expanding Muslim empire.²⁶

This economically- rationalized dispatch of Iberia's Jews may work in the early fifteenth century, but it fails to provide an explanation for the next century's refugees. This case, the far more numerous and already converted Moriscos, furnished an apt illustration of the power of another Mediterranean actor to determine the direction time and place of expulsion. Indeed, without appealing to civilization Braudel could not justify this policy in terms other than religious intolerance or racism. Like the Marranos who would be forced into exile a decade later, the Moriscos were converts to the dominant faith. Their legal situation bore no similarity to the Jews of 1492: as New Christians they met the necessary requirements for residence and being subjects of the crown.²⁷ Moreover, unlike the Jewish converts, this largely peasant population did not compete for position in the court and church with the Castilian Old Christian elite. They worked on Christian lands in a period labor when was in great demand.

²⁶ Braudel, *La Méditerranée* ... cit., II, p. 112.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Braudel, though attributing the final solution for the Moriscos to a civilizational imperative, was not totally comfortable by his own rationale. Perhaps this explains his great effort to document in exhaustive detail the conditions leading to this even in the hope of finding an iota of market logic. He considered the social and political aspects of the problem when speaking of extenuating circumstances including the brutal oppression and eventual revolts that embittered relations between Moriscos and Old Christians.²⁸ Although he goes as far as to compare popular Catholic prejudices toward ex-Muslims with those of poor whites toward blacks in the American south, he has already prepared his readers for an answer which absolves the Spanish of acting out their racial hatreds. With contemporary Algeria in mind, the "Moorish question" became a cautionary tale, a manifestation of the "larger confrontation between east and west" within a single country; a warning against "overlapping" civilizations and peoples who "cannot be assimilated."²⁹

Significant, too, is the fact that these two cases comprise the most extensive treatment of cross-cultural migration found in *La Méditerranée*. Although Braudel, who seeks to mitigate Castile's actions by conceding that the Spanish persecutions had parallels, if not roots, beyond the Pyrenees, failed to comment on a larger pattern: waves of expulsions that characterized Europe's medieval and early modern past. In fact, these Iberian dramas should be considered part of a chain of anti-Jewish policies which regained momentum in the long sixteenth century and fanned out across the Catholic Mediterranean: Portuguese Jewry, put to flight in 1496; the Jews of Province, Sicily and Naples, expelled between 1510 and 1511. Scale certainly makes Spain's "final solution" unique. But was its protracted and repeated assault on its Mediterranean cultural legacy merely an expression of the "Black Legend," the barbarism of the Other Renaissance or rather, was it simply a less bloodthirsty precursor of the order that would emerge after the Thirty Year War?

The reluctance to put Spain's history inside the longer trajectory of Europe's historic treatment of difference and long history of out-migrations by peoples of various provenance and condition, may also be the product of Braudel's reluctance to fully appreciate the cultural capaciousness of its Other, the Muslim world. Despite occasional remarks on the

²⁸ See M. G. Arenal, *Los moriscos*, Madrid 1975; A. C. Hess, *The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth Century Spain*, in "American Historical Review", 74 (1978), pp. 1–25; see also L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*, Chicago 2005.

²⁹ Braudel, *La Méditerranée* ... cit., II, pp. 131; 776; 789–795.

frequency of defections from Christendom to Islam by soldiers of fortune and their successful transfer of allegiance to a new land, he devotes little attention to the remarkable fact that these migrations individual and collective were, in the period under examination, largely unidirectional. That is, he gives no serious thought to how their reception and integration into the different societies of the Maghreb and the Ottoman east took place. Nor does he consider why the margins of the Catholic world, including the Americas, the Canary Islands, the ghettos of the Italian city-states and, most importantly, Poland admitted these refugees in defiance of both the laws of civilization and conjuncture. Indeed, rather than an illustration of the twin forces at work in the Braudelian reconstruction of the Mediterranean, the Iberian expulsions are but another example the continuous cross-cultural migration of individuals and groups—enslaved, captive, in exile, and in search of gain or a better—within this common sea from the medieval to the modern period.

The Moral Economies of Inclusion and Exclusion

Let us assume that Braudel's discussion of the Iberian expulsions was not merely a cynical exploitation of early modern Spain's notoriety for the sake of his historiographical agenda. Certainly, given the enormous canvas of his study, the historian would have been the first to admit that there remained far too many lacunae in his database. This was especially true for Ottoman social and economic history. For that reason, civilization might be said to have been a conceptual and narrative device that filled in the missing pieces in a history under excavation. But migration was too important an economic issue to have slipped through the cracks. Perhaps the explanation to this lapse lies in his failure to grapple fully with the state and its relationship to both society and market. Many of the important shifts in the tectonic plates of political, technology, cultural, and social organization that transformed loosely knit confederations to centralized polities, exceeded the self-imposed temporal and spatial boundaries of his Mediterranean study.³⁰ Moreover, the cost of foregrounding the "take-off" of Europe, and thus minimizing the debt to Asia, Africa and the Americas also denied the centrality of the inter-millennial period (391/1000–1000–1591) during which time discrete

³⁰ Ch. Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1990*, Cambridge 1990.

political systems within the Mediterranean arose and entered into a close, symbiotic relationship with each other.

Without these larger, highly political contexts, migration lacks meaningful coordinates within the Braudelian framework. In fairness to the author and his time, we must admit that even now cross-cultural migration is a contested domain of inquiry, treated in parts by different branches of the social sciences, from geography to cultural anthropology. Social scientists who study long distance migrations in a contemporary context still wrestle with the role of race, religion and gender in social integration, economic opportunities, the directionality of flows, and policy decisions.³¹ Braudel's account of the Iberian expulsions largely shared Saskia Sassen's premise that "migration is not simply an aggregation of individual decisions."³² Nonetheless, he as any early modernists would have had great difficulty in actually applying conclusions drawn from research on modern migration. Sassen continues:

..... migrations do not simply happen. They are produced. And migration do not involve just any possible combination of countries. They are patterned.... Finally, although it may seem that migrations are ever present, there are actually distinct phases and patterns over the last two centuries. In brief, international migrations are produced, they are patterned, and they are embedded in specific historical phases.³³

In a world before statistics, international protocols and formal borders the fact is we still know all too little about the patterns, the coordinates of the early modern as a specific "historical phase." What we know tells us that the Mediterranean world between 1000 and 1550 was composed of discrete political organizations and social conventions that do not fit neatly into the modern geopolitical division and did respond to the supply and demand of industrialized economies. Bilateral and multilateral agreements, transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations did not constrain actors including states, estates and individu-

³¹ See A. Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, New York 1998; N. G. Schiller; L. Basch; C. Blanc-Szanton and C. Charles (eds.), *Towards a transnational perspective on migration (race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered)*, May 3–4, 1990, New York, Baltimore 1992; J. S. Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam (Migration, Minorities and Citizenship)*, Palgrave 2002. Compare, A. Zolberg, *Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States*, in "Politics Society", 27 (1999), pp. 5–38; R. King (ed.), *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*, Liverpool 2001.

³² S. Sassen, *Guests and Aliens*, New York 1999, p. 155.

³³ Ibid.

als. We have barely come to debate how sovereign powers or cliques of elites operated in their absence or how norms and conventions become institutionalized between Muslim and Christian polities.³⁴ In sum, we do not know how to prior historical events and precedents entrained the alignment of discrete (albeit potentially self-replicating) political and socioeconomic policies and conditions.

Although Sassen's comments seem to point historians in some potentially useful directions, toward the study of the intersection of states and societies, labor flows and economic conjunctures, without another variable which may account for policy and social receptivity (or lack thereof), early modernists might easily fall back, as Braudel did, on "civilization" as a shorthand for an all embracing "historical" context. Rejecting the notion that cultural constraints were a condition "from time immemorial," still requires that we specify that such a variable would reflect the largely pre-codified rules guiding population flows and the diversity of impediments before the imposition of formal check points, borders and passports. It presumes that individual events which may seem isolated and random, nonetheless crystallized and patterned specific contexts and were not, therefore, ethereal expressions of some transcendent cultural norm. Finally, that alongside the formation states and markets, these macro-sociological features affected clusters of states with similar histories and created the conditions, the push and pull, that explain cross-cultural migratory flows.

For arguments sake, let us call this confluence of cultural, political socioeconomic and institutional trends in pre-industrial settings which impinged upon and at times was responsible for policies leading the direction of flows of persons from one political unit to the next, a "moral economy." By adopting the term, I naturally pay homage to E. P. Thompson.³⁵ Although he applied this concept to account for political actions among ordinary folk which could not be reduced to cost-benefit calculus, by employing an analogue to a far larger sociopolitical context, I should state clearly that it is not the case, I believe, that either religion or culture trumped "rational," market behavior. That is, I would not say that pre-modern societies or states remained embedded in culture (or

³⁴ A notable exception is the work of Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World and the Western Order*, Berkeley 2002.

³⁵ E. P. Thompson, *The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century*, in "Past & Present", 50 (1971), pp. 76–136; see also idem, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*, New York 1993.

civilization for that matter) but that historically specific factors which resulted from peculiar social, cultural, religious and economic configurations together, the “moral economy” yielded recurrent policies and social behavior. The need to a term like “moral economy” at all, in fact, arises because of the specificity of a pre-modern world of limited sovereignties and where inter-state norms are weak or non-existent, rather than a modern context in which legal authority has been purposefully and maliciously suspended.³⁶

The social and cultural forces propelling the Inquisition³⁷ offer the most obvious and perhaps extreme example a “moral economy of exclusion” which differs in scale and sophistication from the “moral economies” discussed by Thompson or for that matter, the micro-sociological guidelines implicit in James Scott’s “hidden transcript.”³⁸ Although not fully codified in international agreements nor reducible to religious dogma (although clearly affected by the theological debates raging during the Reformation/Counterreformation), the Inquisition gained force in the dynamic relationships between states, cities, trans-state, and intra-state actors. Through the medium of religious employee-bureaucrats, officials, and voluntary collaborators, and its international connections, a series of quasi-independent tribunals in different cities and countries were ultimately accountable to local powers although the influence of local decisions clearly exceeded local boundaries.

The Inquisition also illustrates how moral economies of exclusion relied upon a redistributive mechanism, although not all of the goods produced should be measured in purely quantitative or material terms.³⁹ The expropriated goods of populations and individuals put to flight or condemned to death found their way into the pockets of individuals, churches, and states. For those who testified against neighbors, these rewards might be considered along the lines of Michael Waltzer’s social

³⁶ Compare G. Agamben, *State of Exception*, Chicago 2005.

³⁷ See in particular, H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision*. London 1997 and I. Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions, Peru and the Origins of Origins of the Civilized World*, Durham 2004.

³⁸ See *In Focus: Moral Economies, State Spaces, and Categorical Violence: Anthropological Engagements with the Work of James Scott*, in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 107, No. 3, Sep., 2005, esp. articles by C. J. Greenhouse, *Hegemony and Hidden Transcripts: The Discursive Arts of Neoliberal Legitimation*, pp. 356–368; T. Murray Li, *Beyond ‘the State’ and Failed Schemes*, pp. 383–394 and J. C. Scott, *Afterword to “Moral Economies, State Spaces, and Categorical Violence”*, pp. 395–402.

³⁹ A specific theoretical reworking of the concept is found in T. C. Arnold, *Rethinking Moral Economy*, in *“The American Political Science Review”*, 95 (2001), pp. 85–95.

goods;⁴⁰ rewards in the afterlife, improved status within social hierarchy, or relief from perceived threats to cultural unity of community.

Yet the Inquisition (or in the Ottoman Empire, the infinitely more minor conservative reflex evinced by the *Kadızadeli* movement) are culturally specific manifestations of a broader and more complex moral economy. Without naming it as such, historians have long recognized that discrete moral economies governed the inclusion and exclusion of culturally-differentiated populations within the larger Mediterranean world. R. I. Moore correlated the distinctive relationship between the exclusionary violence against Jews, Muslims, lepers, and heretics (and later those accused of witchcraft) and political change, particularly the consolidation of early states in post-millennial Europe.⁴¹ Marshall Hodgson pointed to the payoff of inclusion in Muslim lands. Hodgson's term *Islamicate* meant to account for a society in which not only the Muslim political majority, but also Christian, Jewish and, in other contexts, Hindu, Zoroastrian and Buddhist minority subjects were integral, if not fully equal, participants in shaping society, culture and economy.⁴²

Despite the implicit and explicit acknowledgement of discrete moral economies guiding inclusion/exclusion, what has been lacking in scholarship is an analysis of how such highly contrastive systems which governed culturally demarcated state systems within a single, highly intercommunicate setting may have influenced policies and population flows. Scholars who have tracked the exile of Jews across Europe and the Mediterranean understand the impact of variable economic, cultural, social and religious conditions on the timing and direction of movements.⁴³ But it is likely that these patterns pertaining to the better document case of the Jews might help us develop a more universal

⁴⁰ The incorporation of Walzer's ideas (*Spheres of Justice*, New York 1983) in such a framework is well argued by Arnold, *Rethinking Moral Economy*... cit., pp. 91–92.

⁴¹ R. I. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western European, 950–1250*, Oxford 1987.

⁴² M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Chicago 1974. Certainly, although the rewards for inclusion may appear to us today as less tangible or meaning a pretext for a "divide and rule" strategy for sovereigns, one might speculate that once ethnic pluralism becomes the buttress of secondary and tertiary socio-economic relationships, as well as the basic state-society compact, threats to dismantle it may prove extremely costly for rulers. For another good synthesis of the Ottoman early modern with respect to Europe, see D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2003.

⁴³ On the comparative advantages between the two systems, see M. R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross The Jews in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N.J. 1994. See also S. Clark, *International Competition and the Treatment of Minorities: Seventeenth-Century Cases*

framework of analysis. Indeed based on the Jewish experience we might even postulate that (forced) migration accelerated during a period of increased market activity and cultural exchange; it also coincided with the emergence and zenith of the Ottoman Empire, the most important rival to Western Christendom since the Umayyads and, finally, that religious expulsions were part of a larger surge of migrations transiting the Mediterranean, both slaves and freemen, not seen again until the twentieth century.⁴⁴

In accounting for the historical differences in the development of discrete moral economies of inclusion/exclusion it is necessary to consider the *longue duree* of interaction between emerging states, markets, and religious movements which allowed/impeded societies to institutionalize relatively different capacities to absorb cultural diversity. By emphasizing the term “relative,” I insist that such capacities can only be gauged comparatively and in time. On a preliminary basis, we might consider some of the following differences in the pre-modern history of the northern and southern Mediterranean:

First, long before the formalization of discrete moral economies, formative relationships between minorities and majorities took shape as an emerging religio-political movement mapped its beliefs, economic organization and practices of rule over and against pre-existing cultural geographies. Early Muslim “ecumenism” provides one example of a pragmatic interpretation of society/state relations and even religious dogma/doctrine in the form of institutions and legislation toward non-Muslim populations. Given the cultural geography of the Medieval Mediterranean (and Indian Ocean) as well as the overall reluctance of the Arabs to fully enfranchise new converts, Qur’anic injunctions which discouraged forced conversion of the “Peoples of the Book” and which envisioned Islam’s role as the “completer” of prior Abrahamic religious traditions may have been less important than the fact that Muslims themselves remained a numerical minority in the lands they ruled for more than

and *General Propositions*, in “*American Journal of Sociology*,” 103 (1998), pp. 1267–1308.

⁴⁴ See P. Manning, *Migration in World History*. London 2004; R. C. Davis, Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast, in “*Past & Present*,” 172 (2001), pp. 87–124. Indeed, as M. A. Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*, Cambridge 2005 makes clear, the Atlantic, as well as the Black Sea, were part of the greater Mediterranean slave system.

a century.⁴⁵ It is also possible that the famous pact of tolerance which was promulgated, attributed alternately to the second caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (d.644) after his conquest of Jerusalem or to the Umayyad caliphs who ruled from ex-Roman Syria,⁴⁶ owed to a milieu of the late Roman Mediterranean, still under the sway of the Theodosian code.⁴⁷

These conditions, particularly Islam's formative encounter with the Mediterranean world may be contrasted with the "European" experience. Robert Bartlett's research on the roots of Christian Europe situates the main theater of cultural and social development at the very edges of the Roman hinterland, north of the Pyrenees and west of the Elbe.⁴⁸ This distance from cosmopolitan influences afforded Rome's colonizing Latin priests and monks in the aftermath of the Council of Nicea a spiritual monopoly. Free from competing Abrahamic traditions, clerics parlayed their literacy and organizational skills with new dynasties in exchange for a significant claim to ideological authority and local resources. Although these missionaries tolerated pre-Christian cults, non-Christians whether present or absent were depicted in image and word as aliens and evil incarnate.⁴⁹

Second, minority-majority relationships were structured by forms of economic and fiscal inclusion in early Medieval polities in a way that helped reproduced social hierarchies as late medieval societies changed and political infrastructures developed. Early Islamic administrative and fiscal codes, as is well known, incorporated non-Muslim subjects both as individuals, through the imposition of the poll tax (*cizye*) and as a group, by the designation of lands conquered from non-Muslims as *haraç*. While such fiscal principles brought non-Muslim resources to the

⁴⁵ For the only systematic approach to understand this process in a state formation context, see R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979. See also M. Gervers; R. J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, 8th-18th Centuries*, Toronto 1990.

⁴⁶ See C. E. Bosworth, *The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam*, in B. Braude; B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols., New York 1982, vol. 1, pp. 37-41; B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 20-25, 68-129.

⁴⁷ In Northern France Jews lost rights when the Justinian Code replaced the Theodosian Code. B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096*, Paris 1960, pp. 299-301.

⁴⁸ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Princeton, 1993, esp. pp. 269-292.

⁴⁹ See generally, A. H. Cutler; H. E. Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim: The Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism*, Notre Dame, Indiana 1986.

benefit, at least theoretically, of the *umma* as a whole, the Mediterranean mercantile colonies, like the Jews, who traveled to the Christian north served at the pleasure of feudal princes and lords. Their skills as managers and financiers helped feudal lords to wean themselves of the literate clergy. The result was that minorities in largely agricultural, feudal Europe were doubly marginalized: they were competitors in an incipient market economy and served as the human face of state intrusion into the lives of tax paying estates.⁵⁰

Third, it is time to reconsider the sociopolitical impact of the Crusades as both a period of accelerated cross-cultural migrations—including Latin Christian colonists (the Normans, etc.) and in terms of exchange of captives and slavery—and a important force behind bureaucratic centralization within Europe. Although the role of the Crusades in fomenting both anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim violence and expulsions within Latin Europe has been well documented, the mobilization for conquests in *outremer* not only tested the tenuous integration of minorities within northern societies but it also accelerated the rivalry between statesmen and clergy over spiritual/political authority and resources, as Norman Cohn's studies of chiliastic uprisings and pogroms reveal.⁵¹ As returning Latin prince retrieved new techniques, scientists, financial advisors and even Muslim praetorian guards, they were better able to limit their dependency on the Church.⁵²

As R. I. Moore pointed out, the creation of autonomous monarchical states in the Latin west was intertwined with minority persecutions. Beyond a violent or fanatical reflex, we might speculate that it involved bargains which concurrently stripped certain groups of rights and property while conferring rewards based on relative privileges of confessional exclusivity.⁵³ Thus, when we reconsider the events in Spain, we should ask not why but why it took so long to occur. A pattern of state formation and minority expulsion/persecution had been well established cen-

⁵⁰ See R. R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion 1262–1290*, Cambridge 1998.

⁵¹ Jewish communities were at the symbolic center of social and political struggles pitting aspirant rulers, churchmen, and newly urbanized populations. N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, London 1970; see also R. Chazan, *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages*, New York 1980 and Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*... cit., pp. 148–150.

⁵² R. S. Lopez, *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: Economic Relations*, in "Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche" Roma 1955, vol. 3, pp. 112–63.

⁵³ Compare, A. W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, New York 2003.

turies prior to 1492 when rulers eliminated one colony of entrepreneurs and managers in favor of another.⁵⁴ What delayed the Spain expulsions was late political consolidation, the endurance of a Muslim state on the peninsula, the scale of the Muslim and Jewish populations involved, including large communities of converts,⁵⁵ as well as the remnants of an Islamicate template of social integration which provided as, Nirenberg describes it, a violent but still functioning *convivencia*.⁵⁶

Finally, Muslim state formation in the period during and after the Crusades and the Mongol invasions did not entirely depart from the European pattern. However, exclusion proved far less successful a strategy of political consolidation than did reviving and reworking the older Islamicate system of inclusion. Forgetting that it had been the Visigothic persecutions which opened the gates of al-Andalus to Muslim armies, the Almohads (1085–1145) and the Almoravids (1145–1232) stifled philosophy and forced conversion on Christians and Jews, only to relinquish territory to the *reconquista*. Similarly, the Mamluk sultans (1260–1518) whose strict enforcement of Sunni orthodoxy undercut support from their Shia, Christian and Jewish subjects, only undermined their eastern flank in the face of Anatolia-based challengers like the Ottomans whose policies toward minority groups took shape over several centuries of interaction with the Christians of Asia Minor and inter-marriage with Serbian, Trabazuntine and Byzantine polities.

*Mediterranean Migrations of the Long Sixteenth Century:
A Clash of Moral Economies?*

What I would argue then is that an important part of early modern migration in the Mediterranean was the expression of the confluence of two processes: first, parochial patterns of state formation which

⁵⁴ Indeed, a new history of state formation within Europe might be written by following successive the expulsion and persecution of Jews across the continent. See M. Kriegel, *Mobilization politique et modernization organique. Les expulsions des juifs au Bas Moyen Age*, in "Archives de sciences sociales des religions", 46 (1978), pp. 5–20; S. Haliczer, *The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1492*, in J. M. Sola-Sole; S. G. Armistead, and J. H. Silverman (eds.), *Hispania Judaica: Studies on the History, Language, and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World*, vol. 1, *History*, Barcelona 1980, pp. 37–47.

⁵⁵ Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue make this point. (See their *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th–20th Centuries*, Berkeley 1995)

⁵⁶ D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1996.

harnessed contrasting moral economies to aid that social and political process⁵⁷ and second, rival imperial projects over a shared medium of communication and its human and material resources. Over the next three centuries, it was the difference in moral economies and rival imperial projects which determined the flows of religious refugees in particular. Most left Catholic realms which were characterized by organized religious/cultural surveillance/repression (the Inquisition, witch trials), segregated residence and occupation for Ottoman lands (or in the case of Protestants toward Russia) which accorded religious minorities a type of second-class subject-status in exchange for tributary payments, forms of legal subordination and displays of deference to members of the majority faith.⁵⁸

These moral economies proved mutually reinforcing. Wittingly or not, Latin intolerance toward local churches in the Venetian ruled Morea and other parts of the former Byzantine Empire culturally reconnoitered the region in advance of the Ottoman occupation. Unlike European contexts where often rabble rousing priests murdered or forcibly converted non-Christian populations, the Ottoman state appears to have used conversion with greater control, to supply new state cadres like the janissary corps and bureaucracy.⁵⁹ On the Catholic frontier, the Ottomans built a multi-religious "trace italienne," a type of inner bulwark which reinforced Muslim outposts like Bosnia and military garrisons with non-Catholic majorities. Demographic engineering, such as the *sürgün* and *şenlendirme* resettled Sephardi exiles and redistributed Muslim pastoralists from Anatolia and Orthodox Christians or pastoral Christian folk, like the Vlachs, within Balkan and Aegean towns and

⁵⁷ C. Fleischer, *The Lawgiver as Messiah*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992, pp. 159–178 makes many of these points.

⁵⁸ W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Oxford 1995, pp. 156–158, 183–184. On the comparative advantages between the two systems, see M. R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross The Jews in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N.J. 1994; This is the conclusion of A. Cohen, *On the Realities of the Millet System: Jerusalem in the 16th century*, in B. Braude; B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1982, pp. 7–14. For more recent assessments, see N. al-Qattan, *Dhimmis in the Muslim Court: Legal Autonomy and Religious Discrimination*, in "International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies", 31 (1999), pp. 429–444.

⁵⁹ On the gradual Islamization of the Balkans, see J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1987, pp. 485, 589–590, 606, 610 and H. T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, London 1993. See H. W. Lowry, *Trabzon şehrinin İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi 1461–1583: Trabzon Örneğinde Osmanlı Tahrir Defterinin Şehirleşme Demografik Tarihi için Kaynak olarak Kullanılması*, Istanbul 1981.

countryside. The “cultural confusion” so feared by the Inquisitioners⁶⁰ became part of the Ottoman social fabric: syncretism facilitated imperial expansion and served as a cultural bridge between communities.⁶¹

Moral economies served as the basis for determining resident from alien. As European states constricted membership and residency rights for minorities, the Ottomans left the door open for long term foreign residence and permanent migration. Émigré physicians, artisans, and military technicians, resided under Ottoman sovereignty while maintaining (or regaining) their Calvinism and Judaism, plying their trades in the multi-confessional cities, and enjoying security of property.⁶² Unlike Venice’s Fondacco dei Turchi which sheltered a dwindling number of Muslim traders after the seventeenth century and the its ghetto where residents were subject to ever-changing restrictions,⁶³ in Ottoman realms, foreign merchants were rarely confined and enjoyed special tariffs under treaty and Catholic pilgrims were granted the equivalent of group immunities at times when hostilities should have dictated cessation of exchange and the detention of diplomats.⁶⁴

Finally, moral economies also differed on the treatment of converts and the degree to which conversion conferred full “subjethood” within a new society.⁶⁵ While European states and even the Catholic Church frequently denied the requests of Muslims for conversion to Catholicism,⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*...cit., p. 297. Benbassa-Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*...cit., XXXXXXXXliii, pp. 9–10.

⁶¹ Ö. L. Barkan, *Les fondations pieuses comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation. Les derviches colonisateurs de l'époque des invasions et les convents (zaviye)*, in “*Vakıflar Dergisi'nin Yabancı Dil Bölümü*”, 2 (1942), pp. 59–65. See J. W. Meri, *The Cult of the Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, Oxford 2002, pp. 231–250.

⁶² R. Murphey, *The Ottoman Attitude towards the Adoption of Western Technology: The Role of the Efrenci Technicians in Civil and Military Applications*, in J.-L. Baqué-Grammont; P. Dumont (eds.) *Contributions a l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1983, pp. 287–298.

⁶³ See *Capitoli della Ricondata degli Ebrei di Venezia e dello Stato Veneto*, reproduced in facimile (Bologna 1981) and B. Ravid, *An Introduction to the Charters of the Jewish Merchants of Venice*, in E. Horowitz, M. Orfali (eds.), *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Society, Culture, and Economy in Early Modern Times*, Ramat Gan 2002, pp. 203–41.

⁶⁴ O. Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, Leiden 2001, p. 63, “*Ahidnâme: Türk Tarihi*” (M. S. Kütükoğlu ed.), *Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 1, pp. 536–540.

⁶⁵ See A. Salzmann, *Islam, Italy's Internal Frontier*, in N. Yavari; L. G. Potter; J.-M. Ran Oppenheim (eds.), *Views from the Edge: Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, New York 2004, pp. 240–254.

⁶⁶ P. Sahlin, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After*, Ithaca 2004, pp. 89, 95, 97, 127; S. Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: galeotti, vu' cumpra', domestici*, Napoli 1999, pp. 24–27, 276–278.

a precondition for pre-modern “citizenship” even in France before 1685, in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire “becoming a Turk” held out a passport to new society and a life of greater normalcy for both well heeled renegades and galley slaves.⁶⁷ New Muslims passed into a society relatively free from the social stigma or surveillance attached to migrants at a time when a Marrano surname marked generations of ex-Jews within Italian cities as fair game for an Inquisition inquest, torture, death, expropriation or expulsion.

Migration, particularly religious migration resulted in a largely uni-directional migration pattern. With rare exceptions, such as the Serbian or post-1453 Byzantine outflow to Italy or the expulsion of Catholic priests and monks after the Ottoman conquest Cyprus and Crete and the flight of Armenian Catholics to Venice, large numbers of Jews, Protestants, and Muslims fled Southern and Central Europe for North Africa/Middle East or Eastern/Southeastern Europe between 1492 and 1699. In the face of such polices, tolerance toward Europe’s religious minorities formed a leitmotif in Ottoman foreign diplomacy, from Bayazid II’s historic welcome of Iberian Jews and Suleyman II’s defense of minority traders in Ancona against the Papal inquests of 1556 to the 1740 Ottoman offer to take in the entire Jewish community of Prague who were threatened by expulsion from the Habsburg Empire after the Prussian occupation.⁶⁸

If Spain’s expulsions of Jews could be, on one hand, interpreted as a belated response to Medieval European state formation models, its expulsion of the Moriscos and Marranos in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century actually points to the more sectarian agreements reached under the Treaty of Westphalia (1638). Yet even this historic multi-lateral agreement (in effect, which institutionalized a moral economy of exclusion into a constitutional framework

⁶⁷ Among the many new studies on conversion, see M. Garcia-Arenal (ed.) *Conversions islamiques: identités religieuses en islam méditerranéen*, Paris 2001; Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve bahası petitions and Ottoman social life, 1670–1730*, Leiden 2004. Some form of non-consensual conversion, S. Faroghi, *Quis Custodiet Custodes? Controlling Slave Identities and Slave Traders in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Istanbul*, in idem (ed.) *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*. Istanbul 2002, pp. 247–250 concludes commonly occurred among captives and slaves. See also, M. Baer, *Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul*, in “Gender & History”, 16 (2004), pp. 425–458. R. C. Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800*. Basingstoke, Hampshire 2003, pp. 115–117.

⁶⁸ See K. A. Roider, *Austria’s Eastern question, 1700–1790*. Princeton, N.J. 1982.

for national states) did not prevent, indeed, it seemed to entail—from the Chmeilnicki massacres in Poland (1648–49), France’s treatment of the Huguenots in 1685, as well as the Habsburg purge of Jews and Muslims from Hungary in 1687 and Lutherans from Salzburg in 1732, the repeated “cleansing” of the minority religious groups for the sake of political cohesion and reconsolidation.⁶⁹

From the Historic to the Virtual Mediterranean

Turning the glaring search light of Samuel P. Huntington’s treatises on post-Cold War conflict, identity and migration on the Braudelian system, this essay has directed the attention of my colleagues to pivotal episodes concerning migration in *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*. I have argued that Braudel’s use of the Pirennean notion of clashing civilizations might be considered the type of Rankean recidivism so characteristic of his generation. But it also betrayed an inability to formulate alternative approaches to the way that politics, culture and society colluded in the making of pre-modern persecutions of ethnic and religious groups. In the process, Braudel’s “solution” to the questions posed by the repeated Iberian expulsions over the long sixteenth century, also avoided the larger, and perhaps more fraught, question of cross-cultural migrations as well as the easterly direction of so many of Europe’s “huddle masses.” Unfortunately, it must be said that this failure, to appreciate the historicity of policy decisions and to recognize the consistency of European responses to religious diversity, the moral economy of exclusion which lay behind them, has provided fodder for the cultural determinists like Huntington and undermined the very project of *La Méditerranée*.

In venturing my own solution to this problem, I have suggested that we should look at migration as the symptom de facto political orders and state-society bargains which I have termed “moral economies.” Yet I am also aware that this category, too, might be abused or reified.⁷⁰ To foil

⁶⁹ See J. Garrison, *L’Edit de Nantes et sa révocation: Histoire d’une intolérance*, Paris 1985 and J. Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe 1400–1700*, London, New York 1988.

⁷⁰ That is not say that these “informal” and seemingly random acts bore no relationship to the multi-state agreements, such as the Treaty of Westphalia or that moral economies themselves, by weight of time, may not be transcribed into law, sociopolitical relationships and popular ideologies. For another application of the concept, see

such anachronistic extrapolations and generalizations, it is necessary to repeat often and loudly that pre-modern settings differ in critical ways from our postmodern condition.⁷¹ In pre-modern times, there could be no single policy toward religious refugees enunciated or enforced: whether individuals or as groups, religious refugees found temporary or permanent havens in the peripheries of Catholicism, in the Americas, as well as in the Enlightenment centers of Protestant capitalism. Before wiretaps and computers allowed states to track their citizens and trap intruders, the insecurities of life between states led early modern peoples to bend conventions and ignore prevailing moral economies; slaves, diplomats, soldiers, merchants, seekers of fortune, pilgrims and tourists continually tested and tried different identities and cultures. The veracity of Evliya Çelebi's colorful anecdotes about the Ottoman-European frontier matters not: it is the very symbolism of a story about a Muslim *gazi* and Catholic *uskok* whose vows in blood protected a "brother in religion" from death and captivity that marks our irrecoverable distance from the early modern past.⁷²

Perhaps it is no coincidence that the technological imperative that governs today's politics has only increased the collective sense of insecurity over borders and strangers.⁷³ Surveillance drones strip away personal privacy while cyberspace and the post-modern geography of capitalism dissolve distances. The Rio Grande might as well be the Indus or the Jordan, the Great Lakes, the Mediterranean or the Indian Ocean. In an Orwellian twist, extreme individualism has made humanity itself an abstraction: "ghost flights" drag "bodies" from temporary "states of exception" to countries of permanent inquisitions. Hundreds of thousands of lives and livelihoods in two poor nations will be sacrificed to assuage another country's media-stoked paranoia.⁷⁴

D. Fassin, *Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France*, "Cultural Anthropology", 20 (2005), pp. 362–387.

⁷¹ For a watershed study on one of the least known of these pre-modern frontiers, see S. Ateş's Malcolm Kerr-prize winning dissertation, *Empire at the Margins: Towards a History of the Ottoman-Iranian Borderland and the Borderland Peoples*, New York University 2006.

⁷² R. Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662) from Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels*, Albany 1991, pp. 249–250. See also Ateş, *Empire at the Margins*...cit.

⁷³ E. Lichtblau; J. Markoff, *U.S. to Select a Guard for its Virtual Borders: Billions will be spent Tracking Visitors*, in *International Herald Tribune*, May 25, 2004.

⁷⁴ Compare J. C. Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*, Cambridge/New York 2000; J. Caplan; J. Torpey (eds.), *Documenting Indi-*

If Huntington's theories make a travesty of history and human rights, as documents of age they suggest the possibility that pre-modern moral economies based on religious exclusion do not simply dissipate and certainly have not been expunged from the collective memory.⁷⁵ In his cartoon version of the American way, the old language of citizenship rights and the familiar concepts associated with migration, the melting pot, assimilation, and multiculturalism are rejected: he puts the "sojourner" in our midst on notice that he or she must "convert" to an authentic creed.⁷⁶ No longer is the passport or visa a secular document means of crossing an international borders but an incidental document second to its bearer's religion or race. Although Huntington targets the United States' Latin neighbors and our Hispanic citizens, it is the "Muslim" who has become the shorthand for a foreigner in much of the West: the individual who refuses to leave a name, head scarf, or history at an airport, the port of Marseilles, or the land border between Croatia and Italian Friuli.⁷⁷

Four years ago, when I migrated to the north I could not have imagined the moral divide that now separates the imperfect multiculturalism of Canada from the evangelical exclusivity of the United States.⁷⁸ Yet each time I pass southward, my Canadian residence and multiple visas to the Middle East elicit intrusive questions from my countrymen. In one of these crossings, the suspicious eye of the U.S. border agent who flipped past the Turkish visas in my passport, alighted on another, to him, even more sinister exit stamp: "Malaga," he demanded to know,"

vidual Identity: the Development of State Practices in the Modern World, Princeton, N.J. 2001.

⁷⁵ See also B. L. Garcia, *La Historia y las Raíces de la Xenofobia Antiárabe en España*, in I. Arias et al. (eds.), *Racismo y Xenofobia, Búsqueda de las Raíces*, Madrid 1993, pp. 203–20.

⁷⁶ Ch. 8, "Assimilation: Converts, Ampersands, and the Erosion of Citizenship". Huntington, *Who are We?*...cit. Compare, P. van der Veer; C. Liauzu (eds.), *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christian Modernities*, New York 1996.

⁷⁷ In this sense, the American national response to Islam was more accurately expressed by George W. Bush's evangelical call for a crusade, than by Giscard D'Estaing's haughty overtly racist neo-colonialism. 44 percent of Americans favored some form of curtailment of civil liberties for Muslim Americans. Eric C. Nisbet and James Shanahan, "Special Report: Restrictions on Civil Liberties, Views on Islam, and Muslim Americans," *Media & Society Research Group Special Report*: (Cornell University, December 2004); for quotations by French officials, see I. Black, *EU Misgivings grow as Turkey asks to Join the Club*, *Guardian Weekly*, November 14–20, 2002.

⁷⁸ Compare F. Cerutti; R. Ragionieri (eds.), *Identities and Conflicts: The Mediterranean*, New York 2000 and J. Laxer, *The Border: Canada, the U.S. and Dispatches from the 49th Parallel*, Toronto 2003.

and where is that?" At another time, I might have regaled this civil servant with a few references to the dazzling al-Alhambra or mentioned the final battle in 1487 that forced the Nasrid defenders to surrender Vélez-Málaga to Christian armies. But, when history itself becomes an incriminating detail, historians like travelers need be wary. "It's a city in Spain," I replied tersely. He waved me through.

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